Proto-Romance Morphology

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Nominal Morphology

Intro

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

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 (Fr. *amalgame*, 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.

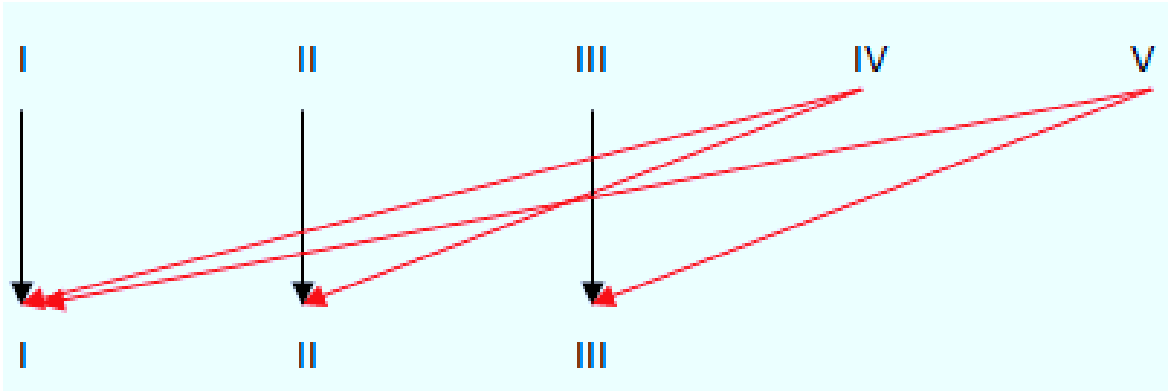
IV declension:

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:[1]

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.)

Genitive relics:

It. *terremoto* 'earthquake' < TERRAE MOTU
It. *lunedì* 'Monday' < LUNAE DIES
Sp. *jueves* 'Thursday' < IOVIS (sc. DIES)

[1] Since 2nd c. BC.

Loss of Oblique Cases: Dative and Ablative

Dative = AD + Prepositional:[2]

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:[3]

CUM DISCENTES SUOS 'with his pupils' (CIL)

CUM IUMENTUM 'with a draft animal' (CIL)

CUM FILIOS SUOS TRES 'with his three sons' (CIL)

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

[2] Since 2nd c. BC.

[3] 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

From 6 Cases to 2

Nom	Non-Nom	nom	non-nom
PORTA	PORTAM	PORTAE	PORTAS
*porta	*porta	*porte, *portas	*portas
MURUS	MURUM	MURI	MUROS
*muros	*muro	*muri	*muros
DOLOR	DOLOREM	DOLORES	DOLORES
*doloris	*dolore	*dolores	*dolores

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' (CIL)

HIC QUIESCUNT DUAS MATRES 'here lie two mothers' (CIL)

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

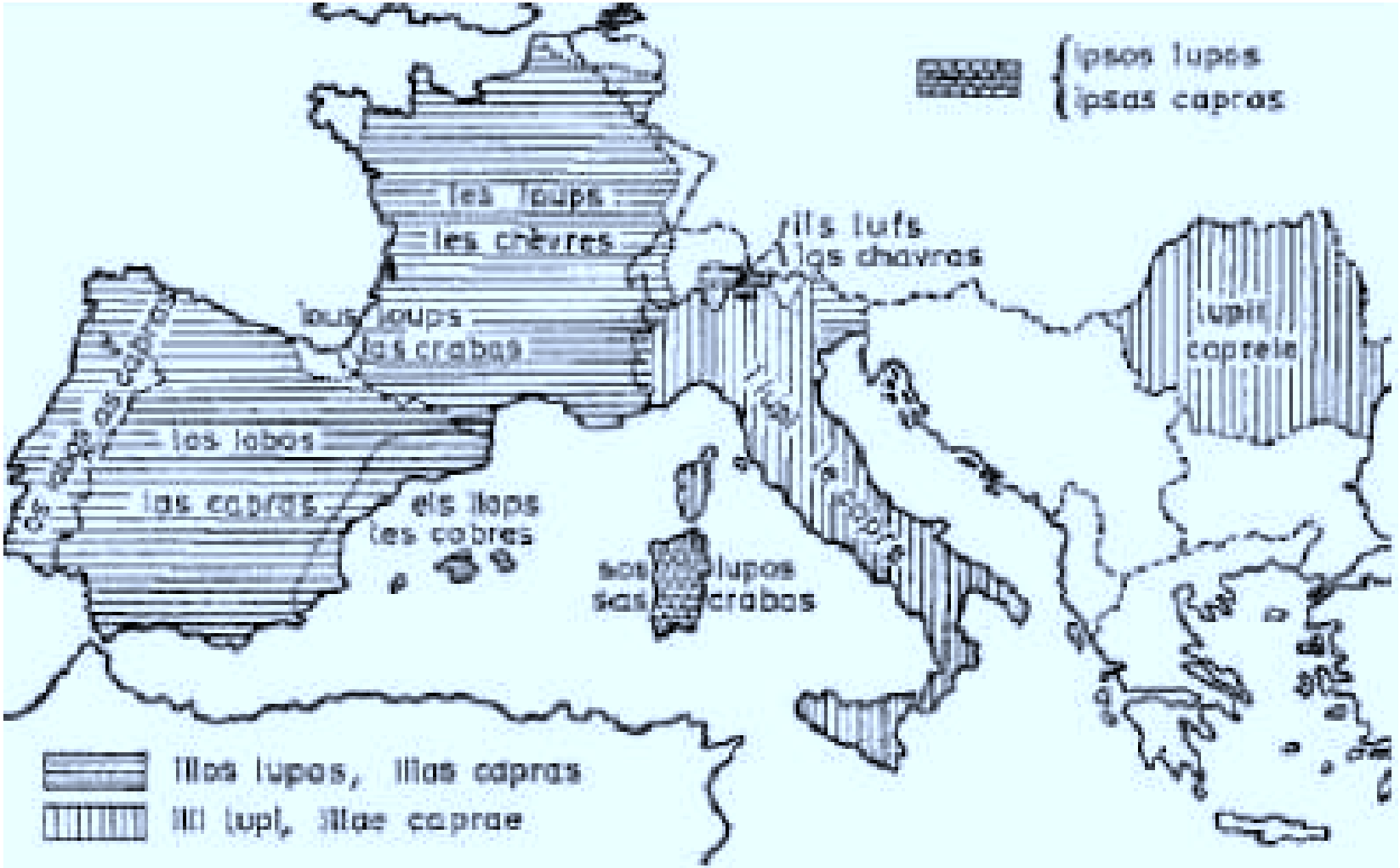
General types:

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

Italian

	a-stems	o-stems	C-stems
N	porta	cervo	*pani (<IS)
Non-N	porta	cervo	pane
n	porte (<AE/AS)	cervi	pani (<ES)
Non-n	porte (<AS)	*cervo	pani (<ES)
	'goat'	'wall'	'bread'

In sg. cases collapse in favor of Acc, in pl. in favor of N.

a-stems:

-AE > -*e* or -AS > *-aj > -*e*?

o-stems:

-OS > *-oj (unstressed) > -*o*

Cf. *poi* 'then' < POST vs. *dopo* 'after' < *DE POST

C-stems:

-IS > *-ij (unstressed) > -*i*

-ES > *-ej (unstressed) > -*i*

Italian

msg	mpl	fsg	fpl	
cuoco	cuochi	cuoca	cuoche	'cook'
amico	amici	amica	amiche	'friend'
simpatico	simpatici	simpatica	simpatiche	'nice'
carico	carichi	carica	cariche	'loaded'

Feminina:

-CAS $>$ *-kaj $>$ It. *-che*, not **-ce.[4]

Masculina:

-CI $>$ *-či $>$ It. -ci (?)

-COS $>$ *-koj $>$ It. -chi (?)

[4] *amikaj $>$ amiche posterior to palatalization of velars in front of front vowels, cf. 2sg PACAS 'pacify' $>$ *pagaj $>$ It. *paghi* 'pay', not **pagi.

Spanish

a-stems	o-stems	C-stems
puerta	ciervo	pan(e)[5]
puertas	ciervos	panes
'door'	'deer'	'bread'

In sg. and pl. cases collapse in favor of Acc.

[5] So-called *Apócope extrema*. Ultima restored during the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284) except after dental and alveolar consonants.

Old French

	a-stems	o-stems	C-stems
N	chevre	murs	pains
Non-N	chevre	mur	pain
n	chevres	mur	pain
Non-n	chevres	murs	pains
	'goat'	'wall'	'bread'

In sg. and pl. cases collapsed in favor of Acc (i.e. like Sp. but later).

Romanian

ă/e f.	casă	case
ă/i f.	poartă	porți
e/i f.	floare	flori
a/le f.	basma	basmale
ă/uri f.	lipsă	lipsuri
e/uri f.	vreme	vremuri
u/i m.	metru	metri
C/i m.	pom	pomi
C/e n.	ziar	ziare
C/uri n.	loc	locuri
u/e n.	teatru	teatre
u/uri n.	lucru	lucruri
u/i n.	studiu	studii

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*

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

Romanian ambigenerics:

	sg.ind.	sg.det.	pl.ind.	pl.det.
VINU n.	vin	vinul	vinuri	vinurile
FOCU m.	foc	focul	focuri	focurile
CAPUT n.	capăt	capătul	capete	capetele
LACU m.	lac	lacul	lacuri	lacurile
ACU f.	ac	acul	ace	acele
GELU n.	ger	gerul	gere	gerele

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 defectors:

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

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*

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' > Gall. *venres*, Sp. *viernes*
AURI FABER 'goldsmith' > Fr. *orfèvre*
PEDIS UNGULA 'foot nail' > Sp. *pezuña*

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*

Locative:

FLORENTIAE 'Florence' > It. *Firenze*

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*

Gradation

Analytic gradation:

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

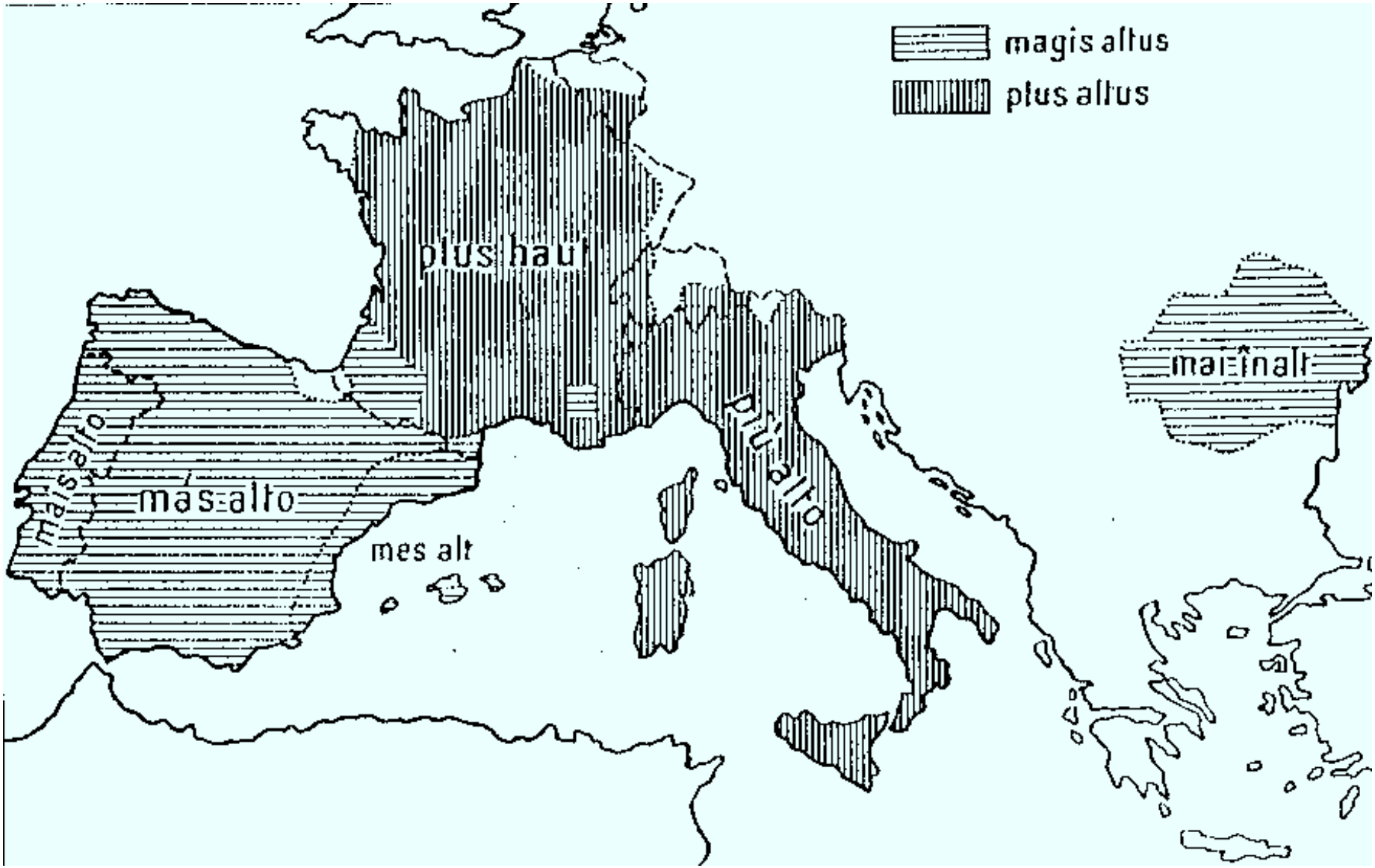
PLUS 'more' > Fr. *plus*, RRom. *pli, pü, più*, Sard. *prus*
MAGIS 'more' > Po. *mais*, Sp. *más*, Cat. *més*, Romn. *mai*
PLUS or MAGIS > Occ. *mai, pus*, Vegl. *mai, ple*

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



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

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.

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'

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. *ters*, 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. *diciotto*

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*

Nominal 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. *figliolo*, Fr. *filleul*, Sp. *hijeulo*

Muta cum liquida:

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

Verbal Morphology

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	pêcher
MORI > MORIRE	'die'	morire	morir	mourir
NASCI > NASCERE	'be born'	nascere	nacer	naître
SEQUI > SEQUERE	'follow'	seguire	seguir	suivre
DEMOLIRI > DEMOLIRE	'demolish'	demolire	demoler	démolir

Present Indicative

I	II	IIIa	IIIb	IV
LAVARE	TIMERE	VENDERE	RECIPERE	PARTIRE
'wash'	'fear'	'sell'	'receive'	'depart'
LAVO	TIMEO	VENDO	RECIPIO	PARTIO
LAVAS	TIMES	VENDIS	RECIPIS	PARTIS
LAVAT	TIMET	VENDIT	RECIPIT	PARTIT
LAVAMUS	TIMEMUS	VENDIMUS	RECIPIMUS	PARTIMUS
LAVATIS	TIMETIS	VENDITIS	RECIPITIS	PARTITIS
LAVANT	TIMENT	VENDUNT	RECIPIUNT	PARTIUNT

Present Indicative: Accent Pattern

I	II	IIIa	IIIb	IV
LAVARE	TIMERE	VENDERE	RECIPERE	PARTIRE
'wash'	'fear'	'sell'	'receive'	'depart'
LA͞VO	TI͞MEO	VE͞NDO	RECI͞PIO	PA͞RTIO
LA͞VAS	TI͞MES	VE͞NDIS	RE͞CIPIS	PA͞RTIS
LA͞VAT	TI͞MET	VE͞NDIT	RE͞CIPIT	PA͞RTIT
LAVA͞MUS	TIME͞MUS	VE͞NDIMUS	RECI͞PIMUS	PARTI͞MUS
LAVA͞TIS	TIME͞TIS	VE͞NDITIS	RECI͞PITIS	PARTI͞TIS
LA͞VANT	TI͞MENT	VE͞NDUNT	RECI͞PIUNT	PA͞RTIUNT

VE͞NDITIS, RECI͞PITIS $>$ WRom. *VENDI͞TIS, *RECIPI͞TIS

VE͞NDIMUS, RECI͞PIMUS $>$ WRom. *VENDI͞MUS *RECIPI͞MUS

Present Indicative in Italian

LAVARE	lavare	TIMERE	temere
LAVO	lavo	TIMEO	temo
LAVAS	lavi	TIMES	temi
LAVAT	lava	TIMET	teme
LAVAMUS	laviamo	TIMEMUS	temiamo
LAVATIS	lavate	TIMETIS	temete
LAVANT	lavano	TIMENT	temono
VENDERE	vendere	PARTIRE	partire
VENDO	vendo	PARTIO	parto
VENDIS	vendi	PARTIS	parti
VENDIT	vende	PARTIT	parte
VENDIMUS	vendiamo	PARTIMUS	partiamo
VENDITIS	vendete	PARTITIS	partite
VENDUNT	vendono	PARTIUNT	partono

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 100-102)

Present Indicative in Spanish

LAVARE	lavar	DEBERE	deber	PARTIRE	partir
LAVO	lavo	DEBEO	debo	PARTIO	parto
LAVAS	lavas	DEBES	debes	PARTIS	partes
LAVAT	lava	DEBET	debe	PARTIT	parte
LAVAMUS	lavamos	DEBEMUS	debemos	PARTIMUS	partimos
LAVATIS	laváis	DEBETIS	debéis	PARTITIS	partís
LAVANT	lavan	DEBENT	deben	PARTIUNT	parten

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 102sq.)

Present Indicative in French

PORTARE	porter	VIDERE	voir
PORTO	porte	VIDEO	vois
PORTAS	portes	VIDES	vois
PORTAT	porte	VIDET	voit
PORTAMUS	portons	VIDEMUS	voyons
PORTATIS	portez	VIDETIS	voyez
PORTANT	portent	VIDENT	voient
CONCLUDERE	conclure	SERVIRE	servir
CONCLUDO	conclus	SERVIO	sers
CONCLUDIS	conclus	SERVIS	sers
CONCLUDIT	conclut	SERVIT	sert
CONCLUDIMUS	concluons	SERVIMUS	servons
CONCLUDITIS	concluez	SERVITIS	servez
CONCLUDUNT	concluent	SERVIUNT	servent

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 103-105)

Stem Allomorphy in Italian

COQUERE	cuocere	AUDIRE	udire
COQUO	cuocio	AUDIO	odo
COQUIS	cuoci	AUDIS	odi
COQUIT	cuoce	AUDIT	ode
*COQUIMUS	cociamo	AUDIMUS	udiamo
*COQUITIS	cocete	AUDITIS	udite
COQUUNT	cuociono	AUDIUNT	odono

Stem Allomorphy in Spanish

NEGARE	negar	SONARE	sonar
NEGO	niego	SONO	sueno
NEGAS	niegas	SONAS	suenas
NEGAT	niega	SONAT	suena
NEGAMUS	negamos	SONAMUS	sonamos
NEGATIS	negáis	SONATIS	sonáis
NEGANT	niegan	SONANT	suenan
PERDERE	perder	VOLVERE	volver
PERDO	pierdo	VOLVO	vuelvo
PERDIS	pierdes	VOLVIS	vuelves
PERDIT	pierde	VOLVIT	vuelve
*PERDIMUS	perdemos	*VOLVIMUS	volvemos
*PERDITIS	perdéis	*VOLVITIS	volvéis
*PERDENT	pierden	*VOLVENT	vuelven

Stem Allomorphy in French

*MORIRE	mourir	MINARE	mener
*MORIO	meurs	MINO	mène
*MORIS	meurs	MINAS	mènes
*MORIT	meurt	MINAT	mène
*MORIMUS	mourons	MINAMUS	menons
*MORITIS	mourez	MINATIS	menez
*MORIUNT	meurent	MINANT	mènent

Metaphonic Allomorphy in Spanish

*metire	medir	*petire	pedir
*metio	mido	*petio	pido
*metis	mides	*petis	pides
*metit	mide	*petit	pide
*metimus	medimos	*petimus	pedimos
*metitis	medís	*petitis	pedís
*metent	miden	*petent	piden

Allomorphy Induced by Consonant Changes

VINCERE	vincere	LEGERE	leggere	CRESCERE	crescere
VINCO	vinco	LEGO	leggo	CRESCO	cresco
VINCIS	vinci	LEGIS	leggi	CRESCIS	cresci
VINCIT	vince	LEGIT	legge	CRESCIT	cresce
VINCIMUS	vinciamo	LEGIMUS	leggiamo	CRESCIMUS	cresciamo
VINCITIS	vincete	LEGITIS	leggete	CRESCITIS	crescete
VINCUNT	vincono	LEGUNT	leggono	CRESCUNT	crescono

Miscellanea: Italian

	Pre-Italian	Italian
PACARE	*pagare	pagare
PACO	*pago	pago
PACAS	*pagaj	paghi
PACAT	*paga	paga
PACAMUS	*pagamo	paghiamo
PACATIS	*pagate	pagate
PACANT	*pagan	pagano

Miscellanea: Spanish

*FACERE	hacer	*COGNOSCERE	conocer
*FACO	hago	*COGNOSCO	conozco
*FACES	haces	*COGNOSCES	conoces
*FACET	hace	*COGNOSCET	conoce
*FACEMS	hacemos	*COGNOSCEMUS	conocemos
*FACETS	hacéis	*COGNOSCETIS	conocéis
*FACENT	hacen	*COGNOSCENT	conocen

Miscellanea: French

	Old French	French
VIVERE	vivre	vivre
VIVO	*viv > vif	vis
VIVIS	*vifs > vis	vis
VIVIT	*vift > vit	vit
*VIVIMUS	vivons	vivons
*VIVITIS	vivez	vivez
VIVUNT	vivent	vivent

Patterns of Allomorphy: Spanish I

SENTIRE		SERVIRE	
SENTIO	*sento » siento	SERVIO	*servo » sirvo
SENTIS	sientes	SERVIS	*sierves » sirves
SENTIT	siente	SERVIT	*sierve » sirve
SENTIMUS	sentimos	SERVIMUS	servimos
SENTITIS	sentís	SERVITIS	servís
*SENTENT	sienten	*SERVENT	*sierven » sirven

Patterns of Allomorphy: Spanish II

*FACERE	hacer	*COGNOSCERE	conocer
*FACO	hago	*COGNOSCO	conozco
*FACES	haces	*COGNOSCES	conoces
*FACET	hace	*COGNOSCET	conoce
*FACEMS	hacemos	*COGNOSCEMUS	conocemos
*FACETS	hacéis	*COGNOSCETIS	conocéis
*FACENT	hacen	*COGNOSCENT	conocen

Patterns of Allomorphy: Spanish III

TENERE	tener	VENIRE	venir
TENEO	tengo	VENIO	vengo
TENES	tienes	VENIS	vienes
TENET	tiene	VENIT	viene
TENEMUS	tenemos	VENIMUS	venimos
TENETIS	tenéis	VENITIS	venís
TENENT	tienen	*VENENT	vienen

Patterns of Allomorphy: Italian I

COQUERE	cuocere	AUDIRE	udire
COQUO	cuocio	AUDIO	odo
COQUIS	cuoci	AUDIS	odi
COQUIT	cuoce	AUDIT	ode
*COQUIMUS	cociamo	AUDIMUS	udiamo
*COQUITIS	cocete	AUDITIS	udite
COQUUNT	cuociono	AUDIUNT	odono

Patterns of Allomorphy: Italian II

VINCERE	vincere	LEGERE	leggere
VINCO	vinco	LEGO	leggo
VINCIS	vinci	LEGIS	leggi
VINCIT	vince	LEGIT	legge
VINCIMUS	vinciamo	LEGIMUS	leggiamo
VINCITIS	vincete	LEGITIS	leggete
VINCUNT	vincono	LEGUNT	leggono

Patterns of Allomorphy: Italian III

TENERE	tenere	VENIRE	venire
TENEO	tengo	VENIO	vengo
TENES	tieni	VENIS	vieni
TENET	tiene	VENIT	viene
TENEMUS	teniamo	VENIMUS	veniamo
TENETIS	tenete	VENITIS	venite
*TENUNT	tengono	VENIUNT	vengono

Patterns of Allomorphy: French I

*MORIRE	mourir	MINARE	mener
*MORIO	meurs	MINO	mène
*MORIS	meurs	MINAS	mènes
*MORIT	meurt	MINAT	mène
*MORIMUS	mourons	MINAMUS	menons
*MORITIS	mourez	MINATIS	menez
*MORIUNT	meurent	MINANT	mènent

Patterns of Allomorphy: French II

VIVERE	vivre	VALERE	valoir
VIVO	vis	VALEO	vaux
VIVIS	vis	VALES	vaux
VIVIT	vit	VALET	vaut
*VIVIMUS	vivons	VALEMUS	valons
*VIVITIS	vivez	VALETIS	valez
VIVUNT	vivent	VALENT	valent

Patterns of Allomorphy: French III

DEBERE	devoir	VENIRE	venir
DEBEO	dois	VENIO	viens
DEBES	dois	VENIS	viens
DEBET	doit	VENIT	vient
DEBEMUS	devons	VENIMUS	venons
DEBETIS	devez	VENITIS	venez
DEBENT	doivent	VENIUNT	viennent

Paradigm Leveling

	Old Italian	Italian		Old Italian	Italian
*NOTARE	notare	nuotare	NEGARE	negare	negare
*NOTO	nuoto	nuoto	NEGO	niego	nego
*NOTAS	nuote	nuoti	NEGAS	nieghe	neghi
*NOTAT	nuota	nuota	NEGAT	niega	nega
*NOTAMUS	notamo	nuotiamo	NEGAMUS	negamo	neghiamo
*NOTATE	notate	nuotate	*NEGATE	negate	negate
*NOTANT	nuotano	nuotano	NEGANT	niegano	negano

Paradigm Un-leveling

	Expected	Spanish		Expected	Spanish
*FINDERE	hender	hender	RIGRE	regar	regar
*FINDO	*hendo	hiendo	RIGO	*rego	riego
*FINDES	*hendes	hiendes	RIGAS	*regas	riegas
*FINDET	*hende	hiende	RIGAT	*rega	riega
*FINDEMUS	hendemos	hendemos	RIGAMUS	regamos	regamos
*FINDETIS	hendéis	hendéis	RIGATIS	regáis	regáis
*FINDENT	*henden	hienden	RIGANT	*regan	riegan

Stem extender -SC-

Italian	French
finire	finir
finisco	finis
finisci	finis
finisce	finit
finiamo	finissons
finite	finissez
finiscono	finissent

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	-	-	-
...	-	-	-

Present Subjunctive in Italian

CANTEM	VIDEAM	VENDAM	PARTIAM
CANTES	VIDEAS	VENDAS	PARTIAS
CANTET	VIDEAT	VENDAT	PARTIAT
CANTEMUS	VIDEAMUS	VENDAMUS	PARTIAMUS
CANTETIS	VIDEATIS	VENDATIS	PARTIATIS
CANTENT	VIDEANT	VENDANT	PARTIANT

canti	veda	venda	parta
canti	veda	venda	parta
canti	veda	venda	parta
cantiamo	vediamo	vendiamo	partiamo
cantiate	vediate	vendiate	partiate
cantino	vedano	vendano	partano

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 133-136)

Present Subjunctive in Italian

Leveling:

Subj. CANTEM, CANTES, CANTET 'sing' > OIt. *cante, canti, cante*
Ind. CANTO, CANTAS, CANTAT 'sing' > OIt. *canto, cante, canta*

Iotation:

*IOCEAMUS, *IOCEATIS 'play' > *giochi. . . giochiamo, giochiate*
SEDEAMUS, *SEDEATIS 'sit' > OIt. *seggia. . . seggiamo, seggiate*

Auxiliaries et sim:

SIM » *siam > OIt. *sea > sia*
DEM » *diam > OIt. *dea > dia*
STEM » *stiam > OIt. *stea > stia*

Present Subjunctive in Spanish

CANTEM	VIDEAM	VENDAM	PARTIAM
CANTES	VIDEAS	VENDAS	PARTIAS
CANTET	VIDEAT	VENDAT	PARTIAT
CANTEMUS	VIDEAMUS	VENDAMUS	PARTIAMUS
CANTETIS	VIDEATIS	VENDATIS	PARTIATIS
CANTENT	VIDEANT	VENDANT	PARTIANT

cante	vea	venda	parta
cantes	veas	vendas	partas
cante	vea	venda	parta
cantemos	veamos	vendamos	partamos
cantéis	veáis	vendáis	partáis
canten	vean	vendan	partan

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 136sq.)

Present Subjunctive in French

CANTEM	VIDEAM	VENDAM	PARTIAM
CANTES	VIDEAS	VENDAS	PARTIAS
CANTET	VIDEAT	VENDAT	PARTIAT
CANTEMUS	VIDEAMUS	VENDAMUS	PARTIAMUS
CANTETIS	VIDEATIS	VENDATIS	PARTIATIS
CANTENT	VIDEANT	VENDANT	PARTIANT

chante	voie	vende	parte
chantes	voies	vendes	partes
chante	voie	vende	parte
chantions	voyions	vendions	partions
chantiez	voyiez	vendiez	partiez
chantent	voient	vendent	partent

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 137-140)

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	-	-	-
...	-	-	-

Imperfect Indicative in Italian

CANTABAM	VIDEBAM	PARTIEBAM
CANTABAS	VIDEBAS	PARTIEBAS
CANTABAT	VIDEBAT	PARTIEBAT
CANTABAMUS	VIDEBAMUS	PARTIEBAMUS
CANTABATIS	VIDEBATIS	PARTIEBATIS
CANTABANT	VIDEBANT	PARTIEBANT

cantavo	vedevo	partivo
cantavi	vedevi	partivi
cantava	vedeva	partiva
cantavamo	vedevamo	partivamo
cantavate	vedevate	partivate
cantavano	vedevano	partivano

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 140-142)

Imperfect Indicative in Spanish

CANTABAM	VIDEBAM	PARTIEBAM
CANTABAS	VIDEBAS	PARTIEBAS
CANTABAT	VIDEBAT	PARTIEBAT
CANTABAMUS	VIDEBAMUS	PARTIEBAMUS
CANTABATIS	VIDEBATIS	PARTIEBATIS
CANTABANT	VIDEBANT	PARTIEBANT

cantaba	veía	partía
cantabas	veías	partías
cantaba	veía	partía
cantábamos	veíamos	partíamos
cantábais	veíais	partíais
cantaban	veían	partían

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 140)

Imperfect Indicative in French

CANTABAM	VIDEBAM	PARTIEBAM
CANTABAS	VIDEBAS	PARTIEBAS
CANTABAT	VIDEBAT	PARTIEBAT
CANTABAMUS	VIDEBAMUS	PARTIEBAMUS
CANTABATIS	VIDEBATIS	PARTIEBATIS
CANTABANT	VIDEBANT	PARTIEBANT

chantais	voyais	partais
chantais	voyais	partais
chantait	voyait	partait
chantions	voyions	partions
chantiez	voyiez	partiez
chantaient	voyaient	partaient

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 140-144)

Perfect Indicative

CANTAVI	CANTAI
CANTAVISTI	CANTASTI, CANTAISTI
CANTAVIT	CANTAIT, CANTAT, CANTAUT
CANTAVIMUS	CANTAIMUS, CANTAMUS
CANTAVISTIS	CANTASTIS
CANTAVERUNT	CANTARUNT

PARTIVI	PARTII
PARTIVISTI	PARTISTI
PARTIVIT	PARTIIT, PARITIT, PARTIUT
PARTIVIMUS	PARTIIMUS
PARTIVISTIS	PARTISTIS
PARTIVERUNT	PARTIERUNT, PARTIRUNT

Cf. HEUS PUERI TUI MODO ME PULSARUNT (Pseudo-Cic.)

Weak perfect indicative in Italian

CANTAI	cantai	PARTII	partì
CANTASTI	cantasti	PARTISTI	partisti
CANTAUT	cantò	PARTIIT	partì
CANTAIMUS	cantammo	PARTIIMUS	partimmo
CANTASTIS	cantaste	PARTISTIS	partiste
CANTAVERUNT	cantarono	PARTIVERUNT	partirono

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 145sq.)

Weak Perfect Indicative in Spanish

CANTAI	canté	PARTII	partí
CANTASTI	cantaste	PARTISTI	partiste
CANTAUT	cantó	PARTIIT	partió
CANTAIMUS	cantamos	PARTIIMUS	partimos
CANTASTIS	cantasteis	PARTISTIS	partisteis
CANTARUNT	cantaron	PARTIERUNT	partieron

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 146sq.)

Metaphonic Allomorphy in Spanish Perfect

-ir	-ir	-er
medí	dormí	temí
mediste	dormiste	temiste
midió	durmió	temió
medimos	dormimos	temimos
medisteis	dormisteis	temisteis
midieron	durmieron	temieron

Weak Perfect Indicative in French

CANTAI	chantai	PARTII	partis	*VALUI	valus
CANTASTI	chantas	PARTISTI	partis	*VALUSTI	valus
CANTAT	chanta	PARTIIT	partit	*VALUT	valus
CANTAMUS	chantâmes	PARTIIMUS	partîmes	*VALUMUS	valûmes
CANTASTIS	chantâtes	PARTISTIS	partîtes	*VALUSTIS	valûtes
CANTARUNT	chantèrent	PARTIRUNT	partirent	*VALURENT	valurent

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 147-149sq.)

Strong Perfect Indicative in Romance

Strong perfects:

s-perfects
v-perfects
stems with ablaut
stems with reduplication

Loss of stems with reduplication and ablaut (partim):

CECIDI	'fell'	*cadui	It. caddi
MOMORDI	'bit'	*morsi	It. morsi
CEPI	'seized'	*capui	Sp. cupe
LEGI	'chose'	*lexi	It. lessi

Reinterpretation of v-perfects:

VÁLUI $>$ *VALÚI $>$ Fr. *valus*

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 149-157)

Imperfect Subjunctive

CANTAVISSEM	CANTASSEM
CANTAVISSES	CANTASSES
CANTAVISSET	CANTASSET
CANTAVISSEMUS	CANTASSEMUIS
CANTAVISSETIS	CANTASSETIS
CANTAVISSENT	CANTASSENT

PARTIVISSEM	PARTISSEM
PARTIVISSES	PARTISSES
PARTIVISSET	PARTISSET
PARTIVISSEMUS	PARTISSEMUIS
PARTIVISSETIS	PARTISSETIS
PARTIVISSENT	PARTISSENT

Imperfect Subjunctive

Italian	Spanish	French
cantassi	cantase	chantasse
cantassi	cantases	chantasses
cantasse	cantase	chantât
cantassimo	cantásemo	chantassions
cantaste	cantaseis	chantassiez
cantassero	cantasen	chantassent
partissi	partiese	partisse
partissi	partieses	partisses
partisse	partiese	partit
partissimo	partiesemos	partissions
partiste	partieseis	partissiez
partissero	partiesen	partissent

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 158-162)

Imperfect Subjunctive

Stem replacement in Italian:

MIS-ISSEM 'send' > impf. subj. *mett-essi*, but pass. rem. *mis-i*

Archaisms:

DEDISSET 'give' > DESSET > *desse*
STETISSET 'stay' > STESSET > *stesse*
FUISSET 'be' > FUSSET > *fosse*

Two stems in Spanish:

CANTAVISSEM 'sing' > CANTASSEM > impf. subj. *cantase*...
CANTAVERAM 'sing' > CANTARAM > impf. subj. *cantara*...
PARTIVISSEM 'leave' > PARTIISSEM > impf. subj. *partiese*...
PARTIVERAM 'leave' > PARTIERAM > impf. subj. *partiera*...

Future Subjunctive

Fut. II Ind.	Perf. Subj.	Sp. Fut. Subj.
CANTARO	CANTARIM	cantare
CANTARIS	CANTARIS	cantares
CANTARIT	CANTARIT	cantare
CANTARIMUS	CANTARIMUS	cantáremos
CANTARITIS	CANTARITIS	cantareis
CANTARINT	CANTARINT	cantaren

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

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 164-167)

Future Indicative

DE SOMNIIS QUID HABEMUS DICERE?
concerning dreams what have we to say (what can we 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'

Future Indicative

	Italian	Spanish	French
POTERE	potere	poder	pouvoir
POTER*[at] < HABET	potrà	podrá	pourra
TENER*[at] < HABET	terrà	tendrá	tiendra
VALER*[at] < HABET	varrà	valdrá	vaudra
PONER*[at] < HABET	porrà	pondrá	pondra
VENIRE*[at] < HABET	verrà	vendrá	viendra

Future Indicative

	Italian	Spanish
ESSER*[ajo] < HABEO	sarò	seré
ESSER*[as] < HABES	sarai	seras
ESSER*[at] < HABET	sarà	será
ESSER*[emos] < HABEMUS	saremo	seremos
ESSER*[etis] < HABETIS	sarete	sereis
ESSER*[ant] < HABENT	saranno	serán

	Old French	French
ERO	ier, er	serai
ERIS	iers, ers	seras
ERIT	iert, ert	sera
ERIMUS	iermes, ermes	serons
ERITIS	iertz, ertz	serez
ERUNT	ierent, erent	seront

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	écrit
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	-

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 176-178)

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	-

Cf. Alkire-Rosen (2010: 176-178)

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.)

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Atlantes: Selection

ALC = *Atlas lingüístic de Catalunya*
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*

Journals: Selection

Bolletino dell'Atlante Linguistico Italiano
Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
Bulletin linguistique
Cercetări de Lingvistică
Revue des études roumaines
Revue de Linguistique
Revue de Linguistique Romane
Revue Roumaine de Linguistique
Romanoslavica
Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice
Vox Romanica
Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie