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SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN BAVARIA IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY, AS SHOWN
IN MEIER HELMBRECHT.

MARTIN H. HAERTEL.

“Meier Helmbrecht,” an epic poem 1934 lines in length, was written by Wernher der Gartenaere, a Bavarian, about 1250.¹ The problem which it treats,—the country boy who is dissatisfied with the humdrum life, the toil and monotony of farm work, the unostentatious clothing and simple manners of his family, and who longs for more of the brilliancy and excitement of a larger world—is strangely similar to one of our twentieth century questions. The course pursued by the thirteenth century boy may be considered by some as being not essentially unlike the methods of the twentieth century youth; while the latter goes to the big city and endeavors to develop into a captain of industry, the former goes to the nearest court and casts in his lot with the robber knights. The conclusions of our author are the same as the teachings of our moralists: “Stay on the farm with your father and live in peace and contentment.”

A careful investigation by Keinz² has located the scene on the Inn; that is, on the present boundary between Bavaria and

¹W. Stöwer places the date at 1246 (Cf. “Das Kulturhistorische im Meier Helmbrecht von Wernher dem Gärtner.” Bochum, 1891.) He argues from internal evidence, and his conclusions must be accepted with some reserve.

²Cf. Friedrich Keinz, *Helmbrecht und seine Heimat*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 6 ff. A map accompanies his demonstration.

Austria. Who the author Wernher was is not known. The only apparently definite knowledge we have of his station in life is that which he himself gives at the end of the poem, namely, that he was a *Gartenaere*, or gardener, and even this title may have been assumed. The knowledge of classical and legendary lore that he displays in the poem suggests that he had read much of the literature of the day,—though he may have gathered this knowledge from wandering minstrels—and his bits of homely philosophy, which remind one occasionally of Poor Richard, indicate that he was a good observer of human nature and life.

On account of this knowledge and philosophy it has been argued that, since he was a gardener, he must have been connected with a convent garden. Keinz¹ argues that he was the "pater" gardener of the convent of Panshofen, located in the district indicated above. His arguments are not conclusive, however, and are rather strongly contradicted by the fact that in lines 780-781 the old peasant states rather doggedly that he gives the church an exact tithe, and not a penny more, and would not take a priest into his house over night.

Panzer² tries to prove that, if the author was not a knight, he was at any rate a troubadour who wrote for the benefit of the occupants of the castles. He bases his supposition on the fact that the poet derides the peasant boy who strives beyond his station, and on the description of the tournaments and court customs of old. The complaints against present-day knighthood, and the uncomplimentary comparison of the knight of today with his fathers³ Panzer calls an "apparent artistic error," overlooking the fact that such an error would, at the very least, cause the summary expulsion of the guilty poet from the castle.

Reasoning from the character of the poem, its general ten-

¹ L. c., pp. 9 ff.

² Cf. Panzer's edition of the poem, Halle a. S. 1906, pp. xi, xii. K. Schiffmann, expresses the same view; cf. *Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien*, LV., 8, pp. 709 ff.

³ Ll. 913-1035. (Line references to the poem are based on Panzer's edition.)

dency, rather than from incidental references that might be accidental, it seems probable that Wernher was an intelligent old peasant living in the comfortable circumstances described in his poem, who felt it incumbent upon himself to give a bit of good advice to the young people, who were showing a tendency to drift away from the habits of their fathers; or he might have been a minstrel, who depended for his subsistence, not on the gifts of the lords and ladies of the castle, but on the munificence of peasant audiences.

Stöwer¹ considers the question as to the identity of the author of no importance. But it would surely be of deep significance if a peasant or peasant minstrel in the thirteenth century should feel sufficiently independent to write a poem which betrays a well-defined contempt of knighthood, and also indifference to the church.

On one point, all critics and commentators agree—that Wernher, whatever his station in life may have been, was thoroughly conversant with the manner of living and trend of thought of the thirteenth century, and has given to posterity a valuable account of the social conditions of his time.

I. THE PEASANT.

1. Family.

Meier, or Farmer, Helmbrecht is a wealthy old peasant, who has a family consisting of his wife², at least one daughter³, and several sons⁴. He does not own his farm, but holds it in lease from a nobleman, to whom he pays his rent regularly⁵. The leasehold to his farm he has inherited from his father, and wishes to hand down to his son⁶.

The father is theoretically absolute master in his house. When young Helmbrecht wishes to leave, he must get permis-

¹L. c. p. 1.

²L. 124.

³L. 117.

⁴L. 364.

⁵Ll. 916 ff.

⁶Ll. 441, 543 ff., 914.

sion from his father¹. A father may also give his daughter away in marriage². His wife addresses him as *here wirt*³. In one respect, however, the women are independent; they have property of their own, and can dispose of at least the income as they wish, as is shown by the fact that the mother and sister buy a gorgeous outfit for the boy⁴. The source of this independent income is not stated, but it may be the *morgengabe*⁵. The wife is a help-meet to her lord and master; she must do such work as gather in the flax and dig turnips⁶, and look for the calves⁷.

The son bears the same name as the father⁸; he is a servant of his father⁹, and, as stated above, subject to his authority. Concerning the position of the daughter nothing is said, excepting that she must marry the man whom her father selects¹⁰, and has some income of her own¹¹.

A close relative is the godfather, from whom the child might even inherit certain qualities¹². The servants that are mentioned are called knecht (servant) and freewoman¹³, and may be related to the master.¹⁴

2. Food.

The staple article of food on the peasant's table is porridge¹⁵. Poor people make this porridge with water¹⁶. Bread is made of rye¹⁷ and oats¹⁸. Of vegetables are mentioned cabbage¹⁹ and

¹ Ll. 227, 424.

² L. 280.

³ L. 731.

⁴ Ll. 117, 123, 131 et al.

⁵ Ll. 1327 ff. The *morgengabe* is a gift made by the husband to his wife the morning after the wedding.

⁶ L. 1361.

⁷ L. 1391.

⁸ L. 24. There is nothing to indicate that this is the usual custom.

⁹ Ll. 22, 614.

¹⁰ L. 280.

¹¹ Ll. 117 ff.

¹² Ll. 481, 1379.

¹³ Ll. 711, 1088.

¹⁴ L. 717.

¹⁵ Ll. 454, 473 et al.

¹⁶ Ll. 1240-1241.

¹⁷ L. 461.

¹⁸ L. 479.

¹⁹ L. 1604.

turnips.¹ As sheep, swine and cattle were raised,² mutton, pork and beef must have been common articles of food. A feast for an especially joyous occasion is described as follows³: First course, sauerkraut, which has been packed away with meat, both fat and lean; second course, a good mellow cheese, and a goose that has been roasted on the spit; then one fried chicken, and one boiled chicken. Besides these, there were many other dishes, the character of which is however not indicated. When the son comes home after a long absence, his father can offer him nothing better than fried or broiled chicken.⁴ Fish is mentioned as a special luxury for the nobleman,⁵ likewise the Austrian *clamirre*,⁶ and white buns.⁷ Cake is mentioned only as being present on the table of the robbers at the wedding feast.⁸

The Bavarian peasant is temperate in drinking, according to Wernher, for, when Helmbrecht wishes to give his son a feast, he has nothing to drink but water; but, if he had had any wine, his son would have had it set before him.⁹ Wernher emphasizes this lack of wine, which is plentiful among the knights. After the returned son has been home for a week, he has to draw his belt up three notches because he has had no wine.¹⁰ Beer is occasionally mentioned.¹¹

The man of the thirteenth century was a big eater¹², but it was considered bad manners to loosen one's belt at table¹³ or to blow the foam off the beer before drinking¹⁴. Before sitting down to a meal, a well-bred man washes his hands¹⁵.

¹ L. 1361.

² L. 282.

³ Ll. 867 ff.

⁴ L. 772.

⁵ Ll. 462, 783, 1606.

⁶ L. 445. The *clamirre* is a sandwich enclosing calves' brain or fruit, the whole being baked in lard.

⁷ L. 478.

⁸ L. 1548.

⁹ Ll. 891 ff.

¹⁰ L. 1118; also see l. 793.

¹¹ Ll. 1401 et al.

¹² Ll. 1552 ff.

¹³ L. 1152.

¹⁴ L. 1166.

¹⁵ Ll. 861, 784.

3. Clothing.

Of ordinary clothing for men the following articles are mentioned: an undershirt¹, trousers², which are held in place by a belt³, shoes⁴; especially fine was a pair which young Helmbrecht gave to the servant, because they had straps⁵; a coat⁶, a mantel⁷ and a cap⁸. When the young man dressed up for a dance, or to appear among the knights, he was gorgeously attired. As Wernher was prompted to write by a desire to discourage extravagance, his description of the suit is probably exaggerated; still, it is fair to conclude that an undue amount of money and produce was spent on dress.

The boy's fine clothes, instead of being made of home-spun⁹, consist of fine linen, so closely woven that seven weavers gave up the job before it was finished¹⁰. This was ornamented with fur of lamb and goat, the whitest in the land.¹¹ He wears at times a coat of mail with a sword¹². Besides this, he has a fine jacket¹³, to make which his mother cut up one of her own skirts¹⁴, and also bought some blue cloth¹⁵. He owns two garments that are provided with large pockets for his knife¹⁶. His shoes are made of Cordova leather¹⁷.

Special pains are taken to describe the buttons¹⁸. Along the back, from belt to collar, is one gilded button next to the other; a similar row of silver buttons runs down the front from chin to belt; three crystal (glass?) buttons of medium size hold the

¹ L. 710.² Ll. 321, 710.³ Ll. 179, 1121, 1152.⁴ L. 321.⁵ L. 1081.⁶ Ll. 596, 673.⁷ L. 673.⁸ Ll. 14 et al.⁹ L. 390.¹⁰ Ll. 133 ff.¹¹ Ll. 143 ff.¹² L. 149.¹³ L. 157.¹⁴ Ll. 165 ff.¹⁵ L. 169.¹⁶ L. 153.¹⁷ L. 321.¹⁸ Ll. 178 ff.

coat shut in front; his whole chest is covered with small buttons, yellow, blue, green, red, black, and white. Whenever he dances, these buttons glisten so that maid and matron follow him with loving glances. Another feature that is irresistible to the ladies is a series of bells, fastened to the sleeve at the shoulder, which tinkle as he dances.¹

But his greatest glory is the appearance of his head. His hair falls down to his shoulders in heavy curls²; he catches it up in a cap³, which is a masterpiece of personal ornamentation. This cap is divided by a double row of birds⁴ into four sections, which are filled with embroidered figures. Over his right ear is pictured a bit of ancient history⁵, the fall of Troy, and the flight of Aeneas; over his left ear are scenes from the *Chanson de Roland*⁶; in the rear, scenes from German minstrel poetry, Helche, Wittich, Dietrich of Bern; in front are several sets of dancers⁷. The figures are embroidered in silk⁸.

Women's clothing does not receive much mention. Short skirts are worn⁹, shirts¹⁰, mantels¹¹ and a jacket¹². Furs are used¹³. Lace is more fitting for the child of a nobleman¹⁴, as also a silk scarf¹⁵. Over the head a cloth is worn¹⁶. A red ribbon should also be mentioned.¹⁷ The ordinary clothing is made of homespun¹⁸, the fine clothing of linen¹⁹.

¹ L. 211ff.

² L. 10.

³ L. 14.

⁴ L. 35.

⁵ L. 42.

⁶ L. 61.

⁷ L. 95.

⁸ Ll. 59, 96.

⁹ Ll. 677, 1337, 1449.

¹⁰ L. 1337.

¹¹ Ll. 679, 1285.

¹² L. 1449.

¹³ Ll. 679, 1285; fox pelt, l. 1067.

¹⁴ Ll. 1077-1078.

¹⁵ L. 1075.

¹⁶ L. 1088.

¹⁷ L. 1089.

¹⁸ L. 390.

¹⁹ L. 1285.

4. House and yard.

The peasant's home is very simple. There is the principal living room, and a chamber, probably used for storage¹, and located directly under the roof. A cellar is mentioned². In the living room is a large stove³, which provides the most comfortable sleeping place when it is furnished with bolster and pillow⁴; also a table⁵ and a bench⁶. There is a bed⁷; linen sheets are unknown⁸, so a newly-washed shirt is laid on the bed⁹ for the benefit of the returned prodigal.

For preparing food, several utensils are used—a spit¹⁰ (judging from this, the stove must have had an open fire-place), a pan¹¹, a pot (for boiling the chicken mentioned above), dishes¹², beakers¹³, spoons¹⁴.

For storing valuables, the peasant has strong iron boxes¹⁵. Candles are known¹⁶, but it is not stated that peasants use them in the home.

Around the house and barn is a fence¹⁷; the gate is locked¹⁸.

5. Products.

The farmer raises grain—wheat, rye, and oats, as is shown by the varieties of bread that are in use (see above). The grain is threshed by means of flails¹⁹. The crops are at times injured by strangers who ride through the fields.²⁰ Stock is

¹ Ll. 853, 837.

² L. 1847.

³ Ll. 856, 1616.

⁴ L. 854.

⁵ L. 1560.

⁶ L. 1617.

⁷ L. 1046.

⁸ L. 1043.

⁹ L. 1044.

¹⁰ L. 874.

¹¹ L. 1398.

¹² L. 1554.

¹³ L. 1555.

¹⁴ L. 671.

¹⁵ Ll. 837, 1205.

¹⁶ L. 581.

¹⁷ L. 648.

¹⁸ Ll. 1213, 1792.

¹⁹ L. 317.

²⁰ L. 1132.

raised to a considerable extent—cattle¹, sheep², swine², and goats³. Horses are raised⁴, but they are scarce, for the father promises to get one for his son, if he can find one for sale⁵, and eventually pays an enormous price for one—four good cows, two oxen, three steers, four measures of grain, sixty feet of homespun⁶. The author however laments the fact that the peasant was cheated in the transaction; the value of all this was ten pounds, while the animal was worth scarcely three.

6. Implements.

Farmers' implements are mentioned: flail⁷, plow⁸, which requires the service of two men, one to drive and one to hold the shares, a wagon⁹, a scythe¹⁰ and whetstone¹¹, an axe¹², and a hoe¹³.

II. THE KNIGHT.

1. Degeneracy of the class into robbers.

The poem shows clearly that the nobility of the thirteenth century was greatly degenerated. The old peasant complains that a knight who was the very poorest in former times would easily have been the best today¹⁴. There were large numbers of knights¹⁵, and his son would learn vicious habits if he were to associate with them¹⁶. They were poor, for at court one finds only hunger and hard beds¹⁷. The knights with whom Helmbrecht came into contact were robbers¹⁸ who were anxious

¹ Ll. 395, 670.

² Ll. 282, 1137.

³ L. 674.

⁴ Ll. 670, 1210.

⁵ Ll. 235 ff.

⁶ Ll. 390 ff.

⁷ L. 317.

⁸ Ll. 308, 545.

⁹ L. 266.

¹⁰ L. 1060.

¹¹ L. 1057.

¹² L. 1063.

¹³ L. 1066.

¹⁴ L. 964.

¹⁵ L. 292.

¹⁶ L. 294.

¹⁷ L. 284.

¹⁸ Ll. 653 ff.

to have as retainers only such as could ride and fight¹, and Helmbrecht candidly states, when he takes leave of the family, that he expects to gain his livelihood by violence². While these robbers were severely punished³, their vocation was generally recognized as a regular means of earning a living. The honest old peasant fitted his son out with a horse and other necessaries of the robber⁴, and it was a lady at the castle who gave Helmbrecht's companions their fanciful names, which characterized them as expert robbers⁵.

The knights still retained a little of their old feeling of honor, for Helmbrecht says that he would not be worthy of a lady's love if he did not avenge a breach of good manners⁶. But they were far below their ancestors in morality, for the old peasant remembers how courteous and honest they were in former times⁷. Then they amused themselves with tournaments⁸; they danced⁹, and listened to the minstrel's music¹⁰. Now they spend their time in drinking and flirting with the waitresses¹¹.

2. Brutality.

These robber knights persecuted not only their enemies, but everyone who had anything that was worth stealing, not even sparing their own relatives¹². The servants of the church were not safe from their depredations¹³. From the peasants they stole the stock¹⁴, and took even the clothing from the women¹⁵, at times stripping their victims of every shred of clothing¹⁶; they

¹ Ll. 656 ff.

² Ll. 366, 379.

³ Ll. 1669 ff.

⁴ Ll. 390 ff.

⁵ L. 1218.

⁶ L. 1169.

⁷ Ll. 921 ff.; l. 966.

⁸ L. 927.

⁹ L. 940.

¹⁰ L. 943.

¹¹ Ll. 986 ff.

¹² Ll. 1196.

¹³ L. 1070.

¹⁴ L. 670.

¹⁵ Ll. 677, 1200, 1839.

¹⁶ Ll. 1201, 1869.

also tortured people¹. Helmbrecht tells how he dragged peasants through the hedge by their hair², gouged out the eyes of some, beat others, tied some by hands and feet and threw them into ant-heaps, hung some up in the smoke, pulled the hair from their beards with tongs, scalped others, broke their bones, and hung some up in the willows by their feet³. In the coldest of weather they tore every shred of clothing from men and women⁴; once Helmbrecht tied a babe up in a sack while it was sleeping, and, when it cried, threw it out into the snow⁵; another time he ravished the daughter of a peasant⁶. The regular cry of the knight is⁷: "Ride, knight, ride; stab and strike; mutilate all those who can see; chop off that man's foot and this man's hands; catch a rich man, and hold him for a hundred pounds ransom."

3. Relation of knight to peasant.

Helmbrecht's course showed that there was practically no difference between the well-dressed young peasant and the knight. There must have been some degree of social equality, for a knight acted as godfather to young Helmbrecht⁸. Still, there was some haughtiness in the attitude of the man who lived at court towards the peasant, for, when Helmbrecht came back home, he at first refused to permit his father to touch his horse⁹.

III. SOCIAL LIFE.

1. Religion, morality, education, and superstition.

The attitude towards the church was not a respectful one. The old peasant complains that no attention is paid to the ban¹⁰. One might infer that the priests were preaching a cru-

¹ Ll. 1243 ff.

² L. 372.

³ Ll. 1243 ff.

⁴ L. 1198.

⁵ Ll. 1853 ff.

⁶ L. 1865.

⁷ Ll. 1028 ff.

⁸ L. 483.

⁹ L. 766. /

¹⁰ L. 1019.

sade, but not finding willing listeners¹. Old Helmbrecht himself paid the church his exact tithes, and nothing more; he would not even give a priest a night's lodging². The robbers, as has been mentioned, did not spare the priests³. This does not mean, however, that the people were not religious. When the peasants killed young Helmbrecht, they gave him time for confession⁴. The poet attributes Neidhart's poetic skill to God⁵. God performs miracles⁶, and is the avenger of wrongs⁷. When the young man leaves home to seek his fortune as robber, he blesses the family⁸; likewise, when he leaves his companions in the castle, he commends them to the care of God⁹. Greetings and leavetakings are often made the occasion for a blessing¹⁰.

On account of the purpose of the poem, the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," is emphasized¹¹. Father's advice is best of all¹². The peasant takes pride in the fact that he has been honest and has done his duty¹³. That man is to be honored who does his work¹⁴, and the best work is that to which one has been born¹⁵; young Helmbrecht need not be ashamed of his position, for the honest farmer is the rock on which the wealth of the country is based¹⁶. The honest man is respected everywhere¹⁷, and, even if he is born of lowly parents, he is better than a dishonest man of high birth¹⁸. There must, however, have been much immorality in the lives of the people. Farmer Helmbrecht and his wife were a respected pair. Still,

¹ Ll. 561 ff.

² Ll. 255, 780 ff.

³ L. 1070.

⁴ L. 1902.

⁵ L. 218.

⁶ L. 1639.

⁷ L. 1650.

⁸ L. 641.

⁹ L. 695.

¹⁰ Ll. 715, 1453 ff.

¹¹ Ll. 757, 1692.

¹² L. 333.

¹³ Ll. 250 ff.

¹⁴ L. 487.

¹⁵ L. 289.

¹⁶ Ll. 543 ff.

¹⁷ Ll. 528 ff.

¹⁸ Ll. 487 ff.

their children knew that the mother had intercourse with noble men, and gloried in the fact that the old man was probably not their father¹. The gorgeous cap was made by a nun, who had fled from the convent on account of her beauty². This happened frequently³. Nowhere does the poet warn the young people against immorality.

Possibly this immorality was due to the system by which the fathers were permitted to arrange all marriages. Love is never mentioned, and apparently the only motive for marrying was to better one's condition⁴. But the people were not entirely without finer feelings, for it was natural that young Helmbrecht should grow homesick⁵, and when he approached the house, his sister ran out and embraced him⁶. The wife honored the body of her dead husband by burning incense at his grave for a year⁷. The father's heart was broken when he turned his crippled son from his door⁸, and the mother secretly gave him some bread⁹.

Education was not thought of. Young Helmbrecht was proud of his ability in naming four oxen, and says that it is due to his great cleverness¹⁰. The only schoolmasters mentioned are Hellsack and Shake-the-Box, who taught him to steal¹¹. From the minstrels the peasants had picked up a knowledge of classical history¹², and other subjects treated in the songs¹³. After Helmbrecht had associated with court people, he was able to use phrases from Latin, Italian, and Flemish¹⁴.

An uneducated person is superstitious. The old peasant was

¹ Ll. 1374, 1386.

² L. 109.

³ L. 112.

⁴ Ll. 1282 ff.

⁵ L. 690.

⁶ L. 719.

⁷ L. 1306.

⁸ L. 1776.

⁹ L. 1812.

¹⁰ L. 828.

¹¹ L. 1190.

¹² Ll. 45 et al.

¹³ Ll. 62, 76.

¹⁴ Ll. 722 ff.

worried by his dreams¹. The bride Gotelint was troubled by forebodings of evil². It was generally believed that, before an officer of the law, the robber was helpless³. When the peasants were about to kill Helmbrecht, one of them gave him a bit of earth in lieu of the host of the sacrament.⁴

2. Weddings.

Marriages were arranged by the parents (see above). They were based, not on love, but on a desire for wealth and comfort⁵. The bride's father provided a dowry⁶, and the husband presented his wife with a substantial gift⁷. When the future husband learned that he had been accepted, he bowed in the direction of his fiancée's home.⁸ A great wedding feast was prepared⁹ to which all strangers were welcome¹⁰. The musicians received presents from both bride and groom¹¹. A priest was not necessary for the ceremony, which was very simple. A wise old man asked the groom three times whether he would take the woman as wife, and then asked the bride three times whether she would accept the man as husband. On receiving affirmative replies, he pronounced them man and wife. The audience, which was standing in a circle around them, burst into song. The last act of the ceremony was that the husband stepped on the wife's foot.¹²

3. Criminal courts.

The proceedings of the criminal court were very simple. Five court-servants captured the gang of robbers at a wedding feast¹³. The theory that a robber loses his strength in the

¹ Ll. 580ff.

² Ll. 1575ff.

³ Ll. 1260ff., 1620, 1641.

⁴ L. 1904.

⁵ Ll. 280, 1282.

⁶ L. 280.

⁷ Ll. 1327ff.

⁸ L. 1461.

⁹ Ll. 1463ff.

¹⁰ L. 1543.

¹¹ L. 1610.

¹² Ll. 1507ff.

¹³ L. 1613.

presence of an officer of the law held good, for, despite the great number of people, including ten mighty fighters, there was no resistance. Some crawled into the stove¹, others slipped under the bench². But they were all captured, and were forced to carry to the court the hides of the oxen that had supplied meat for the feast.³ This booty was the property of the judge.⁴

This particular judge was an honest man. Unfortunately there were some who could be bribed to free the worst robber in the world⁵. There was no need of defence, as the guilt of the prisoners was evident⁶, and all ten were condemned. Nine were hanged, but one, as the tenth, belonged to the sheriff. This one was blinded, and was deprived of one hand and one foot⁷, not an unusual punishment⁸.

Poor Helmbrecht, blinded and crippled, was led away by a boy⁹. Helmbrecht's father would have nothing to do with him¹⁰, and all peasants hated him¹¹. Eventually he was captured by a band of peasants, who, after taunting him for a time, beat him cruelly, and finally hanged him¹². There was no one who would cut him down and bury him at the crossroads, as a good wife would have done.¹³

4. Business.

Money is mentioned¹⁴, but ordinarily trade was carried on by an exchange of products. The escaped nun, who made the cap, received a sow, many eggs and cheeses¹⁵. No farmer had a coat that was worth two eggs more than that of young Helm-

¹ L. 1616.

² L. 1617.

³ L. 1656.

⁴ L. 1668.

⁵ Ll. 1673ff.

⁶ L. 1669.

⁷ Ll. 1688ff.

⁸ Ll. 1314ff.

⁹ L. 1708.

¹⁰ L. 1710.

¹¹ L. 1771.

¹² L. 1909.

¹³ Ll. 1300ff.

¹⁴ Ll. 355, 399, 1334, 1884.

¹⁵ Ll. 117ff.

brecht¹, but the mother had to sell many hens and eggs before she could pay for the cloth.² Rent was paid in cheese and eggs³.

The following tradesmen and artisans are mentioned: tailors⁴, fiddlers⁵, weavers⁶, innkeepers⁷, smiths⁸, merchant⁹.

¹ L. 172.

² L. 221.

³ L. 917.

⁴ L. 142.

⁵ Ll. 103, 1609.

⁶ L. 138.

⁷ L. 998; female, l. 1002.

⁸ L. 1065.

⁹ L. 1074.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOWEL OF THE UNACCENTED INITIAL SYLLABLE IN ITALIAN

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INTRODUCTION.

1. This study does not pretend to contain anything new. It rather collects and arranges facts, most of which were already known and discussed by various scholars. It is hoped that the title will not prove misleading. The term "Italian" has almost as clear a connotation as the term "French." As an Old French dialect, by the vicissitudes of political history, became "French," so an Old Italian dialect, by the vicissitudes of literary—as well as political, mercantile, and artistic—history, became "Italian." As one may study the historical development of French and neglect, except incidentally, the other Old French dialects, one may do the same for Italian. In the thirteenth century, without ceasing to be the handmaiden of everyday service, the Florentine dialect took on the dignity of a literary language and its vocabulary thereby acquired the characteristics of any other such language and comprises words of varying respectability, from the most illiterate to the most literary, pedantic, or exotic. The term "Italian," therefore, as used here, means the language which developed from spoken—or Vulgar—Latin in Florence. So the expressions "Florentine" and "Italian" are used here more or less interchangeably,—Florentine having a rather more local connotation when applied to the old language. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the term "Italian" was, of course, not so exact as it is today. Because of neighboring dialects and for var-

ious other reasons, there was less fixity of form in words, whereas now Florentine has finally expelled most of the dialectal forms from the Italian language.

2. The major part of the material collected is from Petrocchi's *Dizionario universale della lingua italiana*; some words have been gathered by the investigator personally from Italian authors and from others. Petrocchi's abbreviations, which I have had occasion to turn into English for the sake of greater uniformity, are the following: "volg." ("volgare"), I have understood as "illiterate" and so translated it; "non pop." ("non popolare"), as "literary;" "pop." ("popolare"), as "popular," that is, the mean between "volgare" and "non popolare" or "letterario" (for example, such a word as is used generally by all, even by a very highly educated Italian and a careful speaker in his unguarded moments); "L. M." ("lingua morta"), as "obsolete;" "cont." ("del contado"), as "peasant;" "mont." ("delle montagne"), as "of the mountains," meaning the hills more or less close to Florence. Abbreviations of my own will, I hope, be intelligible to the reader. Other abbreviations are of a standard kind: Rom=Romania, ZRPh=Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, ALL=Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie, AG=Archivio Glottologico, M.-L=Meyer-Lübke, etc. The references to Meyer-Lübke's *Grammaire des Langues Romanes* are, of course, as the title indicates, to the French translation, Paris, 1890-1906. In the notes, figures above the line refer to editions.

3. A very large number of words were, of course, discarded for various reasons. It was impossible, as well as unnecessary, to include all the derivatives of words discussed; when it is stated, for example, that fedele owes its irregular E in the initial syllable to the influence of the accented E in fede, the same explanation hold true, of course, without mention for fedeltà, fedelissimo, fedelmente, fedelone, and the like. Many words had to be put aside, because of the uncertainty of their derivation or of its exact form. In some of these cases, I found derivations which did not appeal to me, in others I did not find the derivation suggested anywhere. Doubtless the majority

of these cases would have added little or nothing in the way of data.¹ Other words were omitted through uncertainty of provenance. Petrocchi's abbreviations are occasionally insoluble or ambiguous, owing to the fact that his table of abbreviations is not complete and to the fact that he does not always persist in the use of a single abbreviation to denote the same thing.

4. The results of the investigation seem to show that, if the Florentine language had developed without let or hindrance, it would to-day present only four vowels in the initial unaccented syllable: I from Classic Latin I, Y, E, AE, OE; A from Classic Latin A, or from AU when the following syllable contained accented U; O from O, Ū, except when the following syllable contained I, a palatalized consonant, or voiced S; and U from Ū, AU (except in the case mentioned above), and from O and Ū when the following syllable contained I, a palatalized consonant, or voiced S. The reasons, in order of importance, perverting this development may be divided into four classes: 1, the influence of allied forms, accented on the vowel involved;¹ 2, the immense influence exerted by Latin;² 3, dialect intrusion;³ and 4, the other usual perverting phenomena of language, of which the most common for Italian is perhaps apheresis. The influence of Latin and dialect has finally become almost nil and the language has now rid itself—except in the case of learned words—of a very large majority of such forms.

5. As to dialects, the Tuscan only are touched upon and they, only incidentally. Sections 37, 75, and 84 are added merely for comparative purposes. A complete treatment, or even a

§3. NOTE 1. Examples of such words are: *baeria, belletta, berlingaccio, bieco, diaci, fazzoletto, frolo, frugare, boffi, caendo, rigno, scilinguagnolo, a vanvera*, etc. It is to be remembered that such words as *frolo, boffi*, etc., cannot be discarded offhand because they are accented on the first syllable; many such words originally did have an unaccented initial syllable, -cf. *pecchia*, from *apecchia*, *dritto*, from *diritto*, et sim.

§4. NOTE 1. This influence, which involved such an immense number of words is at once plain from such forms as *suonare, chiedeva*, etc., which still persist.

2. For the old language, too much stress can scarcely be laid on this cause. No other language ever had Latin so constantly with it. Cf. §20, note 11.

3. See §§ 37, 75, and 84.

satisfactory summary, was impossible for two or three reasons,—these dialects do not pertain directly to the subject and the material is too uncertain. What material is one to select to be sure that it is trustworthy? Even if we can feel reasonably certain of having a text as the writer originally wrote it, all the old poets have many literary or dialectal forms,—Rustico di Filippo has such words as *merzé*, *auciso*, *sengnore*, *caunosciuto*, etc.—and, as for the prose-writers, the most unlearned, as soon as he took a pen in his hand, seemed to feel within him the spirit of the Roman of old and Latinized his words, if he was not already confused by dialectal forms. What little material of my own I have used for examining the dialects has been largely gathered, on the basis of reliability, from Monaci's *Crestomazia* and from editions of documents in the various journals,—the *Archivio Glottologico*, the *Propugnatore*, the *Archivio Storico*, the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, and so on. Many of the documents which were examined are not mentioned in the following pages, because they added nothing new or appeared of dubious reliability. So the treatment of the dialects, such as it is, is most discouraging and probably there will never be an entirely satisfactory treatment. However, whatever may be the objections *in detail* to the conclusions as to the dialects and also as to the development in Italian, there seems to be no sufficient cause to doubt the general laws of development.

6. The objection may be made that chronology has not been strictly followed. My excuse, insufficient as it may seem to some, was the fear of further complicating an intricate subject by robbing it of the advantage of an occasional alphabetic arrangement. It is the writer's impression—an impression not capable of indubitable demonstration—that the early documents represent the Florentine dialect in the actual process of certain phonetic changes, which only later completed their development,—this appears to be the case in certain instances of vacillation between E and I.¹ In general, however, the state

¹6. Note 1. Parodi seems to hold the same view. In a discussion of the language of the *Frammenti di un libro di banchieri fiorentini*

of the initial unaccented vowel does not seem to have materially changed, phonetically, in Florence, since the beginning of literary times,—except, of course, the driving out of most of the Latin and dialectal forms, save in literary or foreign words. No living language probably changed less, phonetically, than Italian during the past six or seven centuries.

7. Perhaps it may be objected that I have not taken into account the difference between a completely unaccented vowel and that which is under the secondary stress. I had thought of the distinction, but the vowels under these two different conditions seemed to develop in the same way, with only a few possible exceptions. The distinction in development between the two forms Florentiæ > Firenze > Firenze and florentinu—> fiorentino is very clearly caused by the secondary accent. It is not so clear in the double forms (in the old language), desiderare and disiderare. One might assume theoretically that the forms in I are due to forms accented on the second syllable—disidero, disiderano, etc.—and that the forms in E are due to forms in which the first syllable had a secondary accent—desiderare, desiderio, etc. Yet this theory is quite impossible of proof and one may just as well sustain that the forms in E are all due to a process of dissimilation. And what is to be said of such forms as *del*, *nel*, etc., beside *il*? And of *mi*, beside *me ne* etc.? The vowel in all was originally accented: *del* < *dello* < *d* (e)—*éllu*—, *me ne* < *m'ene* < *m'enne* < *m'énde*, *te lo* < *t(e)*—*éllu*, and so forth. The explanation of secondary accent will not satisfy the form *il*, nor *mi*, *ti*, etc., either, in many cases of prosthetic use. Perhaps the explanation is that the development of E to I in Florence had ceased its operation before these forms with E had quite lost their accent or become monosyllabic; in that case, the form *il* apparently became monosyllabic and unaccented before the other forms did either. The theory of the cessation of the de-

(Giornale Storico, X, p. 182), after certain examples of occasional E beside the regular I, he says: "Esempî simili ci indurrebbero forse a credere che la tendenza del fiorentino ad i atono, per lo meno *interno*, non riuscisse ad assoggettarsi stabilmente tutto il materiale linguistico se non assai più tardi di quello che si crederebbe." Cf. also §7, note 1.

velopment of E to I seems plausible, when we remember forms like *metà, età, e'* reduced from *meità, etc.* (see §85) and not proceeding to *mità, etc.* The form *el* for *il* (see §37, note 7), found quite commonly in the old Florentine writers, might then be explained in either of two or three ways,—it might represent the last moment before passing to I, or it might have been perverted or delayed in its development by analogy of the dissyllabic forms *dello, etc.*¹

8. Concerning the development of $\bar{O} \bar{O} \bar{U}$, Professor Grandgent, in a personal note to the writer, states: "I think we must assume a popular tendency to u and a more cultivated to o, under all conditions, and perhaps all the differences not due to dialect, nor to bookish influence, may be explained in this way. However, the examples seem to show that *í* (and possibly unaccented *i* and palatal) favored u in Florence. As to $\bar{U} > u$, the development is evidently not uniform, although the majority of examples show u. One might cite R. Habert, in ZRPh XXXIV 147, but I don't think he is right." Parodi, also, in *Giorn. Stor.* X 182-3, says: "Si noti che il fiorentino dice *uliva, ufficio, non oliva, officio, e così mulino, frumento, ed ora anche ugni cosa, urecchio, pumpiere, scudella, ecc.*" The material is certainly very contradictory and perhaps my zeal to obtain as formal rules of development as possible carried me further than was wise.

$\bar{I} Y$ (long)

1. CLASSIC LATIN $\bar{I} Y$ (long) > VULGAR LATIN I > Italian I.¹

§7. Note 1. See §20, note 6. Parodi, l. c., pp. 187-8, says: "Io osserverò che è importante il veder già qui stabiliti il ed i; che nel fiorentino questa è regolare, nonostante ciò che dice il D'Ovidio (AG IX, 100), perché egli potrebb'esser bene in esso la forma originaria; che el inoltre, contro ciò che comunemente si crede, è frequentissimo nei testi fiorentini del secolo XIV e XV, dimodoché senza dubbio questa forma, che è quella che normalmente si attenderebbe da "ille," fu anche nei secoli anteriori ben viva. Tuttavia che i sia rifatto su il, ch'è poi un prodotto della tendenza italiana ad i atono, secondo la teoria del Diez, perfezionata dal Caix e dal D'Ovidio, vien confermato dal prevalere d'ìl, i (e di in-, anziché en-) anche nel più antico senese."

§1. Note 1. It was thought best not to group together the development of \bar{i} and *i*. As a matter of fact, although the results in Florence are regularly the same, the principal difference lies in the exceptions; the double forms from \bar{i} are rare, whereas from *i* they are very numerous,—see under §§3, seq.

—There are very few cases of clearly popular words, uninfluenced by allied forms wherein the accent is on the I and which would, therefore, tend to preserve the I, anyway. Furthermore, it is not possible, in many cases, to distinguish between popular and literary words, since in the latter the result was the same. In the following two groups of examples, both contain popular and literary words, but the second has only words under the influence of allied forms, accented on the I, or of analogous words,—these are suggested in the parentheses. Examples:—*first group*, città, civile, crivello, diverso, dividere, divino, ghirlanda (and illiterate grillanda), Italia, livello, militare, miracolo, principio, rivale, sipario, sirena, stipendio, vicino; *second group*, chinare (chino, etc.), cimiere (cima), dirò, etc. (dice, etc.), divertire (di— in composition,—see §§11 and 12), fiducia (fido), figliuolo (figlio), finire (fine), fissare (fisso, etc.), girare (giro, etc.), gridare (grido, etc.), inverno (in—in composition,—see §19), libertà (libero), limare (lima), livore (livido), mirare (miro, etc.), ridicolo (ridere), stridore (stridere), tirare (tiro, etc.), trillare (trillo, etc.), vibrare (vibro, etc.), viltà (vile), visitare (visito, etc.), vivace (vivere, etc.).

2. EXCEPTIONS.

(a) INFLUENCE OF R.—The development to E, instead to I, in the following exceptions seems due, at least in part, to the following R¹: gerfalco (obsolete for girfalco), from gyr(are)-falco (common Romance: cf. the French gerfaut); cersico²; meraviglia, a common Romance development from *mirabilia, for Classic mī-; serena, for sirena, from sirena, from σερήν, but here confusion with sereno and a tendency to vowel harmony would also be of influence; bergantino, for brigantino, from a base brīga; gherbello (usually crivello),³ from crībellu;

§2. Note 1. Cf. §§21, 22, 49.

2. According to Petrocchi, cersico still lives in the Montagna pistoiense.

3. Evidently distorted by some analogy. See Caix, Studi, No. 103. Crivello is perhaps semi-literary; the popular word is vaglio. There is also the form garbello.

ternità, a peasant word for trinità (confused with eternità or with terno)⁴.

(b) INFLUENCE OF LABIALS.—To preceding or following labial consonants are attributable the cases which follow: *dovizia*, *dovidere* (now obsolete), *scioverno*, a noun from *sciover-nare*, from *(e)xhibernare; *rubaldo*, probably through a form *robaldo*, with contamination of *rubare*⁵; *funire*, an Aretine form for *finire*⁶; Classic Latin *pīpilare*, a verb expressing the peeping of chickens, apparently developed > *pibilare* > *pivillare* > *pivolare* > *povolare* > *puvolare* > *püolare* > *pugolare*,—the forms *pigolare*, *pugolare*, *püolare* (Lucchese), *püül* (a peasant word), *püolare* (Pistoiese), *püolio* (peasant word), are found.⁷

(c) DOUBLE FORMS.—There are some exceptions to the rule, which are perhaps to be explained by the assumption that *Ī* was confused with *Ī̃* and developed under the same conditions (see §20 seq.); additional influences have had a bearing in some cases. Examples: *premizia* (Matt. Villani), for *primizia*; *cesoie*, for *cisoie*; *cesello*, for *cisello*⁸; *letigio*, *leticare*, *letigare*, etc., and *litigare*, etc.; *legnaggio* and *lignaggio*⁹. Two other exceptions have no I-forms; *se*, from *sī*, and *vendemmia*. In the last case the analogy of *vendere* and a tendency to vowel-assimilation might have had influence. *Pestellino* (illiterate), for *pistillino*, English *pistil*—unless it is a Vulgar Latin form

4. In the last three cases, there was probably no stage **birgantino*, **ghirbello*, **tirnità*, the passage being direct from *brigantino* to *bergantino* and similarly in *gherbello* and *ternità*.

5. This is M. -L.'s suggestion, although he assumes a different etymology, see M. -L., *Ital. Gram.*, §128. For the etymon, see *Zaccaria*, pp. 397-8.

6. Through a form *fenire*, -cf. Old French *fenir*. See Grandgent, *Introd. to V. L.*, §229 (4). Pieri, *AG XII* 114, mentions for Lucca *fonire* (and *fenire*; *funire* at Pisa), *promaio*, and *ciovile*.

7. For -*il*- to -*ol*-, cf. the development of *sufolare*, §2 (e).

8. *Cisoie* is the commoner form today and the dictionary of Tomm. e Bell. states that it is also a peasant form as well as *cisello*. M. -L. considers *cesello* vowel-assimilation (*Ital. Gram.*, §135), but Gröber (*ALL I* 546) demands a form in *i* for *cisoie* and a form in *E* (from *AE*) for *cesoie*. It is possible that both forms are from *CAE*-, whence *cisoie* for Florence, and *cesoie*, dialectic (see §37), although French *ciseaux* points to *i*.

9. M.-L. (*Ital. Gram.*, §123) says that *legnaggio* is not Tuscan; an analogy of *legno* seems possible. Pucci uses *linaggio* in his *Centiloquio*. For *se*, cf. Grandgent, *Introd. to V. L.*, §229 (4).

in *pì*—is perhaps merely a popular etymology from *pestare*,—that is, *pestellino* (“pestle”), so *pestellino*, because of its shape, for *pistil*.

(d) APHERESIS.—The following are aphetic forms: *vaccio*, from *vivaciu*¹⁰; *verno*, *vernare*, *vernino*, etc., from *hibernu*, etc.¹¹; *ritto*, *rizzare*, from *directu*, etc.; *Sidero* (13th and 14th centuries), for *Isidoro*¹².

(e) OTHER CASES.—Epenthesis occur in *flinguello*, *flun-guello* (*flinguello* and *fringuello* are also found), from *frin-gillu*-, with change of suffix; and syncope in *dritto*, *drizzare* (from *directu*-, etc.), and *gridare* (from **quiritare*). The extra syllable of *avaccio*, for *vaccio*, was apparently caused by a lingering memory of the original lost syllable (see §2 (d)) and *a* was chosen to replace it, either through analogy of words beginning *av-* or through analogy of adverbial expressions made with the preposition *a*¹³. *Virone*, for *airone*, *aghirone*, *ghirone* (from OHGerm. *heigir*) seems to be a plain derivative of *virare*¹⁴, =*girare*. Many converging forces are found in the development of *sibilare*, *sibillare*, *sufilare*, *sufolare*, *zufolare*, *zufolare*, *ciufolare*, *subillare*, *sobbillare*, etc.,—analogy of *suf-flare*, confusion with the prefix *sub-*, even without analogy to *sufflare*, the tendency of a vowel, especially *I*, to become *O* before *L* (cf. *nobole*, *angiolo*, *scandolo*, etc.¹⁵), whence, by assimilation, partial or complete, *O* or *U* in the initial syllable¹⁶. *Viburnu* gives *viburno* (learned), *riburno*¹⁷, and *vavorna*¹⁸. The common obsolete (?) use of *fornire* for *finire* is merely a

10. This apheresis is purely arbitrary, like *Maso*, for *Tommaso*, et sim.

11. The process was: *lo iverno* > *lo'verno*, cf. *OI* > *O*, § 85.

12. *Igoggi*, mod. peasant word, is apparently from *hic-hodie*; if so, *goggi* (*Montalesè*) is an aphetic form of the same,—see *Salvioni*, *ZRPh* XXII 472.

13. In this latter case, however, one would expect *avvaccio*, with two *v*'s.

14. Cf. English *veer*.

15. See M.-L., *Ital. Gram.*, §119.

16. For these words see *Ascoli*, *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* 427 (previously printed in *AG* X 1-17), *Bücheler*, *Rhein. Mus.* XLII 584 *Canello*, *AG* III 382, *Flechia*, *AG* III 154.

17. From *vivurno*, by dissimilation of *v-v* and confusion with the Italian prefix *ri-*.

18. Explanation? Cf. French *viorne*. See *Gröber*, *ALL* VI 142.

confusion of the meanings and forms of the two words. The following forms are dialectic: *melitare* (Livorno and Pistoia) for *militare*: *mecello* (Arezzo, "capezzolo della mammella"), according to Caix¹⁹, from a form **miccello*, "quasi piccola miccia o lucignolo", from *myxa*, *μῦξα*; *chinche* (and *chinchesia*, "chiunque," in Guittone, et al., and living in Aretine), where the unaccented I became accented by the contraction.²⁰

Ē Ĕ Ī AE OE Y (short)

3. CLASSIC LATIN Ē Ĕ Ī AE OE Y (short) > VULGAR LATIN E (closed or closing) > ITALIAN I, EXCEPT BEFORE R, IN WHICH CASE THE DEVELOPMENT WAS TO E.—This was the result in Florence¹, and although the I-development is difficult to prove in all cases, because of the insufficiency of uncontaminated documents, yet practically all the exceptions which show E are attributable in the modern language to learned influence and in the old language to the influence of Latin or of dialects, of which some very close to Florence gave E or I and others regularly E (see §37). It has seemed expedient to treat this complicated part of the subject as follows: The Prefix RE-, §§4-10; The Prefix DE-, §§11-15; The Prefix EX- and Words of Similar Form §§16-18; Other Words, §§19-20; Before R, §§21-24; Latin Bis, §25; Other Exceptions, §§26-36; Dialects, §37.

4. THE PREFIX RE.—The regular result was RI- before consonants and R—the E being elided—before vowels.

5. Examples of the development of RE- before consonants: *ribattere*, *riconoscere*, *ridurre*, *rifatto*, *rigettare*, *rilevare*, *rimanere*, *rinunziare*, *ripiegare*, *risapere*, *ritoccare*, *rivolgere*, etc., etc.

19. Studi, No. 410.

20. Cf. the development of IU-I, §85. Pieri, AG XII 145 gives *ragato* (at Pisa), for *rigato*, —a case of vowel assimilation. The other cases mentioned by Pieri (*ansegna*, *anvoglia*) are results of the agglutination of the A of the fem. article, —see §32. For *ancisa*, mentioned in this connection by Pieri, see §72.

§3. Note 1. For the dialects, see §37.

6. Exceptions to §5¹:

(a) In modern Italian. These are practically all literary words: some express ideas not known to the popular language, others have more popular forms or did have them in the old language.

reboante,	redattore,
recalcitrare, more usually ri-	redenzione,
recapitare, more common than ri-	redibizione, legal,
(still ri- seems the pop. form),	redigere,
recapitolazione, more usually ri-	redimere, riscattare is the pop.
recedere, lit., but ri- repeats ce-	word,
dere,	redire, poetic, cf. also forms ac-
recensione,	cented <i>riède</i> , etc.,
recente, but <i>Andrea Lancla ri-</i> ,	referire, pop. <i>ri-</i> ,
recesso, lit., but <i>ri-</i> in <i>Egnazio</i>	refezione, uncommon or jocular,
<i>Danti</i> ,	reflesso, more pop. <i>ri-</i> ,
recidere, <i>ri-</i> illit. and <i>ricidenda</i>	reflusso, illiterate <i>ri-</i> ,
in <i>Cellini</i> .	refocillare, more com. <i>ri-</i> ,
recidivivo, leg. and lit., cf. <i>rica-</i>	refrazione, more com. <i>ri-</i> ,
<i>dere</i> ,	refrenare, usually <i>raffrenare</i> ,
recingere, lit. for <i>ri-</i> ,	refrescare, usually <i>rinfrescare</i> ,
recipiente, <i>ri-</i> a peasant word,	refugiare, pop. <i>ri-</i> ,
reciproco,	regredire, literary,
reclamare, French? cf. <i>richia-</i>	reietto, lit. for <i>rigettato</i> ,
<i>mare</i> ,	relativo,
recluso, cf. <i>richiudere</i> ,	relegare, "to relegate" illit. <i>ri-</i> ,
recognizione, or <i>ri-</i> ,	religare, usually <i>ri-</i> ,
recondito, <i>ri-</i> , obsolete,	religione, but <i>ri-</i> frequent in Old
recrementizio, med. term,	Italian, <i>ri-</i> in Old <i>Siene</i> se and
recriminare, legal,	<i>rilegione</i> in <i>Guittone</i> ,
recrudescenza, med.,	reluttante, lit., more com. <i>ri-</i> ,
recubare,	remancipazione,
redarguire, but <i>ri-</i> in <i>Ariosto</i> ,	reminiscenza, not pop.,

§6. Note 1. The number of learned words in modern Italian showing *re-* is very large; the list contains only a few typical examples. The greater part of the remarks after the exceptions are *Petrocchi's* and they purpose to show that *ri-* is distinctly the phonetic development for Florence. For example, when *ridarguire* is mentioned as found in *Ariosto*, my implication is this: *redarguire* is decidedly a learned word, but even so a form with the regular development to *ri-* is found—for instance, in *Ariosto*—doubtless, investigation would show *ri-* in this word in other writers, by whom this rare and literary word has been used. Again, *refrescare* is purely literary and inasmuch as it expresses a more or less popular idea it has a popular form, *rinfrescare*. The same kind of implication holds for the exceptions under (b): the forms in *re-* are found scattered side by side with the forms in *ri-*; for example, we are likely to find *ri-* even in *Jacopone da Todi* and *re-* even in *Dino Compagni*; but this is exceptional. When *Jacopone* used *ri-*, it was pure Florentine; he regularly used *re-*, which was the regular form for his dialect as well as the Latin and literary form. Similarly, when *Compagni* uses *re-*, it is decidedly an exception and not a Florentine form, developed phonetically.

remissione, pop. rimessione,	resoluto, lit. for ri-
remontuâr, French remontoir,	respingere, but ri- repeats spin-
remove, pop. ri-	gere,
remunerare, more com. ri-	respirare, ri- in the Montagna,
renitente, legal,	restauro, cf. ristoro,
renunziare, usually ri-	restio, cf. resto, etc., and ri-
repellere, lit. and scient.,	obsolete,
repentaglio, ri- obsolete,	restituire, ri- obs.,
replicare, cf. forms accented rē-	restringere, ri- repeats stringere,
rèplica, etc., ri- a peasant	resultare, usually ri-
word, cf. ripiegare, different	resupino, lit., but ri- obs.,
sense,	resurgere, lit., cf. risorgere,
repulsa, usually ri-	retrarre, lit. for ri-
requisire, bureaucratic, illit. ri-	retribuire, the old language has
rescindere, more pop. risecare,	ri- and re-
resecare, and ri-, the former lit.,	retundere, rintuzzare is the pop.
the latter semi-pop.,	word,
resezione, surgical term,	revisione, but ri- obs.

REMARK.—The following are notable exceptions to the above: re- is the popular form. Perhaps these forms are an attempt to imitate the learned. The words do not contain especially popular ideas or the ideas are usually expressed by other words.

recusare, illit. for ri-	repugnanza, pop. for ri-
recuperare, pop. for ri-	resuscitare, more pop. than ri-
repetere, illit. for ri-	and is a peasant word and
repressione, pop. for ri-	living in the Montagna,
repudiare, pop. for ri-	retentiva, illit. for ritenitiva.

(b) In Old Italian. The following are a few of the many old words in re-; many of them were also used by Florentines, but apparently by learned or dialectic interference.

rebutto (G. Giudice di Messina, 13th cent.), = "ributtamento",	redamare (Castiglione), but ri- (Jacopone),
recagnare (Sannazaro), = "rin-cagnare",	refuggio, (G. Villani),
recappare (Sacchetti), but ricappare (Cavalcanti),	refutaggio (D. Compagni), for rifiuto,
recatto (G. Giudice et al.), for ricatto,	remirare (Boiardo), for ri-
receperē (Jacopone), for ricevere,	remuggire (Ariosto), for ri-
recevire (Ristoro d'Arezzo), for ricevere,	remuno (Sacchetti), for rimunerazione,
recherere (Guittone), for richiedere,	repatriare (Doc. Art. Sen.), for ri-
recolere (Sannazaro),	repennare (Guittone), for ri-
	repensare (Boccaccio), for ri-
	reporre (Bembo), for ri-
	reprobare (Jacopone), for riprovare.

7. Examples of the development of RE- before vowels.

There are no cases of modern words except before *a* and *i*: *radoppiare*, *radunare*, *rammentare*, *rammaricarsi*, *rannuolare*, *rassegna*, *rincreocere*, *ringraziare*¹. In the older language we find also cases like *riepilogare* (for *riepilogare*), *risaminare* (for *riesaminare*), *riempire* (for *riempire*): cf. also *riscire* (Lucca, for *riuscire*).

8. Exceptions to §7:

(a) In modern Italian: *reagire*, *reintegrare*, *reiterare*, and a few others,—all literary words. There are no forms in *re-o* or *re-u*.

(b) In Old Italian: *realdire* (Bembo, for *riudire*), *reedificare* (G. Villani), *reinvitare* (Castiglione), and a few others,—none in *re-o* or *re-u*. These are mostly literary, partly perhaps dialectic.

9. The cases of modern words beginning with *ri*-vowel are very numerous: *riamare*, *rianimare*, *riarmare*, *riedificare*, *rientrare*, *riornare*, *riunire*, etc. These are all new compounds with the Italian prefix *ri*-.

10. A special development of the prefix *RE* occurs in Arezzo, Siena, and elsewhere. Apparently by a kind of vocalization of the *R*, there developed *ar*- and *ara*-,—for example *replacere* > *repiacere* > *r'piacere* > *arpiacere* or *arapiacere*. So we find *arpiacere*, *arcacciare*, *aravere* (for *riavere*), *archiedere*, *argire* (=“*ritornare*,” for *rigire*), *arescire* (for *riuscire*), *arentrare* (for *rientrare*), *arcoverare*, *arcomperare*, *arcomensare* (for *ricominciare*), *arvolere*, *arversare*, *artrovare*, *artogliere*, *arsagliare* (for *risalire*), *arquisizione*, *arprendere*, *arnunziare*, *arminare* (for *rimenare*), *armettere*, *armagnenza* (for *rimanenza*), *armanere*, *arliquia* (for *reliquia*), *aramortire* (for *ammortire*, for *ammorzare*), *arenunziare*, *aribellare*, *arvenuto* (=“*divenuto*,” for *rivenuto*). *Arnione* (cf. French

§7. Note 1. Examples of words in the modern language with the prefix from *RE-AD* are legion. In many cases they are more or less modern compounds. It is to be noted, too, that the prefix has in many cases lost its force and to express repetition a form in *ri*- is likely to be used. Compare *radunare*, “più generico che *adunare*”, *rasciugare*, “*rinforza asciugare*”, *rabballinare* = “*abballinare*”, *rammannare*, “*rinforza ammannare*”, *racquattarsi*, literary for “*acquattarsi*”, *raccozzare*, = “*accozzare*”, *raccostare*, = “*accostare* o *riaccostare*”, *raccosciare*, literary for “*accosciarsi*”, *raccontare*, *raccomandare*, *raccogliere*, etc., etc. Cf. in French *rassembler*, *ramasser*, *rencontrer*, etc.

rognon) from *renione-, occurs in Nicolò Forteguerra and Bracciolini, both of Pistoia¹.

11. THE PREFIX DE-.—The development is similar to that of RE-, but the prefix was by no means so common or so popular¹: DI before consonants, D—E being elided—before vowels.

12. Examples of the development of DE- before consonants, words of the old language and of the modern: (the preposition di,) dicatti, dichiarare, difendere, digiuno, digrignare, digrumare, dileguare, dilettere, dilombarsi, diluviare, dimandare, dimenare, dimenticare, dimorare, dinoccolato, dirazzare, diretto, discendere, disegno, disertare, dispetto, divenire, etc.

13. Exceptions:

(a) In modern Italian,—all more or less literary:

debellare, literary,	Pucci and living in the mountains),
decadere (dicadimento in G. Villani),	denegare, not com. for negare (di- in G. Villani, Varchi, Berni, Guicciardini, cf. diniego, mod., for rifiuto).
decapitare (di- in G. Villani).	deporre (di- in Boccaccio, Dante, Varchi, G. Villani, Sannazaro),
decidere,	deposito (di- in G. Villani),
declamare,	depravare, not pop. (di- in Cavalcanti),
declinare (dichinare in Dante, Bibbiena, G. Villani, Sacchetti, Pucci),	deputare, not pop. (di- in Boccaccio, G. Villani, Bibbiena, living in the Montagna),
decollare, literary (di- in G. Villani, dicollazione in M. Villani),	deridere (di- in Boccaccio),
decremento (dicescenza in Cellini),	derivare (di- in Bembo, Passavanti, Varchi, G. Villani),
decretare (dicreto in G. Villani, M. Villani, Passavanti),	derubare (dirobare in Guittone, dirubare in Dante),
deferire, not pop., usually differire (from dis-; diferire in Cavalcanti),	descrivere (di- Boccaccio, Passavanti),
deficiente, not very pop.,	desistere, not pop.,
deformare, more com. sformare (di- Jacopone),	destituire,
defraudare (di- living in the mountains),	determinare (di- in Dante, G. Giudice, Varchi, Boccaccio),
degradare (di- is used for the literal meaning, and di- in Dante and M. Villani),	detrarre, not pop. (di- G. Villani, Pucci),
deliberare (de- and di- in the old language with di- more favored),	devoto, divoto is the popular form.
delitto (also in Dante, di- in	

§10. Note 1. See M.-L., Gram. d. L. R., I, §367. Ascoli, A. G., II, p. 447, gives examples of re- > ar- in Aretine territory; for this phenomenon, cf. also Gascon.

§11. Note 1. Dis- was the popular prefix, often reduced to s-. See §17 and Grandgent's *Introd. to Vulgar Latin*, §25.

(b) In the old language,—mostly by literary influence:

debaccare (from Latin debacchari),	deradicare (di- Boccaccio, Bibbiena, Dittamondo),
decervellare (di- mod. and dispopular),	derupare (mod. di- and Cavalcanti, G. Giudice, M. Villani, Guicciardini),
declarare (mod. dichiarare),	descendere (living in the mountains, mod. di-, usually scendere; di- Ariosto, Guicciardini, and the Montagna pistoiese),
deguastare (di- in Jacopone and Pucci),	deservire (in the Boezio; di- in G. Villani, Bocc., Berni, Sacchetti),
delettare (Cavalcanti, Jacopone, Bibbiena, Guittone, Folgore da S. Gimignano, Vasari; but di- mod. and in Jacopone, Dante, G. Villani, Boccaccio,	desiderare (also mod. and living in the Montagna pistoiese, di- Bocc., Dante, Varchi, Petrarca, Cavalcanti, living in the mountains),
G. Giudice, Andrea Lancia, Guittone),	desperanza (mod. di- and in G. Giudice, the Dittamondo, Bibbiena, G. Villani, Cellini, Cavalcanti, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Varchi, et al.),
delimare (Sacchetti, di- in the Dittamondo),	desponsare (disposare mod. and Dante, M. Villani, Bibbiena, Cavalcanti, et al.),
demembrare (di- mod. and G. Giudice, Cavalcanti, G. Villani; mod. more commonly smembrare),	destillare (mod. di-),
departire (Guittone; mod. di- but not com.; di- in Guittone, G. Giudice, Bibbiena, Dante),	deverginare,
dependente (mod. di- and in Cellini),	devorare (mod. di- and Jacopone, Pucci, et al.) ¹ .
depodestare (dipot- in Pucci),	
depopolare (di- M. Villani, Bibbiena; mod. spop-),	

14. Examples of the development of DE-vowel: da (DE-AD), dello (D(E)-ILLUM)¹, dinanzi, donde, dove².

§13. Note 1. Under the exceptions given in §13, as well as those given in §6 and elsewhere, the investigator's effort has been to set the material before the reader as it appears. For that reason, out of a large number of exceptions, all of which could not and needed not be mentioned, he chose typical examples. The provenance of some of the exceptions, in the old language was, unfortunately, not always accessible. Furthermore, everyone knows the unreliability of most of the old texts. Yet the general deductions seem to be as before stated; first, the development for Florence and hence for the modern language was I; secondly, practically all the exceptions in modern Italian are plainly learned; thirdly, the numerous double forms in the old language all seem attributable to learned or dialectal influence with a very strong preponderance, besides, in favor of I. When Boccaccio uses *seculo* and *sicuro* on the same page, with *sicuro* he uses Florentine and with *seculo* he is confused by the frequency with which he has heard *seculo* among his acquaintances who do not speak Florentine and by the Latin which he has studied and which was ever present with him in a hundred daily connections.

§14. Note 1. For the E in *del*, see §20, note 6, and the Introduction, §7.

2. For E in hiatus, cf. also Napoli (Neapolis).

15. Exceptions to §14: dealbare, deambulare, deargentare, dearticolato, deaurare (cf. dorare), deiscere, deonestare, destruento,—all literary and all obsolete except the last, a medical term.

16. THE PREFIX EX-, E-, WORDS BEGINNING WITH S-IMPURA, ES-, IS-, et sim. The prefix E- before any consonant except S gives only E-, never I-, for the reason that all such words are literary: editore, educare, egestione (“literary”¹), egregio, egresso (“pedantic word for uscita”), elongare (=“dilungare”), elucidare, emanare (“not popular”) emettere (“not popular”) emigrare, eminente (“not popular”), enorme, enunciare (“literary”), erigere, erizzare (“obsolete for rizzare”), erogare (“not popular”), erompere (“literary”), enutrire (“=nutrire”), evaginare (=“sguainare”), evanire (=“svanire”), evaporare (“more com. svaporare”), evellere (“svellere”), evento (“not popular”), evidente, eviscerare (=“sviscerare”), evitare (“usually scansare, schivare”), evizione (“a legal term”), evocare (“not popular”), evoluzione (“not popular”) evomente (=“vomitante”), etc.

17. In connection with an S, however, the case is different. S-impura in Vulgar Latin acquired a prosthetic I (or E), whence IS- (or ES-); and EX-, or E- before S-, produced IS- (or ES-); furthermore, words commencing with ES-, IS-, AES-, OES-, HES-, et similia, all produced IS- (or ES-), and by confusion of the meaning and form of DIS- (misunderstood for di-s- (DE-EX-), BIS-, we have an immense group of words, which in Vulgar Latin began with IS- (or ES-) and which in Italian eventually began with s-consonant, by loss of the initial I- (or E-). This S, therefore, is of various sources, sometimes a resultant of several forces¹. In all these cases the old language had usually s- (occasionally is-, and dialectic or literary

§16. Note 1. The remarks are Petrocchi's.

§17. Note 1. Cf. strattare, bistrattare, = “maltrattare”, but the source of the s- of strattare, is DIS-, BIS-, EX-, melted into Italian S-. So this Italian prefix has several meanings: negative (sballare, = “contrario d' imballare”), intensive or pejorative (sbeffa, = “rinforza beffa”), sometimes both (sbarrare, 1. = “impedire (con sbarra)”, 2. = “spalancare (gli occhi)”; sbandire, 1. = “rinforza bandire”, 2. = “contrario di bandire”), etc. See M.-L., *Italianische Gram.*, §144.

es-) and the modern has only s- or by learned influence es-, except a few cases from INS-, like iscrizione, isolare, ispettore, ispirare, istante, istigare, istinto, istituire, strumento (but normally strumento), istruzione. These last, with their derivatives and half a dozen words like Islamismo, Israele, isogono, are the only words now commencing with is- and the obsolete words are rare².

18. A few cases of this numerous group will be sufficient to exemplify:

(a) CASES OF RESULTANT ES-, E.—Of these, those which are still in use are purely literary and those which are obsolete are mostly literary and partly perhaps dialectic: *ebollire*, *eccellente*, *eccentrico*, *eccezione*, *eccidio*, *eccitare*, *elaborare*, *elargire*, *elegante*, *eleggere*, *elevare*, *elidere*, *emenda*, *emungere*, *enuciare*, *enunciare*, *erompere*, *esatto*, *eschiudere* (but *schiuudere* is the modern form) *escludere*, *esclamare* (but *scclamare*, popular modern), *esempio*, *espegnere* (obsolete for *spengere*), *esperienza* (but *sperienza* is illiterate modern), *espiare*, *espirare*, *esplicare* (cf. *spiegare*), *esplodere*, *esploratore* (*sploratore* is a more popular modern form), *espressione* (but *spresso*, illiterate for *espresso*), *esprofesso*, *esteriore*, *estrarre* (but *strarre*, modern illiterate), *evitare*. If these words are not strictly and admittedly learned (including *esempio*) certainly the E is due to the influence of those who were acquainted with Latin and felt the necessity and correctness of E, not I, and their influence prevailed over the less educated.

(b) CASES OF RESULTANT S.—*sbadare*, *sbadigliare*, *sbagliare*, *sbalordire*, *sbatacchiare*, *sbatte*, *scomodare*, *sdraiare*, *sfaccendare*, *sgranare*, *sgretolare*, *sgusciare*, *slattare*, *smammolarsi*, *spavento*, *spedire*, *squasi* (for *quasi*, a peasant word)¹.

2. Except also the survival occasionally of i before s-impura, after certain consonants, as in *iscuola*, etc.,—but these cases are now few and considered pedantic, although many are thoroughly popular in Tuscany.

§18. Note 1. Also found at Pisa,—see Pieri, AG XII. 153.

(c) CASES OF DOUBLETS.—The regular form in *s-* is placed first, whether obsolete or modern:

schermidore, modern,	eschermidore, in Cavalcanti;
schifare and schivare, modern,	eschifare, in S. Caterina;
scialare, modern popular,	esalare, modern literary;
sciame, modern,	esciame, obsolete;
sciugare, illiterate,	asciugare, mod. (prefix confusion);
sciutto, in Jacopone and living among the peasants and at Siena,	asciutto; modern;
scluso, mod. illit.,	escluso, mod. lit.;
scremento, mod. illit.,	escremento, mod. literary;
scrizione, mod. illit.,	iscrizione, mod.;
scrudere, mod. peasant,	escludere, mod. literary;
spansivo, obsolete,	espansivo, mod. literary;
specialmente, mod.,	espezialmente, obsolete;
sponere, illit., sporre, pop.,	esporre, semi-literary;
spotico, pop. "padrone spotico",	despotico, dispotico, mod.;
sprete, peasant,	ex-prete;
spugnare, obsolete,	espugnare, mod.;
stanza, 14th century,	istanza, mod.;
state, pop. (and sta),	estate, mod.;
stigare, 13th-16th centuries,	istigare, mod.;
stimare, mod.,	estimare, mod., not popular;
stituire, illit. and peasant,	istituire, mod.;
stituzione, illit. and 14th cent.,	istituzione, mod.;
straneo, Cavalcanti,	estraneo, mod. lit.;
straordinario, mod.,	extraordinario, obsolete;
stravagante, mod.,	estravagante, obsolete;
stremamente, popular,	estremamente, mod.;
stribuire, 14th century,	distribuire, mod.;
strigare, mod.,	estricare, obsolete;
strione, obsolete,	istrione (from HISTRIONE-);
struire, illit.,	istruire, mod.;
struzione, 13th and 14th centuries,	distruzione, mod. ²

The examples, listed in the three classes above, seem to indicate the development of all these forms to *I*. This development was thwarted in two ways: first, the regularly tendency to drop the *I*², and secondly, the learned (and occasionally dialectic) tendency towards *E*.

19. OTHER WORDS.—The development is to *I*, as usual. Examples: *cicala*, *disagio*, *discorrere*, *disdire*, *disfare*, *dispiacere*,

2. *Escaiolo*, etc., preserve the *E* by analogy with *esca*; *escire*, *escita*, "more popular than *uscire*, etc.", by *esco*, *esci*, etc.—cf. *scire* (13th century).

3. Of course, the reasons for this dropping are very simple: elision of the weak *I* after a word ending with a vowel would explain most cases,—*lo istesso lo 'stesso*. In this particular case, *l'istesso* happens to be still fairly common, beside *lo stesso*. Cf. §85.

disturbare, ginestra, ginocchio, il, the preposition in, in- in compounds (inciampicare, indietro, insieme, intanto, etc.), mi, misura, nipote, prigione, si, ti, etc.

20. Exceptions:

(a) Words influenced by allied forms, in which the accent is on the first syllable. Such exceptions are exceedingly numerous, especially in verbs and in words with any of the many Italian suffixes,—for example, *pedaggio*, *pedagna*, *pedagnola*, *pedale*, *pedaleggiare*, *pedaliera*, *pedana*, *pedata*, *pedina*, *pedona*, etc., etc., influenced by *pede*,—and *pedaccio*, etc., where even the diphthong intrudes itself into the initial syllable. This kind of analogy is rarely counteracted by the regular development, although there are quite a number of cases where the regular form appears in the old language sporadically or dialectally (cf. under (c.)). In the doublet *gittare* and *gettare* (<*jectare), both the regular and the analogical forms have survived¹. Learned influence may also have had some bearing in several cases:

bellezza, *bellimbusto*, etc (*bello*)²: *benandare*, *benedire*, *benché* etc. (*bene*); *dendare* (*benda*); *beone*, *bevanda*, *bevacqua*, *beveraggio* (*bevere*, *bere*); *ciechezza*, etc. (*cieco*); *creare* (*creo*, etc.: *criare* in Dante, Cavalcanti, Petrarca, Pucci, et al. and living among the peasants); *diecina* (*dieci*; but cf. *diciannove*); *dentale*, etc. (*dente*); *destare* (*desto*, etc.); *deschetto annove*); *dentale*, etc. (*dente*); *destare* (*desto*, etc.); *deschetto* (*desco*); *destrezza* (*destro*); *dettare* (*detto*, etc.); *densità* (*denso*); *empire* (*émpio*, *émpiere*, etc.); *entrare*, etc. (*entro*, etc.); *embriciata* (*embrace*); *fremente* (*fremere*); *fedele*, etc. (*fede*); *freschezza* (*fresco*); *fiatile*; *fievolezza*; *fregare*; *frenare*; *gentile* (*gente*, or compare note 7 to this §); *gesticolare* (*gesto*); *legame* (*lego*, etc., learned; cf. *liama* in Dante da Maiano, *lianza* in M. Villani); *melappio* (*mela*); *melassa* (*mele*, *miele*; see D'Ovidio, Rom. XXV 302); *mentecatto*

§20. Note 1. Here, too, however, the analogical form has about driven out the regular, and Petrocchi brands *gittare* as literary,—that is, the word has followed the example of most similar words by assuming the analogical form entirely and *gittare* is assuming a smack of the antique and literary.

2. Cf. the regular form *biltà* in the old language.

(mente); *mestura* (pop. for *mistura*; *mestolo*, *mescolo*, etc.); *mietitore* (*mietere*); *mescuglio* (*mescolo*, etc.); *menzogna* (*mento*, *menti*, etc., now *mentisco*, etc.); *mentovare* (*mèntovo*, etc.); *mendicante* (*méndico*, *méndichi*, etc.; the substantive is accented *méndico*); *messaggio* (*messo*); *megliore* (*meglio*; cf. *migliore*, the commoner form to-day); *pensiero* (*penso*, etc.); *peperone* (*pepe*); *peggiore* (*peggio*; *piggior* frequent in Old Italian); *pettecolo* (*petto*; derivation?); *prezioso* (*prezzo*); *preghiera* (*prego*, etc.); *pelacchiare* (*pelo*); *pendio* (*pendere*); *reticolare* (*rete*); *seguire* (*seguo*, etc.)³; *sceverare* (*scévero*, etc.); *selvaggio* (*selva*); *senese* (*Siena*); *settimana* (*sette*); *sentire*, *sentimento* (*sentito*, etc.); *sessanta* (*sei*); *sepale* (*siepe*); *stendardo* (*stendere*); *tenaglia* (*tengo*, etc.; the usual word is *tanaglia*,—vowel assimilation, see §26); *tenere* (*tengo*, etc.); *tendenza* (*tendere*); *tempesta*, *temporale* (*tempo*); *tremolare*, *tremendo* (*tremolo*, *tremo*, etc.); *veleggiare* (*vela*); *venturo* (*vengo*, etc.); *vestito* (*vesto*, etc.); *ventaglio*, *ventarola* (*vento*); *vezzeffiare* (*vezzo*); *vendetta* (*véndico*, etc.); etc.

(b) Learned words⁴. These are very numerous, some readily observed and incontrovertibly learned in the old language or in the modern, others not quite so discernible. Of the former, only a few typical examples are mentioned: *betonica*, *cemento*⁵, *decente*, *edace*, *elastico*, *festino* (from Classic Latin *festinus*), *genuino*, *lepore*, *mediocre*, *nefando*, *penuria*, *sedurre*, *temulento*, *zedoario*, etc., etc. The following are probably all learned to a greater or less degree; in some cases, other perverting factors, such as vowel assimilation, may have assisted in preserving the irregular form. In a great many cases, forms in *I* existed sporadically. In regard to some of the words, a comparison of the same word in French, where learned words

3. Pucci uses *siguire*. Many of these cases would be aided in their perversion by other causes.

4. Learned words follow the foreign spelling to a greater or less extent; normally *e*, *ae*, *oe*, are spelled *e*, *i* and *y*, *i*: *delitto*, *economia*, *edificare*, *fenomeno*, *meffico*, *respiro*, *idea*, *idillio*, *immenso*, *minuto*. The literary state of the *i*-forms can be discerned only by their use; these are of no importance to the present investigation.

5. English cement; even here a form in *ci* is used among the peasants.

are more recognizable, will show a learned or semi-learned development in that language.⁶

benigno (also <i>benegno</i> , obsolete; bene may have had some influence, also) ⁷ ,	metallo (cf. French <i>métal</i>)
crepuscolo,	melancholia (the more pop. form is <i>mal- or man-</i>),
decembre (cf. Fr. <i>décembre</i>),	necessario (cf. French <i>nécessaire</i> , <i>nicistà</i> in Pucci and com. in old language)
epitaf(f)io (illit. <i>pitaffio</i>),	neghittoso (semi-lit., cf. <i>snight- tire</i> , obs. for <i>sneghittire</i>),
eterno,	negletto,
eziandio,	negozio,
febbraio (cf. French <i>février</i>),	penisola,
felice (semi-learned; <i>filice</i> in G. Villani and living in some neighboring dialects),	petecchia,
felino,	petulante,
frequentare,	pre- (cf. French <i>pré-</i>),
geloso (semi-learned),	precedere (<i>precipitare</i> , <i>preciso</i> , <i>preludio</i> , <i>preoccupare</i> , <i>preparare</i> , <i>preporre</i> , <i>presente</i> , <i>preservare</i> , <i>presumere</i> , <i>pretendere</i> , <i>prevedere</i> , etc.),
gemello,	scellerato (cf. French <i>scélérat</i>),
generale and	secondo (<i>si-</i> in 13, 14th centuries, and living in the mountains and in Sienese; <i>sigondo</i> is used by the peasants),
generoso (besides analogy of <i>gènere</i>),	segreto (lit. and illit., <i>sigreto</i> is illit. and peasant; <i>segreto</i> is the usual form),
leale (semi-learned, <i>liale</i> in the old language),	secolo (lit. and illit.; <i>siguro</i> in use among the peasants; <i>sicuro</i> is the usual form) ⁸ ,
legale (besides influence of <i>legge</i>),	severo (<i>si-</i> in the <i>Valdichiana</i>),
leggiadro (and influence of <i>leg- giero</i> , see §26),	spelunca (<i>spi-</i> in Fr. da <i>Barbe- rino</i> and living at Siena),
legittimo (<i>li-</i> in Bocc.),	spettacolo,
legume (cf. French <i>légume</i>),	teatro,
levriere (borrowed from French? <i>li-</i> also found, obsolete),	tegame,
lezione (besides influence of <i>leg- gere</i>),	tenzone (<i>tincionare</i> is a peasant word in Pananti),
medaglia,	
memoria (cf. French <i>mémoire</i>),	
meschino (borrowed from French),	
mestiere (borrowed from French),	

6. It seems that the development to I must have ceased long ago, at least newly-formed words, or those which became unaccented rather late, do not appear to follow the rule; cf. (*il*, but) *del* (*d'ellu*), *nel* (*in ellu*), *mel* (*m'ellu*), *sen* (*s'ende*),—so *età*, *metà*, *que'*, *e'* etc. Yet, besides *il*, there is the illit. form *qui'* for *quel* ("qui' cosa"). See §85 and note 5 to same and Introduction, §7.

7. Certain words suggest a tendency to a development to E when the next syllable contains accented I: *bellico*, *benigno*, *destino*, *felice*, *gengiva* (but *gin-* illit. and peasant), *gentile*, *genia*, *lentschio*, *meschino*, *nemico* (vowel dissimilation? *ni-* very common especially among the old Florentine writers), *quesire*, *redicolo* (pop. and illit. for *ri-*), *sentina*, *Tesifone* (Dante, *Inf.* IX 48), *trestizia* (obsolete), *veglia* (illit.), *vescica*. *Delizia*, *fenice*, *penisola*, *veicolo*, *vestibolo*, *vestigio*, are probably all literary and therefore not to be quoted in this connection.

8. On *segreto* and *secolo* being illit. forms, cf. §6 (a), Remark.

tesoro,
veemente,
vegetabile,
veicolo,
veloce,
vescica,

vespertilio,
vestigio,
veterano,
vettovaglia,
vettura.

(c) Double forms.—A few only of many are given, with the intention that they may help to show the development. They largely belong to the old language; the modern has usually adopted one form or the other. In any case the *i*-form is the regular one and the *e*-form is a learned or dialectic intrusion. In some cases both are more or less learned.

beato (mod.), biato (Tancia)*;	gnato (mod.);
betulla (mod. lit.), cf. bidollo;	encendere (Cavalcanti, plainly
(ac)cecare, cicare (obs. ⁹);	dialectic), incendiare (mod.);
ceciglia (annal. of cieco), cicig-	enfertà (Guittone), infermità
lia (both mod.);	(mod.);
celendrare (Band. ant. lucch.),	enganno (Bindo Bonichi of Si-
ci- (mod.);	ena, Guittone), in- (mod.);
celeste (mod.), cilestro (Dante,	fenice, fi- (S. Ag.);
Bocc., Poliz., G. Vill.);	fedele, fi- (Bembo, G. Giudice, Ja-
celice (Guittone), cilizio (mod.);	copone);
cemeterio (mod.), cimi- (Bartoli);	felice, fi- (G. Villani et al.);
cetriolo (mod., anal. of cedro?),	festuca (mod. lit.), fistuga (Sac-
ci- (Redi, Forteguerra, Ala-	chetti);
manni);	geometria, giometrica (obs.), giu-
Crèolo (mod.), criòlio (Maga-	metria (Pucci);
lotti);	Gregorio, San Gri- (Fiore di Fi-
debilitare, di- (Bembo);	losofi, D'Ancona e Bacci's
decembre, di- (both mod.) ¹¹ ;	Manuale, I ^o 142);
dénaro (but da- is preferred), di-	eguale, i- (Bocc., Dante, Centilo-
(obs);	quoio, Tesoretto);
despotico, dispotico (both mod.	leatico (illit.), li- (peasant; both
dis- preferred);	aphetic);
destino, di- (Enzo Re);	legione, li- (obs.);
emprenato (Jacopone ¹²), impre-	lemosina, li- (both mod.; li- pre-

9. For *E* in hiatus > *I*, cf. *criare*, now *creare* by influence of *creo*, etc., *liale* for *leale*, *liama* for *legame*,—all obs.

10. Petrocchi does not always give the exact provenance.

11. In the *Ricordi di Matasala di Spinello senese* (1233-1243; see *Monaci* p. 36 seq.), the influence of learning seems quite well exemplified. This is a Siennese document, at which city the development was *E* or *I* (see § 37), but is interesting as collateral testimony. This document begins: "Anno Domini .M.CC.XXXIII. in kalen decembre. cheste sono le sspese fatte del mese di dicenbre." *Decembre* is semi-Latin in a Latin expression, *dicenbre* is among the Italian words. In line 132, similarly, the writer says: "Anno Domini .M.CC.XXXVIII. in kalendis genuari" . . . *Genuari*, semi-Latin with the Latin expression, whereas elsewhere he uses *genuajo* (lines 21, 82, 102, 141).

12. *Jacopone da Todi* also uses *empromettere*, *enante*, *enfrenato*, *ensemora*, *entanno* (*intanto*), *entenza*, *lenguajo*. *Folgore da S Gimignano* uses *empergolato*, *emperiato* (*impero*), *enibriarsi*. Cf. § 37.

- ferred), rimosina (Centilo-
quio; all aphetic);
lentiggine, lin- (obs.);
leone, li- (illit. and Andrea da
Barb., G. Vill., Dante, Maga-
lotti);
leopardo, li- (illit. and Andrea da
Barb.);
letame, li- (obs.);
letteratura, lit- (Camm.; liter-
ary in any case);
Melano (Dante), Milano;
menestrello (mod. lit.), mi-
(Tratt. Pecc. Mort.);
menore (obs.), mi- (mod.);
mescolanza (mod. anal. of mes-
colo, etc.), miscianza (G. Vil-
lani);
mesenterio (mod. medical), mi-
(Rucellai);
mesfatto (Guittone), mis- (mod.);
messere, mi- (Siena and obs.);
meslea (from French, Old Sien-
ese), mis- (Ciriff. et al.);
mestiere, mi- (Compagni, Centil,
living in the mountains);
nepote (mod. illit.), ni- (usual
mod. form, Cavalcanti et al.);
nessuno (mod. influence of né,
Pecorone et al.), ni- (mod.
illit.);
pe' (prep. mod. illit. for per), pi'
(illit. and peasant word);
pellicciato (influence of pelle,
mod.), pi- (Fr. Giord. et al.);
pesello (Alamanni), pi- (mod.);
pestilenza (mod.), pistilenz(i)a
(G. Villani, Caval., Bocc.,
Varchi, living in the moun-
tains);
petizione (mod.), pi- (Caval. et
al.);
pettiroso, pi- (peasant and mod.
Pistoiese);
pregione (obs.), pri- (mod.);
quesito, qui- (both mod., the lat-
ter illit.);
questionare, qui- (both mod., qui-
more pop. and in Bocc.);
registro (mod.), ligistro (obs.);
repente, ripentino (obs.);
resia¹³ (illit.), risiarche (Chiosaf.
Dante; both aphetic);
resipola, ri- (both mod., ri- pre-
ferred);
retaggio (mod. lit. poet.), ri-
(obs.);
rettorica, ritorica (G. Vill.);
sedere, si- (Dante);
seguire, si- (Pucci);
sempatia (illit., and peasant),
sim- (mod.);
seniscalco (obs.), siniscalco
(mod.), siscalco (Barb.);
smemorato, (mod.), smi- (obs.);
sneghittire, sni- (obs.);
spessezza, spissitudine (obs.);
tenore, ti- (Tav. Rit.);
tepore, ti- (16th century), tie-
(obs.);
trebuto (obs., but living in the
mountains), tri- (mod.);
trebuno (13th century), tri- (old
and mod.);
trefoglio (obs.), tri- (old and
mod.), tra- (peasant, by con-
fusion with the preposition
tra);
vedovile, vi- (obs.);
veneziano, vini- (13th-16th cen-
turies);
Venezia, Vinegia (Pucci et al.);
vestire (by anal. of vesto, etc.),
vistita (Maestro Francesco¹⁴);
zenzania (14th century), zin- (14th
century and peasant), zizzania,
ζιζάνια.

21. BEFORE R.—The usual development is to E.

22. EXAMPLES:

(a) bergamotta, berillo, berretta, bersaglio, bertuello (and bertabello; <vertevellu-), cerfoglio, cerimonia, cerretano, cer-vello, derrata, ferragosto (<fesiae> feriae augusti), ghermi-

13. Resia, resipola, retaggio, are also aphetic forms.

14. A Florentine, see Monaci, p. 309.

nella, gherone,¹ meraviglia (<*mīrabilia, Classic mīrabilia), mercoledì, merenda, meriggio, merluzzo,² the preposition *per*, derivatives of *PER-* in composition (never>pir-; *percuotere*, *perdonare*, etc.), *pericolo* (and *periglio*), *pernice*, *perugio*, *sereno*, *smeriglio*,³ *terebentina*, *terrore*, *vergogna*, *vermiglio*, *verricello*, *verrocchio* (cf. French *verrou*), *verruca*, *veruno*, *bertoldo* (German *Berthold*), *ferraiolo*.

(b) learned words: *eresia*, *eroe*, *gerarchia*, *geroglifico*, *meretrice*, *merore*, *persona*, *sermone*, *verdetto*, *verecondo*, *veronica*, etc., etc.

(c) Words possibly influenced by allied forms: *bergolare* (*bergolo*; <verbulare⁴), *chericale* (*cherico*), *ericare* (*erpice*), *germoglio* (*germe*), *mercante*, *mercato* (*merce*), *merletto* (*merlo*), *terreno* (*terra*), *verace* (*vero*), *verdura* (*verde*), *verità* (*vero*), etc.

23. EXCEPTIONS.—The exceptions which show I before R may, like the examples, be divided into three groups. For convenience, they will be treated in the following order: (a) literary words, (b) words influenced by allied or similar words, (c) other exceptions.

(a) Literary words: *bireme*, *birostrato* (<bi+rostrum), *circasse* (<Ī or Ī? from the French), *circolare* et sim. (besides analogy of *circolo*, *circa*), *circondare*, et sim., derivatives of *CIRCUM-* in composition (besides analogy of *circa*), *firmare* (besides analogy of *firmitas*, etc.), *sirventese* (from Provençal; *serventese*, also, in the old language), *tiranno*, etc., *virtù* (see c, 2).

(b) Words influenced by allied or similar words: *birbone*, *birbante*, etc. (analogy of *birba*), words with the Italian prefix *di-* (*sdirenarsi*, ==“*slombarsi*,” *diradare*, etc.), words with the prefix *in-* (assimilated to the following consonant, *irritare*, etc., but all rather literary,) words with the Italian

§22. Note 1. An adaptation of OHG. *gêro*: cf. Old French *giron*, earlier *geron*. The French form *giron* and Italian *girone* seem to be under the influence of *gyrare*.

2. Probably <merula, not *maris-lucius*; see Joret, *Rom.* IX, 121.

3. Cf. M.-L., *Gram. d. L. R.*, I, p. 30: “l’italien *smeriglio* s’appuie sur la forme moderne usitée à Naxos de l’ancien *σμερίσις*, *σμερίσις*.”

4. See Pieri, in the *Ascoli Miscellanea*, p. 426.

prefix *ri-* (*rirompere*, etc., but only two or three unusual words).

(c) Other exceptions.—

(1) A rather numerous group of words of very uncertain derivation in most cases, which, if they do not come from an original *Ī* or *E*, do not belong here as exceptions. These all have the peculiarity of showing an *I* in both the first two syllables: *biribara* (“*giuoco assai intricato*”), *biribissi* (“*giuoco*,” “*balocchetto*”), *birichino* (a derivative of *briccone*), a *birichicci* (Lucca: “*a cavalcioni*”), a *birigini* (Pistoia: “*a cavalluccio*”), a *birigiotto* (Pistoia: “*pig-a-back*”), *biricoccola* (and *bericoccola*, “*varietà di albicocca*”), *birillo*, (cf. *brillo*, a billiard term), *birignoccolo* (an illit. word for *bernoccolo*), *birincello* (for *brincello*), *chirintana* and *chirinzana* (an old-fashioned danse), *Ciriatto* (a devil’s name in Dante, *Inferno IX*), *ciriegia* (obsolete for *ciliegia*), *cirimbraccola* (illit. and more com. than *cimbraccola*, “*donna sciatta e becera*,” cf. *cimbraccolo*, “*ciondolo, straccio*”), *cirimonia* (and *cilimonia*, illit. for *cerimonia*), *cirindello* (pop. for *brincello*), *cirindonia* (in Buonarroti’s *Fiera*, meaning the same as *cirindone*, “*donna sciatta*,” the latter a Sienese word in Temistocle Gradi), *ghiribizzo* (and *sghiribizzo*, *schiribizzo*), *schiribilla* (a bird), *ghirigoro*, *girigogolo*, *girimeo* (the latter the name of a game; all the last three containing the idea of *girare*), *scirignata* (and *scigrinata*, “*colpo di taglio*” in Sacchetti), *siringa* (and *sciringa*), *tiriaca* (“*triacca*,” English treacle), *tiribussio*, *tiritombola*, *tiritessi*, *tiritosta* (the last four all made up from *tirare*).

(2) *Biracchio* (< ? = “*pezzo lacero*”), *birbigoni* (< ? = “*specie di uva*”), *biroccio* (*birotium*¹), *biroldo* (< ? *birotulus*,—a Pistoiese word²), *birracchio* (< ? “*vitello dal 1° al 2° anno*,” a peasant word), *birroviere* (for *berroviere*, Berruyer, a perversion by analogy of *birro*, perhaps), *chirato* (< ? = “*carato, azione*”), *ciramella* (< ? “*cennamella*,” in Folgore da S. Gimignano).

§23. Note 1. See AG VII 410, note 5, 516, under *bert*, ZRPh XVIII 234. Ascoli says that we should expect *birogio* or *birozzo* in Tuscany. Cf. English *barouche*.

2. Balordo has the same meaning and possibly the same etymology; cf. §25, note 5.

gnano), girumetta (and girometta and ghirumetta, <girare? "canzonetta in lode di tutte le parti del vestire d'una donna"), Girolamo, (Gerolamo is now obsolete), sбирleffe (for sberleffe³), sghironato (a Lucchese form for sgheronato, = "fatto a sgheroni"), sirocchia (for serocchia; <sororcula> sororchia) serocchia, by dissimilation of O-O to E-O), virtù (for vertù⁴).⁵

24. ER BECOMING AR.—This development seems to be sporadic, rather than local. Examples: iarsera, illit. for iarsera; arrante, for errante¹; areticare, = "bestemmiare," from eretico; aretaggio, for eretaggio; farnetico, from *fernetico, for frenetico; starnutare, for sternutare; parlato, for perlato, for prelato (in Brunetto's Tesoretto and elsewhere); parentorio (in Cavalcanti and Boccaccio), for perentorio;² marcorella (beside mercorella), = "mercurialis annua;" starlino, from English sterling; sargente, mod. illit. for sergente^{3,4}

3. Cf. sberluciare and sbeffa; D.-H. states that the French balafre is derived from ba (Latin bis) and OHGerm. leffur, lip; these words are probably of similar origin, therefore.

4. Both virtù and vertù were common in the old language and the latter is now a peasant form; the reason that virtù has ousted the form in E is hard to surmise, although viro and many derivatives were very common formerly.

5. Soriani and Soria (common formerly) came into Italian when the Greek *v* was pronounced o, -cf. borsa, lonza, torsa, tomba, etc. Sci-rocco (Arabic schorouq) and sciroppo (Arabic scharâb) are apparently secondary reductions, -cf. §85.

§24. Note 1. Cf. English arrant.

2. Possibly parente influenced this word.

3. Such developments, accented as well as unaccented, are of course common to other languages, -cf. English clerk, for cleric, sergeant, etc., the local pronunciation har, thar, etc., for here, there, etc., French par, marchand; see Schwan-Behrens, Gram. des Altfranzösischen, 7th ed., §84 A, and for Spanish, Menéndez Pidal, Gramática Histórica Española, §18, 3). Pieri, AG XII 113, mentions at Lucca quarella, for querela, and gliarsera (among the peasants).

4. The letter R is often responsible for the passage of a contiguous vowel from before R to after, or vice versa; this seldom changes the vowel itself. Cf. the following: berlengo, "tavola, luogo da mangiare," from brëting (cf. French brelan); robiglia, from ervilla (to erb-, to reb-, then by labial influence, rob-); treato (13th century and mod. peasant; this is only a shift of R from one syllable to the other), for teatro; parlato, perlato, for prelato; farnetico, from frenetico; stranuto (mod. pop.), for starnuto; spregiuro (14th century), for spergiuro; sprifottia, for sperfottia (mod., = "disgrazia"), from *ex-per-fütt(u)ere; bertesca, for bretttesca (see Foerster, ZRPh VI 113); pretuzza, for pietruzza; ghermire, from OHGerm. krimman (gremire in Berni); probably bertelle (cf. French bretelles); probably berlocche

25. **LATIN BIS AND BI.**—This prefix in some words apparently developed through the stages *bes-*, *ber-*, *bar-*, *ba-*, and *s-* (the last by confusion with *ex-*, *dis-*, etc.¹) and appears in Italian as follows²: *bisognare*, from *bi-sonium*; *biciancola*, “specie d’altalena,” from (?) *bis-ancola*³; *bilancia*; *bicciacuto*, “sorta di strumento offensivo,” from *bis-acutu-*; *bernoccolo*, *bernocchio*, *birignoccolo*; *sbillacco*, for *bislacco*⁴, “stravagante senza garbo, né grazia, né ingegno;” *bistrattare*, “maltrattare;” *biroldo*,⁵ “salsicciotto;” *barocchio*, “treccie ravvolte dietro al capo;”⁶ *barlume*, “lume debole e incerto che non lascia distinguere gli oggetti” (cf. Spanish *vislumbre*); and similarly to *barlume*, also *barluzzo* and *bruzzico*, in the expressions *a barluzzo*, *a bruzzico*, “la mattina avanti giorno;” *a bardosso* and *a bidosso*, “senza sella;” *stentare*, *stento*, for *bistentare*; *balordo*;⁶ *bislungo*; *bistondo*; *sberluciare*, at Siena, “alluciare,” “guardar fisso qua e là avidamente,” and *sbiluciare*, same meaning.⁷

26. **VOWEL ASSIMILATION.**—*Sanato*, for *senato*; *salvaggio*,¹ but now usually *selvaggio*, by influence of *selva*; *piatà*, *piatanza*, *spiatato*, for *pietà*, etc.; *pataffio*, for (e) *pitaffio*; *maraviglia*; *amatita*, from *haematite-*; *marangone*, from

(in the expression “*far berlicche e berlocche*,” “*barattar le parole, non le mantenere*;” cf. French *breloque*); in the case of an *I*, *grillanda* and *grelanda*, for *ghirlanda*; in the case of an *A*, *sbernare*, for *sbranare*; in the case of an *O*, *scopire* (peasant), for *scoprire* (but this is a mere transference of the *R* from the second to the first syllable). The forms *areticare* and *aretaggio* might belong to the group mentioned in §27 (a).

§25. Note 1. See §17.

2. The development of form and meaning is not certain; see *M-L.*, *Gram. d. L. R.*, II, §540, and Darmesteter, *Mots Composés*, 2nd edition, p. 122 seq.

3. According to Caix, *Studi*, No. 206; why not *biciancola*, from *cianca*, *zanca*?

4. For the etymology, see Körting, No. 1413, Caix, *Studi*, Nos. 207, 370.

5. From (?) *birotulu-*; cf. Caix, *Studi*, Nos. 204, 89, and Parodi, *Rom.* XVII, pp. 54-55.

6. From (?) *bis-luridu-* or (?) *bi-rotulu-*; cf. French *balourd*, Old French *beslort*. See C. Pascal, in *Studi di Filol. Rom.*, VII 89.

7. *Sbalurcè* in Romagna, *sbarlūsá* in Lombardia; see Caix, *Studi*, No. 151. Cf. French *bévue* and Italian *svista*.

§26. Note 1. Perhaps the *L* was of influence; cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. des Altfranzösischen*, 7th ed., §84 A.

meragone;² danaro (the derived forms are very numerous); barbasso, from verbasco, with analogy of barba;³ magrana, for (e)micrania; tanaglia, from tenacula; veleno and veneno; leggiero; medesimo, for midesimo; rognone, from ren-ione-;⁴ popone, for pepone (but perhaps this irregularity is due to labialization); uguagliare, uguale;⁵ ugiulare, from ejulare;⁶ Greek *τιθύμαλλ*, Latin *tithymallu-*, a plant, >titimalo, titimaglio, totomaglio,⁷ tutumaglio, turtumaglio; segreto, for sigreto (unless a learned or dialectic word); zanzara, from zinz-ula with change of suffix;⁸ stripicciare (15th century and mod. illit.), for stropicciare; and apparently masagio, for mesagio, misagio, =“disagio.”⁹

27. CONFUSION OF PREFIX.—These are cases where a prefix has intruded itself into a word analogically in the place of another prefix or in the place of another more or less similar initial syllable.

(a) Intrusion of AD-: *efficacia* (*efficacia*); *assaggiare* (<EXAGIU-¹); *asciguare* (<**exsucare*); *asciolta* (Orl. Fur., <*exsolvere*); *amendare*, etc. (in the sense of *emendare*, etc.);

2. Cf. Spanish *merganser*, from *mergus-anser*, Port. *margulhão*; but see Flechia, AG II 364, and M.-L., Ital. Gram., §135.

3. See Salvioni, *Postille*, 23, and Nigra, AG XV 118.

4. Cf. Gröber, ALL V 236.

5. Cf. *uguanno*, §66.

6. See Caix, *Studi*, No. 646; in Petrocchi the form is *uggiolare*, present *uggiolo*, =“della voce lamentevole del cane.”

7. By labialization, I < O before M.

8. *Zenzala* (14th century), *zenzara* (15th), etc. cf., also Caix, *Studi*, 263.

9. In *Dodici Conti Morali*, ed. Zambrini; trans. from French (?) ca. 1200, by a Sienese. See ZRPh I 365. Vowel dissimilation seems to be present in *taddèo* (peasant word), for *Teddeum*; perhaps the name *Taddeo* was of influence. Perhaps such words as *nemico*, *felice*, *destino*, *vescica* are also cases of dissimilation; cf. §20, note 7. Why should scholars insist upon seeing a peculiarly Sienese form in *danaro*? Sienese had a fondness for A in the initial syllable, to be sure, but so have other dialects: -cf. *spacefico*, *ialsera* (for *iarsera*, for *iersera*) at Pisa (Pieri, AG XII 144), *sanatore*, *dalfino*, *Piamonte*, *stianella* (=“*dolor di schiena*”) at Lucca (Salvioni, AG XVI, p. 401). *Danaro* is purely vowel harmony and belongs to Florence as much as to Siena. Other cases of vowel harmony not Florentine are: *boroviere* (= *berroviere*), *stianale* (= *schienale*), at Lucca (Pieri, AG XII 114); *rocordai* (Barbi, in the *Raccolta D'Ancona*), at Pisa-Lucca: *sgrotolare* (Pieri, AG XII 114), and *sokondo* (Pistoia; in a document of 1259,—see Berlan, Prop. IX)

§27. Note 1. *Saggio*, *saggiare*, are aphetic.

aspettare (<expectare); asportare, asportabile, etc. (<exportare); asperienza; aspendere; ascortare (now scortare); accelente, etc.; asaldire, assaudire, assauldire, etc. (<exaudire); asolarsi (<exhalare, = "stare a prendere il fresco"²); assillo (in the *Intelligenza*, <exiliu-); astutare (= "attutare," <*ex-tutare, <tundere); edificare (for edificare); asempro, asempro, asempio, etc. (<exemplu-, cf. Spanish *enjiemplo*); aspengere; alleggere, aletto;³ aguagliare, aguale (= "ora, adesso"⁴); alluminare (mod. illit., for ill-); allustrare (for ill-); annestare;⁵ annaffiare (<in-affiare); annaspere (<in+OHGerm. haspa); annoiare (<*in-odiare); annemico; annacquare (<in-aquare); annitrire (and anitrire, Pulci; "l'anitrire de' cavalli;" (*hinnitrire;⁶ ammiserire (a conscious substitution for the more usual immiserire).

(b) Of DE-: demanio, diminio, diminare, etc. (for *dominio*, etc.).

(c) Of PRO-: proffidia, proffidioso, etc. (illit. mod., for *perfidia*, etc.); provvidenza (in the sense of *previdenza*); prosumere, etc. (for pre-); propostato, etc. (for *prepositura*, etc.); propotente, etc. (for pre-); pronome (for pre-); promutare, etc. (for per-), promissione (for per-); prutendere (peasant for of pro-, for pre-)⁷.

(d) Of RE-: ritondo (for *rotondo*).

(e) OF SUB-: sodducere (and *subdurre*, for *sedurre*); sop(p)ellire (for *seppellire*)⁸; suggello (for *sigillo*)⁹; sobbisare (for *abissare*, from *abisso*).

(f) Other cases: *secorso* (13th century, for *soccorso*) shows

2. See Canello, AG III 365.

3. See M.-L., Ital. Gram., §138. In view of the extensive influence of the resultant of Latin AD in composition on the Italian lexikon, M.-L.'s explanation seems unnecessary. -cf. §41, note 2.

4. This might be a harmonizing of the vowels.

5. From *ini(n)s(i)tare; *insitio*, et sim., are Classic Latin. In this case, the change of prefix brought with it the necessity for doubling the n; likewise in *annaffiare*, *annaspere*, *annoiare*, *annemico*, *annacquare*.

6. Modern *nitrire* is aphetic. Cf. §30, note 11.

7. If Diez' etymology is correct, *prosciutto* also belongs here: *perex-suctus (from *sucus*), *persutto*, *presciutto*, *prosciutto*, and *prostituto* (the last in Bembo).

8. Pucci's *Centiloquio* has *soppellito* and *sepultura* in the same line.

9. See M.-L., Ital. Gram., §124; Parodi, *Studi ital. filol. class.*, I 428.

the converse of *soppellire*; *imbriacare* (mod. pop., for *ub-*(*b*)*riacare*), and numerous other forms of this word, obsolete and modern, are merely *briaco*, the aphetized form from *ebriacu-*, made into a verb with *in-* (cf. English *inebriate*), whence the numerous other nouns, adjectives, etc.; *astuccio*, whatever its derivation, seems to be a confusion of prefix (cf. French *étui*); *eccecare* (in the Boezio) is not a confusion of *EX-* for *AD-*, but from Classic Latin *excaecare*, whereas Italian *acceccare* has probably been made anew from *cieco*; *avorio* (from *eburiu-*) should be *iv-*, but was contaminated, perhaps by the preposition, perhaps by other words of similar beginning,—cf. *avaro*, *avanti*, etc.¹⁰; *trafoglio*(*lo*) (*peasant*, =*tra-**foglio*) is confused with the Italian prefix *tra-*; so *travertino*, “*specie di tufo*,” from *tiburtinu-*, from *Tibur*¹¹. *Alimento* (Fr. *da Barberino*), for *elemento*, is perhaps only a confusion of meaning¹²; *trapestio*, for *trepestio*¹³.

28. ANALOGY.—Here are comprised analogical formations, popular etymologies, crossings, and the like.—*Ciascuno*, from **cisque* (from *quisque*) -*unu-*, influenced by *cada*; *gialladina*, *gialladia*, for *gelatina*, apparently by analogy with *giallo*; *malinconia*, for *melanconia*, by analogy with *male*; *punienza*, in the sense of *penitenza*, is confused with *punire* in form; *uscire*, from *exire*, crossed with *ostium*¹; *usciamo*, for *sciame*, confused with *uscire*; *aspettatore*, *aspettacolo*, in the sense of *spettatore*, etc., confused with *aspettare*; *battifredo*, influenced by *battere*²; *eclizia* (in Cellini), “*girasole*,” from *clizia*, Latin

10. Cf. *inverno*, which has also avoided the initial *iv-*; no Italian word has initial *iv*, except *ivi*, a literary word with accented first syllable.

11. Cf. Siense *tevertino*; there is also a dialect from *trevetino*.

12. Possibly *abreo* (HEBRAEU-) also belongs here; but cf. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §§137-138.

13. Cf. *treppello*, §42. The etymology of *trepestio* is itself evidently a confusion of *treppicare*, etc. (cf. German *treppen*, Eng. *trip*), and *pestare*.

§28. Note 1. See §61 note 2.

2. Germanic *bërgfrid*, “*watch-tower*”; cf. the Oxford Dictionary, sub *belfry*: “. . . Eng. forms *berefreid*, *berfeit* . . . *barfray* . . . *belfray* . . . adapted from Old French *berfrei*, *belfrei*, *beffroi*, pointing to a late Latin type *berefrēdus*, from *berefrīdus*. The . . . r to l by dissimilation (cf. *pilgrim*, *palfrey*) . . . anal. of bell helped acceptance of *belfry*.” The Italian form *bettifredo* seems to be a transition form.

Clytiē, by analogy with eclisse; sacreto, for secreto, analogy of sacro; livi is a fusion of lī and ivi; vivorio, for avorio, analogy vivere; prigione (illit. and peasant), in the sense of pigione (<pe(n)sione-), a visible confusion of ideas; the Siense panecchio, for penecchio, "quantità di lana . . . che si mette sulla rocca per filare," by analogy with pannocchia (from panucula), "la spiga del granturco;" palungone (a peasant word for spilungone, "persona lunga, lunga"), analogy of palo;³ elephante- has given elefante, lefante (aphetic), leonfante, lionfante, leofante, liofante (analogy with leone), allifante (prefix confusion?), and aulifante (from French olifant? see §72); by confusion with these forms of elefante, leopardo has ale-, alipardo; arcipresso (modern in the Montagna pistoiese), for cipresso, apparently by analogy with the prefix arci-, cf. arciprete, arcibellissimo, arcibonissimo, arcibestiale, arcicerto, etc.; bachicco, "pillola" (from ? béchico, "buono per la tosse," from βήξ, βηχός by analogy with baco, because of the shape (?), fiatente, etc., for fetente, by analogy with fiatare⁴; formento (illiterate for "lievito") from frumento, may have arisen by analogy of forma, formare, or may be a mere shifting of R-O from fromento from frumento; *μυπανον* gives literary timpano, then timballo and taballo apparently through confusion with the root tap (cf. Germanic root tab, tap, French taper, etc., Italian tafferuglio, tambusare, tamburo, etc.); stambecco, "capra selvaggia," from Germanic steinbock, seems to be an analogical form (analogy of what?)⁵; gian(n)etto, for ginnetto, from γυμνήτης, cf. Spanish ginete, might have been popularly or ignorantly connected with Gianni.

29. LABIAL INFLUENCE.

(a) Before B: strubbiare ("consumare"), from *extriblare > strobbiare > strubbiare¹; flobotomia, for flebotomia, derivative of Greek φλέψ; obbriaco and ubbriaco, for e(b)briaco; robiglia, rubiglia, etc., from ervilia, after the shift of E and R had pro-

3. For the etymology of spilungone, see Caix, Studi, No. 590.

4. Cf. the derived, depreciative meaning of English "smell."

5. See Delbouille, Rom. XVII 597-8; Caix, Studi, No. 59.

§29. Note 1. Cf. Caix, Studi, No. 609; cf. §61 (c).

duced revilia;² rubello, robello (also contaminated with rubare, robare) from rebello or ribello; rubaldo presents the same case.

(b) Before M: romanere (Guinizelli et al.), for rimanere; romito, for (e)remito; somigliare (mod. illiterate sumigliare); domandare; ombuto (mod. popular, and umbuto a peasant word) for imbuto;³ domani, domattina, domonio (in the Vita S. Aless.), for demonio, dimonio; giomella (in the old language, but still living in the mountains, for giumella), from gemella;⁴ lumaca, from limax (possibly lume also influenced this word); lomina, lumia, for limia.⁵

(c) Before P: dopo, doppio, doppoi, from depóst.⁶

(d) Before V: rovello ("stizza rabbiosa"), from rebell-is⁷; pivovano, <pieve+ano; daddovero, daddoverissimo, daddoverone, da dovera (the last in Boiardo), from de vero (de vero, twice in Dante's Convivio; now davvero, from da); rovescio, rovesciare, from reve(r)su-, etc.; rovistare (and ruvistare), from *revisitare; doventare; dovere, doveroso, etc.

(e) Other cases: possibly pulicano, for pellicano, is an influence of the preceding labial or a distortion of the French form (it is found in the Tavola Ritonda). Giubetto, for gibetto (French?), seems to owe its U to the B⁸.

30. APHERESIS.—Tania (16th century), for litania, by illusion of the definite article;¹ vangelo, vagnelo, guagnelista, etc.,

2. By a second shift and confusion there arose the form orbiglia, also. For the process, cf. §24, note 4.

3. The O of ombuto might have come from the article: lo imbuto, lo'mbuto, l'ombuto; see §35.

4. "Quanta roba sta nel cavo delle due mani congiunte;" cf. French jumeaux and Spanish jumela. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §128, says that it is from French; why so?

5. From Arab.-Pers. leimoun, -cf. English lemon and lime. Such forms as ultomo (Valdichiana) show the same development before M in a posttonic syllable.

6. Cf. Rumanian după; see Canello, AG³ III 334.

7. See Tobler ZRPh X 578.

8. Busica, at Arezzo, for vescica, shows the influence of a preceding labial; buscica is a Sard form; busecca is a Lombard form of the same, whence probably modern busecchia, busecchio, = "budello, saliscia." Other cases of labialization at Lucca are given by Pieri, AG XII 114; siograre (*sciovrare < scevrare), soppellire, domorava, romase, dopende, ciometerio, Folippo. For O in some cases and U in others, cf. §§55, seq.

§30. Note 1. From the form *le letanie*, by dropping one *le*, as *l'Alamagna* > *la Lamagna* > *la Magna*.

from *εὐαγγέλιον*; chiesa, giesa, clesia, etc., from *ἐκκλησία*; pifania (mod. peasant), befania (mod. illit.), from epifania, from *ἐπιφάνεια* —also Befana²; rondine, from hirundine; leccio, “quercus ilex,” from *iliceu-, Classic *Ī*-³; saggio, saggiare, from exagiu-, etc.⁴; matita, from *αἱματίτης*⁵; timologia (14th century), for etimologia; guaglianza, gualivo, for eguaglianza, eguale, from aequale-, etc.; pistola, for epistola; culomia, colomia (mod. peasant), for economia; suto, for esuto; zotico, from *ιδιωτικός*⁶; pilessia (mod. peasant), for epilessia; patta, for epatta (English epact); patico, for epatico; Talia (13th century), Taliano (mod. peasant), for Italia, etc.⁷; pataffio, for (e)pitaffio; lisire, lisirvite, for elisire, elisirvite; lastico, lastio (peasant), for elastico; ventuale, for eventuale; pìteto, pìtetto, for epiteto; pocrisia (Jacopone and mod. illit.), for ipocrisia; bernia, = “mantello di donna”, from *Hibernia*; mendanza, for ammenda; clittica, for eclittica; compounds in which ECCE-EUM (>ecco and eccu’) have entered, —quelui, queloro, (at Arezzo), colà, codesto, costà, cotale, cotanto, colui, così, quinci, quindi, qui, et sim.; burro, for eburro, = “avorio”; likewise burneo; riccio, from ericiu-; ruca, ruchetta from eruca (in Horace; uruca is also a Classic form); rore, for errore; ratio, in the expression (obsolete) “andar ratio”, = “bighelloni, oziando”, from *errativu-⁸; ruggine, from aerugine-; resipola, risipola, from *ἔρυσσιπέλας*; retico, resia, risiarche, etc., for eretico, etc.; romaiolo, ramaiolo, = “sorta di cucchiaino,” from aermariolu-; rame, from aera-me-; ramarro, if derived from aeramēn⁹; dificio, dificare, etc., for edificio, etc.;

2. From the form accented epifania, as pana from pania, etc.; for the B, cf. bottega.

3. See Ulrich ZRPh XIX 576, and Gröber, ALL III 143.

4. There is also a form esagio, “la 6a parte dell’oncia,” cf. Spanish ensayo, asayar, ensayar. See Canello, AG III 392, and Gröber, ALL II 279.

5. Other non-aphetic forms are ematite, ematita, amatita; the “blood-stone”,—see Canello, AG III 392.

6. Semi-learned. See Caix, Studi, No. 68. Ménage thought of exotiscus, but Diez doubted the development of X to Z.

7. “In ‘Talia’ is used in Andrea da Barberino; cf. also Pieri, AG XII, 153.

8. Cf. Old Spanish radfo.

9. Cf., in English, the name copper-snake; but see Flechia, AG III 162. There are also the forms ramaolo and ramavolo in the Montagna pistoiese.

lemosina, limosina, etc., from *ἐλεημοσύνη*; piscopo, vescovo, from *episcopu-*; micrania, migrana, magrana, etc., and emicrania, from *κραίνήματα*; briaco, from *ebriacu-* (also *brio*, *brioso*?); remito, romito, etc., from *eremitu-*, from *ἔρημος*; rede, retaggio, redetare, etc., from *erede*, etc.; nestare, for *innestare*; nemico, from *inimicu-*; pittima, from *ἐπιθήμα*; maginare, magine (in Dante et al.), for *immaginare*, etc.; nentrare (peasant), from *in-entrare*; and, by analogy of this compound, nusciare (peasant), from *in-uscire*¹⁰; forms from the pronoun *illo*, *la*, *laggiù*, *lì* (<*illic*), *gli*, *gliene*, *gnene*, et sim.; *nel*, *nello*, etc., from *in-illu-*; *ne*, from *ene*<*enne*<*inde*; *nante*, *nanzi*, etc., from *innante*, etc.; *nitrire*¹¹; similarly, *naspo*, etc., for *annaspo*; *nabissare*, *nabisso*, from *un abisso*; *betizzare*, “*far l’ebetè*”; *fante*, *fanciullo*, *fantoccio*, etc., from **ifante*, *Classic infantem*¹²; *bizza*, “*stizza*”, for *in-bizza*¹³; *gnégnero* (mod. familiar and jocular, “*se avesse un po’ di gnegnero*”, = “*criterio*”), from *ingenio*¹⁴; *gnorante*, *gnoro*, *gnorri* (“*far lo gnorri*”, = “*far vista di non sapere*”), from *ignorante*, et sim.¹⁵ *Riguo*, for *irriguo* (cf. “*da terra rigua*”), is not aphetic; *Classic Latin* had *riguus* and *irriguus*, *rigare* and *irrigare*, used indifferently. *Tra* (*intra*) and *fra* (*infra*) and their numerous compounds are all, of course, aphetic, —*traballare*, *traboccare*, *frattenerè*, *trattenerè*, etc.¹⁶, and, similarly, the reduction of *EX-*, etc., mentioned in §18. The following are examples of apheresis of a very arbitrary kind: *sago* for *presago* (cf. *fondo*,

10. Cf. the expression “*Non ne nusco*,” which at first would seem a merely intentional alliteration, but there is *nescire*, “*nesci di lì*,” etc.

11. See *Flechia*, *AG II* 381; he considers this form an apheresis from *annitrire*, from *innitrire*, from *hinnitire*, with epenthesis of *R*, from *hinnire*.

12. See *M.-L.*, *Gram. d. L. R.*, I, §484.

13. See *Parodi*, *Rom. XXVII* 238: “*imbidia*, per *invidia*: toscano *bizza*, da **imbizza*, dove il prefisso fu preso per la preposizione *in* e quindi omesso.”

14. See *Salvioni*, *Rom. XXVIII*, 97; *Caix*, *Studi*, p. 182; *Pieri*, *AG XII*, 129.

15. Apparently under analogy of these last and similar words, presupposing an original *ign-*, reduced to *ñ* and spelled *gn*, there arose forms like *gnudo*, for *nudo*, *gnacchera*, for *nacchera*. *Gn-* seems to be a rather popular beginning for a word.

16. As to meaning, *infra*, *intra*, *ultra*, *extra*, *trans*, all form a double resultant *tra* and *fra* (cf. *bis-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, -see §17.), -cf. *frattenerè*, *trattenerè*, *tramontano* (*trans*, *ultra*), *tracarico*, *stracarco*, etc.

fer profondo, perfondo); gogna, from (?) vergogna¹⁷; Gegia, for Teresa¹⁸; Momo, for Girolamo; Vestro, for Silvestro; Toro, for Ettore (by analogy of toro, (?) also); Cola, for Nicola; gnorsì, gnornò, for signore sì, etc.; gna (illit.), for bisogna¹⁹; Nando, for Ferdinando; derivieni and dirivieni, for andirivieni.

31. METATHESIS.—Ligurinu-, that is, "a bird from Liguria", produced, by metathesis of the I and U, lugherino, whence lucherino (mod.) and locorino (at Lucca); ligusticu-developed apparently to liustico > luistico > luvistico > ruvistico, and rovistico (by analogy of rubo, rovo ?),—the forms luistico, ruistico, ruvistico, rovistico are found¹.

32. AGGLUTINATION.—A, from the definite or indefinite feminine singular article, became attached to the following words: ancudine, from (il)la incudine; anguinaia, from *inguinaria, from inguen; arete, for rete; aringhiera, for ringhiera, = "bigoncia"¹.

33. SYNCOPE.—Scure, from Latin secure- (securis); tremoto, for terremoto (terrae motu-), t'remoto, with analogy of tremare; frasca, from *<virasca (from virere); piccolo, etc., for pericolo; stu (in Ciacco, see Monaci, p. 273, line 15; even istù is found), for se tu, "if thou"; staccio, from setaceu¹; spremmentare and sprimentare, for (e)sperimentare; tremen-

17. See Marchesini, Studi di filol. rom., II 5: ". . . notisi come in molte città la gogna sia detta . . . 'pietra della vergogna'"; Canello, AG III 342, 295. "Il toscano comune sguerguenza . . . verrà dalla stessa base, ma attraverso lo sp. verguenza."

18. Gegia, from a form Teregia, by a kind of childish reduplication of the last syllable, -cf. Momo, from Girolamo, French Nana, from Anna, etc.

19. Cf. the expression "a voler che il mento balli, alle man gna far i calli;" gna is perhaps a reduction from bigna, —see §33.

§31. Note 1. An odd metathesis, which does not disturb the vowels, is apparent in treciolo (mod. pop.), for cetriolo, and empitella, for nepitella, from Latin nepeta.

§32. Note 1. Agglutination not perversive of the initial vowel occurs in the following words: (a) with the definite article: letichetta (mod. illit.) listessamentε (illit. and peasant); Lisabella (illit.); Itterizia, for itterizia; possibly iddio; (b) with the indefinite article: ninforno (in the old writes passim), from un inferno (or in inferno); nebbio, from Latin ebulu-; nemolo, from un emolo. Cf. also §2, note 20.

§33. Note 1. See Canello, AG III 348, Gröber, ALL V 467.

tina, from terebentina, by t'rebentina (B to M, by influence of the other nasals and tremare). An erratic syncope occurs in salamanna, = "sorta d'uva", said to be named from Ser Alamanno Salviati, who first introduced it from Spain,—the form seralamanna is also found. Sciatto is from exaptu- and not a syncope or contraction of sciadatto; the latter is a Si-enese form from exadaptu-. Syncope due to frequent proclitic use is found in common in Romance from senior and seniore: scior, sior, sor, ser (the last French?); this same word seems to form the first syllable of sorgozzone, sergozzone, "colpo nella gola",-cf. sercattivo, sercocolla, serfaccenda, serfedocco². Bisogna is illiterately syncopated to bigna and thence to migna (by harmony to the nasal)³.

34. EPENTHESIS.—Birichino, cf. briccone; birincello (and a variant birindello), for brincello; Ghirigoro, from Grigorio, from Gregorio¹; pitocco, from πτωχός.

35. IN- BECOMING UN- AND ON-.—These cases are apparently of two sorts; (1) unfino (peasant), for infino, unutile (in the Montagna pistoiese), for inutile; unsombra (Valdichiana), for insomma; untanto; onfiare (peasant), for enfiare; (2) oncenso (13th-14th centuries), for incenso; onchiostro; onferno. The first are dialectic; the second seem to be agglutination with the O of the article, - lo incenso, lo'ncenso, l'oncenso,—cf. §85¹.

36. FOREIGN WORDS.—Debutto, debuttare, from French début; deragliare, from dérailer; deserre, from dessert; bersò ("capanno; piccolo riparo di frasche o di paglia nelle tese dove si nasconde l'uccellatore"; berceau); dettaglio, from détail; deboscia, from débauche; etichetta; gendarme (giandarme, illit.); equipaggio; messidoro, the republican month; esimare (in the Dittamondo: Old French esmer, <aestimare); mon signore, monsìu ("per mon fe" and "monsire" in the Ta-

2. Körting says that ser-, sorgozzone derives from super.

3. D'Ovidio, ZRPh VIII 105, states that bigna possibly arose from forms like bignava, bignerà, bignerebbe.

§34. Note 1. Cf. also Caix, Studi, pp. 183-185.

§35. Note 1. On these forms. see M.-L., Gram. d. L. R., I, §375. What about sondado at Pisa (Pieri, AG XII 144) and elsewhere for zendado? See also Parodi, in Rom. XVIII 599.

vola Ritonda); suro (16th century), for sicuro (French *sûr*¹); enlevare²; faonare ("figliare", French *faon*); chepì, from képi; menageria; decalcomania; telefono; essonite ("varietà di granato", from Hess, a name); ermesianismo (from Georg Hermes); eserina ("sorta d'alcaloide",-cf. French *ésérine*, from *éséré*, native name of plant); mesmerismo; berlina (Berlin); edelvais; bermudiana; fernambuco (a plant,—distortion of Pernambuco in Brasil); veranda. Bìeltà, bieltà, for beltà (common in the old language), are French³.

37. DIALECTS¹.—As Parodi states², the most important Tuscan dialects fall more or less exactly into four groups. The principal towns concerned are: Group 1, Florence (and Prato); Group 2, Pistoia, Lucca, Pisa; Group 3, Siena; and Group 4, Arezzo. These dialects may be termed roughly those of the north (or center), of the west, of the south, and of the southeast. Generally speaking, Group 1 has I, Group 2 prefers I, but also has E less frequently, Group 3 prefers E, but also has I less frequently, and Group 4 has E.

GROUP 1.—Florence.—Chiaro Davanzati³: always I, except the usual Florentine non-phonetic exceptions,—and such words as *pesanza*, *sembianza* (E by influence of forms accented on the first syllable or they are words common to the Sicilian School). Maestro Francesco⁴: regular, showing even *vistita*. Buono Giamboni⁵: regular, except *neuno* (non-phonetic,- influence of *né*) and *niuno*, *nemico* (the modern form, —E by vowel dissimilation; see §20, note 7) and *nimico*. Pucci⁶:

§36. Note 1. Possibly this is an exceptional reduction of *sicuro*: *sicuro* > *siguro* > *siuro* > *suro*.

2. Enlève was used in English by Maundey in 1400, see Oxford Dictionary, sub voce.

3. These are but a few of the numerous foreign borrowings of the old and especially of the modern language.

§37. Note 1. See Introduction, §5.

2. Rom. XVIII 590.

3. Dead by 1280; his language is quite contaminated by the hybrid language of the Sicilian School. See Wiese, *Altitalienisches Lesebuch*, pp. 211-214.

4. Thirteenth century; see Monaci, p. 309.

5. Thirteenth century; see Monaci, pp. 488-492.

6. Dead in 1390; see Frizzi, Prop. XI, parte 2a, pp. 105-125.

regular, even biltà, tinor (for tenore), criatura, but el (for il)⁷ frequently, reverenza (literary, as today) and riverenza, penitenza (literary, as today). Feo Belcari⁸; regular, even git-tare, dilicatamente, niuno, dimandò, but desiderando (E, like the modern form probably by influence of the secondary accent?).

Prato.—Compagnetto⁹: perfectly like Florentine, except nejente (E by influence of né) and leanza (a word common to the writers of the Sicilian School).

GROUP 2.—PISTOIA.—A document of 1259¹⁰: regularly I, even dinari, but sengnoria, mesere (for messere), nessuno (influence of né), nepoti. Meo Abbracciavacca:¹¹ decidedly I, but messer (for messere), creato (by influence of créo, etc., like the modern Italian form) and criatura, entenda (probably by influence of the Sicilian School).

Lucca.—Buonagiunta:¹² usually I, but lealmente (and regina). Document of 1268¹³: regularly I, but denari. Another thirteenth century document:¹⁴ I, but occasionally de- (in composition). Document of 1330-1384:¹⁵ regularly I, even chidirai (for chiederai), spidale, intrare (beside entrèrò, for entrèrò), but denaio (beside dinari), despecto (but more often dispecto). Pieri's article;¹⁶ seems to show a little less tendency to I than the sources just considered; but yet vissica (for vescica), iscire (peasant), ciglieri (for cellario,—all these forms have I in the following syllable, however), and

7. This form, which was common in old Florentine, seems to have hesitated to assume I longer than most words containing initial unaccented E, perhaps through the influence of such forms as *del, egli,* etc. See §20, note 6, and Introduction, §7.

8. 1410-1484; see Albertazzi, Prop. XVIII, parte 2a, 225-248. For other Florentine documents, which however present nothing new, see Monaci, pp. 246, 273, 274, 280, 349, 354, 425, 519; for the 16th century, Cellini's Vita.

9. Apparently a "giullare;" 13th century; see Monaci, pp. 94-95.

10. See Berlan, Prop. IX, parte 1a, 252-257.

11. Thirteenth century; see Monaci, pp. 194-195.

12. Thirteenth century; see Wiëse, Altit. Lesebuch, pp. 208-210.

13. See Monaci, pp. 327-328.

14. See Monaci, pp. 193-194.

15. See Bongl, Prop., 2a ser., III, parte 1a, pp. 75-134.

16. AG XII 107-134 and 161-180. The article largely concerns the modern dialect; however, as it mentions only non-Florentine forms it is not easy to judge of the others.

spidale (and even *pirucca*, beside *perrucca*); but *pepone*, *pregione*, *fenire*, *menuto*, *prencipio*, *celendrare*, *empossibolo*, and among the peasants *segura* (for *scure*), *seguro*, *defatti*, *defetto*, and in the mountains *degiuno*. Salvioni's notes on old and modern Lucchese;¹⁷ very decidedly I, —*criatore*, *distino*, *dilizie*, *dilicate*, *disidera*, *difnire*, *dilivransa*, *rispiro*, *ristituire*, *risistenza*, *riplicare*, *rigistrato*, *tinere*, *spiloncha*, *sicuri*, *tincione*, *diserto* (and *de-*), *dimeriti*, *dilegati*, *dicollare*, *dicapitati* (and even *virone*, for *verone*).

Fagnano:¹⁸ decidedly I: but *emposte* (besides *imponere*), *nessuno*, *lealmente*, *seppellire* (also *serà*, *seranno*, and less frequently *sa-*).

A document of 1300 involving Pisa and Lucca:¹⁹ decidedly I, even *midicina*, *rifictorio*, *disideramento*, *rimiti*, *pigiore*, *ricente*, *ligaltade*, *criato*, *mistieri* (and *sirebbe*); but *vettoria* (beside *vitt-*).

Pisa.—A thirteenth century document²⁰ prefers I, but *entenda* (beside *intensa*), *temore*, *neente*.²¹ Another document of about 1275 (?):²² regularly I, but *de* (beside *di*), *leansa*, *en* (rarely, usually *in*). Another of the thirteenth century:²³ regularly I, but occasionally *en* (for *in*). Another of 1279:²⁴ shows I. Another of 1279:²⁵ regularly I, — *divota*, *Biatrice*, *lione*, *ispitale*, *isciente* (for *uscente*), *Grigoro*; but *el* (beside *il*), *rebellione* (beside *ribelli*), *secundo* (probably Latin), *de* (usually *di*), *sepulto* (Latin?). Pieri's article:²⁶ shows I, but greater inclination to E than in Lucca, —*sigondo*, *sicura* (for *scure*), *issuto* (and *essuto*), *vissica*, *frire*, *dicina*, *iscire*, *mischino*, *pricissione* (for *pre-*) *pricissione* (for *processione*, by

17. AG XVI 395-477.

18. 1291: see Sforza, Prop. V, parte 2a, pp. 396-408. Fagnano is four or five miles out of Lucca.

19. See Barbi, in the *Raccolta D'Ancona*, 241-259.

20. Monaci, pp. 78-80.

21. However, this is a conventional canzone, written by a troubadour.

22. Monaci, pp. 195-198.

23. Monaci, pp. 198-200.

24. Monaci, pp. 356-357,—not very illuminating for our purpose.

25. Monaci, pp. 357-359.

26. AG XII, pp. 141-180. See note 16 of this §. Yet such forms as *frire*, *vissica*, etc., at once suggest a tendency to umlaut caused by the accented I.

confusion of the prefix pre-), spidale, mistieri, intrare, intrambi, infiato; but sicuro, misura, pegione, defatti, defetto, rechiedere, genocchione, bechieraro, nepote, pregione, rebello, reparo, segnore, de, se (pronoun), menuto, bisogno, desfare, desmontare, ensaccare, ensegna, embasciata, prencipio, trebuto, trestizia, treonfo, el (obsolete, now er), e (plural of el) (and gherlanda, scherlatto and schirlatto).

GROUP 3.—SIENA.—The forms in E seem to predominate slightly, but this dialect presents a greater confusion of the two than any other.²⁷

GROUP 4.—AREZZO: shows E very decidedly.²⁸ Città di Castello: prefers E, according to Parodi.²⁹ Cortona.³⁰ seems to show preference for E.

Ā Ā

38. CLASSIC LATIN Ā Ā > VULGAR LATIN A > ITALIAN A.—There was no difference in the development of Classic Latin Ā and Ā. Except for cases of apheresis, which, for cause, are especially numerous, A is very stable.

(a) EXAMPLES of popular words: acciaio, aiutare, amore, animale, arrivare, avere, cappello, cavallo, famiglia, fatica, fattoio, lamento, lavoro, maestro, maggiore, mattina, padella,

27. See Hirsch, ZRPh IX and X. Hirsch concludes that the Sienese slightly favors the E and Parodi agrees with him (Rom. XVIII). Hirsch's article needs rearrangement. Besides the sources for Siena mentioned by Hirsch, op. cit., one may also compare Silvagni, in the Bull. della Società filol. rom., III, and De Bartholomaeis, in the Miscellanea di lett. del medio evo, fasc. 1 Ceruti published the Battaglia di Mont' Aperto in Prop. VI, pt. 1, 27-62.

28. Guittone (see Monaci, pp. 168-192), although very full of the style of the Sicilian School, seems to be more or less trustworthy, especially in his prose; he inclines to E, but I is exceedingly common. Ristoro, on the other hand, is an excellent source (see Monaci, pp. 362-368) and shows almost entirely E: el, de, Restoro, en, re-(in composition), se (pronoun), etc., the exceptions are quite negligible. On the language of Guittone, see L. Röhrsheim, Beihefte zur ZRPh, XV, 1908.

29. Rom. XVIII, 617. I have not had access to Bianchi's work. (Il Dialetto di Città di Castello, 1888).

30. See Mazzoni, Prop. 2a ser., II & III. Cortona is in the province of Arezzo and the document concerned contains "Laudi del secolo 13"; however, it contains plenty of I's and is quite learned. As one proceeds into Umbria, E is the favorite (cf. the works of Jacopone da Todi); it is, therefore, quite embarrassing to find the Valdichiana—running S. E. between Siena and Arezzo towards Umbria—showing to-day, according to Petrocchi, such forms as *sirvire*, *sivero*, *sintuto*, *trippié* (for *treppié*), *virsiara* (for (av) *versiera*), *vinire*, *vinuto*!

padule, parete, paura, pazienza, ragione, salassare, salute, sgabello, trattare.

(b) EXAMPLES of learned words: ambascia, ambustione, anargiri, argemone, atellana, cattolico, clandestino, faccenda, facoltà, favisse, flagello, frassinella, rangifero, scafandro, trapezio, valeriana.

39. VOWEL ASSIMILATION.—

(a) A—I to I—I: sigrino, for sagrino;¹ grimigna, for gramigna (at Pisa: see Pieri, AG XII 144).

(b) A—E to E—E: bestemmia, from βλασφημία;² chetecumeno, for catecumeno (influence of cheto?); ellegrare (Guittone,) from ellegro, for allegro. Possibly assimilation and then further development of E to I: schiccherare, for squaccherare.³

(c) A—O to O—O: notomia, for natomia, aphetic for anatomia; ottone, from *lattone-; osogna (Sienese), for asogna;⁴ olocco (Lucchese), for alocco.⁵ Possibly assimilation and then further development (see §61 (d)): usoliere.⁶

40. VOWEL DISSIMILATION.—A—A to E—A: Setanasso, for Satanasso; sagace (14th century), for sagace.¹

§39. Note 1. Turkish zagri, Persian sâgarî.

2. Cf. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §130. "bestemmia mit e statt i under dem Einfluss des betonten e"; that is: blasfemia, biastemmia, bistemmia, bestemmia.

3. See Caix, Studi, No. 528.

4. See ZRPh IX 522. The Florentine form is sugna, aphetic (see §44 (a)).

5. The Florentine form is locco, loccaione; see §44 (b).

6. = "Legacciolo"; according to Caix, Studi, No. 168: <ansularius <ansula <ansa. Ansa is used in Tibullus with the meaning of "the eye through which a shoe-lace is passed;" ansula is Classic Latin, = "loop, handle ring." Asuliere is used by Sacchetti. If Caix is correct, solluchero also belongs here: Caix, Studi, No. 577: "Sollucherare, ant. sollecherare, e andar in solluchero 'struggersi di tenerezza, desiderio, ecc.:' moden. sajugla, 'sollucchero.' La voce modenese tratta dal Galvani da saginacula (!) conduce a *salivacula. L'ant. sollecherare è perciò regoiarmente da *sali(v)iculare 'andar in broda, struggersi'; nell' u di solluccherare pare celarsi il v di salivacula." But there is at least an analogy of the prefix from SUB- and, in the old form, probably of leccare and its derivatives, lecchetto, leccheria; the Modenese form mentioned certainly points towards salivacula. Other cases are: petetta (Lucca, -see Pieri, AG XII 172), for patata, with previous change of suffix, and noscondere (Pisa-Lucca, -see Barbi, in the Raccolta D'Ancona p. 244).

§40. Note 1. Perhaps another case is memaluco, for mammalucco, from Arabic mamlûk; but according to the Oxford Dictionary the Turkish pronunciation is memluk and there is also in English a form memlo(o)k.

41. CONFUSION OF PREFIX.

(a) Intrusion of EX-: esentarsi (mod. illit.), for assentarsi; eccesso, for accesso; iscondere, for nascondere (probably from escondere, *excondere, for abscondere).

(b) Intrusion of IN-: imbasciata, for ambasciata (initial imb- is quite common, initial amb- is rare).

(c) Intrusion of SUB-: soddisfare, for satisfare^{1,2}

42. ANALOGY.—Aaron, the herb arum, from ἄρον, corruptly pronounced by analogy of the proper name Aaron;¹ turcasso, from ταρκάσιον by analogy of turco; uscìolo (=“specie di civetta”), for assiolo, from axio,² through uscire; susurnione,

§41. Note 1. There are also the transitional or crossed forms soddisfare, saddisfare, sadisfare; the development was satisfare > sadisfare, then by intrusion of so- (SUB), soddisfare and, by being misunderstood, soddisfare (sub-dis-fare).

2. Latin AD sometimes entered by confusion into words, also, as shown at the end of this note.—Latin AD in composition regularly developed in two ways: (1) before consonants, the D assimilated to the following consonant, and (2) before vowels, AD remained unchanged. By the development of AD to an Italian preposition *a*, A was popularly added to many words commencing with a vowel and also to some words commencing with a consonant. This last case may have any one of three causes: (1) confusion with forms which have AD-vowel, (2) intrusion of dialectal forms wherein AD-consonant did not produce geminated consonants, or (3), in some cases, failure to express the geminated consonants orthographically. Examples of these four types are as follows: (a) AD before consonants with D assimilated: abbassare, accorrere, addirizzare, afferrare, etc. (very numerous); (b) AD before vowels: adagiare, aderire, adirarsi, adocchiare, adunare, etc.; (c) A before vowels (the modern examples are popular forms, the obsolete were probably the same): aempiere, aentro, aescare, aesercitare, aïrare, aizzare, aocchiare, aoliato, aombrare, aonestare, aoperare, aorare, aorbare, aormare, aornamento, aovare (from ovo, =“fare ovale”), auggiare, augnare, aunghiare, aumettare, aumiliare, auncinare, ausare; (d) A before consonants: adimandare, adunque, amenare, aserbare, asbassare (apparently: exbassare > sbassare > asbassare), astizzare (from stizzo, tizzo), astipolare, asemprare, astagnare, astanco, aschierare, ascondere (apparently not abscondere, but *excondere), aroncigliarsi (Lucca), aritorzoloto, asnello, ascarano, aneghittoso (cf. §27 (a) and note 3 to same). Although this composition with AD is naturally very common with verbs, it seems to have spread to some extent to nouns also, as seen in some examples in (d). The prefix, taken in all its forms is exceedingly common and popular and often added to words without change of meaning, -cf. abbenché, abbastare, abbadare, abbisognoso, accagionare, accalognare, accambiare, arradunare, arricordo, etc., etc., all very popular or even illiterate.

§42. Note 1. The same perversion exists in English; see the Oxford Dictionary, under aaron.

2. In Pliny; see Harper's Latin Dictionary, under asio.

for sornione,³ through susurrare; oprire, for aprire, through coprire;⁴ formacia, for farmacia, through forma, formare (?)⁵; lumiero, for lamiera, through lume;⁶ zompere, a crossing of zampare and zombare;⁷ lucertola, for lacertola, through luce; valampa (=“vampa subitanea”), a combination of vampa and lampa;⁸ poltroniere (=“a lazy fellow”), in the sense of paltoniere (=“a ragamuffin”), is merely a confusion of similar ideas and words; gracidare, a combination of crocitare and gracillare;⁹ gelsomino (Persian jâsemîn), through gelso;¹⁰ treppello (13th century, =“piccola quantità di soldati comandati da un ufficiale inferiore”), for drappello, through treppiare, treppicare, trepilare (there is also vowel assimilation); grevare, for gravare, as greve for grave, by analogy of leve;¹¹ (s)tronfiare, through gonfiare;¹² the curious form fenachisticopo, for fantascopo, arose through fantastico and ?¹³

43. LABIAL INFLUENCE.—Domasco, for damasco;¹ romaiolo (and ramaiolo), from (ac) ramariolu.²

3. From Saturnus?

4. Uprire at Siena. The same thing took place in French ouvrir, through couvrir; yet there is a following labial both in the Italian and in the French, which may have aided in this development.

5. In this case there is a preceding labial.

6. Because of its brightness and power of reflection (?); here, too, a labial is adjacent.

7. A following labial is also here.

8. Cf. the somewhat analogous crossings in English; yowl, from yell and howl; splatter, from splash and spatter. Salvioni, AG XVI 442 gives falampa at Lucca as “falò e vampa.”

9. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §140.

10. The form gensumino seems to be assimilation of the l to the nasals in the latter part of the word.

11. A Vulgar Latin change, -Grandgent, *Introd. to Vulg. Latin*, §195 (4).

12. If the derivation is tra(ns)-inflare, as has been suggested, one would expect tranfiare; in Siena, there is the form trenfiare, by analogy of enfiare. Gonfiare is derived from confiare.

13. For gettare, gittare, see §20 (a); the etymon seems to be *jectare, but see Cornu, *Rom. VII* 354, Stürzinger, *ALL VII* 450. Another analogical form, which does not, however, disturb the regular development of A, is calamandrea (and calamandrina), a plant, =“camedrio,” from χαμαῖδρος. The original form seems to have been contaminated by such words as calabà, calamina (=“giallamina”), calamo, calamagna, calandra.

§43. Note 1. From Δαμασκός; but Arabic Dimashq.

2. Other possible labializations are mentioned in §42. Pieri, AG XII 113, records also Gromigna, from gramineu, = “monte presso Lucca”.

44. APHERESIS.—These cases are many and will be grouped as follows: (a) feminine nouns, (b) masculine nouns, and adjectives, (c) verbs, (d) other words.

(a) Bacocca, for albicocca;¹ badessa, badia, etc., from abbattissa, etc.; bistarda from avis-tarda;² bottega, from ἀποθήκη; bozzima, from ἀπόζημα;³ gaggia, from ἀκακία; gazza;⁴ gomena;⁵ guglia, for obsolete aguglia, from *acūcula; labandina, for alabandina (a precious stone, from alabandina (scilicet gemma), from Alabanda, a city of Caria); labarda, from alabarda (whatever the form of the etymon, the Italian presupposes alabarda, -cf. French hallebarde); Lamagna, for Alamagna (and Magna, a double apheresis); lena, from obsolete alena; lodola, from alauda; mandorla, mandola, from ἀμυγδάλη, ἀμύδαλα;⁶ manza, from amantia; marena (=“bibita fatta con siroppo di ciliege amarasche”) and marasco (and maraschino), from amarus, with Romance endings; mirazione, for ammirazione; mistà, for amistà; morchia (=“l'ultima feccia dell'olio”), from *amurcula < amurca (in Pliny, same meaning, from ἀμόργη); morosa, for amorosa, whence also il moroso, for l'amoroso; notomia, for anatomia;⁷ Nunziata, for Annunziata, whether the “festa,” the church, the work of art, or the name of a person; pecchia, for apecchia, from apicula; pocalissi, for apocalisse; postema, from apostēma, ἀπόστημα;

§44. Note 1. From the form abbicocca, apparently, with LB assimilated to BB, as abbergare, for albergare (and iddio for il dio). This word, starting from Latin praecoquum, then passing into Arabic and annexing the Arabic article *al*, before returning into Europe, offers many forms due in part to analogy; bacocca, albicocca, albercoca, bericocola, bellicocoro, ballacocora, albricocca, biricoccola, and derivatives.

2. English bustard; the forms in U are exclusively English, according to the Oxford Dictionary. For ottarda, see §78.

3. Caix, Studi, No. 217, suggests the derivation as Spanish bizma.

4. From OHGerm. agaza; gazzera, agazza, and agassa, are also found.

5. =“Grosso canapo a cui s'attacca l'ancora”; according to Canello, from acūmina, plural of acūmen, (the form agumena is also found). But there is considerable doubt about the etymology,—see Canello, AG III 324, Tobler, XRP. IV 182, Caix, Studi No. 79, Diez, Etym. Wörterbuch * I, 217 and Flechia, AG IV 386.

6. See Gröber, ALL 1 240, who postulates amfdala, améndola, amán-dola, = amygdala.

7. Notomizzare is the usual modern word meaning to “analyze”.

8. Cf. French apostume, with U because of the following labial(?), or -ūmen.

Puglia, for Apuglia; rena, for arena⁹; resta, for aresta, from arista; roganza, for arroganza; sala, from axale (assale is also modern); semblea (and sembrea), for assemblea; sensa, for ascensa, ascensione; stuzia and stuzica, for astuzia (the *Ō* of the second form by analogy of stuzzicare or the ending -ica); sugna, = "grasso dei visceri del maiale," from axungia (axis -ung(u)ere); velmaria, for avemmaria, with dissimilation of *M* to *L*; versiera, = "la moglie del diavolo," for avversiera; zienda, for azienda.

(b) Biondo (if from *ablundu— <*albundu-); bruotino (= "erba medicinale," a Sienese word; Florentine abruotano), from abrotonus (and abrotonum), ἀβρότονον;¹⁰ bruscello (= "acqua gelata sulle piante"), from arboscello, with previous metathesis of the *R*¹¹; cagiù, for acagiù (cf. French acajou); labauastro, for alabastro; lambicco¹²; leatico, for aleatico; loccaione, locco, from aluccus¹³, -the usual word is allocco; miraglia, for ammiraglio; moscino, if Caix' etymology is accepted, <Arabic almeśmas¹⁴; Pollinaro, for Apollinare; rabesco, for arabesco; ragno, from araneu-; rancio (= "colore dell' arancia")¹⁵; rematico, for aromatico¹⁶; Rimini, from Latin Ariminum; risticratico, for aristocratico; spàrago (sparàgio, spargo) for asparago; strolabio, for astrolabio; strologo, for

9. The two words arena and rena have different meanings to-day: rena = (approximately) sabbia; arena has been readopted as a literary word, = "anfiteatro, et sim."

10. The Latin form was feminine, hence: (il) la abrotonu(s) > la bruotono, and finally change in gender.

11. See Caix, Studi, No. 227; cf. §61 (c). This word also means "rappresentazione o farsa popolare", from the custom of singing May songs and fastening a branch to the sweetheart's door.

12. The forms alambico, alembicco, allimbicco, elemibico, limbiccare, et sim., also occur; for the derivation, see the Oxford Dictionary, under alembic: "French alambic, adapted (ultimately) from Arab.....al-anbiq.....Aphetized as early as the fifteenth century to lembeck, limbeck; full form scarcely appears again until the seventeenth century."

13. See Ducange under alucus and alucari.

14. Caix, Studi, No. 152.

15. The noun regularly has the vowel, arancia; narancia is also found. From Sanskrit nāgaranga.

16. The *E* in rematico is due to a confusion with the prefix re-, ri-, or perhaps the word was confused with reumatico, which in the 13th century was sometimes reduced to rematico.

astrologo; stronomo, for astronomo¹⁷; veggio (=“scaldino”)¹⁸.

(c) Bergare, for albergare, from the form abbergare; where in the LB has assimilated to BB (cf. §44 (a), note 1); cusare (in the Tavola Ritonda and elsewhere), for accusare; partenere, for appartenere; sassinare, for assassinare (sasso may have had some influence); scoltare, for ascoltare (unless it is a confusion of prefix, —EX- for supposed AD-); scondere, for ascondere; uto, for auto, for avuto.

(d) Senza (and sanza), if derived from absentia; sai, in the expression “so sai,” for “so assai”¹⁹.

45. **ARBITRARY APHERESIS.**—These cases are largely proper names, of which only a few are mentioned here. Meo, Mea, for Bartolommeo, -a; Tonio, Togno, for Antonio; Lena, for Maddalena; Cecco, for Francesco; etc., etc.; 'gnamo, for andiamo; testé, testeso, if from ante -ist' -ipsu-, as Körting

17. Also starlomaco, storlomia, istorlomia. The stages were probably as follows: astronomu(s), astronomo, stronomo (by apheresis or confusion with the resultant of the prefix EX- and other words commencing with S-impura). stronomaco (by analogy of such words as monaco, indaco, calonaco, mantaco, sindaco, cronaca and also astrolago, prolago, folaga), stornomaco (by metathesis of the R), storlomaco and storlomia (by dissimilation of N-M, cf. Girolamo); the form starlomaco was produced similarly through starnomaco, from stornomaco (O to A, by influence of the following R); the form istorlomia, after apheresis, has added a prosthetic I, by analogy of other words commencing with S-impura.

18. From *lapideu-, according to Guarnerio, Rom. XX 67 remark; laegio is also found. But cf. Canello, AG III 396, Caix, Studi, No. 653, W. Meyer, ZRPh VIII 216.

19. Sai here is doubtless from the usual ad-satis, and not merely satis. Nappo (=“meschiacqua d'argento o sim.”), from Germanic hnapp, later napf, presents nappo and anappo; the latter form seems to continue in its initial A the German aspirate, the former neglects it. Abada (=“femmina del rinoceronte”) has also the form bada, but the etymology is uncertain; see the Oxford Dictionary, under abada. Fogazzaro (Piccolo Mondo Antico) uses the form (dialectally) giutarlo (for aiutarlo), although the preposition a precedes the expression. Apheresis in which the vowel is undisturbed appears in aberinto, for laberinto (cf. “è un aberinto”); the form arbrinto also occurs; likewise, in the resultants of läbrüsca (sc. vitis; see Gröber ALL III 274), averustio (at Pistoia), abrostine, abrostino (also abrosco, abrostolo, ambrostolo, averusto, labrostino, lambrusco, raveruschio, raverusto,—see Caix, Studi, No. 69); likewise in avornello, from laburnu-. The form appamondo, for mappamondo, is curious; if a form nappamondo could be found, then un nappamondo might easily have produced un appamondo,—perhaps even un mappamondo may have assimilated to un nappamondo (cf. French nesple, natte, nappe, Italian nichio (from *μυρίλος* and *μῦρ(ι)λος* (?)).—M.-L., Ital. Gram. (the Italian translation by Bartoli and Braun), p. 27, bottom).

claims; such exclamations as *deddina* (cf. *a fè di Dio, fedde-dio, fediddio, affedibacco, affè dell 'oca, affeddieci, affeddedue, et sim.*).

46. AGGLUTINATION.—These cases usually arise from the passage of the final A of the definite or indefinite feminine article by confusion to the following noun: *aasma*, for *asma* (unless the speaker had the idea of imitating the difficulty of breathing experienced by the patient); *Acchineia*, for *Chinea*; *amagione*, for *magione*; *amandolino*, for *mandolino* (through the form *amandola*), for *mandòla*¹; *amarca*, for *marca*; *amortina*, for *mortina* (“*mortella*,” < *myrtus*); *anare* (= *narice*); *apostilla*²; *avisione*³; *astola*, for *stola*⁴; *aligusta* (and *arigusta*), for *ligusta* (see §67); *alloro*⁵.

47. SYNCOPE AND CONTRACTION.—Syncope occurred in *grofano*, for *garofano*, probably through the form *gherofano*, which also existed (from *caryóphyllu*-; see § 49). The following seem to be cases of contraction with a following vowel¹: *fogno* (=“*burrasca di vento con nevischio*”), from **faogno* < *favōniu*-²; an hypothetical **favillena*, from *favilla*, has given

§46. Note 1. The history of the word *mandòla*, is obscure; see the Oxford Dictionary, under *bandore*: “. . . the Romanic forms show much phonetic perversion . . . Italian *mandòla, pandora, pandura*; all represent Latin *pandura, -urium*, adapted from *πανδούρα* cf. *banjo*.”

2. The derivation of the two forms *postilla* and *apostilla* is not certain,—cf. French *apostille*, English *postil*.

3. Somewhat similarly Old French *avertin* (*vertigine*-).

4. The form *aasma* might even be dialectic.—cf. *M.-L.*, Gram. d. L. R. I, §258; “S. Fratello présente äa pour tout a entravé; äarba, täard, päas, däamp, bäank, fäat, etc.” The forms *aposticcio* and *apostumo*, rather than being cases of agglutination, are perhaps similar to the cases mentioned in §41, note 2. Agglutination with the consonant of the definite article appears in *latrìo, lape, landrone, lanca, lamo, làula* (= *l'avola*), and possibly also in *lazzero* (cf. *lazzo, azzerolo*-*M.-L.*, Ital. Gram., §§120, 196). The form *amoerre* (and less usually *amuerre*), for *moerre*, belongs here, also, perhaps; it was apparently borrowed from French *moire*, which in turn was taken from English *mo-hair*, earlier *mockaire*, from Arabic *mokkayyar*,—the word *mouaire* is in *Ménage* and *Chrétien* has *moire*.

5. *Laurus* was feminine in Latin. Cf. further *anvoglia* = “*invoglio*”, *ansegna*.—*Pieri*, AG XII 145; these are really reductions of AI to A, —see §85.

§47. Note 1. For secondary developments, see §85.

2. Cf. *M.-L.*, Ital. Gram., §141: “Dem italienischen Lexikon gehört *fogno* aus *favōnius* an, doch ist das Wort nicht toskanisch.” *Favonio* is the literary form.

falena (through *fa(β)illena > fa'lena, a reduction of secondary AI, -see §85), folena and fulena (through *fau(i)llena)²; Fetonte,³ from Phaetonte, Φαέθων; Laumedonte, for Laomedonte; so Maumettista (Machiavelli), for Maomettista (Medieval Latin Mahometus, Mahumetus, Machumetus); so faumele (and favomele, =“favo di miele,” “honey-comb”), from favus mellis⁴. The etymon West Indian or South American mahagoni (English mahogany, -also written in English mohogeney in 1671; Linnaeus mahagoni) is uncertain; the Italian forms are mōgano, magògano, mogògano, mogògon, —all modern.

48. EPENTHESIS.—Of A: in calabrone (=“sorta di vespone”), for *clabrone (not found in Petrocchi), from crabrone (Bembo), from crabrone- (Virgil, et al., =“hornet.”)¹.

49. INFLUENCE OF A FOLLOWING R.—There are a few cases where A before R has weakened to E¹. Smeraldo, from smaragdu-; cherovana, for caravana²; seracino, for saracino; guernire, guernitura, guernizione, sguernire, etc., for guarnire, etc., from *warnjan: guerire, etc., for guarire, from warjan; mercare (in the Montagna pistoiese), for marcare; ferale (=“fanale”), probably from φάρος; gerrettiera, for giarrettiera, from French jarretièrre; gheretto (peasant and illiterate), for garetto (cf. French jarret); gherofano (peasant), for garo-

3. Cf. M.-L., Gram. d. L. R., II, §451: “-ēnus, -ēna . . . c'est à peine si -ēnus, -ēna peut être considéré comme un suffixe . . . On n'en est que plus surpris de trouver, en roman, quelques formes nouvelles: . . . en toscan, folena (sans doute de favilla . . .).” Falena, fo-, and fu- are all modern; see §78. For the single L, cf. colui, bulicare, puledro, balestra. Favaleña is also found,—assimilation of vowels. On these words, see Caix, Studi, No. 323, and Flechia, AG II 341. Falena (“pesce”) is, of course, from φάλαρα,—cf. Latin balaena. Fetonte, mispronunciation of Latin æ?

4. Favomele (obsolete), remained for a time, by influence of favo, which has the same meaning and is still a modern word.

§48. Note 1. According to M.-L., Ital. Gram., §145, epenthesis of A exists also in palanca, for planca; but the word seems to come from palanga, for phalanga (cf. French palan(gue), and see Gröber, ALL IV 426. From planca, there is the Italian plancia, a French borrowing, which is an obsolete military term, and in Piedmont, pianca. See also Caix, Studi, p. 183.

§49. Note 1. This development is common in other unaccented positions,—see M.-L., Ital. Gram., §§119, 129.

2. The O in cherovana, because of the labial V,—Persian kārwan, Med. Latin carvana, caravanna, caravenna.

fano³; ermellino, for armellino, from OHGerm. harmo, —cf. French hermine; ferrana, from farragine- (farragine also exists, —cf. Spanish herrén); cerbottana (=blow-gun or reed⁴), from Arabic zarbatâna (cf. French sarbacane, Spanish zarbatana, cerbatana, cebratana, —ciorbottana is in Cellini); sermento, for sarmento⁴.

50. AL to AU.—Development of AL to AU takes place in auterrare, for alterar(si); autezza (in Guittone), for altezza; autare (in Buti's Comento and in the Bandi Lucch.), for altare; autrui and aultrui (in Guittone,—a combination of both spellings),—also under the accent, autro and aultro. This phenomenon seems to be connected with that of AU to AL, —see §82.

51. FOREIGN WORDS.—Overtura (French ouverture); frere (Fatti di Cesari) and friere (Tesoretto, —French frère); dom(m)aggio (French dommage); bodriere (and brodiere, by shift of R, and budriere at Florence, —French baudrier¹); busnaga and bisnaga (Spanish biznaga)²; tronvai (illiterate and peasant), for tranvai (English tramway)³; bedeguar =“spina bianca,” —from French⁴; ciajera (Old French chaiere, from cathedra)⁵; oboè, òboe, and uboè (French haut-bois); merino (Spanish merinos, from maiorinus?); someria (from French?)⁶; ciaramella, ceramella (French?)⁷; ciovetta

3. See §47.

4. Perhaps gherminella (=“inganno”) also belongs here,—see Caix, Studi, No. 336. Cherovana perhaps developed as follows: caravana, cheravana, cherevana (assimilation of vowels), cherovana (O through the V labial). Cerbottana, then, will have had a similar history, and ciorbottana would owe its first O to assimilation to the second. The words of German origin might owe their double forms in some cases to doublets in German, one with the umlaut and the other without. Pieri, AG XII, 143, records Bernabe at Pisa. Berlina (=“gogna”) also is a case, if derived from barellina, from bara, as Canello thought,—AG III 336.

§51. Note 1. OHGerm. bald(e)rich; see Zaccaria, under budriere.

2. Pastinaca is the literary word; see Caix, Studi, No. 217.

3. This tronvai, unless the O is merely an obscure pronunciation, might have been affected by the analogy of trono, = “tono, fulmine, forza”, used in the 14th century and still among the peasants.

4. See the Oxford Dictionary, under bedeguar,—ultimately Persian bādāwar.

5. Cf. Canello, AG III 385.

6. See Canello, AG III 310; Gröber, ALL V 456; Rönsch, ZRPh III 103.

7. See Ascoli, AG I 73, note 1.

(in Sacchetti; from OHGerm. *kawa*, through Old French *choete*, modern *chouette*), now reduced to *civetta*,—see §85.

52. MISCELLANEOUS.—*Ainino* (“*carta ainina*” in Jacopone, =“*cartapecora*”), from *agnīnu-*, is a dialectal development (cf. the development of *-agine-* to *-aina*)¹. For *gennaio*, see M. -L., Ital. Gram., §130, and Gröber ALL III 142; the form *gennaio* is learned. *Gesmino*, from Persian *jâsemîn*, is perhaps the same case as *gennaio*. The forms *aitale* and *aiquanto* suggest at once Provençal, but the second is a peasant word, so that perhaps they are both dialectal developments of the same nature as the Provençal, -cf. also the northern form *maitino*, for *mattino*². *Armoraccio*, for *ramolaccio*, is a shift of letters due to the R (and harmony of R-L to R-R), -cf. § 24, note 4. *Trebuco* is probably from the French, -cf. *trébuchet*, same meaning; *trabucco* arose by the analogy of *traboccare*. *Emiro*, from Arabic *amīr*, perhaps goes back to French also, -cf. English *emir*, *ameer*, and *admiral*. *Taupino*, for *tapino* (from *ταπεινός*), may have been produced by confusion with the cases mentioned in §§72 and 67 end,—as for example, *canoscere* and *caunoscere* were current, so *tapino* and *taupino*³. The double forms *rabarbaro*, *reubarbaro*, and *rapontico*, *reupontico*, have double etyma in *ra-* and *reu-*. *Ilzamento* (= *alzamento*), used by Ser Zucchero Bencivenni in his “*Esposizione del Pater Noster e dell’Ave Maria*” and registered by Petrocchi and Scarabelli, is perhaps an error? *Raugunare* (*Tavola Ritonda*) is apparently a mixture of *ragunare* and *raunare*.⁴

Ō Ő Ū Ū

53. CLASSIC LATIN Ō Ő Ū > VULGAR LATIN O (close or closing).

54. CLASSIC LATIN Ū > VULGAR LATIN U (close).

§52. Note 1. M.-L., Gram. d. L. R., I, §295.

2. Cf. Bianchi, *Dial. di Città di Castello*, 1888, p. 32, remark.

3. Cf. Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, §42 (2)? “*Taupini*” in an old Pisa-Lucca codex—see Barbi, in the *Raccolta D’Ancona* p. 244, “*taupinella . . . gente*” at Cortona, in the province of Arezzo in an old document,—see Mazzoni, *Prop.* 2a ser., II, III.

4. See §83.

55. The development of \bar{O} \bar{O} \bar{U} \bar{U} is much more complicated than that of E I, etc. At first appearance, these vowels seem to produce most erratically: O in some words, U in others, and O or U indifferently in still others. The following, however, seem to be the laws of development:

56. Vulgar Latin O (< \bar{o} \bar{o} \bar{u}) produced (1) normally O in Florence and in modern Italian; (2) U regularly in the following cases, (a) when the next syllable contained an accented I, (b) when it contained an unaccented I, (c) when the second syllable began with a palatalized consonant, and (d) when the second syllable began with voiced S; (3) U at least in many other cases among the illiterate and the peasants; (4) O or U by contamination of various kinds (see below).

57. Latin \bar{U} produced Italian U, but here, too, there are many perversions of various cause¹.

58. EXAMPLES OF THE REGULAR DEVELOPMENT TO O: *bottega*, *cocolla*, *cocomero*, *cocuzza*, *colore*, *coltello*, the preposition *con*, derivatives of the prefix CUM- (*comandare*, *compagno*, *comparire*, *comune*, *condurre*, *confuso*, *conoscere*, *consegna*, *contratto*, *convenire*, *cospetto*, *costume*), *conocchia*¹, *contadino*, derivatives of the prefix ECCU- (*colui*, *costui*, *cotale*, *cotanto*, etc.), *dolore*, *formaggio*, *Giovanni*, *lo*, *lontano*, *momento*, *monello*, *non*, derivatives of the prefix OB- (*obbedire*, *offesa*, *opporre*, *osservare*, *ossesso*, etc.), *odore*, *onore*, *oscuro*, *polenda*, derivatives of the prefix PRO- (*profondo*, *promettere*, *proseguire*, etc.), *sor* (from *seniore*-, in such expressions as *Sor Pasquale*), *sorpendere*, *sorsaltare*, *spontaneo*, derivatives of the prefix SUB- (*sobbollire*, *sobborgo*, *sopportare*, *sospetto*, *sostanza*, *sottendere*, *sotterrare* (from *sottotterrare*), *sottrarre*, *sovvertire*, etc.), *tormento*, *toscano*, etc.

59. The following are examples of the same, but the development might have been aided by allied or analogous forms, as indicated in the parentheses, and some are literary words: *boccone*, etc. (*bocca*), *cortese* (*corte*), *crollare* (*crolo*, etc.),

¹57. Note 1. See Introduction, §8.

¹58. Note 1. From **colucula*, *colus*; *canocchia* is used by Sacchetti, *Lor. Med.*, and is the popular form to-day. See §67.

dottore (dotto, literary), fondua (fondere), forchetta (forca), giocare (giuoco, etc.), giovare (giovio), giovenca (literary), monastero (literary?), morale (literary), orsacchio (orso), potere (può, posso, etc.), provare (provo, etc.), robusto (literary), rompeva, etc. (rompere), soffocare (soffoco), sorella (suora), volentieri, vorrò, etc. (voglio, vuole, etc.), etc.

60. PERVERSIONS: (a) Exceptions due to analogous or allied forms: buttare (butto, etc.), fungaccio (fungo), fuocato (fuoco), fuoruscito (fuori), lungaggine (lungo). (b) Exceptions due to other causes: cuculo, cuccù, cucuzza, apparently owing to a tendency to harmony of syllables, superbo probably literary, budello, analogy of budino or perhaps it is not Florentine, cuccagna, perhaps too recent to suffer the development, urlare, perhaps because of a vowel change in Latin,—French hurler would point to ūrlare <ūlulare.

61. EXAMPLES OF DEVELOPMENT TO U:

(a) BEFORE ACCENTED I bugia ("candela"), bulsina¹, cucina, cucire, cugino, dumila (but possibly analogy of due; dumila is obsolete), fruire (literary?), fucile, fucina (if from *focina), fuggire, pulcino, pulire, pulviscolo (semi-literary), pusingno (busigno, busignare, from *postcēniu-), ruggire, supino (literary?), uccidere, uffizio, uliva, uscire (from exire crossed with ostium)², rubizzo.

PERVERSIONS: bottiglia and bottino (analogy of botte), collina (colle), comignolo and comincio (analogy of compounds of CUM-; no Italian words begin with cum-), coprire (copro, coprono, coprano, etc.), così and costì (analogy of compounds of ECCU-, colui, costà, colà, etc.), covile (analogy of covo; Petrocchi says: "covo, lo stesso e più comune che covile"), lombrico (a popular word?), motivo (moto, muovere, etc.), polire (a modern peasant form for regular pulire), pollino (pollo), polvischio (polvere), possibile (literary, besides analogy of posso, etc.), rovina (? cf. ruina), sorridere, sogghigno, sos-

§61. Note 1. And bulsino, in Crescenzi, from pulsus "poco sano dei polmoni"; cf. mod. bolsaggine, from bolso. Cugino is probably not originally Italian.

2. Or perhaps ūstium. For ūstium, see M.-L., in Gröber's Grundriss I² 468; Studi Medievali I 613; F. Schramm, Sprachliches zur Lex Sallustiana, 25.

piro, soffrire (analogy of compounds from SUB-; in the case of soffrire, also soffro, etc.).

(b) BEFORE UNACCENTED I: culizione (a peasant term and used also in the mountains for colazione), cupidigia (literary?), cuticagna, pulcinella, pulimentare, pulizia, sufficiente (literary?), ubbidire, Ulivieri, usignolo (and rusignolo).

PERVERSIONS: cocciniglia (not a popular word), combinare and continuare (analogy of compounds of CUM-), cotidiano (literary?), crocifisso (croce), giovinezza (giovine), molinello (mulinello is the popular form), moltitudine (molto), movimento (movere, etc.), obbligare (obbligo, besides literary?), opinione (literary?), ordinare (ordino), orologio (orologio, ora, besides being a late word), rosignolo (dialectic?), solitudine (solo).

(c) BEFORE A PALATALIZED CONSONANT: (in some cases an allied form may have had an influence in the development) bruscello³, buccellato⁴, bucciare, bucello (perhaps influenced by bue), bugliolo, buglione⁵, crucciarsi, cucchiaio, dubbioso, fulgetro (literary? Lorenzo de' Medici), furioso (furia), fuscello, m'ugnaio, pugnale (pugno), Ruggero, scuriata, sdruciolare, succedere (sucedette in Bono Giamboni), soggetto (Boccaccio), suggezione (more popular than sog-), ubriaco⁶, uggioso (if from odiosu-).

PERVERSIONS: cognato (analogy of other compounds from CUM-?), corriere (correre), fuorchindere, fuorviare (fuori), moscerino (mosca), obbliare (analogy of compounds of OB-), porcellino (porco), soggetto and soggiogare (analogy of compounds of SUB-).

(d) BEFORE VOICED S: Giuseppe (cf. Giovanni), usatto⁷, usliere (see §39(c)).

PERVERSIONS: osanna (a literary word; the old language has usanna).

3. From arbuscellu-; see Caix, *Studi*, 2, 227.

4. A derivative of BUCCA; "sorta di ciambella di Lucca."

5. Bugliolo = "specie di bigonciolo": buglione, in Sacchetti et al., possibly French. Both are derivatives of BULLIRE.

6. *EBRIACU-> obriaco, by labialization (see §29(a)), then ubriaco and ubbriaco. Rustico di Filippi has sumigliato.

7. Usignolo, rusignolo, also belong here; see under (b).

62. **ILLITERATE DEVELOPMENT TO U.** The following words described by Petrocchi as "volgare", "del contado", and "termine delle montagne" seem to indicate a much more general tendency of U among the lower classes: *cucchieri* (*cocchiere*), *culiseo* (*colosseo*), *cultello*, *cultivare*, *Fullonica*, (*Follonica*), *mumento*, *prufessore*, *prumessa*, *prumettere*, *pruscenico* (*proscenio*), *prutesta*, *prutezione*, *pulenda*, *pu(v)esia*, *pu(v)eta*, *rubusto*, *rugantino*, *scultellarsi*, *spuntaneo*, *sputestare* (*spotestare*), *subborgo*, *ubbiare*, *ubbligare* and *ubbrigare*, *udore*, *ufesa*, *unore*, *uperazione*, *upinione*, *urigine*, *zulfanello*.

63. **DOUBLE FORMS:**—The forms showing O and U are very numerous in the old language. In the modern, one form is usually favored. In many cases the confusion would very readily arise from accent-shifting in the various forms of the same or related words,—for example, *pulvischio* would seem to be the regular form and *porvischio* perverted by *polvere*. Forms accented on the first syllable have sometimes perverted the other forms and sometimes the reverse has happened. Besides these causes, literary influence and dialect intrusion are ever present to add to the confusion. A few examples of the many will suffice to show these types:

- boccellato* is Lucchese, *buccellato* is Florentine;
boffetto is the regular form, *buffetto* is influenced by *buffo*;
bolicame, influenced by *bolle*, etc., *bulicame*, regular and influenced by forms *buglire*, *bugliolo*, etc.;
bolina, dialectic, *bulina*, regular¹;
bullire, influence of forms accented on the O, *bullire*, obsolete, is regular;
bollente, modern, influence of forms accented on the O, *bugliente*, regular in Passavanti;
borrone, *burrone*,² both modern, the latter preferred (why?);
bottega is Florentine, *buttiga* and *bottiga* are Old Sienese;
cocomero is the regular modern form, *cucumero* is used by San-nazaro;
coprire, influenced by *copro*, *coprono*, etc., *cuprire* is Sienese;

¹63. Note 1. From Dutch *boelijn*, a bowline.

2. Probably from Greek *βούροσ*; *budrlone* at Modena.

- coratella, regular modern, curatella is the illiterate form and curata is used by Sacchetti probably by the same influence³;
- corriere, irregular through correre, currieri is of the Montale;
- così, irregular by analogy with colui, cotanto, costà, colà etc., cusì in the Chron. Pis., 46, and living in the Montagnapistoiese;
- crostaceo, regular literary, crustaceo, irregular more literary;
- focile, obsolete and irregular through the influence of fuoco, fucile is modern and regular;
- fondare, modern and regular, fundare in Machiavelli et al., literary(?);
- follone, in Giov. Villani, fullone, both obsolete;
- forbondo, in the Centiloquio, furore, literary, analogy with furia;
- giocare, regular modern, giocare, giuchevole, giucolare, in the old writers passim, may be a reduction of giuocare, etc., or a trace of the development mentioned in §62;
- monastero, modern and regular, munastero in Fr. da Barberino;
- molino, perhaps semi-literary, mulino is the commoner and more popular form, both used to-day;
- obbedire and ubbidire are both regular, the latter more popular, the former maintained also by analogy to the other derivatives of OB- (observe that there is no obbidire or ubbedire);
- occidere, common everywhere in the old language, formerly retained by analogy to the compounds of OB-, uccidere is the regular modern form;
- ufficiale, more literary than ufficiale;
- oliva, semi-literary, uliva, the popular form;
- orsacchio, regular and also preserved by orso, ursacchio (obsolete) is probably dialectic from a region where urso is used;
- porcellino, irregular through analogy with porco, purcellino is Aretine;
- robicondo (obsolete), dialectic, rubicondo, mod. literary, rubi-

3. Cf. French curée.

cante, rubicondare in Berni and the *Ottimo Comento*; rollio, rullio, the latter the modern form⁴; rogiada, in Boiardo, dialectic, rugiada, regular and modern; sogattolo, sogatto, sovatto, and sugatto⁵; soperbo, 13th century and living among the peasants, superbo, literary; sostanza, sopportare, sobbolire, soffocare, etc., etc., are regular Florentine forms, but sustanza (13-16 centuries), suvertire (14), suttrarre (13), supportare (Bembo), subbollire (Caro and Ségneri di Nettuno), suffocare (Guicciardini), etc., etc., are numerous in the old language and may be dialectic, literary, or a trace of the illit. development mentioned in §62.

64. EXAMPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF VULGAR LATIN U > ITALIAN U:—These are taken at random and include literary words, which have the same development: brucare, bruciare, bruire¹, brunire, brusio, bubbone, butirro², crudele, curioso, custode, durare, frugale, frullana, frullare³, fuliggine, funerale, funesto, funzionare, fustaiolo, futilità, futuro, giudicare, giumento, giurare, giustizia, lucignolo, ludibrio, luminello, lunedì, lussuria, mucino, munerare, municipio, munire, museo, mustella, mutande, nutrire, plurale, prudente, prurito, pubertà, pulcella, puleggio, pungiglione, punire, pupivori, purgare, purulento, puttana, rumore, rurale, struggeva, etc.⁴, strumento, su, truante, tubercolo, tutore, uligine, umano, umore, uncino, unguento, unione, unire, upiglio,⁵ usare, ustilaggine, usurpare⁶.

4. Perhaps neither rollio nor rullio are Italian.

5. Diez: subactu-; M.-L. accepts this etymology; why not a derivative of *soga*?

§64. Note 1. For the original vowel cf. Fr. *bruire*.

2. *Burro*, the usual modern word, is from the French.

3. From **fiuctulare*.

4. From **dēstrūgo*.

5. From **ūlpiculu-*, diminutive of *ulpicum* (short initial u), used by Cato; see Gröber, ALL VI 145 and D'Ovidio AG XIII 423.

6. As a matter of fact, it is tempting to group these words with the development of *ō ū*. If one were to remove the literary examples, those influenced by an allied or analogous form, and those conforming to the regular development of (as *upiglio*, *mucino*, etc.), there would be few exceptions left to explain. Cf. Grandgent, *Introd. to Vulg. Lat.*, §228.

65. DOUBLE FORMS.—(a) The perversions in the following seem to have existed in Vulgar Latin: *lordura*, from *lordo*, from **lūridu-*, Classic *lū*, cf. French *lourd*; *nodrire* (now literary and poetic, formerly very common), from **nūtrire*, cf. French *nourrir*, Classic *nū-*; *ontuoso*, obsolete for *untuoso*, from **ūnctuosu-*, Classic *ūnc-*, cf. French *oindre*; *orina* and *urina*, from **ūrina* and Classic *ū-*, cf. Old French *orina* and Spanish *orina*; *ortica* modern, and *urtica*, obsolete, from **ūr-tica* and Classic *ūr-*, cf. French *ortie*¹; *poggio* and *puleggio*, from **pūleju-* and Classic *pū-*; *polmonare* and *pulmonare*, from **pūl-* and Classic *pūl-*, cf. French *poumon*; *pontare* (Sacchetti et al.) and *puntare*, from **pūnctare*, Classic *pūnc-*, cf. French *point*; *scodella*, modern, and *scudella* (living among the peasants and in the mountains), from **scūtella*, Classic *scū-*. (b) Some other preversions are dialectic; *osanza*, *omore* are found in Old Sienese; *prodenza*, *omano*, *otilità* in Albertano; *giomente* (for *giumento*) in Guittone; *sprodena* in the Valdichiana. (c) Other cases are dialectic or of doubtful cause: *bolimia* and *bulimia* (both literary), *costodia* (Lasca), *lossuria* (obsolete), *moriciolo* (Fior. di S. Franc.), *oncino* (popular for *uncino*), *osura* (obsolete), *polzella* (for *pulcella*), *rogumare* (for *ruminare*), *romore* (still used), *scoiattolo*, *stromento* (and *stormento*, *sturmento*)².

66. VOWEL ASSIMILATION.—*Tedesco*, from Gothic *thiudiskô* (*todesco* in Filelfo); *micina* (less commonly *micino*,—whence, working backwards, also *micio*), if from Latin **musio*; *silimato*, for *solimato*, from *sublimatu-*; *pricissione*, an illit. and peasant word for *processione*¹; *filiggine*, from *fuligine*²; *squittinio*, from *sc(r)utiniu-*; *stipidire*, for *stupidire*; *uguanno* (a peasant word), from *hocqu(e)-annu-*, “quest’anno”³; *avannotto*, “tutti i pesci di fiume nati di fresco,” is

§65. Note 1. In any case the Florentine form would be *urtica*.

2. See Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, §59, 3.

§66. Note 1. Unless this is a case of confusion of prefix, *pre-* for *pro-*, in which case the development was *processione* > *pricissione* > *pricissione*. *Pricissionando*, mod. Florentine, in Prop. V (part 1), p. 151-2.

2. *Fuliggine* is also in use.

3. M.-L., *Ital. Gram.* (Bartoli and Braun's translation), §66: “l'u-è come l'ombra proiettata dal gu della sillaba seguente.” There is also an aphetic form *guanno*, and a form *unguanno* with an epenthetic *n*, and *uguannotto*. Cf. the similar development of *eguale* to *uguale*.

the same word, with assimilation to the *a*⁴; *saldo*, etc., from *solidu-*, seem to have arisen in forms of the verb where the first syllable was unaccented,—*saldare*, *saldavano*, etc.⁵

67. VOWEL DISSIMILATION.—The dissimilation takes place between the same vowels and sometimes between similar vowels, O and U: *serocchia* and *sirocchia*, from *sororcula*¹; *velume* and *vilume*, for *volume*; *vilucchio* and *viluppo*; *bifonchiare* (and *sbufonchiare*), for *bofonchiare*²; *ligostrà* (and *aligustà*), from *locustà*; *inorare*, for *onorare*,—the prefix *in-* probably assisted in this change; *bifolco*, for *bofolco*, from *bubulcu*³; *Ridolfo* (Dante, *Purg.* VII 94,—*Scarabelli* mentions four forms: *Ro-*, *Ru-*, *Ra-*, and *Ri-*); *tigurio* (14th century), for *tugurio*; *timulto* (14th century), for *tumulto*; *rimore* (Fr. da Barberino and a modern peasant form), for *romore*, *rumore*. A curious change, apparently of a dissimilative nature, took place in the following (it is noticeable that several of these cases commence with initial *ca-*): *canoscere* (*Pier delle Vigne*, *Guitt.*, et al., but living in the *Montagna pist.*), for *conoscere*; *canocchia*, for *conocchia*, from *colucula*, from *colus*; *calostrà* (at *Pistoia*), for obsolete *colostrà*, “the first milk after calving”; *ramanziere*, etc. (*Passavanti*, *Tavola Ritonda*); *cavelle* (in the old writers), for *covelle* (from ? *quod vellis*), both obsolete. Change from O to A before R, possibly also dissimilative, took place in *arlogio*, for *orologio*, *argoglianza*, *argoglio*, etc. for *orgoglio*, etc., *tartaruga*, evidently a reduplication (cf. *Siense tartuca*)⁴.

4. In this case, *uguannoto* (see note 3) apparently produced a form *aguannotto*, whence *avannotto*, as *avale* from *aguale* for *eguale*. *Caix* mentions the *Emilian* form *anguanin*, “*vitello d'un anno*”,—cf. English “yearling”. See *Caix*, *Studi*, No. 4.

5. *Cravatta* is not an assimilated form of *crovatta*; the etymon is double: *Croate*, *Cravate*. For other cases of assimilation, some more doubtful, see *Caix Studi*, pp. 178–185. In an old text from *Pisa-Lucca*, there is *pevertà* and *Actaviano*,—see *Barbi*, in the *Raccolta D'Ancona*.

§67. Note 1. This weakening is old,—see *Grandgent*, *Introd.* to *V. L.* §229 (6).

2. *Būfo*, in *Virgil*,—these all seem to contain the same root which is preserved in English *puff*.

3. See *M.-L.*, *Ital. Gram.*, §11.

4. Derivatives of *tortus*—see *Gröber*, *ALL VI* 128. *Aricalco* is also found for *oricalco*, where dissimilation cannot be alleged; the change here seems due either to the R or to assimilation of the vowels of the two syllables bearing the primary and secondary accents.

68. CONFUSION OF PREFIX.

(a) Intrusion of Ad: accupare (illit. and in the *Montagna pist.*), for occupare; addurare, for Latin obdurare; abrobrio, for obbrobrio; affogare, for Latin offocare; assedio, for Latin obsediu-.

(b) Intrusion of Præ: preposito (*Montalese*), for proposito.

(c) Intrusion of DE-: dimestico, for domestico.

69. ANALOGY.—Alicorno, confused with the form alifante (for elefante; cf. §28), and liocorno, confused with lione, for unicorno; filucolo (a peasant term, "mulinello di vento"), from folliculu-¹; bonpresso, analogy of b(u)ono (cf. French *beaupré*); avvoltoio, from vulturiu-, analogy of avvolto, avvolgere; pedagra, for podagra, by analogy of p(i)ede; ombaco (at Lucca), evidently a crossing of opaco and ombra; ramertino, from ros-marinus, by analogy of ramo; maniglia, "handle", a crossing of monile and mano; manile, a crossing of monile and mano, likewise; nunziale (modern popular, for nuziale), by analogy of nunziare; torraiolo and terraiolo are terms used of a certain species of pigeon, and, whether confusion or not, the former felt the influence of torre, the latter that of terra; frulletto, in the sense of "folletto", by analogy of frullare; pulizione, for punizione, is perhaps a half humorous confusion with pulire; brunata, for brinata, by influence of brunire; sollalzare, = "alzare un poco", and soalzare, for "sollazzare", are confusions of the forms and meanings of the resultants of subaltiare and solatium; iscurità after apheresis, and other similar words received their initial I by the analogy of the resultant of EX-, etc.,- cf. Prov. *escur* and see §16; suicidiarsi (modern illiterate for suicidiarsi) is perhaps a popular confusion with suicido, sudicio, or a regular reduction of UI to U,—see § 85.

70. APHERESIS.—Naturally apheresis is here most common in the case of masculine nouns; but there are several other cases, also. Spedale, for ospedale; riso, from ὄρυζα; lezzo,

§69. Note 1. See Caix, *Studi*, No. 319. This is really metathesis of vowels under the influence of *filare*: folliculu-> fullicolo> filucolo.

= "puzzo," from *olīdiu-; leandro, for oleandro; ràgano (in the Montagna pistoiese), for uragano; regamo, from ῥάγανον; leto, letare (at Lucca, = "sudicio di sterco"), from olētu-¹; probbio (G. Villani), brobbrio, etc. (in the old writers passim), for Latin opprobriu-; seuro, for oscuro; cagione, from occasione-; bacio, from *opaci(v)u-²; micidiale, from *homicidiale-; vunque (13th and 14th centuries), for ovunque; Noferi, for Onofrio³; Loferno (Boccaccio), for Oloferne; puppula, bubbula, from a diminutive of upupa; suzzacchera, "sorta d'acetosa", for ossizzacchera, from oxysaccharu-, from ὄξύ and σάκχαρον. Apheresis of an arbitrary kind occurred in the following: tavia (peasant and mountain word), for tuttavia; mentre, for domentre (obsolete), from duminteri(m), through *dementre-; in the numerous derivatives from βόμβυξ, -υκος, the silkwork,—bigherino (a kind of lace), bigattiera ("edifizio o luogo dove si allevano bachi da seta"), bighellone ("a loafer"), bigio, etc.⁴; in names like Beppe, from Giuseppe, Nencia, Tancia, Beca, from Domenica, Menico, from Domenico, Maso, from Tommaso, Fazio, from Bonifazio, Mizio, from Domizio, Nanni, Vanni, from Giovanni, etc.; friscello ("spolvero"), from furfuricellu-⁵; bellico (the usual modern word), from umbellicu-⁶.

71. SYNCOPE.—This contraction is likely to occur between a mute and an R: sprone, from Old German sponon, passing through sporone, sperone, sprone; friscello, from (fur)furicellu-¹; bricco, = "asino" and "becco", from Latin bur(r)icu-; pretto, for puretto, and priccio (at Siena, -cf. "villan priccio"), from puriccio; frana, from voragine-²; cruna, if from corona³;

§70. Note 1. See Caix, Studi, No. 377.

2. For P > B, cf. bottega, bubbula; for the disappearance of the V, cf. natio (nativu-), ratio (errativu-), etc.; there is a dialect form ovich. See AG II 2 seq.

3. Noferi is used in the following expressions: "far il Noferi" = "fare il nesci", "essere, restare come ser Noferi," = "sul lastrico".

4. For bigio, meaning a color, cf. vermiglio from verme-. On these words, cf. Caix, Studi, Nos. 11, 72, 201, Flechia AG II 39, Parodi, Rom. XXVII 223, Nigra AG XIV 280.

5. See Caix, Studi, No. 326.

6. Ombrico, from lombrico, is a case of apheresis of the consonant L, by confusion with the definite article.

§71. Note 1. See §70, note 5.

2. Cf. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §193.

3. M.-L., Ital. Gram., §§11 and 143.

collare <*corrotulare. More or less arbitrary contraction took place in Dante, from Durante; *sustrissimo* (illiterate, or ironical, or jocular), for "illustrissimo"; Gianni, for Giovanni; and *cutrettola*, from *coda* (*cauda*) -*trepida*⁴.

72. O>AU.—This is a development peculiar to the south and is not Tuscan; it seems to be merely the reverse development of AU>O (see §78): *caunoscere*, *auriente*, *aunorare*, *aulente*, *aulore*, *audore*, *auccidere*, *ausignolo*, etc. Returning north, AU seems to have given AL in some cases; this is apparently a learned pronunciation: *alcidere* (whence *ancidere*, as *arcipresso* (see § 28), then *alcipresso*, then *ancipresso*¹.)

73. FOREIGN WORDS.—*Belluardo*, by analogy of *bello*, and *baluardo*, by vowel assimilation (from French *boulevard*, from German *bollwerk*); *estudiantina* (Spanish); *damerino*, *dami-gella*, etc., (French); *muftì*, *muesino*, *muez-zino* (Arabic); *burocrazia* (French); *durlindana* (French); *luterano* (Martin Luther); *buffè* (French); *blusetta* (French); *rosbiffe* and *risbiffe* (the latter illiterate and peasant,—from English); *toeletta*, *toelette*, *toilette*, *toletta*, *tuelette* (French); *burgravio*; *burgensatico*; *burro* (French,—the Italian word was *butirro*); *brulotto*, *brulottiere* (French *brûlot*); *dozzina* (French); *bol-drò*, *buldrò*, *buldroghe*, etc. (English); *buristo* (a peasant and Sienese term, according to Caix, *Studi* No. 239, from German *wurst*; *buzzurro* ("svizzero che vien in Italia d'inverno a vender bruciate, polenda, ecc.", a recent word from German *putzer*?); *bustorfio* "gli eruditi alemanni", from *Buxstorf*, the name of three of them; *forgone*, "moving-van", *frugone*, "truck", *furgone*, "tender (French *fourgon*)"; *foriere*, *furiere* (French *fourrier*); *orangutàn*, *urango*, *orangutano*, etc. (a modern borrowing from Malay *orang houtan*); etc.

74. MISCELLANEOUS CASES.—For *ginepro*, from Latin *jū-niperu-*, see M. -L., *Ital. Gram.*, §130,—this seems to be merely a secondary reduction of *giu-* to *gi-*,—see §85. Classic Latin

4. Other forms are *cucutrettola*, *cutretta*, *scucutrettola*, *scutrettolare*; on this dubious word, see Flechia, *AG* II 325, remark 2.

§72. Note 1. See Caix, *Studi*, No. 1. F. G. Fumi, in the *Miscellanea Caix-Canello*, pp. 95-99, concerning O> AU, AO, and A, considers them all to be a confusion of the various dialect forms.

coagulum and its derivatives have produced coagularsi (literary), quaglio (regular), and caglio (from forms with atonic initial syllable, like cagliare).¹

75. DIALECTS¹.—Pieri states in reference to the O-U development in Tuscany today: “. . . Quanto a questo fenomeno, il dialetto toscano che oggi vi mostra una più spiccata inclinazione è senza dubbio l'aretino; di poco minore, il fiorentino e il pisano; meno di tutti v' inclina il lucchese”.² A consultation of numerous documents does not throw a great deal of light on the subject³. The cases in which Florence has U have already been detailed (§§61, 62). The old language does not seem to differ from the modern, except in less fixity of forms, due to influences (Latin, dialect), which have now in a large degree lost their force. Prato shows the same results as Florence. In Group 2 of the Tuscan dialects, Pistoia today has, according to Petrocchi, furitano, muscino (for Florentine moscerino), rumicciare (and romicciare in the Montagna); in the thirteenth century⁴ we find cusì and quite regularly u (from ubi); otherwise nothing remarkable. In Lucca: thirteenth century document⁵: u (from ubi); in a document of 1268⁶: u (from ubi), Currado (invariably, seven times); in a document of 1330-1384⁷: ugnomo (for ogni nomo), pucella (from puellicella), muglieri, but occidrò, etc. (beside u-), ro-

§74. Note 1. Peculiar cases, in which the vowel of the initial syllable is not disturbed are the following. (a) prothesis of a consonant in lusanza, for usanza; lunicorno, for unicorno; lusuraio (modern illiterate and peasant), for usuraio; limicare (at Arezzo, “pioviscolare”) and lamicare (at Pistoia, by some analogy?), according to Caix, Studi, no. 42 from *hūmicare; (b) shifts of various kinds in: nuledi (peasant), for lunedì; fornire, from frumjan (cf. French fournir; Pieri, AG XII, 156, gives the Pisan form frumiare); tromento, for tormento; drottina, for dottrina; Orlando, for Rolando; grolioso, groliare (and grolia; in the old language and modern illiterate and peasant), for glorioso, etc.

§75. Note 1. This § is based on the arrangement and documents of §37, which should be consulted.

2. See AG XII, 115, note 2.

3. The writer has consulted a great many without being able to draw very satisfactory conclusions. Some of them are mentioned in §37, which see.

4. Monaci, pp. 160-161, 194-195,—very little here.

5. Monaci, pp. 193-4.

6. Monaci, 327-328.

7. Bongl, Prop. 2a ser., III, parte 1a, pp. 75-134.

fiana, etc. (commoner than ru-) romore; Pieri's article⁸: cugnato, cuscensia, cuglione, ruvina (all of which would be expected in Florence), but coscino, oncino, popillo, polcino, officiale, molina, and pulenta, muneta, curtello (for coltello), scudella and piomaccio. Lucca to-day also shows foritano, in distinction to Pisa's furitano. Fagnano⁹, in the fourteenth century seems to incline to O; obedire, offendere, soportare, offitio (twice), officio (three times), offictio, officiali (sic), but ufficio (once), and uscita. In a Pisa-Lucca document of about 1300¹⁰: cocina, notrica, soperbia, torbato, but hubediscio, dulente, uulentieri (and uo), cusì, cului, cutale. Pisa: in a document of 1279¹¹: incuminzi, lunedì and lonedì; in a document of 1279¹²: docato, Corrado; Pieri's article¹³: cocire (and cucire), cosino, scottino (for scrutinio), notricare, oncino, rofiano, but prutesta, muneta, mumento, cuscienza, unore, uodorato, curtello (for coltello), scudella, cutale, culoro, cusì, all modern forms, and cugnato, cunsegnare, old forms. GROUP 3, Siena, according to Hirsch¹⁴ and Parodi¹⁵, seems to refer U, but there is even greater vacillation than between the development to I and E. According to Petrocchi, the following are modern Siense: sgrullata (for crollata), cumune, custume, furitano, cuprire, cuprime, pultrone (for poltrona), Currado. GROUP 4, Arezzo: in the old language¹⁶: sustantia, sublime (perhaps both learned), murrano (for morranno), sutile regularly, suggiugare, unguento, mulino, ubidiscie, ucidere, suficiente, unor (for onore), u (from ubi,—regularly in Guittone, but Ristoro has o), but scodella (in Ristoro), obbriare (from *oblitare), mogliere (besides au and ao, for regular O¹⁷). Cortona has obedientia, Ioseppo, suave, and munditia; but this document is literary and therefore untrust-

8. AG XII,—see §37, note 16.

9. See §37, note 18.

10. See §37, note 19.

11. Monaci, pp. 356-7.

12. Monaci, pp. 357-9.

13. AG XII.

14. ZRPh IX.

15. Rom. XVIII.

16. For the documents, see §37.

17. See §72.

worthy.¹⁸ The Valdichiana, according to the few examples given by Petrocchi, shows U decidedly: spruvisto (for sprovvisto), vultelere (for voltolare), vulintieri, urivuolo (for orologio), but sprodente (for *sprudente, for imprudente).

AU

76. Classical Latin AU has a double development.—1. Already in Vulgar Latin, AU, if followed by an accented U in the next syllable, became A¹; 2. in other cases, AU produced U in Florence and hence in the Italian language.

77. EXAMPLES:

(a) Of development to A: ascolta, from auscultat, whence spreading to the other forms of the verb, wherein the form was not AU-Ū, ascoltare; agosto (Sant' Agostino, agustale); agurio, (agura, aùrio, sciagura, sciaùra, etc.);

(b) Of development to U: uccello (<aucellu- <au(i)cellus), udire, fiutare (<*flautare <flau(i)tare), lusinga (Provençal lauzenga), bugiare and bugia (<bausjan), rubare (raub-), usbergo (Provençal ausberc), lubbione (laubja-one), fulena (modern illiterate, <faullena <fau(i)llena), ustarda (au(i)starda <avis-tarda, -see §44^(a), and note 2 to same), possibly uccidere (<aucidere¹, Classic occidere).

78. EXCEPTIONS.—These are mostly all learned, in which case AU is found, and partly dialectal, where AU or O is found according to the dialect (see §84): augurare, auspicale, (es)audire, auscultazione (and oscultare, same meaning,—the latter apparently borrowed like the former from French, but with the French pronunciation of AU), agosto, audace, auditore, gaudente, autentico (but regularly utentico in the Tavola Ritonda), aumentare (the common word is crescere), laudare (the common word is lodare, -O by the influence of the forms accented on the first syllable, lode, loda, etc.), autunno, auripimento, pauperello (in the Boezio), naufragio, naumachia,

18. See §37, note 30.

§76. Note 1. See Grandgent, *Introd. to V. Latin*, §228.

§77. Note 1. *Op. cit.*, §212: "Umbrian and Faliscan had o in place of Latin au: . . . So, in general, the dialects of northern and central Italy . . ."

paucifero, mausoleo, etc. These examples are all of literary origin; the following are dialectal forms: folena, osbergo, lōsenga (in Boiardo, -the last two are northern forms and possibly folena is likewise, -falena is the regular modern form, fo- is popular, fu- is illiterate), augello, ausgello, etc. (southern forms, —augello is still retained in poetic use), odire (odendo used by Cammelli and Petrocchi states that some tenses still survive, —these by analogy of forms accented on the first syllable, òdo, etc., rather than through dialectal influence), orbacca and orbaco (from lauri-bacca and lauri-baco, respectively, with apheresis of the l by confusion with the article, probably dialectal), orecchio (from lo'recchio—urecchio is a modern illiterate and peasant form), ottarda (in Redi of Arezzo, -from autarda, cited by Pliny, for au(is)tarda), Lorenzo (dialectal or semi-literary).

79. ANALOGY.—Robare, for rubare, by analogy of roba; orpello, from auri-pell-is, by analogy of oro; odire, for udire, by analogy of forms accented òdo, etc. (see §78); ontoso, by analogy of onta, from haunida (ointoso, at Siena, with the original I passed from after to before the N,—cf. bointà, etc.); povertà, by analogy of povero; pochino, etc., from poco (but puchino at Arezzo); noleggio, by nolo; dorare, from d(e)-aurare, by analogy of oro, —so, also, doradilla, etc.; rocag-gine (modern popular for "raucedine"), by analogy of roco; lodare, from lode, etc.; godere, from godo, gode, godono, etc. (gòdere is still a popular variant of godére); boccale (from baucale), by analogy of bocca; orezzo, by analogy of òra (from aura); loggione, by analogy of loggia.

80. VOWEL ASSIMILATION.—Ogosto, a peasant and mountain word for agosto¹.

81. APHERESIS.—Recchia, recchiata, etc., for orecchia, etc.; rezzo, from *auritiu-; rigogolo, from aurigalgulu-¹; retta (in the expression "dar retta"), if from a diminutive of auris; Gosto,

§80. Note 1. Also found at Lucca: see Pieri, *AG* XII 116. Utonno, for autunno, is found in the *Volgarizzamento della Metamorfosi d' Ovidio*; if it is not an error, it may be a dialectic pronunciation of otonno, which would be a case of vowel assimilation.

§81. Note 1. For aurigalbulus; see Gröber, *ALL* II 431.

Gostino, for Agosto, etc.; sbergo, -a, for usbergo (the regular dropping of prosthetic I- before s -impura would have helped this apheresis). More arbitrary apheresis occurs in proper names, as usual², —Renzo, for Lorenzo, Cencio for Vincenzo or Lorenzo (from forms in -ncio).

82. AU > AL.—This seems to represent a clerical pronunciation of AU, a phenomenon lasting some time¹: *alcelli*, (es)aldire (G. Cavalcanti, S. Girolamo, Lorenzo de' Medici, et al.), aldire, alditore, aldace (Cellini), galdente, galdere, etc., laldare, fraldare, et sim., altore, altorità². Furthermore, by confusion, we have *aultentico*, *aultorità*, *laudare*, *gauldere*, *auldace*.

83. MISCELLANEOUS.—*Ciausire*, *ciausimento*, come directly from Provençal, from German *kausjan*¹. In *agumentare*, for *aumentare*, is present the effort to destroy the hiatus in *au-* (cf. *ragunare*, for *raunare*, from *re-a(d)-unare*),— *augmentare* is a mixture of both forms, like *raugunare*. *Aurispiceo*, *aurispicio*, etc., are confusion of *aruspice* and *auspice*. *Aunito*, “*svergognato*,” is a Provençal form. *Asbergo*, for *usbergo* (in the *Intelligenza*), is apparently prosthesis of A from the feminine article². *Cavicoli*, a plural substantive, architectural term, from Classic Latin *cauliculus*, diminutive of *caulis*, “*stalk*,” perhaps arose through analogy with *cavicchio*. *Chiusura*, etc., came from the forms accented *chiùdo*,³ etc. *Mussoni*, for *monsoni*, is apparently a modern borrowing⁴.

84.—DIALECTS.—There is not sufficient material for obtaining satisfactory results concerning the development of *Au*. Classic Latin *AU-Ū*, having given *A-Ū* already in Vulgar Latin, Tuscan,— and Italy in general,— shows *A*. In other cases,

2. See §30 end. and §45.

§82. Note 1. See Caix, *Origini*, §71; M.-L., *Ital. Gram.*, §§100 and 125.

2. For these and similar forms, see Caix, *Origini*, §68.

§83. Note 1. See Zaccaria, p. 87.

2. There was a feminine form, —cf. §81. Cf. also M.-L., *Ital. Gram.*, §138.

3. Although this is the regular development of *AU* in forms not accented on the first syllable, *clüdere* was a Vulgar Latin form,—see Grandgent, *Introd. to V. L.*, §211 (2).

4. The French form is *mousson*, according to D.-H.: “*pour monson . . . du port. monção . . . arab. mausim*”.

Florence shows U; GROUPS¹ 2 and 3 seem to have inclined and still to incline to O: at Pisa, odire²; Pisa-Lucca³: oderai, odrai; Siena⁴: odesti, odire, odeste, odito, odendo; GROUP 4: Arezzo: in Guittone, gaudere, lauzore, audito, auzida (possibly all forms due to Provençal influence), o (from aut⁵), oreglie; in Ristoro, audire, audito, laudare, but ucelli, udire, ucelare, and o (from aut⁶).

SECONDARY DEVELOPMENTS.

85. Certain vowel combinations of secondary growth reduced regularly in Florence and apparently more or less generally in Tuscany to monophthongs. The only groups of importance are the following: descending combinations, ai > a, ei > e, oi > o, ui > u; ascending combinations, ia, ie, io, iu, all > i. Examples:

OF AI > A: a', for ai¹; da', for dai, from dagli; qua', for quai; ta', for tai (tali); atare, for aitare (both now obsolete, superseded by aiutare, which was preserved by the forms accented aiùto, aiùtano, etc.); ma, for mai, from magi-s²; ma', for mali³; tranare, popular for trainare; balia, from bailia; sattiché, an exclamation (=“che è, che è?”), probably from sai tu che; guadagnare, from *waidanjan; l'ancudine, for la incudine; l'anguinaia, for la inguinaia; and many similarly, both obsolete and modern,— e. g., l'ha'nventata, et sim. (in Fucini).⁴

§84. Note 1. See §§37 and 75.

2. Pieri, AG XII.

3. Barbi, in the Raccolta D'Ancona.

4. Hirsch, ZRPh IX and X.

5. Or from *ot: cf. Provençal o.

§85. Note 1. The process was of course, a' < ai < agli < a(d)-(e)gli < ad-illi-vowel; so, similarly, da', qua', ta', ma' (from mali), ne' de', be', que', co', etc.

2. In the sense of “but”, and also in the sense of “mai”, as in the following modern examples: se ma' mai; quanta ma' gente; ma'più e ma'poi; quanti ma'discorsi!—at Pistoia: Ti voglio matanto bene; in Vita Barl., maunque.

3. Dante: ma'conforti; G. Villani: ma' guadagni e ma'fattori; the proper name Machiavelli (mali chiavelli).

4. The phenomenon occurs under the accent also: piatto, for platto; fa', va', sta', etc.; frale, for fràyile < fragile-; and in maestro, simi-

OF EI > E: metà from meità (medietate-); età, from eità (in the old language passim, from aevitate⁵); retà (in the old language passim), from reità; se' (from sex, in such expressions as se 'volte, secento, semila, etc.); me' (in the old language), for meglio; me' (in Varchi), for mezzo⁶; me', from mei (modern illit., for miei, - "i me' figlioli"); ne'; de'; be'; que'; tre (from trei, probably developing when used in unaccented position, but then there is re, from rei⁷); e' (<ei <egli <elli); che, for che i (common in early prose); and examples in Fucini like the following, avre' fatto, vorre 'dare, che sare 'morto, avre'dato, perché'l mi'cane, neanche'n palazzo Pitti, etc.

OF OI > O: vo' (from voi <vogl' <voglio, in combinations like voglio fare); po' (as in "po'poi"); omai (from oimai, —hodiemagis⁸); co', for coi; (tra) cotanza (13th and 14th centuries),—cf. tracoitato (obsolete); omè, from o (h) imè (in Frescobaldi, Pulci, Bocc., "chiamava gli omei," Ninfale Fies., III 11); no' (modern popular, "no'si diceva," "no's'era"; noaltri, voaltri, peasant); lo'mperatore, lo'ncenso, etc. (very common formerly); in Fucini, "quando'l mi' figlio," "che è vero che vo'discorrereste volentieri colla mi' Stella."

OF UI > U; su' ("su'primi tempi"); Guglielmo, for Gugliemlo; più, for più (in unaccented position, as in più bello > più bello); vu' (for vui, peasant form for voi, - "Vu'sapessi!"⁹).

OF IA > I: sciliva (from scialiva <saliva)¹⁰; scipidire

larly, la mastra sala (Andrea da Barbarino), fatti da mastra mano (Boccaccio). The usual development under the accent however, is a shift of letters,—cf. *madia, aria*.

5. And not *etate*. If the derivation were *etate*, there would certainly be more or less numerous examples of *ità*, even if the word is learned.

6. *Mediu* produces a doublet: 1. *mè-d'u* > *mezzo*; 2. *mè-yu* > *mèio* > *me'*;—cf. this §, note 8.

7. According to Professor Grandgent, possibly from such expressions as *re' Filippo*, etc.

8. As *mediu* produced a doublet (see this §, note 6), so *hodie*:—first, *ò-d'e* > *oggi*; secondly, *ò-ye* > *oi*.

9. *Ua, ue, uo* also lose their final vowel when used prosthetically, at least colloquially; cf. the following examples from Fucini: *della su' moglie, nella su' casa, la su' bambina, la tu' povera mamma, la su' Giuditta, du' franchi, du' mesi, du' ossi, du' posti, su' padre, al su' cane*.

10. In *D'Ancona e Bacci, Manuale della letteratura italiana*, new ed., 1903, Vol. 1, p. 104, there is an extract from *Jacopone*, containing the word *desciliato* (from *descialivato* <*de-salivatu*-); the note says, "squarciato: da scindere"(!). The meaning is "spat upon".

(scia- in Jacopone); scipito; bestemmia (by assimilation of vowels for bistemmia, -cf. §39, note 2), from biastemmia; ciascuno (Siena¹¹), for ciascuno; and in Fucini, numerous examples, like colla mi' Stella, la mi' 'roba, la mi' pazienza, la mi' povera mamma, la mi' Rosa, etc.

IE>I: piviere; pitanza (for pietanza; Sacchetti uses piatanza, common formerly); Fucini uses mi' frequently for mie.

IO>I: Firenze¹²; firini¹³; fi', for figlio; i' for io; firiscello (now by syncope friscello), if from floriscellu¹⁴.

IU>I: scipare (14th-17th centuries), for sciupare (the U of the modern form kept by the influence of the forms accented sciùpo, etc.)¹⁵; pimaccio (13th-15th centuries), for piumaccio; piviale (pieviale in Bocc., either a transition form or a contamination with pieve), from pluviale; gilemme (Trattato delle segrete cose delle donne), for giulebbe; possibly also ginepro, from jüniperu¹⁶.

11. See Hirsch, ZRPh IX 522. Since cescheduno also occurs, perhaps this is the original vowel: quisque-et-unu.

12. Fiorentino preserved its first O apparently by influence of the secondary accent. See M.-L., Ital. Gram., §157; cf. also §7 of the introduction to this investigation.

13. See Flechia, AG II 57 note 2; Parodi, Giorn. Stor. X 183.

14. But cf. §§70, 71.

15. The etymology is a little uncertain,—see Körting, No. 3481, and the articles there mentioned. Both sipare and supare existed in Latin.

16. But cf. M.-L., Ital Gram., § 130. Similar reductions are found scattered through Tuscany, both in the old and in the modern words; see Pieri, AG XII (at Pisa, Chimento, for Clemente, questo 'ncanto, da 'mbrogliare, una 'nfamità, lo 'ncenso, onferno, ombuto, ompiego, but also maitina, bailia, meità, voitare), Hirsch, ZRPh IX 523 (at Siena, chimare, for chiamare, picere for piacere), Barbi, in the Raccolta D'Ancona Pisa-Lucca, eitade, aitade), Flechia, AG II 57-58, note 2 (Pimonte, for Piemonte), Parodi, Rom. XVIII 601 (Old Sienese, gidicare, gignore, giramento, gistrare, all for giu-), Parodi, Giorn. Stor., X 183 (Giseppe, scighatoio, for asciugatoio). Guittone uses vo' as a pronic pronoun. Many similar cases might be cited. For piviale, see Foerster, ZRPh VI 377.



