

ABSTRACT

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AN INTRODUCTORY REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE CROSS - LINGUISTIC
STUDY OF THE CONSONANTS C/k/ AND G/g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO
ROMANCE LANGUAGES FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, PORTUGUESE, AND
ROMANIAN IN THE INITIAL, MEDIAL, AND/OR ENDING POSITIONS UP TO
THE 12TH CENTURY

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This dissertation proposes an analysis of the consonants C/k/ and G/g/ from Vulgar Latin to the five Romance Languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian in the initial, medial, and/or ending positions up to the 12th century. This study examined the evolution of C/k/ and G/g/ in each language while noting the history and cultures that impacted their evolution.

I discuss how the spoken language of Italian evolved slowly from the late Vulgar Latin of the Empire, in close contact with the universal standard of Medieval Latin, yet is consistent with the rest of the languages in this study when it comes to consonants /b/ d/ g/ being pronounced as plosives when they occur at the beginning of the word. I examine the similarities that persist in Romanian and Italian, in spite of Romanian's isolation from the other Romance languages.

I selected these consonants based on the conjugation irregularity of Romance verbs. The findings reflect a consistent conclusion taking into account scribes' errors, political reformations and numerous wars: Relative to all the languages in this research: initial consonants, single or followed by another consonant, remained unchanged; less resistance is offered by intervocalic consonants that either weakened or just disappeared; and final unsupported (preceded by a vowel) consonants or supported (preceded by a consonant) either remained or disappeared, up to the twelfth century. Research also included such variables impacting the languages as cultural concerns; non-contact with other Romance languages; and, geographical isolation.

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THE 12TH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

App. Pr.	=	Appendix Probi
CIL	=	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
C. L.	=	Classical Latin
Dalm.	=	Dalmation
Fr.	=	French
Germ.	=	German
Ital.	=	Italian
Lat.	=	Latin
L.L.	=	Low Latin
Mod. F.	=	Modern French
N. Rom.	=	North Romania
O.F.	=	Old French
Port.	=	Portuguese
Rheto-Rom.	=	Rheto-Romania
Rom.	=	Romanian
Rum.	=	Rumania
V. L.	=	Vulgar Latin
>	=	becomes
<	=	comes from

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a comparative study of the development of the consonants C/k/ and G/g/ from Vulgar Latin to five Romance Languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian, in the initial, medial, and/or ending positions up to the 12th century. The significance of this study is to examine what changes took place, when and where the changes occurred, and how these changes impacted the dialectal differences of the Latin of the Empire. In addition to the dialectal differences, this study will also trace the orthographic deviations of these changes.

The research will review the history of C /k/ and G /g/, observing their phonological development from Vulgar Latin, a general discussion of the consonant system, and commentary on early historical texts relevant to the development of the consonants in this study during this time period. To better analyze the development of the consonants C /k/ and G /g/, the sounds associated with these letters, and the various orthographic representations of these sounds, a brief overview of the Indo-European family of languages will also be included. The tracing of these languages will attempt to provide an historical foundation for the development of the sound-sign that led to the selection of these consonants as Roman alphabets.

William J. Entwistle states, "The most astonishing feature of linguistic change is its steadiness and completeness. A movement once initiated (it is averred) will tend to

complete itself in all similar situations within one and the same dialect during the period of its operation unless prevented by some special circumstances.”¹ For example, French verbs ending in –cer change the *c* to *ç* before *a* or *o* to keep the soft *c* sound. Therefore, *prononcer* in the present indicative would change from *je prononce* to *je prononçais* in the imperfect indicative. Similarly, verbs ending in –ger insert mute *e* between *g* and *a* or *o* to keep the soft *g* sound. Thusly, *manger* would change from *je mange* in the present indicative to *je mangeais* in the imperfect indicative. Further illustrations of the impact of this study on modern romance languages will be included in the phonological focus of this paper.

The research is divided into three focal points: (1) The history of language up to the twelfth century; (2) the phonological tract of C /k/ and G /g/ from Vulgar Latin; and, (3) texts appropriate to this study. The literature to support this study is vast but generative in its approach. The isolation of these two consonants and their appropriate sound/sound-signs will establish the uniqueness of C /k/ and G /g/ and its impact on the modern romance languages outlined in this study.

In addition, this study will examine the historical events; the significance of cultural events; the social conditions; the geographical factors, i.e., the density of the population vs. the isolation of the population; the impact of foreigners and the national character on the evolution of these two consonants. Finally, the linguistic results of each period will be highlighted through texts that provide the framework of the changes.

¹ William J. Entwistle, *Aspects of Language* (London: Faber and Faber 1953), 37.

The Research Question

What is the cross-linguistic relationship between the consonants C /k/ and G /g/ from Vulgar Latin to five romance languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian in the initial, medial, and/or ending positions up to the 12th century?

Subsidiary Questions and Overview of Chapters

1. What is the history of languages of the Indo-European family?
2. What was the impact of historical events on the evolution of these consonants during this period?
3. Were there significant cultural events or social conditions that influenced this evolution?
4. How did geographical factors such as density of the population or the isolation of the population affect the phonological and sound tract of consonants C/k/ and G/g/?
5. Based on data from this study, are the recurring likenesses or differences linguistically distinctive?
6. How did these changes manifest themselves in the literature up to the 12th century?

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters with an introduction and summary, outlined as follows:

Chapter I sets the stage for the diachronic and synchronic study of this cross-linguistic paper on C /k/ and G /g/ by examining the history of languages up to the 12th

century, the orthographic development of C /k/ and G /g/ to the Roman Alphabet. It provides an overview of the Indo-European language family, the divergence of Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin, some historical recordings of Vulgar Latin, the development of the consonants in Vulgar Latin and their development into the French language. The question addressed in this chapter is:

1. What is the history of languages of the Indo-European family up to Vulgar Latin and what impact did this have on C /k/ and G /g/?

Chapters II through VI provide the historical context of events and theoretical framework that relate to the origin of the five languages of this study and how C /k/ and G /g/ developed in each language. They address the following questions:

1. What is the historical development of C /k/ and G /g/ to the 12th century?
2. What was the impact of historical events on the evolution of these consonants during this period?
3. Were there significant cultural events or social conditions that influenced this evolution?
4. How did geographical factors such as density of the population or the isolation of the population affect the phonological and sound tract of consonants C and G?

Chapter VII provides an analytical comparative summary examination of the literature that highlights the changes that occurred in the development of C /k/ and G /g/ from Vulgar Latin to the 12th century in the languages identified in this study. It addresses how these changes manifest themselves in the literature up to the 12th century and the changes that occurred. Finally, the chapter provides an arena to discuss whether there are recurring linguistically distinctive likenesses or differences.

Method of Analysis

Understanding the necessity of collaborating with experts in this field of study, the writer contacted Dr. Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.), for his advisement on this topic. Dr. Chomsky referred her to his colleague, Dr. Donca Steriade, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, M.I.T. Dr. Steriade advised that the focus of this research should primarily be historical and the investigation should center mostly on issues of attestation, interpretation of written records and internal reconstruction. She recommended theoretical foundation for this topic focus on the standard philological and historical linguistic methods. Based on the above esteemed counsel, the research primary focus is on the examination and analysis of written documents, i.e., inscriptions, manuscripts, and printed books.

Literature Review

In order to pursue the study of the development of the consonants C /k/ and G/g/ from Vulgar Latin to five Romance Languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian in the initial, medial, and/or ending positions up to the 12th century, the existing canon on the topic proposed had to be researched. It is important to examine what changes took place, when and where the changes occurred, how these changes impacted the development of the consonants C/k/ and G/g/, the sounds associated with these letters, and the various orthographic representations of these sounds.

Research has not been defined or confined in a concise manner for pedagogical purposes in summation of the history of C/k/and G/g/ observing their phonological development from Vulgar Latin; nor has there been a general discussion of the consonant

system, or commentary on early historical texts relevant to the development of the consonants in this study during this time period. For example, French verbs ending in –cer change the *c* to *ç* before *a* or *o* to keep the soft *c* sound. Therefore, *prononcer* in the present indicative would change from *je prononce* to *je prononçais* in the imperfect indicative. Similarly, verbs ending in –ger insert mute *e* between *g* and *a* or *o* to keep the soft *g* sound. Thusly, *manger* would change from *je mange* in the present indicative to *je mangeais* in the imperfect indicative. Further illustrations of the impact of this study on modern romance languages will be included in the phonological focus of this paper.

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A review of the literature indicates that an examination of historical events, significance of cultural events, social conditions, geographical factors, i.e., the density of the population vs. the isolation of the population, the impact of foreigners and the national character on the evolution of these two consonants is vital. The research for this study had its foundation in the work of Professor W.D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages*. Thus, Elcock's work provided the historical foundation for this study since his survey of the linguistic legacy of Rome, details the phonological and morphological development of several languages, including French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian. His comparative study provided the foundation for the development and reconstruction of the

vocalic evolution of vowels and consonants. In addition, it is a comprehensive study of the impact of various invasions throughout the Empire and the impact of these wars on each language's evolution. Elcock's study introduced *inscriptions*-engraving, scratching, and other collections of graffiti that revealed characteristic features of Vulgar Latin.

The study of the history of languages could not be complete without the work of Mario Pei, whose thorough discussion of the history of languages reveals language as an interchange of meaning, a transfer of significant concepts; not just the narrower etymological definition of language as that which is produced by the human vocal organs and received by the hearing apparatus.² For the purposes of this study, the written language may follow the spoken language, symbolizing its sounds, or at least its words; or it may avoid any connection whatsoever with the spoken language and symbolize thoughts, ideas, and objects. This statement rationalizes the evolution of Vulgar Latin without written attestation. He goes on to state that the written language is, of course, a handmaiden to the spoken tongue; in the latter, it is altogether free of spoken-tongue restrictions. In either case, it resembles the spoken tongue in that it depends upon symbols which require common acceptance.³

Della G. Vance discusses the two distinct approaches to the study of language, the conversational and the grammatical method.⁴ The grammatical method utilizes the study of a rule or principle followed by a conscious oral or written reproduction of that rule as opposed to an unconscious effort of the conversational method such as exhibited by a

² Mario Pei, *The Story of Language* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1965), 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴ Della G. Vance, "Correlation of Latin and Spanish," *Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 30, no. 4 (April 1946), 208-216.

baby that learns a new language through repetition. The use of specific reference to the historical background and influence of French, Roman, and Greek civilizations on the evolution of Spanish language often serves as a good mechanism to assist in language instruction.

According to Vance, most American Spanish teachers utilize the grammatical method since the average American child is often high school age before beginning the study of a second language. High school children are long since past the age when imitation is easy, fluent, and unquestioned. Vance posits that considerable time and effort would be saved if many students were required to take Latin to learn the rules of grammar before attempting to tackle Spanish.

In agreement with this contention, Pauline Morton-Finney relates how the study of Latin would serve to enhance the learning experience of pupils who are also seeking to learn French or Spanish.⁵ The study of Latin is valuable since it provides its students' logical insight into all languages. Morton-Finney findings revealed that many language teachers believed that high school students with one year of Latin do better academic work in French or Spanish as measured in terms of marks received than did pupils that had no Latin.

Arthur Gibbon Bovee claims that the use of phonetics in the study of the pronunciation of French is necessary because of its effectiveness in aiding students in the acquiring good pronunciation skills. He argues that the study of phonetics is an effective and logical introduction of students to the study of the French language since phonetics

⁵ Morton-Finney, Pauline, "Latin, a Basis for French and Spanish Study as Evidenced by Teachers' Marks," *Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 25, no. 11 (December 1941), 873-880.

minimizes the difficulty of French orthography, and phonetics is often valuable in solving some of the problems of grammar and form change. Bovee seeks to provide teachers and students of the Romance languages with a more detailed look at the consonant--specially /C/k/ and /G/g/.⁶

Based on Bovee's minimal enumeration of phonetic essentials, teachers and students are able to differentiate between a vowel and a consonant; the sixteen vowel sounds and their unusual spellings; eight normal sounds, four abnormal sounds, and four nasal sounds; the consonants--voiced and voiceless-- differentiated and their unusual spellings.

Thomas Lathrop's study utilizes an extensive background on the history of Vulgar Latin to demonstrate how Classical Latin differed from Vulgar Latin on all linguistic levels. He discusses the distinct vowels and consonant deviations and illustrates the Vulgar Latin nouns and verb equivalents in Vulgar Latin syntax. The research referred to this source because of its detailed account of the Vulgar Latin consonantal system to Spanish. Especially the discussion of the Classical Latin /C/k/ before all vowels and the Classical Latin intervocalic /G/g/, which overwhelmingly became a yod in Vulgar Latin.⁷ Lathrop suggests another theory that is worth documenting. That is,

There is a possible polemic here: if Vulgar and Classical Latin were spoken during the same historical period, did Vulgar Latin really develop from Classical Latin at all? Or were they two variants of the *same* language (showing the types of differences we see nowadays between the speeches of educated versus illiterate people)?⁸

⁶ Arthur Gibbon Bovee, "Phonetics in the Teaching of Grammar," *Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 6, no. 4 (January 1922), 190-196.

⁷ Thomas A. Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), 12, 87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, fn. 6.

Additional support for Lathrop is found when Wendy Ayres-Bennett wrote that Richard Wright (1982) argued that the conceptual distinction between the Latin of France and Romance can only have been the result of a deliberate innovation in a particular historical context, that of the Carolingian renewal of Christian intellectual life.⁹ While his thesis remains controversial, it is certain that the Carolingian Reforms, which were an attempt by Charlemagne to restore the language of the Church and administration to its classical purity, emphasized the gap between the Latin of everyday speech and Classical Latin.

Elcock's study of the romance languages' source provides the historical base for the work in this research. The detailed information on the foundation of Latin and how Romance languages developed specifically in the languages identified in this research, gave direct comprehensive evidence of the essential characteristics of Vulgar Latin, alias Proto-Romance. The phonological and morphological development is explained beginning with the general heading of *inscriptions* through the linguistic features and dialects of the Gallo-Romance, Hispanic-Romance, Italo-Romance, Rheto-Romance, and Balkan-Romance.¹⁰

The evolution of C/k/ and G/g/ in each of the above language groups, was outlined in detail through extensive examples from Classical Latin to Vulgar Latin up to the 12th century in the initial, medial and ending position. It is in this source that we find that such features are usually of frequent occurrence in speech long before they appear as

⁹ Wendy Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language Through Texts* (Routledge, 1996), 8.

¹⁰ W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 23, 18.

“mistakes” committed by the literate minority. By the ninth century, when writing in the vernacular as opposed to Latin first became a conscious practice, most of those changes which serve to characterize the medieval Romance idioms had already taken place.¹¹

Robert A. Hall, Jr. argues that a historical content comparative analysis provides the basis for the firmest, most dependable results . . . which served as a base (whether acknowledged or not) for all others scholars,¹² which is how this research was constructed. Hall explains that two or more languages that show a resemblance on all levels of structure, cannot be given to chance, but must be assumed to have developed from a common ancestry, which can be *reconstructed* by comparing the likeness and differences of the languages involved.

A systematic variation can be traced from the languages of today back to the same ancestral form, which unifies the languages. This source finds numerous tables of obviously related forms in order to reconstruct the Proto-Romance forms from Latin forms. The languages compared included the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Romanian. From this list, a clear visual description of the phonological components in the consonant-phonemes can be seen.

Alfred Ewert’s study of *The French Language* provides the initial answers to the question of the cross-linguistic comparison of the languages of this research. Ewert offers the first discussion of sound-changes as a natural concomitant of speech-activity. He claims that, “while it is easy to see how such changes of form take place in the speech

¹¹ Ibid., 212.

¹² Robert A. Hall Jr., *Proto--Romance Phonology* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing, 1976), 1.

of the individual, it is more difficult to account for their generalization; but it will be observed that they are particularly frequent in periods which lack a strong literary tradition (e.g., the Vulgar Latin and the Middle French Periods).¹³ This study provides the strongest argument for the evolution of C/k/ and G/g/ based on sound, i.e., place and manner of articulation, which did not vary among the languages in question.

In Leonard Arnauld's study on the Spanish Diphthongs, we find the first reference to the consonants for this study identified specifically to Spanish. The author outlines for teachers of Spanish a workable method for students to retain and apply the rule for pronouncing *c* and *g*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, using the hard sound and before *e* and *i* using the soft sound. He further explains the retention of the guttural sound or hard value when pronouncing *a*, *o*, *u*, and the universally softening before *e* and *i*. For Romance language teachers, it is important to stress to students the key to the underlying principle of orthographic-changing verbs. The value of "c" and "g" in the infinitive stem must be retained throughout the entire conjugation.¹⁴ The author discusses the vowel triangle to explain the formation of Spanish diphthongs, not included in this research.

Philologos presents an article that clearly summarizes the work of this research in its discussion of C/k/ and G/g/ in the initial placement of a word.¹⁵ A fundamental premise of this study rests, on the inability of the Philologos scholars to find in Webster's New International Dictionary, The Century Dictionary, or the Oxford English Dictionary

¹³ Alfred Ewert, *The French Language* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1933), 26.

¹⁴ Leonard E. Arnaud, *Teaching the Pronunciation of "C" and "G" and the Spanish Diphthongs* (New York: Brooklyn College), 38.

¹⁵ Philologos, "On Language: The ABCs of 'Abecedary,'" *Forward* Vol. CIX, no. 31 (November 2005), 14. database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Italic_alphabet; accessed 14 June 2006.

(OED), the word "abecedary." This word comes from Medieval Latin, *abecedarium*, according to the author--a word formed from the first four letters of the Roman alphabet. Similar to my quest to understand the evolution of C/k and G/g, these authors sought to understand why the c in Latin is always hard and there is never a soft s.¹⁶

The findings of this study reveals that a common phonetic phenomenon known as palatalization, whereby consonants originally articulated in the back of the mouth, like hard "g" and hard "k," move up to the palate in the middle of the mouth -- especially when they come before vowels that are pronounced in the front of the mouth, like "e" or "i." This is why English "c" remains hard like a "k" before back vowels like "o" or "a" but is soft like an "s" before front vowels, just as "g" becomes "j" in words like "gem" or "gist." And since the "ee" of "ay-bee-see" is a front vowel, the "c" of ABC is soft.¹⁷

In addition to the discovery of the c sound, there was a question of the need to explain the g sound and how the letter came into the alphabet. It was the Etruscans, at any rate, who were the first inhabitants of Italy to adopt the Greek alphabet. They took it over from the Euboeans, Greek colonists from the island of Euboea. In doing so, they preserved the order of its opening letters so that it started with A-B-G. Yet because they did not have a hard "g" sound in their language, they pronounced the Greek "g" like a "k," so the Gamma in effect became a "Kamma."¹⁸ This left them with two letters for the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Naomi Ruth Cull, *Syllable-base Sound Change and Palatalization in Early Romance* (M.A. Thesis, Canada: University of Calgary).

same sound, the "Kamma" and the Greek Kappa. Eventually the latter was relegated to a secondary place.¹⁹

Naomi Ruth Cull's discussion of palatalization continues to support the results of the research for this study. She presents intervocalic consonant clusters in Proto-Romance within the Preference Law theory in order to provide a consistent explanation of several sound changes that have taken place in Romance languages. Cull posits that the reconstruction of Proto-Romance provides us with a more uniform account of several sound changes that have taken place in the Romance languages. These sound changes are argued to be motivated by the need to improve the poor syllable structure evident in Proto-Romance.

This reconstruction supports earlier claims that the Romance languages did not evolve linearly from Classical Latin but instead derived directly from Proto-Romance, the sister of Classical Latin. It is also argued that a number of sound changes in Romance that have occasionally been described as palatalizations are more suitably characterized as syllable structure improvements.²⁰ Thus, this study confirms that Romance languages did not derive directly from Classical Latin, which is why this study starts with Vulgar Latin. It is important to note that the evolution of the Romance Languages up to the 12th century was based on sound and timbre. There was little written evidence of their progression, and the rules of Classical Latin no longer held reign on these new vernaculars.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Robert A. Hall states that Proto-Romance refers to a reconstructed form of Proto-Romance Phonology.²¹ Of course, if one moves from what is known about these present-day languages comparing modern-day related forms to Latin forms, one could come to the conclusion this thesis proposes, which states that certain palatalizations in French reflect the shift from a marked to an unmarked phonological system. However, for this study, palatalization is an integral part of the development of the sounds connected to this new vernacular because the place and manner of articulation remain the vehicles from which these dialectal forms became the Romance languages up to the 12th century.

William J. Entwistle states, "The most astonishing feature of linguistic change is its steadiness and completeness. A movement once initiated (it is averred) will tend to complete itself in all similar situations within one and the same dialect during the period of its operation unless prevented by some special circumstances."²² The sound-laws, phonetic tendencies or drifts are comprehensive formulas to embrace what has actually happened, and they are shaped to exclude what has not happened. For example, Latin "fōcus" has given Italian "fuoco" and "lōcus" has given "luogo" and the "law" must be shaped accordingly.

Gary Kenneth Baker continues this discussion of the palatals and the sound changes that took place. He proposes an analysis of the class of palatal segments in Spanish that sheds light on their phonological behavior. This class, which includes the 'ñ' of baño 'bathroom', the 'll' of caballo 'horse', and the 'ch' of chico 'boy', represents a series

²¹ Robert A. Hall, *Proto-Roman Phonology* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing, 1976).

²² Entwistle, *Aspects of Language*, 37.

of innovations in Romance, the products of rather remarkable sound changes that took place in the evolution of the language from Latin, which, significantly, had no palatal consonants. The exceptional distributional limits of these sounds and the influence they exert on stress placement suggest a structure unlike that of other consonants in Spanish.²³

The significance of this study is the inclusion of three of the languages for this research and the historical review of the palatals. This dissertation traces the historical origins of these sounds as the result of sometimes conflicting drives toward both articulatory and communicative efficiency. This account also speaks to the relative instability of these sounds in Spanish, which undergo significant weakening across dialects and indeed across Romance languages: parallel developments are identified in the history of French, Italian, and particularly Portuguese.²⁴

Because of the nature of this study, a thorough research of dissertation abstracts, published books and journal articles was undertaken. Although there were a number of linguistically based studies utilized in this research,²⁵ many did not address the focus of this study. Roger Lass argues, "Hearing the inaudible is necessary to begin with the phonetic and phonological interpretation of a written form."²⁶ Since there are no sound recordings or firsthand oral evidence, the method of analysis will have to rely on reading,

²³ Gary Kenneth Baker, *Palatal Phenomena in Spanish Phonology*. [Dissertation on-line]; available from <http://proquest.umi/pqdweb>; Internet; accessed 13 June 2006.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Gregory Paul Shaltz Jr., "*A Descriptive Phonology of Thaovolith*" (Ph.D. diss., Illinois Institute of Technology, 1980); Bonnie Elise Boatwright, "*Consonantal Divergence in Word-Medial Position in the Eleven Romance Languages: A Review of the Literature*" (Thesis: Mississippi State University, 1993).

²⁶ Ibid., 45.

analyzing and interpreting from the written word. This was limited by the lack of well-known scholars that conducted research exclusively on C/k/ and G/g/ during the time span or languages outlined for this dissertation.

Conceptual Framework

An historical approach to the development of the consonants C /k/ and G /g/ will serve as the backdrop for chronicling and interpreting the linguistic changes from Vulgar Latin to French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian up to the 12th century. Indexes of the past will serve to bear witness to the reconstruction of the facts that led to these linguistic changes. According to Roger Lass in *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, "Historical linguistics is historiography, the discipline that makes stories and/or interpretations out of what happened to languages over time."²⁷ Therefore, the history of the people who spoke the language, i.e., the events that impacted their daily lifestyles, will serve as the data needed to re-create reality.

Fodor István advises, "Linguistic changes do not proceed at an equal rate."²⁸ He also relates the two kinds of factors that are operative on the elements of language: the *external* and the *internal factors*. He lists the theoreticians of linguistics and the causes of the linguistic changes (chiefly sound changes). In the enumeration, he states there is disregard for both historical and logical order:

1. least effort and ease (Curtis, Whitney, Zipf);
2. economy and expression (Martinet);

²⁷ Roger Lass, *Historical Linguistics and Language Change* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 17.

²⁸ István Fodor, *The Rate of Linguistic Changes* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), 11.

3. retention of structure and symmetry (Trubetzkoy and the Prague school);
4. aesthetics (Croce, Vossler);
5. geographical circumstances (Osthoff, Neolinguistics);
6. culture (Wundt);
7. popular character, race, world-view (Grimm, Humboldt, Whorf);
8. differences in the speech of the generations succeeding each other (Paul);
9. historical events (Jespersen);
10. substratum (Schuchardt, Aseoli);
11. social changes (Meillet, Marr).²⁹

According to Fodor, the enumeration is not complete; only the most important theories were indicated. He pointed out that each hypothesis contained a kernel of truth, the least reliable being the aesthetic theory. However, at the same time, none of them can explain the changes of languages alone.³⁰

He used as an example, the cluster *-kt-*. According to Fodor, *-kt-* underwent a change in several Indo-European languages perhaps with a view to more economical energy utilization in the articulation. The theory does not explain in itself, however, why this cluster—although being an element of the given cluster system—became a geminate phoneme in some languages (e.g., Italian *otto*), why *k* is lost in another (French *huit*), why *k* became a fricative phoneme in a third one (German *acht*), why the two sounds

²⁹ Ibid., 12-13.

³⁰ Ibid., 13.

developed into an affricate in a fourth one (Spanish *cho*), why the “uneconomical” cluster *-kt-* remained in the fifth language (Greek *όκτώ*), and finally, why it turned into an occlusive cluster of another type in the sixth language (Roumanian *opt*).³¹

In addition to the internal factors, Fodor lists the external factors, which he says appear to have a great deal to do with the rate of change. This list serves as the basis for the subsidiary questions in this paper. Those external factors per Fodor are:

1. the historical effect;
2. the cultural effect;
3. the social effect;
4. the geographical effect;
5. the effect of the neighboring and foreign peoples;
6. the national character.

Based on Fodor’s findings of the cross-linguistic relationship of the cluster *-kt-*, this study will cross-link the aforementioned theoreticians of linguistics with the aforementioned external factors, not as a determiner of the rate of change but as evidence and argument for the reconstruction of the changes outlined in this study.

Although, Fodor’s focus is on the rate of change, this study will use these same factors as a framework for the linguistic changes associated with C /k/ and G /g/. Further evidence supports this process as Fodor concludes that it is important to set apart the *linguistic levels*, because they *do not change at an equal rate in proportion to each other*, sometimes the phonemic system changes more rapidly, sometimes the syntax, sometimes the morphological structure. Fodor states that unquestionably, among linguistic levels, it

³¹ Ibid.

is the *word-stock* that *reacts the most sensitively to all external effects*. It is the most rapidly changing level of the language as compared to the others. He states that the word-stock differs from the phonemic and grammatical structure in the fact that the quality of the external effects is to be demonstrated here the most freely, and that the inherent laws of language are the less effective here. According to Fodor, this is why a language can transform its lexical stock to such a great extent (chiefly under foreign influence) contrasted with its phonetic stock and grammatical structure. The *basic vocabulary* is distinguished from the *entire word-stock*.

Finally, Fodor states though it would be fruitless to enumerate the single words in the basic word-stock or to point out that they do not belong there, still the discrimination of these two layers of the vocabulary is no empty abstraction. It is a fact that *the basic vocabulary is the most constant layer of a language* and is least exposed to changes as compared to the entirety of the word-stock.³² According to Roger Lass, in *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, do we know anything about the phonology of languages no longer spoken and how can we claim their representation?³³

For the purpose of this study, we will have to rely on the first-order witness (inscriptions, manuscripts and printed books) in spite of its flaws, filtrations, and *lapsus calami*. Therefore, this study believes the consonants C /k/ and G /g/ will give direct descriptive evidence based on the application of selected external and internal factors,

³² Ibid., 16.

³³ Lass, *Historical Linguistics*, 45.

and that the changes up to the 12th century in the five romance languages were affected by internal and external factors described by Fodor.³⁴

³⁴ Ibid., 12-13.

GLOSSARY³⁵

- AFFRICATE** A stop with a fricative release or one producing friction:
 Voiceless frontal-palatal affricate
 Voiced frontal-palatal affricate
 E.g. [tʃ] (written *ch*) in *chip*
- AIRSTREAM** The movement of air in or out of the human head.
- ARTICULATOR** A moveable speech organ that impedes or directs the air stream:
 vocal cords, lips, velum (uvula and velic)
 tip (apex), front, center, and back (dorsum) of the tongue
- FRICATIVE** A speech sound with audible turbulence or friction produced as a
 result of passage of the air stream through a relatively small
 opening. The four fricatives below are called slit fricatives because
 the air-stream passes through a horizontal slit in the mouth:
- Voiceless labial-dental fricative
- Voiced labial-dental fricative
- Voiceless apical-dental fricative
- Voiced apical-dental fricative
- In addition to the slit fricatives, and the [s]-like fricatives or
 sibilants, there are four more fricatives:
- Voiceless glottal fricative
- Voiced apical-alveolar fricative
- Voiceless dorso-velar fricative

³⁵ Robert A. Peters, *A Linguistic History of English* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 19-32.

Voiced velar-velar fricative

E.g. [f] in *feel* and [v] in *veal*

- GLIDE** An uninterrupted movement or glide of speech mechanism from the position of one speech sound to that of another. It is a speech sound, e.g., [w] or [j] in *will*
- IMPLOSIVE** A stop produced by an airstream mechanism in which air is initially rarefied above the larynx, e.g., in *acteur*, actor, the *c* /k/, which ends in a syllable, is an implosive; the following *t* /t/, which begins one, is EXPLOSIVE.
- LATERAL** A speech sound in which there is lateral escape of the air stream over one or both sides of the tongue. An example is [l] in leaf.
- Voiced apical-alveolar lateral
- NASAL** A speech sound in which all or part of the air stream is stopped in the mouth but continues through the nasal passage, when there is no velic closure. Three such nasals:
- Voiced bilabial nasal
- Voiced apical-alveolar nasal
- Voiced dorso-velar nasal
- PALATAL**³⁶ The influence of palatals on vowels is progressive or regressive. The palatalization of the vowel is a shifting of the point of articulation upward and forward towards the front of the hard palate. The shifting may take place while the vowel is actually being articulated and may affect the vowel directly or indirectly.
- PHONETIC ALPHABET** A series of phonetic symbols used to represent speech segments or phone types in a one-to-one correspondence of symbol to phone-type.
- PLOSIVE** a stop produced with air flowing outwards from the lungs.

³⁶ Alfred Ewert, *The French Language* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1933), 37-39.

**POINT OF
ARTICULATION**

A juncture or near juncture that takes place between a moveable speech organ and a relatively stationary part of the vocal tract:

labial-dental or lip-teeth

bilabial or two lips

apico-alveolar or tongue tip-upper gum

apico-dental or tongue-tip teeth

fronto-palatal or tongue front-hard roof of the mouth

dorso-velar or tongue back-rear roof of the mouth

glottal or glottis

Sounds of speech may be described as either voiced or voiceless and according to their articulation.

SIBILANT

The air stream that passes through a groove-like opening centered along the length of the tongue is a groove fricative. Groove fricatives are [s]-like fricatives so they are called sibilants. The sibilants are:

Voiceless apico-velar sibilant

Voiced apico-alveolar sibilant

Voiceless fronto-palatal sibilant

Voiced fronto-palatal sibilant

STOP

A speech sound in which there is complete stoppage and then release of the air stream. The six stops are:

Voiceless bilabial stop

Voiced bilabial stop

Voiceless apico-alveolar stop

Voiced apico-alveolar stop

	Voiceless dorso-velar stop
	Voiced dorso-velar stop E.g., [p] and [t] in <i>pit</i>
TRILL	A speech sound produced by the rapid vibration of an articulator. A trill may involve rapid vibration of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge.
VOCAL CORD	What is opened and closed as the airstreams from the lungs is modulated
VOCAL TRACT	Organs involved in the production of speech: lungs, trachea (windpipe), larynx, glottis (opening between the vocal cords), pharynx (upper throat), oral cavity, nasal cavity.

THE CONSONANTS

A CONSONANT is a sound whether or not accompanied by vibrations of the larynx, in the production of which the nearly complete obstruction. This obstruction may be caused by the lips or by the tongue.

A VOICED CONSONANT is a consonant accompanied by vibrations of the larynx the voiced consonant is gentle.

A VOICELESS CONSONANT is a consonant not accompanied by vibrations of the larynx. The voiceless consonant is strong.

The MANNER OF ARTICULATION in which consonants are articulated may be classified as: plosive, fricative, sibilant, hushing, nasal and lateral or liquid.

The PLACE OF ARTICULATION denotes the point where they are articulated:

Bi-labial, labio-dental, dental, palatal and uvular.

Consonants Plosive (the result of an explosion)

VOICELESS = p, t, k
VOICED = b, d, g

Fricatives (light rubbing of air against upper and lower lip)

VOICELESS = f
 VOICED = v

Sibilants (hissing sound)

VOICELESS = s
 VOICED = z

Hushing Consonants (sounds which one uses in suggesting silence – hush.)

VOICELESS = ch, ʃ
 VOICED = j, ʒ

Nasals (Part of air escapes through the nose)

VOICED = m, n, ŋ, ŋ

Laterals or Liquids (Smooth flowing sound/linked/escape of air in middle of mouth and the sides)

VOICED = l, r (rolled)

3 r's in French:

Rolled
 Uvular
 Parisian

Classification according to PLACE OF ARTICULATION

Bi-Labials = p, b, m articulated by two-lips

Labio-Dentals = f, v articulated by lower lip against upper teeth

Dentals = d, t, l, n, s, z rolled r articulated against the teeth or teeth ridge

Palatals = k, g, ʃ, ʒ, Parisian r articulated against the hard palate

UVULAR

Uvular r articulated by the tip of the soft palate or uvula³⁷

³⁷ Jeanne Varney Pleasants, *Pronunciation of French* (Michigan: Edward Brothers, 1933), 49-52.

CHAPTER II

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF VULGAR LATIN TO FIVE ROMANCE LANGUAGES: FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, PORTUGUESE AND ROMANIAN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF C /k/ AND G /g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO FRENCH UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY

The term "Romance" comes from the Romance word *romance* or *romanz*, from Latin *romanice*, the adverbial form of *romanicus*, in expressions like *parabolare romanice* ("to speak in Roman").¹ The Romance languages are so called because they stem from the language of the Romans, which was Latin. The origin of the term is the Latin expression *romanice loqui*, "to speak in Roman fashion." Medieval Spaniards called their language *el romance castellano*. Speakers of Old French developed at an early period the verb *enromancer*, "to put into Romance." But early Italian speakers disdained the term, and preferred to style their language *il volgare*, "the vulgar tongue," implying that it was merely a vulgar or popular version of their ancestral Latin.² The Romance languages could be defined collectively as a linguistic consequence of the Roman Empire.³

Vulgar Latin (in Latin, *sermo vulgaris*) is a blanket term covering the vernacular dialects of the Latin language spoken mostly in the western provinces of the Roman Empire until those dialects, diverging still further, evolved into the early

¹ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Romance Language*, [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romance_language/accessed 14 December 2004.

² Mario Pei, *The Story of Latin and the Romance Languages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), xv.

³ W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 17.

Romance languages — a distinction usually assigned to about the ninth century.⁴

This spoken Latin differed from the literary language of Classical Latin in its pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Some features of Vulgar Latin did not appear until the late Empire. Other features are likely to have been in place in spoken Latin, in at least its basilectal forms, much earlier. Most definitions of "Vulgar Latin" mean that it is a spoken language, rather than a written language, because the evidence suggests that spoken Latin broke up into divergent dialects during this period, and because no one phonetically transcribed the daily speech of any Latin speakers during the period in question, students of Vulgar Latin must study it through indirect methods.⁵

Our knowledge of Vulgar Latin comes from three chief sources. First, the comparative method can reconstruct the underlying forms from the attested Romance languages, and note where they differ from Classical Latin. Second, various prescriptive grammar texts from the late Latin period condemn linguistic errors that Latin users were likely to commit, providing insight into how Latin speakers used their language. Finally, the solecisms and non-Classical usages that occasionally are found in Late Latin texts also shed light on the spoken language of the writer.⁶

The Romance languages stem, directly, ascertainable, and beyond the shadow of a doubt, from Latin, one of the great languages of antiquity, whose records have come down to us in indisputable form. Latin changed in the course of its evolution,

⁴ Wikipedia, *Romance Languages*.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

from its first recorded appearance around 500 B.C. to the time when it became altogether clear that it was no longer a popular, but only a cultural tongue at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Its descendants, incidentally, seem to have taken individual language items from each stage in the evolution of Latin.⁷

The cultural development of the Romance languages was not an overnight process; neither had been that of Latin, their ancestor. It took centuries, many centuries, to shape them, mold them, and build them up to the point where they could replace their illustrious forebear.⁸ The modern Romance languages differ from Classical Latin in a number of fundamental respects:

- No declensions, that is, they generally no longer alter a noun to indicate its grammatical role, though there may be a few exceptions such as in pronouns. An exception is Romanian, which continues to use declensions.
- Only two grammatical genders, rather than the three of Classical Latin (except Romanian and Italian to a small extent, and except several gender-neutral pronouns in Spanish, Italian, Catalan etc.)
- Introduction of grammatical articles, based on Latin demonstratives
- Latin future tense scrapped, and new future and conditional tenses introduced, based on infinitive + present or imperfect tense of *habere* (to have), fused to form new inflections.
- Latin synthetic perfect tenses replaced by new compound forms with *be* or *have* + past participle (except Portuguese and French, where the Latin

⁷ Mario Pei, *Invitation to Linguistics* (Garden City, New York: Double Day & Company, 1976), xvi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xviii.

plusquamperfect tense has been retained and Romanian, which has two perfect tenses - one synthetic and one compound - that have the same meaning and also has a synthetic plusquamperfect tense in the indicative mood that is formed using the suffix "-se", derived from the suffix used in Latin to form the subjunctive plusquamperfect ("-isse").⁹

The most spoken Romance language is Spanish, followed by Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian and Catalan.¹⁰

Generally, the Romance languages have simplified the complex morphology and grammar of Latin. Italian and Sardinian retain more original features than the rest. The Romance variants form a dialect continuum, and nearby languages usually have some mutual intelligibility. Portuguese, French, and Romanian are perhaps the most innovative of the languages, each in different ways. Sardinian is the most isolated and conservative variant. Languedocian Occitan is considered by some the most "average" western Romance language.¹¹

In the history of the Romance languages, the first split was between Sardinian and the rest. Then of the rest, the next split was between Romanian in the east, and the others in the west. The third major split was between Italian and the Gallo-Iberian group. This latter then split into a Gallo-Romance group, which became the Oïl languages (including French), Occitan, Francoprovençal and Romansh, and an Iberian Romance group which became Spanish and Portuguese. Catalan is considered by

⁹ Wikipedia, *Romance Languages*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

many specialists as a transition language between the Gallic group and the Iberian group, since it shares characteristics from both groups; for example, 'fear' is 'medo' in Portuguese, 'miedo' in Spanish, but 'por' in Catalan — compare with 'peur' in French.¹² There is much dialect diversity, and there is no clear differentiation between a “language” and a “dialect.”

Characteristics typical of Romance languages include:

General:

- Romance languages are “verb-framed” rather than “satellite-framed.” This means that phrases indicating motion will tend to encode the motion's direction within the verb (e.g., “enter”, “insert”), rather than in an external particle (e.g., "go in", "put in"). This is a feature of word formation.
- Romance languages frequently have two copula verbs (see Romance copula), from the Latin infinitives ESSE and STARE: one for essence and the other for status.
- Romance languages conjugate verbs in first, second, and third person forms, both singular and plural. The third person forms may also be inflected for gender, but the first- and second-person forms are not (compare with Hebrew, which inflects all three persons for gender and number.)
- Politeness forms include some form of the T-V distinction in all Romance languages.

¹² Ibid.

- Romance languages have 2 or 3 genders for all nouns, but usually do not inflect nouns for case, though their parent Latin did.
- Romance languages include a default stress on the second-last syllable, and have *euphony* rules that avoid glottal stops, and multiple stop consonants in a row. (The second-last syllable becomes the last in languages like French that habitually drop the final Latin vowel.) The combination of these rules gives spoken Romance languages their characteristic high speed and flow. Compare Polish second-to-last stress.
- Written form only:
 - The letters "W" and "K" are rarely used (except in names or borrowings, for example *Kappa*, or *w* in standard Walloon orthography).
 - The letters "C" and "G" are usually "soft" postalveolar consonants before a front vowel, but "hard" velar consonants by default, or before a back vowel.
 - In most Romance languages, proper adjectives (including nationalities, such as *American* and *British*), names of days of the week and months of the year are not capitalized. For example, nationalities are capitalized in French only when used as nouns.¹³

According to the results of the study of M. Pei in 1949, which compares the evolution degree of the languages with respect of their inheritance language (in the case of Romance languages the Latin language), here are the evolution degrees:

- Sardinian: 8 %;
- Italian: 12 %;

¹³ Ibid.

- Spanish: 20 %;
- Romanian: 23.5 %;
- Occitan: 25 %;
- Portuguese: 31 %;
- French: 44 %.¹⁴

Some Romance languages formed plurals by adding /s/ (derived from the plural of the Latin accusative case), while others formed the plural by changing the final vowel (by influence of the Latin nominative ending /i/).

- Plural in /s/: Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, French, Sardinian.
- Vowel change: Italian, Romanian.¹⁵

Some Romance languages have lost the final unstressed vowels from the Latin roots. For example: Latin *lupus*, *luna* become Italian *lupo*, *luna* but French *loup* /lu/), *lune* (/lyn/).

- Final vowels retained: Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Romanian (Southern dialects and old Romanian).
- Final vowels retained in feminine gender only: Catalan, Occitan, Romanian (Daco-Romanian).
- Final vowels dropped: French.¹⁶

Romance languages dropping the final vowel have one less syllable: the usual "penultimate syllable" accent is on the last syllable in these languages.¹⁷

¹⁴ Mario Pei, *The Story of Language* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1965), 29.

¹⁵ Wikipedia, *Romance Languages*.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Some Romance languages use a version of Latin *plus*, others a version of *magis*.

- *Plus-derived*: French *plus* /ply/, Italian *più* /pju/, dialectal Catalan *pus* /pus/ (this word is exclusively used on negative statements in Mallorcan Catalan)
- *Magis-derived*: Portuguese (*mais*), Spanish (*más*), Catalan (*més*), Occitan (*mai*), Romanian (*mai*).¹⁸
- TTTT: Portuguese/Galician.
- TTHH: Spanish, Catalan.
- THHH: Occitan, French.¹⁹

The global spread of colonial Romance languages has given rise to numerous creoles and pidgins. Some of the lesser-spoken languages have also had influences on varieties spoken far from their traditional regions.

- French Creoles
 - Haitian Creole is a national language of Haiti.
 - Antillean Creole: Spoken primarily in Dominica and St. Lucia.
 - Kreyol Lwiziyen (Louisiana creole).
 - Mauritian Creole is the lingua franca in Mauritius.
 - Seychellois Creole, also known as Seselwa, Seychellois Creole is an official language, along with English and French, as well as the lingua franca of the Seychelles.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

- Lanc-Patuá: Spoken in Brazil, mostly in Amapá state. It has been influenced by Portuguese. It was developed by immigrants from neighboring French Guiana and French territories of the Caribbean Sea.
- Portuguese Creoles
 - Angolar: Spoken in coastal areas of São Tomé Island, São Tomé and Príncipe.
 - Annobonese: Spoken in the island of Annobón, Equatorial Guinea.
 - Crioulo do Barlavento (Criol): Spoken in Barlavento islands of Cape Verde.
 - Crioulo de São Vicente: Spoken in São Vicente Island, Cape Verde. It could not be a, de facto, Creole.
 - Crioulo do Sotavento (Kriolu): Spoken in Sotavento islands of Cape Verde.
 - Daman Indo-Portugues: Spoken in Daman, India. Decreolization process occurred.
 - Diu Indo-Portuguese: Spoken in Diu, India. Almost extinct.
 - Forro: Spoken in São Tomé Island, São Tomé and Príncipe.
 - Kristang: Spoken in Malaysia.
 - Kristi: Spoken in the village of Korlay, India.
 - Lunguyê: Spoken in Príncipe Island, São Tomé and Príncipe. Almost extinct.

- Macanese: Spoken in Macau and Hong Kong. Decreolization process occurred.
- Papiamentu: Spoken in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Spanish influenced.
- Saramaccan Portuguese/English Creole: Spoken in Surinam.
- Sri Lanka Indo-Portuguese: Spoken in Coastal cities of Sri Lanka.
- Upper Guinea Creole (Kriol) lingua franca of Guinea-Bissau, also spoken in Casamance, Senegal.
- Spanish Creoles
 - Chavacano: Spoken in Zamboanga and Cavite, Philippines.
 - Palenquero.
 - Papiamentu (Not Spanish based, but Iberian).
 - Yanito.²⁰

Latin and the Romance languages also give rise to numerous constructed languages, both international auxiliary languages (well-known examples of which are Esperanto, Interlingua, Latino sine flexione, and Lingua Franca Nova) and languages created for artistic purposes only (such as Brithenig and Wenedyk).²¹

Here is a more detailed listing of languages and dialects (roughly ordered from west to east):

- Iberian Romance languages

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

- Portuguese-Galician
 - Portuguese language
 - European Portuguese
 - Brazilian Portuguese
 - African Portuguese
 - Angolan Portuguese
 - Capeverdean Portuguese
 - Guinean Portuguese
 - Mozambican Portuguese
 - São Tomean Portuguese
 - Judeo-Portuguese
 - Galician
 - Eonaviegan (a Galician dialect with some traits of Asturian)
 - Fala language (spoken in a valley of the northwestern part of Extremadura in Spain)
- Astur-Leonese
 - Leonese
 - Asturian (the variant with more vitality)
 - Mirandese (spoken in a tiny corner of Portugal — very archaic)
 - Extremaduran (the south variant, more Castilian-like)

- Spanish (Castilian)
 - Ladino (Judæo-Spanish)

- Aragonese
- Mozarabic variants (extinct by the 15th century)

- Catalán
 - Western Catalán
 - North-Western Catalán
 - Ribagorçan (transitional to Aragonese)
 - Valencian
 - Eastern Catalán
 - Central Catalán (includes Barcelona dialect)
 - Northern Catalán (Roussillonese)
 - Balearic
 - Alguerese

- Occitan or *langue d'oc*
 - Gascon
 - Aranese

 - Lemosin
 - Auvernhat
 - Aupenc

- Lengadocian
- Provençal
 - Niçard
- Francoprovençal
- *langues d'oïl*
 - French
 - Picard language
 - Walloon language
 - Norman language
 - Jèrriais
 - Dgèrnésiais
 - Anglo-Norman language (extinct)
 - Gallo language
 - Franc-Comtois
 - Champenois
 - Poitevin-Saintongeais
 - Bourguignon-Morvandiau
 - Lorrain
- Rhaetian languages
 - Friulian

- Ladin
- Romansh
- Italian
 - Gallo-Italian languages
 - Piemontese
 - Ligurian
 - Monegasque
 - Lombard
 - Emilio-Romagnolo
 - Venetian
 - Napoletano-Calabrese
 - Sicilian
 - Corsican (closely related to Tuscan dialects, with Ligurian elements)
- Sardinian
 - Campidanese
 - Logudorese
 - Gallurese
 - Sassarese (transitional to Corsican)
- Dalmatian (extinct)
- Istriot
- Eastern Romance languages

- Dalmatian (extinct)
- Istriot
- Eastern Romance languages
 - Romanian (also named Moldovan in Moldova)
 - Aromanian
 - Meglenitic
 - Istro-Romanian (these latter three are sometimes regarded as dialects of the Romanian language).²³

Whatever the influences which have come to bear on the Romance languages during the course of their history, their most prominent feature is an abiding Latinity. From Latium came virtually all their structure and by far the greater part of their vocabulary. This became the spoken Latin of the Roman Empire.²⁴ Five examples of this evolution from Latin to the Romance languages begin with this comparative study of C/k/ and G/g/, commencing with their respective alphabets:

In French (*Français*), we find the following alphabet: a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y z- (k) and (w) are excluded; in Italian (*Italiano*), all but (j) (k) and (w x y); in Spanish (*Español*), all but (k) (w) and add *ch ll ñ*; in Portuguese (*Português*), all but (k) (w) (y); and in Romanian (*Romîn*), all but (k) (q) (y) (w).²⁵ In French, *k* is rarely encountered apart from Greek technical terms, particularly in the metric prefix *kilo-*; *w* occurs in words adopted from other languages (as well as in a few regional

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 19.

²⁵ J. R. Piette, *A Guide to Foreign Language* (London: Aslib, 1965), 18-27.

In Italian, the letter *j* is found in some Italian place names and personal names. Letters *k w x y* occur in words adopted from other languages and retaining their original spelling. In technical words of Greek origin *k* become *c* (before *a o u* or a consonant), or *ch* (before *e* and *i*, e.g., *chilo* not *kilo*), *ph* and *th* become *f* and *t* (*telefono, teoria*).²⁶

In Spanish, the letters *k* and *w* are used in foreign adopted words. In some foreign names letters *w* and *v* are interchangeable, e.g., *Wamba* or *Vamba*, *Wenceslao* or *Venceslao*. *W* and *V* are indexed together. In technical words, of Greek origin, *k* becomes *qu*, *th* and *ph* become *f* and *t*, respectively (*teléfono, teoría*).²⁷ There is one special character *ñ* coming after *n* as an independent letter (*ñ* is called *tilde* in Spanish). Digraphs *ch* and *ll* are treated as independent letters.²⁸

In Portuguese, *k, w, y* occur only in foreign words adopted with their original spelling. In Greek technical words, *k, ph,* and *th* become *c* or *qu, f* and *t*, respectively: *quilo, telefono, teoria*. Occasionally, however, one comes across *kilowatt*.²⁹

Ç is used in exactly the same way as in French

Ã is often followed by *o, õ* by *e*. The *tilde* (*~*) is not found on *n*.

Q is always followed by *u* and does not occur as the last letter in the word.

When *u* is to be pronounced after *q*, it may have a diaeresis *ü*, but this practice has been recently abandoned.³⁰

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

In Romanian, letters *k*, *q*, *y* and *w* occur in foreign words adopted with their original spelling. In technical words of Greek origin, the letter *k* is replaced by *c* and *ch* (*chilo*), *ph* and *th* are replaced by *f* and *t*, respectively.³¹ A few years ago, there was the letter *â* but it was replaced by *î* so that *România* and *român* have become *Romînia* and *romîn*, and the Romanian-English dictionary published in 1960 no longer contains words spelled with *â*.³² The preponderance of the letter *k* to hold a unique place in the above-mentioned languages, helped to support the study of this letter and the sounds associated with it as it transcended from *k* to *c* in Vulgar Latin to five Romance Languages.

The letter *K* has had an interesting history. It was a letter of the Phoenician alphabet, which the Greeks took over, and which the Romans, in turn, placed in their alphabet. Now the third letter of the Greek alphabet had the sound of our letter *C*. It happened that the Etruscans pronounced the sound *C* (as in *cat*) and of *G* (as in *game*) almost alike. So the Romans, who were greatly influenced by the Etruscans, used the letter *C* for both sounds. They used it in this way for a long time. As they did not need two letters for the same sound, they stopped using *K* almost entirely. After a long time, they began to separate the two sounds again. Instead of taking *K* back, they decided to use *C* for the *K*- sound. Then they took *C*, put a bar on the lower part

³⁰ Ibid., 25.

³¹ Ibid., 27.

³² Ibid.

of it, and made it into the letter *G*. They put the new letter *G* into the seventh place in the alphabet, where *Z* was in the Greek alphabet.³³

Alexander and Nicholas Humez in *ABC Et Cetera, The Life and Times of the Roman Alphabet*, provide yet another historical account of *C* and *G*. They begin with the letter *K* representing *Kalends*, the first day of the Roman month.³⁴ The word is remarkable on a number of counts, not the least of which being the fact that *calends* is one of the very few Latin words routinely spelled with a *K*. When the early speakers of Latin borrowed the alphabet from the Etruscans, they have letters with which to represent the sound [k]: *K* (=Greek *kappa*), *C* (=Greek *gamma*, – the Etruscans apparently did not distinguish between phonetic [k] and [g], and Old Greek *kóppa*, a letter with which the Greeks eventually dispensed except in mathematical notation.

Speaker-writers of Latin tweaked with this system in a couple of ways. They by and large did away with the letter *K*--except in the word *kalends* and, half-heartedly, a few others--and used *C* instead--except before *U*, where they continued to use *kóppa* (whence the letter *Q*). Because Latin speakers did distinguish between [k] and [g], they figured that it might not be a bad idea to have a separate letter for the latter sound and so modified *C* to make *G*.³⁵ The English preferred using *C* to represent their [k] sound, but grudgingly adopted the French practice of using *Q* before semiconsonantal *U*--phonetic [w]-- and also took *K* out of mothballs for use before *E* and *I* (and, more or less randomly, a few other places) because French *C*

³³ Franklin Barnes, *Man and His Records* (Chicago: Follett Company, 1931), 75-76.

³⁴ Alexander Humez and A. Nicholas, *A B C Et Cetera* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1985), 111.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

before E and I did not represent [k] anymore (because [k] before [e] and [i.] had become a sibilant in French).³⁶ This brief overview of the letter K, gives insight into the transmutation of Latin into the Romance languages of today and the rich history of linguistic evolution that follows it. Such fascinating dialectal deviations have enriched generations. It seems only appropriate at this point to look at the history of Latin, its roots and its digressions.

Latin belongs to one group of a large family of languages known as *Indo-European* sometimes called *Aryan* or *Indo-Germanic*. The Asiatic members of the Indo-European family include: *The Sanskrit*, spoken in ancient India; *The Iranian*, spoken in ancient Persia, and closely related to the Sanskrit; *The Armenian*, spoken in Armenia; and *The Tokharian*, only recently discovered and identified as Indo-European, was spoken in the districts east of the Caspian Sea (modern Turkestan).³⁷

The European members of the Indo-European family include: *The Greek*, *The Italic Group*, *The Celtic*, *The Teutonic*, *The Balto-Slavic*, and *The Albanian*. Despite the many outward differences of the various languages of the foregoing groups, a careful examination of their structure and vocabulary demonstrates their intimate relationship and proves overwhelmingly their descent from a common parent.³⁸

The stages in the development of the Latin language are as follows: *The Preliterary Period*, *The Archaic Period*, *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Latinity*, *The Archaizing Period*, and *The Period of the Decline*. After the sixth century A.D., Latin

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 111-112.

³⁷ Charles E. Bennett, *New Latin Grammar* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1953), ix-x.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, x-xii.

divides into two entirely different streams. One of these is the literary language maintained in courts, in the Church, among scholars. The other stream is the colloquial idiom of the common people, which ultimately spread into the modern so-called romance idioms.³⁹ These so-called romance idioms were maintained as a written language. However, a large body of Latin materials did not appear until shortly before 200 B.C. The spoken, or Vulgar Latin was spread throughout the Roman Empire and was the basis from which the Romance languages developed. Evidence for these emerging languages came much after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire: Italian from the tenth century; Provençal (spoken in Provence, *i.e.*, southeastern France), from the eleventh; French from 842 in the Oaths of Strasbourg; Spanish, Catalán, and Portuguese from the twelfth century; Romanian (spoken in modern Roumania and adjacent districts) from the sixteenth. Besides these important languages, three minor ones are attested from modern times: Sardinian; Rhaeto-Romance (spoken in the Canton of the Grisons in Switzerland) Romansch or Ladin, spoken by approximately one hundred thousand speakers in Switzerland and Italy; Dalmatian, of which the last speaker died in 1898.⁴⁰ All these Romance languages bear the same relation to the Latin as the different groups of the Indo-European family of languages bear to the parent speech.⁴¹

With the beginnings of culture and literature, there came inevitably a divergence between the language of the upper and that of the lower classes, and

³⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii-v.

⁴⁰ Winfred P. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962), 31-32.

⁴¹ Bennett, *New Latin Grammar*, xvi.

between city and country speech. Literary influence is conservative and refining, while popular usage tends to quick change. In late Republican and early Imperial times, educated speech became highly artificial, drawing away from the everyday language; on the other hand, the common idiom, throughout the Republic and the Empire, was constantly developing away from the archaic standard of elegant parlance.

What we call Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes, as it grew out of early Classic Latin. It is not an independent offshoot of Old Latin: it continues the Classic, not the primitive, vowel system. Neither is it the dialect of the slums or of the fields: grammarians tell us of several urban and rustic vulgarisms that are not perpetuated in the Romance tongues. It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected all of these. Vulgar Latin naturally developed differently in various localities, as far as the leveling influence of school and army permitted; the universal inclination of language to diverge was reinforced by the original habits of the diverse speakers and by such peculiarities of native accent as had survived.

The differentiation progressed; being accelerated when schools decayed and military was replaced by ecclesiastical organizations, until the dialects of distant localities became mutually unintelligible. At this point, we may say that Vulgar Latin stops and the Romance languages begin. Although any definite date must be arbitrary, we may put it, roughly speaking, in the sixth or seventh century of our era. The Vulgar Latin period lasts, then from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 600; it

is most sharply differentiated from Classic Latin in the last few centuries of this existence.⁴²

C.H. Grandgent talks about sources of information concerning spoken Latin as: statements of grammarians; the non-scripts; the occasional lapses in cultivated authors, early and late; a few texts written by persons of scanty education; some glossaries and lists of incorrect forms; and, most important of all, the subsequent developments of the Romance languages.⁴³ All of these are to be used with caution. Of especial value are the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, a considerable fragment of a description of travel in the East, by an uneducated woman (probably a Spanish nun) of the latter part of the fourth century; the *Appendix Probi*. This is a list of good and bad forms, possibly as early as the third century; the veterinary treatise known as *Mulomedicina Chironis*; the so-called Glossary of Reichenau, made in France in the eighth century. There is also a collection of curses by A. Audollent, -- *Defixionum Tabellæ*, 1904.⁴⁴

Lathrop adds details to the above discussion as he states that one would think that the least likely place to look for data concerning Vulgar Latin would be in the works of Classical authors, yet there are few good sources. In the comedies of Plautus (ca. 254-184 B.B.), some of the characters are modeled after 'the man in the street,' and when they speak, we glimpse Vulgar Latin. The first century satirist, Petronius, in his famous *Cena Trimalchionis* 'Trimalchio's Feast,' describes a

⁴² C. H. Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin* (Boston and D.C.: Heath & Co., 1907), 3-4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

colorful banquet attended by the lower classes of society, and in the characters' bawdy language we can see traits of Vulgar Latin.⁴⁵

The story of the nun is better explained by Lathrop when he acknowledges the work of this untrained writer who arose from the populace and whose speech habits were reflected in her work. *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* 'Pilgrimage to Holy Places,' is a description of the travels of a nun to the Holy Land in the early centuries of our era. The author's Latin prose anticipates some of the structures that the Romance Languages would adopt and discards some that would be later rejected by the Romance Languages.⁴⁶

There were a few treatises written by specialists who were qualified in their fields, but not so well qualified in the Classical idiom, and from these we can also find information about vulgar speech. *Mulomedicina Chironis* was a manual written by the fourth-century veterinarian Chiro, in which he explains how to recognize and cure a number of afflictions that might befall a mule. A chef of the same period named Apicius wrote a cookbook, *De re coquinaria*, which has both linguistic and culinary interests. During the earlier Augustan period (43 B.C. to A.D. 13) there lived a master architect named Vitruvius who wrote a treatise called *De Architectura*, ten short books on virtually every aspect of Roman architecture and city planning. Although he said that the architect had to be knowledgeable in

⁴⁵ Thomas A. Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

many different fields, grammar was not necessarily one of them: “Non architectus potest esse grammaticus.” ‘It is not an architect who can be a grammarian.’⁴⁷

The *Glossary of Reichenau* (named after the monastery where the document used to be kept) is perhaps the most important one for the Romance Languages. The purpose of this list was to explain some 3000 words of the Latin Vulgate Bible (prepared in about the year 400 A.D. by St. Jerome and used throughout the Catholic Church as the official Bible after the 1546 Council of Trent), which were no longer understood by eighth-century readers. The archaic words of the Latin biblical text were glossed (that is, they were translated) in the margins with ‘contemporary’ (eighth century) Vulgar Latin equivalents.⁴⁸

When Rome fell towards the end of the fourth century A.D., the educated ruling class disappeared, and with it the educated spoken and written language, Classical Latin, also faded away. But Vulgar Latin, spoken by the masses in the huge area between Lusitania and Dacia (modern Portugal and Romania), was easily able to survive the fall of the distant capital, and the disappearance of the Classical tongue—spoken by a very small portion of the Empire’s population—went largely unnoticed by the ordinary people. It was therefore Vulgar Latin and not Classical Latin, which were to evolve day-by-day, century-by-century, into modern Romance Languages.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 1.

Focusing on the study of the phonological development of Vulgar Latin, and for that of its morphology too, the most fruitful direct source is the one classed under the general heading of 'inscriptions.' This applies not so much to the prominent inscriptions of public buildings, drawn up by official *scriptures* and couched for the most part in a very conventional Latin, but rather to the humble engravings and scratchings, which have been revealed by excavation in every corner of the former Empire, particularly on gravestones. Numbering many thousands, they are now made available in various publications, of which the most important is the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), published at Berlin in sixteen volumes from A.D. 1863 to 1943; each volume of this work gathers the harvest of a specific area; thus the seventh concerns Roman Britain, while the fourth is devoted exclusively to Pompeii.

The last named is of particular value for its collection of *graffiti* scratchings on walls such as may be observed in any city at any time. These are of a perishable nature and for their preservation at Pompeii we are indebted to a disaster, the great eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (described in the *Letters* of the younger Pliny), which buried that city beneath a mass of volcanic ash, and encased the neighboring Herculaneum in a more unyielding mould of lava. The excavation of Pompeii, now almost complete, has revealed the astonishing spectacle of a city suddenly arrested in the midst of the most intimate detail of daily life. Writing on the wall seems to have been with the Pompeians a quite uninhibited practice. Over 5,000 *graffiti* have been collected.⁵¹

⁵¹ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 23-24.

Lathrop adds to this discussion that proclamations, humorous sayings, curses, shopping lists, campaign notices, and the customary coarse phrases were scrawled everywhere. These 'inscriptions' were largely scribbled by the populace, and they provide a rich harvest of facts about Vulgar Latin.⁵¹ The exceptional interest of these *graffiti*, which abound in features characteristic of Vulgar Latin, lies in the fact that they are almost exactly dated, and thereby show many of the changes, which may be deduced from comparative study to have been taking place at an earlier time than one might otherwise have suspected. Thus the sonorization of intervocalic plosives, although it occurs only sporadically, is quite well attested, e.g., PAGATO for PACATO, LOGUS for LOCUS, and TRIDICUM for TRITICUM ('wheat,' cf. Span. *trigo*).⁵²

Gravestone inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, contain all the linguistic features of the Pompeian *graffiti*, together with others characteristic of romance. Many of those assembled in the CIL are of uncertain date, but they extend from the early days of the Republic to the fall of the western Empire and beyond. Perusing lists of inscriptions, one finds the same 'vulgar' features recurring with an almost monotonous regularity.⁵³

In addition to the inscriptions as a beginning of study of the phonology of Vulgar Latin, there existed an anonymous document, not in itself a work of grammar, which has come to be known as the *Appendix Probi*. Valerius Probus

⁵¹ Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish*, 3.

⁵² Elcock, *The Romance Language*, 23-24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

was a grammarian of the first century A.D. who wrote a work titled *Instituta Artium*. Appended to a manuscript of this work, executed in seventh-century handwriting at the monastery of Bobbio and now kept at Vienna, is a small collection of later compositions. The term *Appendix Probi* first became attached to the whole collection, but it is now generally reserved as a convenient designation for the short word-list, which is of particular interest to the student of Romance. This list, in which a correct form is followed by an incorrect form (e.g., VINEA non VINIA), dates approximately from the end of the third century.⁵⁴

Although the *Appendix Probi* contains a mere 227 items, it is possible to ascertain various trends of Vulgar Latin. Elcock submits that in most respects the conclusions to be drawn from the *Appendix Probi* merely confirm the evidence provided 200 years earlier by the Pompeian *graffiti*.⁵⁵ An example from the *Appendix Probi*, 'EQUUS NON ECUS,' shows the reduction of Q (U) to C. This change normally took place in Vulgar Latin only before a back vowel. Such romance forms as Span. *yegua*, Port. *Égua* and Old. Fr. *ive* prove that the feminine ĔQUA persisted with its QU intact, being affected only by the general tendency to voice intervocalic plosive consonants; ĔQUUS itself—ECUM would have become a homonym of EGO—was soon lost. Before a front vowel the distinction between QU to C was usually preserved: hence the difference in Old French between the initial consonants of *querre* (<QUAERERE) and *cire* (<CĒRA). Exceptionally, however, in the case of COQUERE the passage of QU to C as attested here, must

⁵⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

have taken place early, since it is only from COCERE that one can derive Fr. *cuire*, Span. *cocer*, Port. *cozer*, Ital. *cuocere*, etc. The first person singular of the present indicative, COQUO, by becoming *COCO probably supplied the analogue on which the other parts of the verb were remodeled. A trace of the classical form may be seen in the alternative form of Old French, the less common *cuivre*, where the U persists consonified to v, cf. SEQUĒ>Old Fr. *sivre*, and as above, ĒQUA> >Old Fr. *ive*, also AQUA>Old Fr. *eve*.⁵⁶

Vulgar Latin differed from Classical Latin on all linguistic levels. Its vowels were quite distinct from Classical vowels, and its consonants showed certain deviations as well. Vulgar Latin nouns and verbs were more simply organized than, or differed from, their Classical equivalents, and because of these differences, a number of changes had to take place in Vulgar Latin syntax in its diminutive words of its Classical counterpart, and, as a result, many of the less forceful and less picturesque Classical words were not used. Finally, Vulgar Latin readily assimilated foreign words of diverse origin into its vocabulary, unlike Classical Latin which accepted only a few, mostly Greek.⁵⁷

It should be emphasized, however, that many times a Vulgar Latin word that philologists would have liked to find simply does not exist in any known source. In cases such as these, scholars have been able, through a critical comparison of forms taken from the old and modern romance dialects, to reconstruct what a missing Vulgar Latin form must have been. When these reconstructed forms are cited, they

⁵⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁵⁷ Lathrop, *Evolution of Spanish*, 1.

are usually preceded by an asterisk (*) to show that the form is hypothetical, or not yet attested.⁵⁸

As this study further examines the breadth and scope of the consonants C (k) and G/g/ and their descent through history, the question to ask is what do we know about the consonants during the Classical Latin period? Damesteter outlines the consonants from the fifth century to the tenth century as follows:

On a vu que les consonnes latines du *v^e* au *x^e* siècle sont b, p; d, t; g, c (ou k, ou q); v, f; z, s, i., h; l, m, n, r, et les groupes ch, ph, th. Elles peuvent se présenter dans le mot, comme simples (*pater*), doubles (*currit*), ou en groupe (*statua, scribere, monstrare*); et, suivant leur situation, comme initiales (*pater, flamma*), médiales (*pater, infernum, astrum*) ou finales (*pater, amant*). Les changements qu'elles éprouvent dépendent de leur condition et de leur situation.⁵⁹

The initial consonants remain the same up to today with the exception of the palatals;

bōnum	<i>bon</i>
pārem	<i>pedre, père</i>
dētem	<i>den</i> ⁶⁰

The middle consonants, especially the plosives, are weakened during this period and some of them disappear⁶¹;

Ainsi du *v* au *x* siècle, s'établit l'état de chose suivant:

⁵⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁵⁹ Arsene Damesteter, *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1929), 115.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 117.

Labiales:	p	est devenue b, puis v
	b.	est devenue v
	v	reste v
Dentales:	t	est devenue d
	d.	reste d

As far as the final consonants are concerned, Damesteter lists them as maintaining their status: c, d, l, m, n, r, s, t.

Les finales c, d, l ne se trouvent que dans quelques mots; les autres sont très fréquentes. Elles se maintiennent toutes jusqu'au x siècle, sauf c.⁶²

According to Alfred Ewert, a French language scholar, the list is as follows: B, C, D, F, G, H, I (J), K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, U(V), X. . . I as the regular symbol for both the vowel (i) and the semi-consonant (j), Y, Z, CH, PH, RH, TH occur only in Greek loan words. Ewert explains these symbols do not accurately represent the sounds of the spoken language, still less the consonant system of Vulgar Latin of the Late Empire.⁶³

Ewert points out the development of the consonants in Vulgar Latin were conditioned by the place, which they occupied in the word, by the nature of the preceding or following consonant, and to a lesser degree by the nature of the preceding or following vowel. He states, "The readiness with which they are assimilated to a following consonant and various other phenomena suggest that V.L.

⁶² Ibid., 118.

⁶³ Ewert, *The French Language*, 67.

consonants were articulated with the crescendo effect which still characterizes French as opposed to English vowels and consonants.”⁶⁴

C.H. Grandgent posits that the Latin consonant letters were B, C, D, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z, I, and V were used both for the vowels i and u and for the consonants j and v. K, an old letter equivalent to C, was kept in some formulas. Q was generally used only in the combination QV=kw. X stands for ks. Z in Old Latin apparently meant s or ss; later it represented a different Latin version of Greek ζ.⁶⁵

In addition to the above, Vulgar Latin had a new w and y coming from originally syllabic u, e, or i. in hiatus. In words borrowed from Greek and German there were several foreign consonants.⁶⁶ The principal developments that affected Latin consonants may be summed up as follows: b between vowels was opened into the bilabial fricative β, and thus became identical with v, which also change to β; c and g before front vowels were palatalized and were then subject to further alterations; h was silent; m and n became silent at the end of a word, and n ceased to be sounded before s. The voicing of intervocalic surds began during the Vulgar Latin period.⁶⁷ This discussion supports Ewert’s explanation that the development of the consonants was conditioned by the place, which they occupied in the word.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 69.

⁶⁵ Grandgent, *The Vulgar Latin*, 105.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

According to Grandgent, the C and K did not differ in value except that C sometimes did service for G: Appendix Probi, "digitus non dicitus"; dicitos=digitos, Audollent 536. There was confusion, too, of Q and C.⁶⁸ QV was pronounced kw. Before u and o, however, the kw was reduced to k by the first or second century, probably earlier in local or vulgar dialects.⁶⁹ Before other vowels the kw, was regularly kept in most of the Empire, unless analogy led to a substitution of k, as in *coco* for *coqui* through *cocus*. But in Dacia, southeastern Italy, and Sicily subsequent developments point to a Vulgar Latin reduction *que* to *ke*, *qui* to *ki*.⁷⁰

X stood for ks. After a consonant, ks early tended to become s: Plautus uses *mers* for *merx*. By the second or third century ks before a consonant was reduced to s: *sestus* is common in inscriptions. At about the same time final ks became s, except in monosyllables: *cojus*, *conjus*, *milex*. In parts of Italy ks between vowels was assimilated into ss by the first century, but this was only local: ALESAN[DER]; BISSIT BISIT VISIT=vixit. There are some examples, in late Latin, of a metathesis of ks into sk: *axilla*>*ascella*. In northern Gaul, apparently sk regularly became ks, as in *cresco*, *masco*.⁷¹

Ewert further explains that the articulation of a consonant begins weak and does not reach its maximum energy or tension until the end of the word. He states, " For this reason assimilation is nearly always regressive; the articulation of the first

⁶⁸ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 108.

consonant of a group has not reached its maximum before the articulation of the second begins." ". . . The former tends therefore to be pronounced weakly and at the same time to shift its point of articulation towards that of the latter, often to the point of disappearing. The same crescendo trend is responsible for the development of so-called glide-consonants."

Assimilation of a different kind affects a single consonant between vowels. Here the consonant, caught between two sonorous elements, becomes voiced if it was originally voiceless, the vibration of the vocal cords being allowed to continue instead of being momentarily interrupted. At the same time the consonant tends to be articulated more laxly, the tongue tending to remain in the free position, which it must assume for the articulation of the preceding and following vowels.⁷²

Ewert goes on to explain that assimilation may also take the form of palatalization: "when under the influence of a neighboring palatal sound the normal articulation of a consonant is modified by arching the tongue forward and upward in the direction of the hard palate (e.g. .n' in Modern French). In principle, all nonpalatal consonants are susceptible to this influence and in Vulgar Latin appear to have no trace of palatalization in Old French."⁷³

The palatal sound may persist while at the same time palatalizing the neighbouring consonant. Thus k, g before a consonant (except l, n) became the spirant x (=Germ. ch in *dicht*) which palatalized the following consonant and was subsequently depalatalized, the palatal element combining in the form of i with a following e (< tonic free A): FACTO >faxt'a>faite, *FRIG(I)DUM>freit,

⁷² Ewert, *The French Language*, 69.

⁷³ Ibid.

LAXAT>laisse, NIGRUM>neir, LAXARE>laissier."⁷⁴ Lastly, palatalization may cause at the time a shifting of the point of articulation and the disengaging of the palatal element in the form of a sibilant (s,s,z): tj>t'>t's' (centum>cent, *ARCIONEM>arçon); k and kj>k'>t'>t's' (CARUM>chier); g>g'>d'z (GAUDIA>joie); initial j>dj>d'>d'z' (JAM>ja, GENTEM>gent, DIURNUM>journ). When intervocal, t's' (<tj or k)>d'z'>idz>iz (VICINUM>veisin, RATIONEM >raison; in combination with s it gives (ANGUSTIA>angoisse, CRESCENTEM>croissant) as does t's' (kj).⁷⁵

The palatalization of k' caused the point of articulation to shift forward until it reached that of t' whose subsequent development it shares. This fusion explains orthographical hesitations of the type AMICITIAM--AMICICIAM, INTITUM--INICIUM which are so frequent in Late Latin documents⁷⁶ The palatalization of k and g, which is characteristic of certain Langue d'oïl dialects, including Central French, as opposed to other Northern dialects, to Provençal and the remaining romance languages, took place about 800 and suggest that by that date *a* had passed from the velar (Latin) to the palatal or forward position.

As the point of articulation of *a* is not so far forward as that of *e* and *i*, the palatalization of k and g was less pronounced than that of k, whence the difference in the development of t (<k) and t'(<k), the latter being parallel to that of d' (<g). Intervocal k and g are not affected by this later palatalization, as k had in the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 71.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

meantime become g and with original g had become a spirant.⁷⁷ Grandgent states the voicing of intervocalic surds doubtless began as early as the fifth century: it is shown by Anglo-Saxon borrowings and by such Latin forms as *frigare*, *migat* in inscriptions and manuscripts; there are many examples from the sixth century. There are finds in inscriptions some slight evidence of a change of t to d during the Empire, in some places perhaps as early as the first century. Intervocalic c, p, t were voiced in Gaul in the second half of the sixth century. Grandgent maintains that the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts that t>d in the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, while c>g at least two centuries earlier – *sigricius* = *secretius*. Consonants followed by r shared in the voicing, at least as early as the seventh century.⁷⁸

Voicing was not general, however, in central and southern Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia.⁷⁹ Initial c and cr, in a few words, became g and gr: **gaveola*; **gratis*; *crassus* + *grossus* > *grassus*, found in the 4th century.⁸⁰ Before the front vowels e and i, the velar stops k and g were drawn forward, early in the Empire or before, into a mediopalatal position—k', g'. G seems to have been attracted sooner than k: in Sardinian we find k before e or i. preserved as a stop while g is not—*kelu*, *kena*, *keru*, *kima*, *kircare*, *deghe*<*decem*, *noghe*<*nucem*.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Ibid., 71-72.

⁷⁸ Grandgent, *The Vulgar Latin*, 108-109.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 109.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

In Central Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Illyria, k' went no further, and in Sicily, southern Italy, and Dacia the k' stage was apparently kept longer than in most regions.⁸² G' by the fourth century had become præpalatal and had opened into y, both in popular and in clerical Latin: Gerapolis for Hierapolis; "calcostegis non calcosteis"; agebat=aiebat; agree=aiere. Before this happened, *frīg'dus* ("frigida non fricda"), *vigilat* had become **vīglat*.⁸³

The next step was the development of an audible glide, a short y, between k' and the following vowel: k' yentu, duk' yere. By the fifth century the k' had passed a little further forward and the k'y had become t'y: t'yentu, dut' yere. Through a modification of this glide the group then, in the sixth or seventh century, developed into t's' or ts: t's'entu or tsentu.⁸⁴ K and g before vowels not formed in the front of the mouth usually remained unchanged: *canis*, *gustus*, *pacare*, *negare*. Inasmuch as a had in Gaul a front pronunciation, ka, ga in most of that country became k'a, g'a, probably by the end of the seventh century, and then developed further: *carum*>Fr. *cher*, *gamba*>Fr. *jambe*.⁸⁵

Intervocalic g before the accent fell in many words in all or a part of the Empire, and apparently remained—perhaps under learned or under analogical influence.⁸⁶ At the end of a word the guttural seems to have been regularly preserved

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 110.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 111.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

in Vulgar Latin: *dic*, *hōc*, *sīc*: Italian *dimmi* (<*dīc* mi), *fammi* (<*fac* mī), *siffatto* (<*sīc* factum).⁸⁷ Occasionally, however, the *ci* must have been lost, mainly, no doubt, through assimilation to a following initial consonant: FA for *fac*. In late texts *nec* is often written *ne* before a consonant, and there is a confusion of *si* and *sic*.⁸⁸ Before another consonant *k* and *g* were for the most part kept through the Vulgar Latin period: *actus*, *oclus*; *frigdus*, **viglat*.⁸⁹ *Kt* in most parts of Italy was assimilated into *tt* by the beginning of the fourth century, in the south even in the first century: FATA, OTOGENTOS, in Pompeii; Appendix probi, “auctor non autor.”⁹⁰

The Celts perhaps pronounced the Latin *ct* as *χt* from the beginning, inasmuch as their own *ct* had become *χs* (e.g., Old Irish *ocht-n* corresponding to Latin *octo* and likewise substituted *χs* for *ks*: **faxtum*>Fr. *fait*, **exsire*> Pr. *eissir*.⁹¹ *Nkt* became *yt*, which seems to have been assimilated into *nt* in parts of the Empire, probably by the first century *defuntus*, *regnancte*, *sante*; *santo*; *cuntis*, *santus*.⁹² There is reason to believe, however, that the *y* was retained very generally in Gaul and perhaps some other regions, and subsequently drawn forward to the præpalatal position—*n'*: *sanctum*>Fr., Pr. *saint*, *sanh*, etc.⁹³

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 113.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

Gm became um: *fraumenta, fleuma*; App. Pr. "pegma non peuma". Cf. Italian *soma*; and also *salma*, which comes from *sauma* as *calma* from *καυμα*.⁹⁵ Gn was variously treated in different regions, being preserved in some, and assimilated into n' or n in others, and subjected to still further modifications: *rænante, renum*. In *cognōsco* the g generally disappeared, the word being decomposed—after the fall of initial g in *gnosco*—into co-and *nōsco*; similarly the g was sometimes lost in *cognatus*: *connato, cunnuscit*. Gr, between vowels, in popular words apparently become r in parts of the Empire: *gra(g)rare, intè(g)rum, τεĩ (g)rum, pere (g) rīnum, pi (g) rīnum, pi (g)rītia*.⁹⁶ Dy and gy, in the latter part of the Empire, probably were reduced to y in vulgar speech.⁹⁷ In most words the vulgar y prevailed, in others—especially in Italy—the cultivated dz; from *radius* Italian has both *raggio* and *razzo*.⁹⁸

Cy and ty, in the second and third centuries, were very similar in sound, being respectively k'y and t'y, and hence were confused, especially common in Gallic inscriptions of the seventh century. In later school pronunciation, cy and ty were sounded alike. In the treatise published by Thurot, ti unless preceded by s, is pronounced like c, as in *etiam, prophetia, quatio, silentium*. Ti is confused with ci, the spelling c being prescribed in *amiciccia, avaricia, dduricia, justicia, leticia, malicia, pudicicia*, etc., also in *nuncios, ocium, spacium, tercius*. This similarity or identity of sound led, in some cases, either locally or in the whole Empire, to the

⁹⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 115.

substitution of suffixes and to other permanent transfers of words from one class to the other. Hence arose numerous double forms: *condicio conditio, solacium solatium*; later *avaritia-cia, *cominitiare-ciare, servitium-cium*, etc.; so many proper names, *Anitius-cius*, etc. This explains such seemingly anomalous developments as **exquartiare* > It. *squarciare*, **gutteare* > It. *gocciare*, etc. A number of words evidently had a popular pronunciation with t' and a school pronunciation k', or vice versa.⁹⁸

K'y was assibilated sporadically in the third century, but not regularly until the fifth or sixth, after the assibilation of t'y was completed. The resulting sibilant was different from that, which came from t'y: *faciam* > It. *faccia*, *vitium* > It. *vezzo*. But the intermediate stages were similar enough to lead to some confusion, and the ultimate products have become identical in many regions.⁹⁹ The chief consonantal changes down to the end of the twelfth century are classified in a chart devised by Alfred Ewert that clearly outlines the phonological evolution of each consonant according to the position it occupies within the word: initial, medial, and final; singly or in groups of two are more (See Ewert's Chart).¹⁰⁰

Darmesteter gives a more specific account in *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* of the consonantal changes of C and G from the fifth century to the tenth century.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 116-117.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 118.

¹⁰⁰ Ewert, *The French Language*, 72.

Selon lui, le *c* et le *g* latins se prononçaient toujours durs, quelle que fût la voyelle suivante. Cicero était prononcé Kikero; dans *gelo* et *gigno*, *g* avait sensiblement la même valeur que dans les mots français *guère* et *gui*. Mais ces consonnes se sont altérées de diverses manières durant le v siècle au x siècle.¹⁰¹

He continues to emphasize that the letter *c* is preserved in the beginning of the word, which is demonstrated by the following:

Au commencement des mots ou après une consonne, *c* conserve jusqu'à nos jours la prononciation latine devant *l, r, o, ü*: *clārum-cler (clair)*, *corpus-cors (corps)*. *C* initial devant *e* ou *i*. commença vers la fin de l'empire à s'assibiler, et finit par aboutir à la sifflante composée *ts*. On conserva la notation *c*, à la fin des mots, où *ts* est écrit *z* jusqu'au III siècle . . . *C* initial devant *A*, le groupe initial ça se changea en *tch (a, o, ie)*, sans doute en passant par *kys* et *tys*. La nouvelle prononciation fut notée par *ch*: *caballum-cheval*, *piscare – peschier, pêcher*. Ce changement, qui a probablement commencé au VIII siècle, était accompli au X.¹⁰²

Darmesteter continues to argue that the intervocalic *c* weakened as all the other plosives:

C médial s'affaiblit, comme toutes les autres explosives. Devant *o, u*, *c* s'est d'abord affaiblie en *g*, et ce *g* n'a pas tardé à tomber: *cicuta-ceüe*, *securum-seür*, *sür*. Certains de ces mots ont été refaits très anciennement sous une forme demi-savante, plus voisine du type Latin, avec le *e* adouci en *g*: *aigu* pour *eü*, *cigogne* pour *ceogne*. *Aiguille* d'un type Latin **acucula* est un mot difficile à expliquer.¹⁰³

This demonstrates that *c* in all five languages, portrays the same consistency, regardless of social and economic factors as shown below:

Devant *a*, le *c* medial devient *yod* après *a, e, i*. Après les autres voyelles, il est en general tombé: *baça- baie*, *plicare- plei-ier, ployer*, mais *locare –louer*.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Darmesteter, *Cours de Grammaire Historique*, 126.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

The following explains the use of *c* when it is near weak or strong vowels.

This is illustrated by the following:

C final Latin ou roman, s'il est précédé d'une voyelle, devient un yod qui forme diphtongue avec elle ou se fond avec elle si c'est un i.: *fae – fai (fais)*, *amīcum – ami*, *sic – si*. S'il est précédé d'une consonne, il donne *is* quand cette consonne est une *s*: *creſco – creis, crois*, *paſco (cl. paſcor) – pais*. Après toute autre consonne, il subsiste en général: *arum – arc*, *junctum – jonc*.¹⁰⁵

This leads us to the discussion of the final position of the letter *c* in a group.

The following provides a clear example of this function:

S'il n'est pas la dernière consonne du groupe, il devient yod et se combine avec la voyelle précédente pour former une diphtongue, à moins qu'il ne précède la syllabe accentuée: en ce dernier cas, il tombe généralement sans laisser de trace: *c=i. noctem – (nuòit) nuit*, *nc=in sanctum – saint*, *c tombe vīncere – veintre (vaincre)*.¹⁰⁶

Based on the above discussion, Alfred Ewert's general overview reflects a consistency of consonantal changes that were taking place throughout the development of Vulgar Latin. Ewert states the position of consonantal changes is often altered by the loss of neighboring vowels or consonants. His examples include the *s* in *MENSEM* as the last of a group in C.L., but intervocal in V.L. *MESE*, and final in French *meis*, *mois*; the *g* of *FRIGIDUM* ceased to be intervocal and became the first of the group *gd* through the loss of unaccented *i*. Groups which existed as such in Latin are called primary, those which developed in Gallo-Roman or French are called secondary. An apostrophe (indicating the loss of a vowel or consonant) is

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 129.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 129-130.

employed to distinguish the latter. In the case of a secondary group, account must be taken of the changes, which a consonant may have undergone before being brought into contact with another. Thus the *SUBITANUM had become d before i. disappeared, whence SOB'DANU(>soudain); whereas in DEBITA>DEB'TA>dette, t was brought into contact with b before it could become d. We have thus evidence for establishing the relative chronology of the two phenomena, loss of unaccented vowels and voicing of intervocal consonants, but it is evidence, which must be carefully sifted.¹⁰⁷

Initial consonants, whether single or followed by another consonant, generally remain unchanged except V.L. k, k, g, j. This also applies to the initial consonant of a syllable if the preceding syllable ends in a consonant, except that *sk* became by metathesis *ks*, whence is (NASCO>nais, CRESCO >creis). The prosthetic *e*, which had developed in V.L. before initial *s* + cons, whenever the preceding word ended in a consonant, had become permanently attached to such a group before the twelfth century; note that in the Eulalia (II, 22) *une spede* (O.F. *une espee*, Mod. F. *une épee*) is still found.¹⁰⁸ Less resistance is offered by consonants in other positions.

Intervocal consonants tend to weaken and disappear. Single consonants between vowel and *r* develop as though intervocal. The first consonant of a group tends to be assimilated partially or completely, but *r*, *f* persist unchanged, as do *b* before *l*, and *t* before *s*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ewert, *Vulgar Latin*, 72-73.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

Groups of three consonants are reduced, generally by the elimination of the middle consonant, except in the combinations consonant+labial or dental + l or r, consonant + dental + s, and ng'l, nk'l, rk'l (UNGULA >ongle, AVUNCULEM >oncle, ANCORA > ancre, CIRCULUM >cercle. The resulting group of two consonants may be further reduced by assimilation of the first element, but in certain cases the elimination of the middle consonant results in the formation of a glide-consonant. The latter develops before the first consonant has been brought into such close contact with the last consonant as to be assimilated.

The loss of the middle consonant causes the first to be correspondingly lengthened, and the characteristic rising tension is therefore exaggerated to the point of producing an explosive. This so-called glide develops simultaneously with the disappearance of the middle consonant and shows the influence of the latter in that it is voiced or voiceless according as the latter was voiced or voiceless:

VINCERE >veintre, PLANGERE >plaindre, CARCEREM >chartre, SURGERE > sourdre, NASCERE >naistre.¹¹⁰

A glide develops in the same way in the secondary groups, m'r, m'l, n'r, l'r, z'r, s'r, which result from the loss of a vowel: CAMERA >chambre, CONSUERE >CON-SERE >cousdre. Final consonants develop differently according as they are unsupported (preceded by a vowel) or supported (preceded by a consonant). A distinction must also be drawn between consonants which were final Latin (primary)

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

and those that by the loss of final vowels became so at a later stage (Romance or secondary).¹¹¹

Supported final consonants remain; secondary voiced finals becoming unvoiced (LONGUM>lonc). The supporting consonant may disappear, but the final consonant persists in O.F. (VALET>valt>vaut).¹¹²

Unsupported final consonant -h- show considerable fluctuations. Before a pause, they tend to weaken and disappear: d (<intervocal d>)t, which disappears in the eleventh century. However, various influences have counteracted this tendency. For example, s fulfilled a morphological function and this fact undoubtedly prolonged its existence. The same remark applies to t in verb endings (CANTAT>chantet>chantet).¹¹³

The striking contrast, which French presents with other Romance languages, (including Provençal) in maintaining final consonants, may be partly due to the influence of the schoolmaster in Northern Gaul. If the consonant persists, it is in its unvoiced form (NOVEM>neuf). Within a speech-group (i.e., if the word is closely associated with a following word) the normal development of the final consonant would be that of an intervocal consonant if the following word begins with a vowel, that of the first consonant of a group if the following word begins with a consonant (cf. Mod. F. neuf heures, neuf kilos, but il y en a neuf). However, against this has to be set the consciousness of the word as a separate entity. This recognition of the word

¹¹¹ Ibid., 74.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., 75.

as a unit was not equally potent at all periods of the language but appears to have been particularly strong in the O.F. period. There is therefore from the beginning a tendency to generalize the unvoiced final (vif, mois). The resulting conflict accounts for the many anomalies in the treatment of final consonants, not only in Old French, but in Modern French, where the powerful influence of the written language favors the preservation of the word as a separate phonetic entity.¹¹⁴ Initial gw (<Germanic w) and kw, whether initial of the word or of the syllable, were reduced during the O.F. period to g and k respectively, although spelling may remain unchanged: Germ. warda>garde>garde, Germ. Werra>guerre; QUARE>car, QUINDECIM>quinze; LINGUA>langue.¹¹⁵

These developments were so unstable and disturbing influences so common and sporadic in their effect that many apparent exceptions to the general rules set out above are to be noted. Some of these are accounted for by varying phonetic conditions, such as a change (or merely hesitation) in syllabification or, in the case of secondary groups, the date at which the constituent consonants were brought into contact.¹¹⁶

Sporadic tendencies, such as metathesis, harmonic assimilation and dissimilation, account for other irregularities. Many apparent exceptions to sound-laws are to be found in words, which were borrowed subsequently to the change or

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 74.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 75.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 84.

changes in question.¹¹⁷ The following list may serve to illustrate such apparent exceptions. K: duc (DUX), difficile (DIFFICILIS), discipline (DISCIPLINA), cause (CAUSA), fécondité (FECUNDITAS); G: négoce (NEGOTIUM), règle (REGULA), fragile (FRAGILIS).¹¹⁸ Learned influence is responsible, not only for the introduction of words borrowed from C.L., but for the retarding or reversing of popular developments.

In Greek, the surd and the sonant stops must have been less sharply differentiated than in Latin; the sonants were perhaps not fully voiced, and the surds doubtless had a weak, voiced explosion: so they were not always distinguished and usually remained unchanged in transmission. Single consonants sometimes became double in Latin, and Greek double consonants sometimes became single: νόμος > nummus; ἐκκλησία > ec (c) lesia.¹¹⁹ Β, γ, δ regularly remained b, g, d: βλαισός > blæsus; γάρων > garum; δέλτα > delta. Sometimes, however, they were unvoiced into p, c, t: Ἰάκωβος > *Jácorus (* Jácomus); γόγγρος > conger gonger. Κ, π, τ generally remained c, p, t: κόλαφος > colaphus; πορφύρα > purpura; τάλαντον > talentum. Κ, however, often became g; π sometimes became b; of a change of τ to d there is no example, although κάνδιτος for candidus seems to point in that direction: Ἀκράγας > 'Acragas Agragas, κάμμαρος > cammarus gammarus; App. Pr., "calatus non galatus" (=κάλαθος).¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 84-85.

¹¹⁹ Grandgent, *The Vulgar Latin*, 137.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

After nasals, κ, π, τ regularly came to be pronounced g, b, d in Greek: ἀνάγκη >anángi, λαμπρός >lambrós, ἄντρον >ándron.¹²¹ The explosives θ, φ, χ became in Old Latin t, p, c. From the middle of the second century B.C., we find the spellings TH, PH, CH. People of fashion undoubtedly tried to imitate the aspirates, but popular speech kept the old t, p, c, for new words as well as for old: σπαθή >spatha=spata; ὄλαφος >colaphus=colapus, συμφωνία >It., Sp. Palanca, φαντασία >Pr. pantaisar; χορδή >chorda=corda.¹²²

We may define a language as a system of words (groups of articulated sounds) used by a group of human beings to exchange their thoughts. In studying a language we examine the means adopted by the language for the rendering of thoughts (whether simple notions or complex processes), or taking as our point of departure the physical symbols, we may examine their nature, their evolution and their utilization for the exchange of thoughts. This research reviews the physical side of the language and examines the sounds of which speech is composed, which are recognized as units by virtue of the meaning they convey, their form, and utilization.¹²³

We have defined a language as a system of words, and upon analysis, we find a system, which from a physical point of view each word consists of one or more sounds. A change in the form of a word may therefore come about in one or two ways: (a) the quality of more of the constituent elements may be changed by a modified articulation; (b) there may be suppression, addition, substitution, or

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., 139.

¹²³ Ewert, *The Vulgar Language*, 23.

regrouping of the constituent elements (vowels and consonants) independently of such modification. The former is called sound-change.¹²⁴

Sound-changes are a natural concomitant of speech-activity. We have seen that the latter implies the translation into audible sounds of a sound-picture might be described as a synthetic photograph (for which the analogy of a sound-film is appropriate up to a point) of a series of impressions received through each ear. A change in pronunciation may result from a distortion of the picture, such as might be produced by faulty perception or prolonged contact with persons possessing an abnormal articulation. However, it also results from the failure to check slight deviations from the norm represented by the picture.

In other words, the movement of the organs of speech is capable of variations so slight that they escape notice. Where such deviations are shared by a sufficiently large percentage of the population (community, tribe or nation) the synthetic photography recorded through the ear is insensibly distorted. A new norm henceforth exists and we may say that a sound-change has been accomplished. Sound-change is therefore a gradual process, mechanical, regular, and involuntary. Thus FIDEM has by a series of slight changes *fēde>fēde>feif> fei>foi>foe>fwe>fwa*) become *foi*. Such changes may therefore be summed up in the form of sound-laws stating that at a given time, in a given place, under given phonetic conditions that the term "law" is here used in a special sense. It is in no sense an enactment, nor has it the universal application of a physical law. It is in fact a statistical law deriving in validity from the accuracy and completeness of the statistics, validity from accuracy and

¹²⁴ Ibid.

completeness of the statistics. But as it records a mechanical and involuntary change it should, if accurately framed, admit of no exceptions. As already indicated, three conditions must be observed, (a) chronology, (b) geography, and (c) phonetic conditions. A sound-law merely states what happened at a given time. Therefore, only the words existing in the language at that date are affected. Words entering it later will not undergo the change in question; they may appear to do so, but that is due to an analogical adoption, the sounds of the borrowed word being rendered by what are felt to be the normal equivalents in the language.¹²⁵

The general rule is that a borrowed word undergoes those phonetic changes that supervened after its introduction into the language and is not affected by change, which had been completed before that date. Therefore, words borrowed from written Latin during the V.L. period would not be distinguished from Popular words, and it would appear a simple matter to arrange later borrowings in chronological order. Yet, a number of factors have intervened to obscure the issue, and it is necessary to study the circumstances under which a particular word was introduced and the manner in which it was propagated.¹²⁶

The first circumstance to be noted is that the earliest borrowings were oral and not written, and when one bears in mind that the clerks carried into their pronunciation of Latin many of the features of the vulgar tongue, it is clear that a word may be borrowed after the completion of a sound-change and yet appear to have been subjected to it. No one will contend, for example, that *charité* (CARITATEM) was

¹²⁵ Ibid., 24.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 102.

borrowed before *c* followed by *a* had become *ch*, and yet Latin *c* is here rendered by *ch*. The Carolingian reforms went some way towards restoring classical pronunciation of written Latin, so that words borrowed after that date are more easily recognized; but even their chronology is difficult to establish. Firstly, the reforms did not completely eradicate such popular pronunciations as *c = ts* before *e, i*, and *c = tʃ* before *a*. Our knowledge of the medieval pronunciation of Latin is very imperfect; and yet it is a factor, which has to be reckoned with throughout the history of borrowings from Latin.¹²⁷

Secondly, post-Carolingian borrowings are no longer made by word of mouth, but directly from written Latin, and they are Learned in a narrow sense of the term. They continue, however, to be borrowed from Low Latin down to the end of the thirteenth century; after that date from Classical Latin, and less frequently from Low Latin. Thirdly, the existence of the Latin word alongside of the Learned borrowing (often in the linguistic equipment of the same individual) may exercise a retarding influence on the development of the latter, which would not be caught up in the popular stream and would heretofore be made to appear a later borrowing than it in fact is.¹²⁸ Fourthly, the same word may be reborrowed at various dates. We get in this way, in addition to etymological doublets consisting of a Popular form and a Learned form (*meuble-mobile*), doublets consisting of an early borrowed word and a late borrowed word may be eliminated by the latter. Fifthly, what appear to be Learned words may in certain cases be Popular words re-modeled under the influence of the

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

Latin form. That is to say, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between mere Learned influence and outright borrowing.¹²⁹

Morphological modifications are similarly brought about by the structure of the borrowing language, for borrowings generally take on the patterns of native elements. To be sure, foreign inflections may occasionally be maintained, especially by sophisticated speakers. Borrowings may be viewed as instances of cultural diffusion and acculturation.¹³⁰

Latin loan words are primarily of interest for the study of the diffusion of Latin vocabulary; however, they also offer some clues to the chronology of sound-change. Comparison of the romance languages shows that, except in central Sardinia, the velar C palatalized before a front vowel (cf. above CĒRA>*cire*,); this change must have occurred during the Vulgar Latin period, but its relative lateness is confirmed by Latin loan-words in German, in which the original consonant is preserved, e.g., CELLARIUM, *Keller*; CISTA, *Kriste*; CYMA, *Keim*; CAESAR, *Kaiser*. These were probably adopted during the imperial age. Before that age had ended, German also incorporated *Zins*, from Lat. CENSUS, in which the C had developed to the *ts*-sound of similar words in Old French.¹³¹

Since man is within nature, he obeys natural laws either spontaneously or voluntarily, and in his attempt (unique among animals) to reshape nature he must make use of nature. The sound-laws, phonetic tendencies or drifts are comprehensive

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics*, 215-216.

¹³¹ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 34.

comprehensive formulas to embrace what has actually happened, and they are shaped to exclude what has not happened. For example, Latin "fōcus" has given Italian "fuoco" and "lōcus" has given "luogo" and the "law" must be shaped accordingly. The Spanish forms are "fuego luego," and the Spanish "law" states that Latin *c* [*k*] between vowels becomes Spanish *g*. But in saying so we have to allow that this sonorization is a western feature, and was often absent in Mozarabic, Old Aragonese, and Catalan.¹³² Other consonantal developments, like vocalic trends, reveal beyond all possible doubt the differentiation already in progress during the Vulgar Latin period. Notable among these are the treatment of intervocalic voiceless plosives (*p*, *t*, and *k*), the loss or retention of final *s*, and the widespread palatalization of the velar plosives (*k* and *g*) before a front vowel.¹³³

C, *K*, *Q* are symbols for the hard *k* sound. In V.L. the point of articulation of *k* varied according to the point of articulation of the following vowel. Before front vowels (*e, i*) the tongue was arched towards the middle of the hard palate, giving a medio-palatal explosive, for which we have adopted the symbol *k-1*. Before *a* the tongue was arched towards the back hard palate, giving a post-palatal explosive (*k-a*). Before back vowels (*o, u*) the tongue was arched towards the velum, giving a velar explosive (*k*).¹³⁴

Similarly, Vulgar Latin possessed three *g* sounds: *g/i*, *g/a*, *g*. *Gi* had before the end of the V.L. period become semi-consonantal *j* and therefore coalesced with *j*

¹³² Entwistle, *Aspects of Language*, 38-39.

¹³³ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 49.

¹³⁴ Ewert, *The French Language*, 68.

(=C.L. *j*) and *j* which resulted from unaccented *-i* or *e* in hiatus from the reduction of *gj* and *dg*, and from Greek ζ (*jaloux* derived from ZELUS, Gr. ζήλος).¹³⁵

Darmesteter gives a more detailed account of G from the fifth century to the tenth century as it relates to the initial position of *g*:

Le *g* initial s'est maintenu, comme le *c*, devant *l*, *r*, *o*, *ū*: *grandem* – *grant*, *grand*. Devant *a*, *e*, *i*., il devient *dj*, par *k* devant *a*, *o*, ou par *g* devant toute autre voyelle: *ga.nba* – *jambe*.¹³⁶

When *g* is in the middle of a word, normally, it changes to a yod, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel: *ligare* – *leier*, *leier*, *lier*. This also occasionally occurs at the end of a word: *legem* – *lei*, *loi*. When *g* is the last consonant, it acts as the initial *g*; it takes on the same form as the initial *g*: *angustia* – *angoisse*.¹³⁷

During the early years of the Empire *k* and *g* continued to have their fully velar pronunciation in current speech, as is proved by aforementioned Latin borrowings. To date the inception of the change, whereby the point of articulation of these consonants began to move towards that of the vowels, which followed, is extremely difficult. But it may be inferred from the general development of Romance that by the third century, at the latest, the *c* of words like CERVUM, CAELUM, CĒRA, CĪRCARE, CIVITĀTEM, had in most areas come to be pronounced *kj*: thereafter, with the point of articulation moving still further forward, the quality of *k* entirely disappeared, and the sound became *tj*, which subsequently evolved in medieval Romance *ts(j)*. A clue to the time of *kj*>*tj* may probably be found in the fact

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Darmesteter, *Cours de Grammaire Historique*, 133-135.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

that *kj* and *tj* from other sources became identical in Vulgar Latin during the third century, as is apparent from inscriptions of that time containing such forms as *TERMINACIONES* (for *TERMINATIONES*) and *DEFENICIONES* (for *DEFINITIONES*): a confusion which was to become characteristic of medieval Latin orthography; the sound which ultimately evolved was again *tsj*, as in the German pronunciation given to such words when they were borrowed from Latin (e.g., Germ. *Definition. Martius, Servatius, etc.*)¹³⁸

The medieval scribes of Romance, who in other instances frequently juggled with the letters of the Latin alphabet in an attempt to provide new orthographical devices for the representation of non-Latin sounds, have generally been content to leave a Latin *c* unchanged, whatever the sound had in fact become. Thus, before the significance of the table, which follows can be appreciated, one must know that Fr. *cerf* was pronounced *tserf* in Old French and has developed to *serf* in the modern language (since the thirteenth century), that a similar *ts* evolved in Spanish to *seta*:

	French	Spanish	Sardinian (Logudorese)	Italian	Romanian
CERVUM	<i>cerf</i>	<i>ciervo</i>	<i>kerbu</i>	<i>cervo</i>	<i>cerb</i>
CAELUM	<i>ciel</i>	<i>cielo</i>	<i>kelu</i>	<i>cielo</i>	<i>cer</i>
CĒRA	<i>cire</i>	<i>cera</i>	<i>kera</i>	<i>cercare</i>	<i>ceară</i>
CĪCARE	Old Fr. <i>cherchie</i> (mod. <i>Chercher</i>)	<i>cercar</i>	<i>kirkare</i>	<i>cercare</i>	<i>a cerca</i>
CIVITĀTEM	<i>cite</i>	<i>ciudad</i>	-----	<i>città</i>	<i>cetate</i>

¹³⁸ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 53.

The Logudorese area of Sardinia, which has kept initial *k* intact to the present day, again stands out as the most archaic part of Romania. Old Dalmatian appears to have been similarly conservative in this respect: the dialect of the Adriatic island of Veglia, but lately extinct preserved the *k* at least before *e*. Elsewhere, palatalization is general. The palatalization of *g* before a front vowel followed a somewhat similar course. As *k* became *kj*, so *g* became *gj*, and thereafter the sound was generally dentalized to *dj*; but subsequent development is less easy to trace than in the case of *tj*. The sound however, occurred in this instance not only in Italian (e.g., *gente*<GENTEM, *genero*<GENEDRUM), Rheto-romance, and Romanian (*gintu*, *ginere*), but also in Old Portuguese and Old French. The pronunciation is largely restricted to north-Italian dialects, Venetian, Genoese, and Lombard, and to Istrian, where it has been reduced to *z*. There is, moreover, a third evolution, characteristic of Castilian Spanish and Sicilian, in which no affricate developed: at a stage, which was either *gj* or *dj* the first element disappeared; hence mod. Span. *verno* and Sicil. *Yennaru*. Before an unaccented vowel the second element too has disappeared in Spanish, though it continues to be represented in orthography by a superfluous *h*, e.g., *hermano*<GERMANUM).¹³⁹

Confronted with this repartition, we can scarcely venture to draw conclusions concerning the situation at the time of the Roman collapse. All that we can infer is that local differentiation was already taking place, following perhaps with a certain time-lag upon the differentiation of the voiceless equivalent. But again we can point

¹³⁹ Ibid., 53-54.

with certainty to the archaism of Logudorese, which has kept velar *g*, like velar *k*, to the present day.¹⁴⁰ How much has changed; how much has stayed the same?

Historically speaking, the languages in this study are defined collectively as the common spoken vernacular of the Latin tongue. Prominent in this study is a discussion on the genealogy of Latin in order to group the ancestors to the Romance languages's lineage. Because these oral expressions of daily speech have scattered vestiges of recorded script, research depended on evidence from an historical perspective and its impact on language patterns and its people. The impact of history and culture on the five languages in this study is reflected in the divergence of the language between upper and lower classes, as well as city and country speech. The drawing away from the elegant parlance of Classical Latin produced the speech of the middle class called Vulgar Latin.

An illustration of this new language comes from the French text: *The Strasbourg Oaths (842)*:

The text of the oath taken by Louis the German:

Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il me altresi fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Wendy Ayers-Bennett, *A History of the French Language Through Texts* (London: Routledge, 1996), 16.

For the love of God and for Christendom and our common salvation, from this day onwards, as God will give me the wisdom and power, I shall protect this brother of mine Charles, with aid or anything else, as one ought to protect one's brother, so that he may do the same for me, and I shall never knowingly make any covenant with Lothair that would harm this brother of mine Charles.¹⁴²

The text of the oath taken by the followers of Charles the Bald:

Si Lodhuuigs sacrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io ne neuls, cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla aiudha contra Lodhuuig nun li iu er.
143

If Louis keeps the oath that he has sworn to his brother Charles, and Charles, my lord, on the other hand breaks it, and if I cannot dissuade him from it — neither I nor anyone that I can dissuade from it — then I shall not help him in any way against Louis.¹⁴⁴

In agreement with Ayers-Bennett, the initial consonants are strong and remain intact (e.g., *podir*, *savir*), final consonants tended to be weak and fall, and medial consonants tended to modify through the influence of the neighboring vowels.¹⁴⁵ In reference to the intervocalic consonants, there is one or in some cases, two stages of

¹⁴² Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, [database on-line]; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/org/wiki>; accessed 14 December 2005.

¹⁴³ Ayres-Bennett, *History of French Language*, 18.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

the modification of intervocalic consonants. Through assimilation, voiceless intervocalic stops became voiced (*populum*>*poblo*) and when the tongue is no longer raised enough to make a complete closure in the oral cavity, a fricative is produced (*cata una*>*cadhuna* [ð], *sapere* >*savir*; *adjutare* >*aiudh*). For the purpose of this study, *ego*>*eo*, *io*, the intervocalic *g* has completely disappeared.¹⁴⁶

Consonants that fell into final position through the loss of a following unstressed vowel tended to become voiceless (e.g., *inde*>*int*). The final *-m* fell silent in most words very early on; it became [n] in a few monosyllables as *meum*>*meon*.¹⁴⁷ There are, however, some contradictions to this study by Ewert, who explains some of the findings as errors of inscription not sound changes. His explanation refers to the adaptation of the Latin alphabet as a challenge to assigning orthography to the new sounds that had developed in the vernacular. The *Strasburg Oaths*, according to Ewert illustrates the difficulties, which a scribe accustomed to Latin faced. Ewert believes the scribe of the *Oaths* document is sometimes content to employ the Latin word (*pro*, *quid*, *nunquam*, *in damno sit*), quite apart from Learned (*Christian*) and semi-Learned (*sagrament*), or to employ traditional (etymological) symbols for new sounds (*cist*=*cest*, *int*=*ent*), incorrect *i* for *e* (*prindrai*). He further adopts an imperfect notation for diphthongs (*savir*, *podir* for *saveir*, *podeir*) or keeps the traditional spelling (*pablo*, *meon*, *vol*); but cf. *dreit*, *plaid*, *pois*. Ewert acknowledges that this scribe is obviously at a loss over the new sound \eth (*nostro*, *salvarai*, *fradre*,

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

fradra, suo), and makes a hesitating use of *dh* to indicate the fricative *d*, a stage which the intervocal dental had by this time reached (*ajudha, cadhuna, Ludher*; cf. *podir, fradre*). The change *kj > ts* is recorded in *fazet, p > v* in *savir*.¹⁴⁸

Summary

The research for this study began with a comparative historical overview of the evolution of Classical Latin to Vulgar Latin and the five selected Romance languages, as we know them today. Centuries later, the results are distinctive Romance languages each characterized by its own speed and flow. Each having numerous Creoles and pidgins, but above all having an abiding Latinity. The preponderance of the letter *k* to hold a unique place in this review, helped to support the study of this letter and the sound changes associated with it as it transcended from *k* to *c* in Vulgar Latin to five Romance Languages. Also noted, contributors to the unique evolution of *C/k/* and *G/g/* (the Romans, influenced by the Etruscans, used the letter *C* for the sounds of *G* and *C*) down through the annals of time included the morphological modifications of borrowed and loaned words, as well as the medieval scribes of Romance, who juggled with the letters of the Latin alphabet.

What can we conclude from this study when it comes to the Romance language French? Very simply put, the research shows that *C/k/* and *G/g/* in the initial placement of the word is preserved before *a*, *o*, and *u* up to the twelfth century but becomes *ts* before *e*, and *i*. Intervocalic *C/k/* and *G/g/* weaken and in a final position, often disappear during this same period of time.

¹⁴⁸ Ewert, *French Language*, 110.

CHAPTER III

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF SPANISH AND ITS CONSONANTAL SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF C/k/ AND G/g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO SPANISH UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY

Spanish is the Romance language spoken in the central part of the Iberian Peninsula. It is surrounded on the northwest by Galician, once a literary language, on the west by Portuguese, on the northeast by Basque, a language whose origins are still debated, and on the east by Catalán, which is closely related to Provençal. Through colonial expansion, Spanish became the official language of Mexico, Central and South America (with the exception of Brazil and the Guianas); it is spoken in the Philippine Islands, in sections of the African coast, and, sporadically, in the Balkans and in Turkey, where it was imported by the Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492.¹

The Spanish language was developed from Vulgar Latin with influence from Basque and Arabic, in the Iberian Peninsula. Typical features of Spanish diachronical phonology include lenition (Latin *vita*, Spanish *vida*), palatalization (Latin *annum*, Spanish *año*) and diphthongation of breve E/O from Vulgar Latin (Latin *terra*, Spanish *tierra*; Latin *novus*, Spanish *nuevo*); similar phenomena can be found in most Romance languages as well.²

¹ Tatiana Fotitch, *An Anthology of Old Spanish* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962), 5.

² Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Spanish Language* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_language/accessed 14 December 2005.

The distinguishing feature of medieval Spain was the Moslem invasion and occupation of much of the peninsula that split ancient Hispania into two sections and made it a frontier area as compared with the rest of Western Europe.³ The first reaction of the majority of the inhabitants of the peninsula to the Moslem invasion was, for the most part, apparently fairly mild, especially in the southern regions. Some of the Gothic nobility managed to make a deal with the new rulers and thus kept their lands and their position in the country. The conquerors were, in general, liberal in their treatment of the Hispano-Roman and Gothic peoples. No conversions to Islam were forced on Christians, and, for the great mass of the poor who had suffered under the monarchy and the quarrelling Gothic-Roman nobility the change from one overlord to another could hardly have been a cause for much regret.⁴

Romanization, which included the adoption of Latin as the general language of all persons, had been rapid in the urbanized south and in the Levant, but we have no certain knowledge of when the rural areas also adopted Latin. The persistence of Basque in the Pyrenees and in adjacent territories is clear evidence that Latin did not become dominant everywhere. It is quite likely that in other northern areas the indigenous languages remained in use until the beginning of the Middle Ages (whenever that may be). In other words, there may well have been many speakers of pre-romance tongues at the time of

³ Paul M. Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987), 173.

⁴ *Ibid.*

the Moslem invasion.⁵ The area which was eventually to become Casti(e)lla had not had any special importance during imperial times or under the Visigothic kingdom.⁶

The native tribes that inhabited the region were not unified: the Cantabri, the Autrigoni, the Caristi, the Barduli, the Berones, the Turmogi, etc.⁷ The area that became Castile was originally a small region just south of the Cantabrian chain, west of the valleys of Mena, Losa, and Valdegovia.⁸ Since it lay outside of the natural defenses of the mountains, those who began to settle there found it essential to construct fortifications to protect the new settlements. Some of these, indeed, had begun to appear as early as the reign of Alfonso I.

The number of fortresses eventually became sufficiently large to be perceived as a distinctive characteristic of the area, so that toward the beginning of the ninth century the popular description of it was "the place of castles," Latin CASTELLA.⁹

The name was at first simply a descriptive term, but by the middle of the ninth century, it had become a proper name.¹⁰

One of the effects of the social mobility that characterized early Castilian society would have been a great unity of language as people from different areas mixed together in the newly populated regions,¹¹ and abandoned isolated dialectal

⁵ Ibid., 174.

⁶ Ibid., 175.

⁷ Ibid., 174.

⁸ Ibid., 175.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Lantolf (1974), 264, quoted in Paul M. Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987), 173.

features. A larger degree of homogeneity was, in fact, an early feature of the emerging Castilian dialect.¹²

Over the centuries, the consonantal system of Castilian Spanish had undergone the following important changes that differentiated it from some neighboring Romance languages, such as Portuguese and Catalán:

- The initial /f/, that had evolved into a vacillating /h/, was lost in most words (although this etymological h- has been preserved in spelling)
- The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ (that was written 'u' or 'v') merged with the bilabial occlusive /b/ (written 'b'). Contemporary Spanish written 'b, v' do not correspond to different phonemes.
- The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ (that was written 's' between vowels) merged with the voiceless /s/ (that was written 's', or 'ss' between vowels), now written 's' everywhere.
- Voiced alveolar affricate /dz/ (that was written 'z') merged with the voiceless /ts/ (that was written 'ç, ce, ci'), and then /ts/ evolved into the interdental /T/, now written 'z, ce, ci'. However, in Andalusia, the Canary Islands and the Americas these sounds merged with /s/ as well. Notice that the 'ç' or 'cedilla' was in its origin a Spanish letter.
- The voiced postalveolar fricative /Z/ (that was written 'j, ge, gi') merged with the voiceless /S/ (that was written 'x', as in 'Quixote'), and then /S/ evolved by the 17th century into the modern velar sound /x/, now written 'j, ge, gi'.¹³

¹² Lloyd, *Latin to Spanish*, 177.

The consonantal system of Medieval Spanish has been better preserved in Judaeo-Spanish, the language spoken by the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain in the 15th century.¹⁴

Until recent times, the language was widely spoken throughout the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East, and North Africa, having been brought there by Jewish refugees fleeing Spain following the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. It was the most used language in Salonica. Over time, a corpus of literature, both liturgical and secular, developed.¹⁵

During the Jewish Enlightenment, as Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire studied in schools of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, Judaeo-Spanish drew from French for neologisms.¹⁶ In the twentieth century, the number of speakers declined sharply: entire communities were eradicated in the Holocaust, while the remaining speakers, most of who migrated to Israel, adopted Hebrew.¹⁷

Most native speakers today are elderly immigrants, who have not transmitted the language to their children or grandchildren. In addition, Sephardic communities in several Latin American countries still use Ladino.¹⁸ Here is a sample:

Non komo nuestro Dio,
Non komo nuestro Sinyor,
Non komo nuestro Rey,

¹³ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Spanish Language*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Non komo nuestro Salvador.

It is also sung in Hebrew (Ein k'Eloheynu) but the tune is different.¹⁹

The Spanish of Spain may be divided into three main dialects: Leonese-Asturian, Navarro-Aragonese, and Castilian. Only Castilian has gained literary importance and is generally recognized as Standard Spanish.²⁰

Like all Romance languages, Spanish had its beginnings in spoken Latin. It was after the defeat of the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War (218-206 B.C.) that this kind of Latin was introduced into Spain and spread by Roman soldiers, administrators, and businessmen among a population composed of mainly Iberians and Iberianized Celts.²¹ Research is compelled to give more background on this historical appendix in the linguistic analysis of this paper: the defeat of the Carthaginians.

Carthage was an ancient state of North Africa and at times also the southwestern part of the Mediterranean basin, lasting from about the 9th century BCE to 146 BCE. From the 8th century until the 3rd century BCE, Carthage was the dominating power of the western half of the Mediterranean.²²

The state had its name from the city of Carthage, out on the coast, 10 km from today's Tunis, Tunisia. Phoenician traders found Tyre Carthage in the 9th century. Carthage had two first-class harbors, and therefore an advantage with the most efficient means of communications of those days, the sea. The Carthaginians soon developed high

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Fotitch, *An Anthology of Old Spanish*, 5.

²¹ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Carthage*, [database on-line]; Internet; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carthage>; accessed 18 December 2004.

²² Ibid.

skills in the building of ships and used this to dominate the seas for centuries. The most important merchandise was silver, lead, ivory and gold, beds and bedding, simple, cheap pottery, jewelry, glassware, wild animals from Africa, fruit and nuts.²³

The fighting against the Greek over control of territories lasted over a period of more than 200 years for Carthage.²⁴ The wars against Rome were called the Punic Wars, and involve three periods of wartime, from 264 to 146 BCE. Every one of these three ended with defeats for the Carthaginians, but following the first two, Carthage soon returned to old glory and importance. In the third war, vindictive Romans wrecked Carthage forever.²⁵ We have few sources to everyday life of the Carthaginians. Their religion had Baal and Tanit as central gods, but there were also elements from Greek religion, with the goddesses of Demeter and Persephone. The religion of the Carthaginians involved rituals with human sacrifice.²⁶

814 BCE: Legends tell that Carthage was founded by Queen Dido, who fled her homeland. The exactness of the year 814 might be legendary as well.

7th century: With the establishment of Greek trading colonies on Sicily, the position of Carthage is put into jeopardy, and a conflict is inevitable.

6th century: Carthage has conquered the territory of Libyan tribes and old Phoenician colonies and has control over the North African coast, stretching from today's Morocco to the borders of today's Egypt, plus Sardinia, Malta, the Balearic Islands and the western half of Sardinia.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid

- 480:** Battle against the Greeks on Sicily, which results in Carthaginian defeat.
- 450:** Hamilco reaches the British Isles.
- 425:** Hanno sails down the West African coast.
- 396:** A new defeat for Carthage by the Greeks of Sicily. Domestic upheavals follow.
- 310:** Attack on Carthage mainland from the Greek king of Syracuse. Three years of plundering followed.
- 264:** First Punic War against Rome starts and is located around Sicily.
- 241:** End of first Punic War. The war results in losses in the east and the surrender of the Carthaginian fleet. However, Carthage retained large areas in southern Spain, even if Spain was now divided into spheres of interest.
- 218:** Second Punic War starts, after Hannibal moves into Roman sphere of interest in Spain. This war involved the famous campaign of elephants crossing the Alps by Hannibal.
- 201:** After many early victories, fatigue destroys the Carthaginians, the peace with Rome this year is a humiliating one for the Carthaginians, and involves strong reductions in territory and elimination of the military fleet.
- 149:** The third Punic War comes in the shape of a Roman campaign against Carthage, motivated by fear and jealousy more than real military evaluations.
- 146:** With great horror thousands of Carthaginians are killed, Carthage is burnt almost totally to the ground, and strict regulations on further settlements are imposed on the remaining population.
- 29 CE:** Roman emperor Augustus founds Colonia Julia Carthago, a city that once again proved the skills and the power of the people of this region. Within a few years it

prospered, and soon came only second to Rome in splendor and wealth.

439: The Vandal king Genseric occupies Carthage, and makes it his capital.

637: Carthage is captured by the Arabs, and destroyed, and has since then never regained its importance, much due to the concentration of power in nearby Tunis. The above historical sequence set the stage for the spread of Vulgar Latin.

Glanville Price states standard Spanish had its origins in a small segment of the dialect continuum, which stretches coast to coast across the northern third of the Peninsula. This array of dialects has traditionally been divided into five, labeled (from west to east) Galician-Portuguese, Asturian-Leonese, Castilian, Navarro-Aragonese, and Catalán. However, these divisions are based essentially upon political considerations (the boundaries between the medieval kingdoms of northern Spain) and are not justified on grounds of dialect boundaries, which do not exist in this area. Within this dialect continuum, a few favored groups of speech varieties, well separated one from another, gained special social prestige through association with the social groups that used them, and saw this prestige further enhanced by their preferential use in writing.²⁷

Since the standard variety of Spanish was elaborated in the medieval kingdom of Castile, this variety was referred to in the Middle Ages as (*romance*) *castellano* ('Castilian [Romance]'), and the name *castellano* continues to be used by many of those that speak it, especially by those from outside Castile proper (Catalonia, Galicia, Spanish America), since the term is often felt to lack the association with Spanish nationhood which is sometimes attached to the term *español* ('Spanish'). The latter term came into

²⁷ Glanville Price, *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1998), 453.

frequent use, as a synonym for *castellano*, after the late 15th Century union of Castile (then also including Galicia, Asturias, León, the Basque Country and the Canary Islands) with Aragón (which also incorporated Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and other Mediterranean territories). Since that time, the two terms have been used synonymously. In English, when referring to the national, standard language of Spain and of its daughter republics in America, there is no need to use any term other than 'Spanish.' The term 'Castilian' can be reserved for those varieties of speech used in that part of the Peninsula called Castile.²⁸

In the foregoing discussion, Vulgar Latin was defined as the speech of the middle classes, as it grew out of early Classic Latin.²⁹ Fotitch explains it as a term conveniently employed for the common idiom of the Roman Empire, which was extended to people of different races, civilizations, and language habits³⁰. Thus, the Latin spoken in the Roman provinces was by no means homogeneous, but was marked by chronological, dialectal, and even social differences. In late Republican and early Imperial times, literary Latin, the language of the schoolroom, became more and more restricted in morphology, syntax, and vocabulary and the accepted modes of speech were not assimilated by people at large.³¹

Until the development of reformed spelling in the 13th century, writing in Castile, as in other romance-speaking territories, was carried out on the basis of norms passed on, largely through scribal training within the Church, from late Roman times. Early

²⁸Ibid., 452.

²⁹ C. H. Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin* (Boston: D.C.: Heath & Co., 1907), 3-4.

³⁰ Fotitch, *An Anthology of Old Spanish*, 6.

³¹ Ibid.

medieval writing in Spain used the so-called Visigothic form of the Latin alphabet, progressively replaced by Carolingian script from the 11th Century. Changes, which took place in spoken language, were not necessarily incorporated into the registers used in writing, so that the written language continued to contain morphological and lexical elements, in particular, which had ceased to be used in speech. The spelling of pre-13th Century texts can also be described as essentially etymological, by which it is meant that the writer made an attempt to use a sanctioned sequence of letters for each word, without direct regard for pronunciation. However, such a *logographic* procedure naturally depended upon the writer's ability to identify, on the basis of his training, an appropriate sequence of letters for the word he was proposing to write, and this was not always possible, specifically in the case of words of non-Latin origin, such as Arabisms, borrowings from *Basque, or *Germanic personal names, as well as in the case of some Romance place-names. In writing such words, the scribe had to have recourse to informal equivalences between letter and sound, that is, he had to use phonological principles of writing. Thus, having noted that the initial letter of spelling *caballus* corresponded to an initial [k] in his native pronunciation ([kaβálo]) of the locals' romance word with appropriate meaning, he was free to use the graph <c> as part of the spelling of the Arabism [alkálde] 'judge, mayor', a word also belonging to his oral competence, and therefore to write *alcalde*, etc. This phonological principle could then be applied to the spelling of inherited vernacular words, that is, to those words which descended from Latin and which belonged to speech. Early examples of the application of the phonological principle to Spanish words and phrases (and occasional whole sentences) are the 11th-c. glosses inserted into Latin texts by monks working in the

monasteries of San Milian de la Cogolla (western La Rioja) and Santo Domingo de Silos (NE Castile). Some regard these glosses as the earliest samples of written Spanish.³²

In Classical Latin there were ten vowels; five were long (nowadays marked with –, called ‘macron’) and five were short (marked with ˘, called ‘breve’). The difference in the length of vowels was crucial to the meaning of words, as these examples clearly show: *lēgit* (with long *e*) meant ‘he read’ while *lēgit* (with short *e*) meant ‘he reads.’ The noun *ōs* (with long *o*) meant ‘mouth’ while *ōs* (with short *o*) meant ‘bone.’ Vowel length affected unstressed as well as stressed vowels, as this example shows: *frūctūs* (with long unstressed final vowel) meant ‘fruits’ while *frūctūs* meant ‘a fruit.’³³ In Vulgar Latin, however, vowels were not distinguished by length but by TIMBRE, so that a Classical *long* vowel became a Vulgar Latin CLOSE vowel and a Classical *short* vowel became a Vulgar Latin OPEN vowel.³⁴

Continuing this process, changes from Vulgar Latin to Spanish developed in vowels according to their stress or lack of stress and their position in the word. The consonants in the initial position were usually preserved with some exceptions. For example: *b > b*: *bonu (m) > bueno*; *c (plus a, o, u) > c*: *casa (m) > casa*; *cognatu (m) > cuñado*; *c (plus e, l) > ts* (written *ç*): *caelu (m) > cielo* (in Modern Castilian this sound

³² Price, *Encyclopedia of the Languages*, 453.

³³ Thomas Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

became an interdental sibilant); *qua* > *cua*: *quattuor* > *cuatro*; *que* > *qu*: *quem* > *quien*; *d* > *d*: *dormire* > *dormir*; *r* > *r*: *rosa (m)* > *rosa*.³⁵

Fotitch explains, however, there are exceptions. Some of these examples include: *f* > *h* (aspirated) > *h* (mute): *fabulare* > *hablar*; *fel* > *hiel*. *G* is preserved before *a*, *o*, *u*: *gallicu (m)* > *galgo*; *gaudiu (m)* > *gozo*; *gutta (m)* > *gota*. *S* > *ch* [tʃ]: *sibilare* > *chillar*. Initial *yod* (*i* in hiatus) had three different developments: *i*.*[j]* > *j*[ʒ]: *iocu(m)* > *juego*; *jurare* > *jurar*. *i*.*[j]* > *y*[j]: *iam* > *ya*; *iugu (m)* > *yugo*. *i*.*[j]* > *-*: *iungere* > *uncir*.³⁶

In Fotitch's discussion of the medial position, the Classical Latin *p*, *t*, *k*, on Spanish soil, had already weakened to *b*, *d*, *g* in the Vulgar Latin period. Therefore *capu(m)* > *cabo*; *recipere* > *reciber*; *capra (m)* > *cabra*; *catena (m)* > *cadena*; *semita (m)* > *senda*; *urtica (m)* > *ortiga*; *locale (m)* > *lugar*. *M* in the final position is already lost in the Classical Latin period except for monosyllables, in which it becomes *-n*: *quem* > *quien*; *tam* > *tan*.³⁷

The loss of the final *m* on words longer than one syllable dates from the third century B.C. This development had far-reaching effect on Vulgar Latin grammar.³⁸ Of all other final consonants, only *-s* and *-l* remain: *magis* > *mas*; *mel* > *miel*; (*r* becomes medial through metathesis: *semper* > *siempre*).³⁹

³⁵ Fotitch, *An Anthology*, 10, 12.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish*, 10.

³⁹ Fotitch, *An Anthology*, 13.

Researching initial consonantal groups, all groups of consonant plus *r* remain: *breve (m)*>*breve*. A surd followed by *l* is palatized: *clamare* > *llamar*. A sonant plus *l*>*l*: *blastimare* > *lastimar*; *glirone (m)* > *lirón*. The group *s* plus surd develops a preceding *e* or *i* (prosthetic vowel): *speculu (m)* > *espejo*; *schola (m)* > *escuela*. Double consonants are simplified: *bucca (m)*>*boca*; *cuppa (m)*> *copa*. Note that in Old Spanish, the intervocalic *s* was sounded [z].⁴⁰

In the interior groups, the *l, r* plus consonant are usually preserved: *corda (m)*> *cuerda*; *largu (m)*> *largo*. *N, m, or s* plus surd also remain: *musca (m)*>*mosca*; *testu (m)*>*tiesto*. But *mb*> *mm*>*m*: *plumbu (m)*> *lomo*. *ng, gn* >*nn*> *ñ*: *signa*>*seña*; *annu (m)* >*año*. *ct* >*ch*: *nocte (m)* *noche*. *rs*>*s*: *ursu (m)*> *oso*. *sc*> *c* (*z*): *crescere*>*crecer*; *pesce* >*pez* (final position). *pt*>*t*: *septe (m)* *siete*; *capture*>*catar*.⁴¹

Consonants plus *i*. (yod) Note that Classical Latin *vi-de-o* becomes Vulgar Latin *vidjo*. *-di* and *-gi*>*y*: *pooium* >*poyo*; *ensagium* > *ensayo*. If preceded by a consonant *di-* >*ç* *verecundia* > *verguença*. *-ti* and *-ci(ce)*>*z*: *tristitia*>*tristeza*; *corticea*>*corteza*. If preceded by a consonant *ti-* and *ci(ce)*->*ç*: *captiare*>*caçar*; *lancea*>*lança*. In Old Spanish, *ç* was pronounced [ts] and *z* [dz]; later the two sounds were confused and became Modern Spanish [th]. *Ni-, ne-*>*ñ*: *seniore (m)*>*señor*; *arana (m)* *araña*. *Li*>*j* [ž]: *cilia (m)*>*ceja*; *folia*>*hoja*.⁴²

Through syncope and the skipping of vowels, new groups of consonants were formed, which were further reduced as follows: *c'l, g'l*>*j*[ž]: *ovicula (m)* >*oveja*;

⁴⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

*pellicula(m).pelleja; oculu (m)>ojo; tegula (m)teja; after a consonant c 'l> ch [tʃ]: trunculu (m) troncho; cingulu (m) cincho; and g 'l> ñ: singulariu (m) señoero; ungula (m) uña.*⁴³

Finally, a characteristic of the Western Vulgar Latin vocalic system that was to have a great effect on the development of Spanish consonants was that the unstressed vowels in the middle of words began to fall. This falling of vowels is known as SYNCOPE, and there are a number of examples of this feature in the *Appendix Probi*:

Speculum non speculum	(Spanish espejo)
Masculus non masclus	(Spanish macho)
Vetulus non veclus	(Spanish Viejo)
Articulus non articles	(Spanish artejo)
Oculus non oclus	(Spanish ojo) ⁴⁴

As noted in an earlier discussion on the evolution of Classical Latin to French up to the 12th century, a common phonetic feature was the change of *p*, *t*, and the *k* sound to *b*, *d*, and *g* when between vowels (that is in INTERVOCALIC position): CL *lepra* > VL *lebra* 'leprosy'; CL *triticum* > VL *tridicum* (Spanish trigo); CL *fricāre*>VL *fregare* (Spanish fregar).⁴⁵

If *p*, *t*, and *k* evolved to *b*, *d* and *g* in Vulgar Latin, the question must arise; just what happened to Classical Latin *b*, *d*, and *g* between vowels? Although the *b* remained strong, as time passed, Classical *d* and *g* tended to fall; in fact, even in Vulgar Latin the

⁴³ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁴ Lathrop, *Evolution of Spanish*, 10.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

intervocalic *g* had changed to a yod and had already begun to fall, especially before *i*.
: CL *rēgina* > VL *reina* (Spanish *reina*); CL *trīginta* > VL *triinta* (Spanish *treinta*).⁴⁶

In Classical Latin, the *c* was pronounced [k] before all vowels. Our modern notion that the Classical *c* was pronounced [č] before *e* and *i* derives from the way it came to be pronounced, through normal phonetic development, at the time of the Carolingian renaissance (ca. A.D. 800) when vigorous efforts were made to restore a *lingua franca*; this pronunciation has been with us ever since.⁴⁷

It is important for the research to stop and analyze what Lathrop appears to be saying when it is said that the Classical *c* change of pronouncement is derived from the way *it came* to be pronounced through *normal phonetic development*. . .when?--*at the time of the Carolingian renaissance*. Several historical ideas prompt further exploration. One, it appears the change could have been a matter of the blending of sounds, i.e., sound-changes (an idea discussed earlier) or dialects in an attempt to communicate more effectively; and two, the period in question represents an overtaking of the Frankish monarchy by the Carolingian family. This research is compelled to digress and expand on this historical footnote in order to present further evidence why this *c* thus evolved.

Under King Charlemagne, the Carolingian Empire was transformed into a restored Roman Empire. On Christmas Day in the year 800, the Pope crowned Charlemagne (or Charles the Great; reigned 768-814), deliberately using the Roman titles

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 12.

Emperor and Augustus, together with the Byzantine procedures of patriarchal coronation and popular acclamation.⁴⁸

At its maximum extent under Charlemagne, the Frankish Empire included most of present-day France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and portions of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain. Most of this territory had been wrested from the Frankish Empire's German neighbors and some of it from Muslims in Spain and Asiatic tribes from central Eurasia,⁴⁹ therefore explaining the various dialects and sound-changes that made an impact on the evolution of the Romance languages.

The Carolingian rulers, beginning with Pepin III, created the most effective armed forces in Western Europe. The cooperation of the Carolingian dynasty with the church continued as Charlemagne returned the pope to Rome and restored him to power. Pepin III and his son Charlemagne owed their success to broad support from church leaders and laity, an effective army, and the weakness of their enemies. However, only a powerful ruler able to enforce loyalty and obedience could manage the weakly unified Carolingian state. Charlemagne's successors lacked that ability, and during the ninth century, the Frankish empire disintegrated. Charlemagne's son, Louis, divided his empire and the crown lands among his sons upon his death in 840, thus precipitating a series of civil wars that broke up the Carolingian Empire. Out of the collapse emerged what became a

⁴⁸Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Roman Emperors*, [database on-line]; Internet; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carthage>; accessed 18 December 2004.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

French monarchy and a German monarchy.⁵⁰ From these proceedings came *les Serments de Strasbourg* or the Strasbourg Oaths in AD 842.

Additional support for Lathrop is found when Wendy Ayres-Bennett wrote that Richard Wright (1982) argued that the conceptual distinction between the Latin of France and Romance can only have been the result of a deliberate innovation in a particular historical context, that of the Carolingian renewal of Christian intellectual life.⁵¹ While his thesis remains controversial, it is certain that the Carolingian Reforms, which were an attempt by Charlemagne to restore the language of the Church and administration to its classical purity, emphasized the gap between the Latin of everyday speech and Classical Latin. The recognition of a purer form of Latin for administrative purposes meant that the vernacular began to be recognized as something different. This consciousness is also reflected in the decision of the Council of Tours (AD 813) to instruct the French clergy to translate their sermons 'in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam' ('into the Romance speech of the countryside, or into the Germanic language'), so as to be comprehensible to the people. It is for these reasons that it is generally thought to be appropriate to speak of French from about the middle of the ninth century, the period from which the two earliest extant vernacular texts (*Sequence of Saint Eulalia*) date.⁵²

A footnote taken from Lathrop's *The Evolution of Spanish* suggests another theory to the above historical account:

There is a possible polemic here: if Vulgar and Classical Latin were

⁵⁰ Ibid., 188.

⁵¹ Wendy Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language Through Texts* (Routledge, 1996), 8.

⁵² *Sequence of Saint Eulalia*, 8-9.

spoken during the same historical period, did Vulgar Latin really develop from Classical Latin at all? Or were they two variants of the *same* language (showing the types of differences we see nowadays between the speech of educated versus illiterate people)?⁵³

An interesting challenge for future research although one could argue a variant starts with a base, i.e., from Classical Latin, the base to romance languages, the variants.

Perhaps, however, we can conclude from the foregoing information that the historical incubator for the development of the [č] rested in the Carolingian reformation.

The new issue is, can an argument be made for Lathrop et al. who proclaimed the purity of *c* as [k] is housed in the Logudurese language? Was location the catalyst for this *c* that retained the [k] sound? That having been stated, there are a number of proofs, which clearly show that the Classical *c* was pronounced [k]. In the Logudurese dialect of Sardinian, recognized as the phonetically least developed of any Romance dialect, the [k] has been preserved before *e* and *i*: CL *cervum* ‘deer’> Logudurese *kerbu*; CL *cēram* ‘wax’> Logudurese *keru*; Latin *circare* ‘go across’> Logudurese *kircare*; CL *caelum* ‘sky’> Logudurese *kelu*.⁵⁴ More than one reference has been made to the Logudurese dialect of the island of Sardinia, which prompts the research to include some historical adaptation to give some basis of why another linguistic opportunity failed to present itself and *c* kept the [k] sound.

First of all, the root of “Sard,” present in many toponyms and distinctive of the ethnical group, has been supposed to come from a mysterious people Shardana, “the people of the seas,” in Egyptian inscriptions of 9th-8th Century, BC perhaps of Middle-

⁵³ Lathrop, *Evolution of Spanish*, 6, fn 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

East or Eastern Mediterranean origins. Massimo Pittau identifies their eventual provenance in Lydia, basing his theory on the recognition of several notable archaeological and religious analogies with the central regions of Anatolia. Others stress also the strange similarity of development of archaic customs and rites between inner Sardinia and some areas in the Balkans' region (but however this connection cannot be separated, in a study that is made *ex post*, from the influence of Caucasian and Balkan emigrations that brought peoples to move to the Iberian peninsula.⁵⁵

The work of Pittau is also interesting. In a famous text of 1984, he supposes to have found in the Etruscan language the etymology of many other Latin words, after the comparison with the Nuragic language. A consequence of this study would produce the conclusion that, having evidence of a deep influence of Etruscan culture in Sardinia, the island could have directly received from Etruscan many elements that are instead usually supposed of Latin provenance. He then indicates that Etruscan and Nuragic languages both descended from Lydian language, therefore being both Indo-European languages as a consequence of the alleged provenance of Etruscans/*Tirrenii* from that land (as in Herodotus), where effectively the capital town was Sardis. He also suggests, on a historical point, that *Tirrenii* landed on Sardinia, while Etruscans went to current Tuscany; this concept would require completion by better proofs, even if the theory has been received with general preliminary attention.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Carthage* [database on line]; Internet; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carthage>; accessed 18 December 2004.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

It is with Phoenicians that the Nuragic/Sardinian language starts to be shared into two major families (that will finally produce Logudurese and Campidanese), having Phoenicians avoid the areas of Barbagia (center of the island) and Gallura. Logudoro and Gallura will later live different lives and mainly in the Era of the *Giudicati* (1000-1400) would extend their peculiarities, for what we now know as Sardo logudorese and Gallurese.⁵⁷

Phoenicians arrived probably from Cyprus (Borsig-Lilliu-Fischer, Barreca, and Wagner) and immediately organized for a long stay with the notable founding of the town of Nora; the relations with the inner part of the island were extended mainly in 9th century BC (retrievals of religious fetishes), then the Sardinian grain became a vital resource for Carthage.⁵⁸

The Roman domination (started in 238 BC) obviously brought on the island the structure of Latin, as it did in all areas of the Romance languages, but Latin was unable to completely substitute the entirety of the elements of this language. Some obscure roots remained unaltered, and in many cases it was Latin that accepted the local roots, like *Nur* (in Nuraghe, as well as in Nugoro and in many other toponyms). Latin culture was however undoubtedly dominant; even the Barbagia, the rebel inner area, derives its name from the unshaved beards that Sardinians wore: their land officially became *Barbaria* (this name was attributed to other areas of the Roman empire too, for exactly the same reasons, but it should be remembered that shaving was a Roman habit , not a general

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

use). Cicero, who called Sardinians *latrones matrucati* (thieves with sheep-wool rough cloaks) to emphasise Roman superiority, helped in spreading this definition.⁵⁹

Other *Barbarians* were in the northern side of Sardinia, in current Gallura, and Romans had to organise several expeditions to defeat Balari (clearly coming from the Balearic Islands), Ilienses, Galillenses and Giddilotani. The importance of these conquests for the language is strictly connected with the also important construction of the local Roman roads: having conquered the island in its entirety (1st century BC), and having gifted it with "modern" connectivity, Romans were able to allow the founding of towns with imported Roman inhabitants. Traces of this migration were found also in interesting 1920 ethnological studies (University of Bologna?) which would have found unaltered some anatomical elements of the original Roman race (red hair, blue eyes, rosé skin and strong neck) in some smaller villages in the area of Bitti.⁶⁰

To this time should belong the latest reciprocal influences with Corsica, in a limited area of northern Gallura. On the southern side, instead, other influences seem to report contacts with Semitic and (later) Byzantine languages. In the 1st century some relevant groups of Hebrews were deported to Sardinia and this caused some other influences; the Christianization [sic] would have (probably) brought Hebrews to convert following a sort of independent cult of Sant' Antioco (perhaps a way to preserve the ethnicity under a Christian form), still present in Gavoi. The contact with Hebrews, followed by another deportation of Christians, presumably lasted for a couple of

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

centuries; it is then likely, that in 3rd c. AC Vulgar Latin started to dominate on the island.⁶¹

This finally established cultural domination makes the Sardinian language a Romance language, or better an archaic neo-Latin language, whose main characteristics are the lack of borrowings from Greek language (specially for abstracts), the archaic kind of phonetic and morphosyntactic phenomena, the eminently rural character of lexicon. The domination of Vandals (5th century) lasted only for 80 years and the presumed few German influences were not affected by this presence, but indirectly passed through direct Latin-German relationships.

After this domination, Sardinia passed under the Eastern Roman Empire, and influences that are more interesting are derived by this culture. The Greek language that was the main reference of Byzantines does not enter however in the structure of Sardinian (still a neo-Latin language) if not mainly for formal aspects, like in some ritual or formal formulas that, using Latin words, are expressed in the typical Greek construction. In this sense, many evidences can be found in the *Condaghes*, first written documents in Sardinian.⁶²

There are however other languages spoken on Sardinia, among them also Catalán (mainly referred to the area of Alghero, where an Aragonese colony was created *ex novo* in 1353 - after the battle of Porto Conte) and the Tabarchino with its Ligurian origins, mainly spoken in the minor islands of San Pietro and Sant'Antioco.⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

The native language of Sardinia is commonly considered as shared among the most archaic Sardo logudorese, Campidanese, Gallurese, (the latter with minor reciprocal Corsican influence, due to proximity). Sassarese (spoken in the area of Sassari) is commonly reputed a dialect of Logudorese, even if many influences from Gallurese. Tabarchino and Catalan are considered belonging to ethnical specificities.⁶⁴

The interaction of linguistic claims with current political instances (mainly those claiming for an autonomy or directly an independence of Sardinia and, on the other side, of Corsica), has been instead, and still is now, more evident.⁶⁵ The Sardinian Language has recently been recognized as an official regional language by Sardinian Special Region, therefore it can be used for official purposes (on the island only).⁶⁶ Sardinian has the following consonant phonemes (according to Blasco Ferrer, today perhaps the most relevant expert in Sardinian language):

Plosives

- /p/
- /b/
- /f/
- /t/
- /d/
- (d cacuminale) (retroflex /d/, as in many Southern Italian idioms)
- /g'/ like Hungarian *gy*, a voiced palatal occlusive (?) > /g/
- /k/
- /g/

Fricatives

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

- /T/ like English TH in *thing*, an unvoiced interdental fricative (now no longer used, Mensching 115, Blasco Ferrer 69) > /s/
- /m/
- /n/
- /n'/ like Spanish ñ, Catalán or Hungarian ny, palatal nasal
- /l/
- /L/ retroflex (Old Sardinian, now d cacuminale) (Blasco Ferrer 69)
- /r/
- /R/ like Spanish, Catalán or Basque rr, a multiple trilled vibrant (= /rr/?)

Fricatives

- /ts/ /dz/ /tS/ (from Italian, now also a phoneme) /dZ/ (dito)

It has been said that /T/ like Castilian /T/ developed from /ts/ and is in some modern Sardinian idioms pronounced as /s/ as in South American and Andalusian Castilian.⁶⁷ As indicated throughout this research, typical of Sardinian (Logudurese) phonology is the fricativisation and weakening of /p t k/ to /B D G/ in sentences.⁶⁸ It represents the consistent shift throughout the romance language diaspora.

The distinct and unique features of Sardinian leads to other observations that indicate some Classical Latin words were borrowed by Old Germanic during the time of the Roman Empire, and modern German still preserves the ancient [k]: CL *cellārium* 'cellar' > German *Keller*; CL *ceraseam* > German *Kirsch* 'cherry'; CL *Caesar* > German *Kaiser*.⁶⁹ The Romans conquered the Iberian Peninsula in about 197 B.C., and, from the earliest days, Latin loanwords went into Basque, the pre-Roman language of the northern

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Lathrop, *Evolution of Spanish*, 12.

part of the peninsula. CL *pacem* 'peace' > Basque *bake* was one of the early loanwords; the [k] is still preserved.⁷⁰

The *qu* cluster, which had been pronounced [kw] in all cases in Classical Latin, simplified to [k] before all vowels (except *a*) in Vulgar Latin: CL *sequi* [sékwɪ] > VL *sequire* [sekire] (Spanish *seguir*)-CL *quem* [kwɛm] > VL *quem* [kɛm] (Spanish *quien*)-CL *quiētum* [kwíetum] > VL *quetu* [kétu] 'quiet'-CL *quōmodo* [kwómodo] > VL *comodo* [komodo] (Spanish *como*).⁷¹ When did [kw] simplify to [k]? It must have been only *after* the Latin [k] had changed to [ts] before *e* and *i*, otherwise the Spanish result of the first two examples would have been the non-existent *secir* and *cen*.⁷²

There is one example, however, where *qu* before *i* did not become [ts]. CL *quinque* [kwɪŋkwe] gave VL *cinque* [tsɪŋke] (Spanish *cinco*) through the loss of the first *u* by dissimilation. That is, since speakers of a language sometimes may not tolerate two like sounds in the same word (and this is certainly true in the case of Spanish speakers), one of the sounds may be changed in some way, or even eliminated, as it is here, where *kw-kw* changed to *k-kw*, and early enough for the first *k* to evolve to [ts]. Thus, *c.* before *a*, the [kw] usually remained intact: CL *quando* [kwándo] > VL [kwándo] (Spanish *cuando*).⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 13.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

As consonants developed from Vulgar Latin to Spanish, some of them underwent very little change while others were totally transformed.⁷⁴ Whereas the most stable vowel from Vulgar Latin to Spanish was the one that bore the stress, the most stable consonant was the one that began a word. In the passage from Vulgar Latin to Spanish, most initial consonants were preserved intact, the notable exception being the disappearance of most initial *f*'s after the Middle Ages.⁷⁵

The medial consonants were the next strongest group. Vulgar Latin unvoiced stops [p, t, k] tended not only to voice, but to become spirants [β, δ, γ] in Spanish. Vulgar Latin unvoiced double stops *pp*, *tt*, *cc*, tended to simplify to [p, t, k] whereas Vulgar Latin voiced stops [b, d, g] tended to disappear on the way to Spanish, and, in fact, most CL *g*'s already had become yods in Vulgar Latin, and these in turn had begun to fall.⁷⁶

When a yod was generated through a consonant cluster, the consonants usually underwent their most revolutionary changes, sometimes being altered in both manner and place of articulation. For example, VL [kt], whose [k] element became a yod, evolved to Spanish [č], and VL [ly] became Spanish [x].⁷⁷ The final position was the weakest, and effectively the only Vulgar Latin final consonant that remained was the *-s*, largely due to the fall of the final *e*.⁷⁸

The VL *c*- before *a* or a back vowel maintained its [k] sound.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

capio > quepo	colore > color
capitiu > cabeza	corvu > cuervo
castellu > Castillo	cuna > cuna
carru > carro	cura > cura ⁷⁹

Sometimes the initial *c* has become *g*, as in VL *cattu* > Spanish *gato*, for example.⁸⁰

The CL *c-* before *e* or *i* was pronounced [k] in Classical Latin, but became [ts] in Vulgar Latin. This latter sound remained throughout Old Spanish, but later simplified into two different spirants. In Castile, the [ts] sound simplified to a spirant based on [t], giving the modern [θ], and in the south of Spain, the [ts] simplified to the second part of the cluster [s].

celu > cello	cereu > cirio
centu > ciento	cerru > cierro
cepulla > cebolla	certu > cierto
cerasea > cereza	cippu > cepo ⁸¹

Research has found a diacritic mark connection to [ts] as it relates to Old Spanish. It is very familiar to students of language. It is called the cedilla. A hook (,) added under certain consonant letters as a mark to modify their pronunciation. The tail is the bottom half of a miniature cursive *z* or yogh. The name "cedilla" is the diminutive of the old Spanish name for *zed*, *ceda*. An obsolete spelling of "cedilla" is "cerilla" because the letters *d* and *r* were interchangeable in 16th-century Spanish.⁸²

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., fn 5.

⁸¹ Ibid., 78.

⁸² Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Spanish*, [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Language; accessed 18 December 2004.

The most frequent character with cedilla is the ç (c with cedilla). This letter was used for the sound of the affricate [ts] in old Spanish.⁸³ Accordingly, when a Vulgar Latin intervocalic *sc* preceded a front vowel, the result in Old Spanish was [ts], spelled ç:

crescere > Old Spanish *creçer* > *crecer*
miscere > Old Spanish *meçer* > *mecer*
pascere > Old Spanish *paçer* > *pacer*⁸⁴

In cases where a final *e* had fallen following the Old Spanish ç, its spelling changed to *z*:

fasce > Old Spanish *façe* > *haz*
pisce > Old Spanish *peçe* > *pez*

In a few cases, VL *ci-* seems to have yielded *chi-* in modern Spanish. VL *cimice* has given Spanish *chinche*, probably via Mozarabic pronunciation (i.e., the pronunciation of Christian speakers of early Spanish living in Moorish occupied territory), and apparently VL *ciccu* gave Spanish *chico*.⁸⁵

This brings up the problem of initial [č] in Spanish words. As the sound system developed from Vulgar Latin to Castilian, the [č] sound evolved in the *middle* of words, but did not develop at the beginning of words. Those words of Latin origin that begin with *ch-* in Castilian have come from other Hispanic dialects or languages (Galician, Portuguese, Catalan, Mallorquin), or from other languages, including Arabic, Persian, French, English and a number of Indian languages from Central and South America.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Lathrop, *Evolution of Spanish*, 90.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 78.

Many Spanish words beginning with initial *ch-* are listed as being of 'uncertain origin' in etymological dictionaries.⁸⁶

Initial *g* remained [g] before *a* or a back vowel:

gallu > gallo	gula > gola
gaudiu > gozo	gutta > gota

Before *e*, it came to be pronounced [y], yielding *ye-* in Old Spanish, but this [y] has become all but lost in modern Spanish due to two causes. First, since the diphthong, *ié* overwhelmingly derives from a *stressed* VL *e*, and since an unstressed *e* cannot diphthongize, Spanish tends not to allow *any* unstressed *ié* diphthongs, no matter what the source. The examples below show that the Old Spanish normal development of VL *ge* to Old Spanish *ye-* was forced to be reduced to *e* in the modern language since it was unstressed:

geláre > Old Spanish *yelar* > Spanish *helar*
 Gel(o)vira > OSp. *Yelvira* > Sp. *Elvira*
 genésta > OSp. *yeniesta* > Sp. *hiniesta*
 germánu > OSp. *yermano* > Sp. *hermano*
 gingival > OSp. *yencia* > Sp. *encia*.⁸⁷

Most initial consonant clusters remained intact as Vulgar Latin developed into Spanish:

blandu > blando	frax (i)nu > fresno
blitu > bledo	fronte > frente
bracciu > brazo	pratu > prado
dracone > dragon	

Vulgar Latin *drappu* was altered slightly to yield Spanish *trapo*. The *gl-* cluster sometimes lost the *g* element: VL *glandinei* > Spanish *landre*, VL *glattire* > Spanish *latir*,

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

VL *glirone* > Spanish *lirón*.⁸⁸ The initial *cl*, *fl*, and *pl* clusters usually went through a palatalization process, and all three came to be pronounced [λ]. Apparently, the *l* of these clusters had been a palatal sound already in Vulgar Latin and eventually caused a yod which [kλ. fλ, pλ]; from here the *c*-, *f*-, and *p*- were lost. The spelling *ll*- was taken from the internal *ll* cluster which had the same pronunciation:

clamat > llama	plenu > lleno
clave > llave	plicare > llegar
flamma > llama	plorare > llorar
plaga > llaga	pluvia > lluvia
planu > llano	

Claro, *clave*, *flor*, *plaza*, *plato* and *pluma* are traditionally said to be learned developments.⁸⁹

When the voiceless stops [p, t, k] were between vowels, the voiced quality of the vowels surrounding them became contagious and caused the stops to voice to [b, d, g]. This voicing had begun already in Vulgar Latin. Later, the resulting voiced stops went a step farther in Spanish, becoming the voiced spirants [β, δ, γ] in most phonetic environments. The stops [p, t, k] also voiced when between vowel and *r* or *i*.⁹⁰

Once the intervocalic stop had voiced, the unstressed vowel next to it fell: *aperire* > *aberire* > *abrir*, *bonitate* > *bonidade* > *bondad*. This evidence shows that voicing preceded syncope.⁹¹ The intervocalic *c* developed in two ways according to which type of vowel followed. If an *a* or a back vowel came after it, the *c* became the

⁸⁸ Ibid., 81.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 82.

⁹¹ Ibid.

spirant *g*, but if a front vowel followed, the *c* became [θ] (or [s]), passing first through the [ts] stage. Here are some examples of a *c* before *a* or a back vowel:

acutu > agudo	focu > fuego
amicu > amigo	formica > hormiga
cecu > ciego	lactuca > lechuga
del(i)catu > delgado	plicare > llegar
focare > hogar	spica > espiga

These examples show the *c* between a vowel and *r*:

lucrare > lograr	sacratu > sagrado
macru > magro	socra > suegra ⁹²

In Vulgar Latin, if the *c* was not between a semi-vowel and a mid- or back-vowel, the *c* did not voice:

<i>auca</i> > <i>oca</i>	<i>paucu</i> > <i>poco</i>
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But if the semi-vowel *followed* the [k], voicing could still take place:

equa > *yegua*, *aqua* > *agua*⁹³

When a front vowel followed the *c*, it evolved to the voiced sound [dz], spelled *z*. In the 17th century, the sound unvoiced and changed to its modern [θ] or [s] depending on the dialect:

dicit > Old Spanish diz(e) > dice
facere > Old Spanish fazer > hacer
vicinu > Old Spanish vezino > vecino

If the front vowel following the [dz] eventually fell, the sound changed its spelling to *z* in accordance with graphic norms. If a *d* came into contact with the [dz]

⁹² Ibid., 84.

⁹³ Ibid.

because of the fall of a vowel, as in the second and third examples below, the *d* assimilated into it:

lacerare > lazarar recito > rezdo > rezo
placitu > plazdo > plazo

Similarly, if the final *e* fell following the [dz], the spelling was changed to *z*, and it unvoiced to [ts]:

dece > diez pace > paz
luce > luz vice > vez
noce > nuez voce > voz⁹⁴

The Classical Latin intervocalic *g* overwhelmingly became a yod in Vulgar Latin, which was usually lost, whether it preceded a front-, central-, or back-vowel:

digitu > dedo legis > lees frigidu > frío
magis > más legale > leal magistru > maestro
lege > ley regale > real legere > leer
sigillu > sello

The *-g* could also be lost between a vowel and *r*: *pigritia* > *pereza*.⁹⁵

In some words, when an intervocalic *-g-* was lost before a stressed *i*., the stress shifted to the more open of the two vowels in modern Spanish:

regína > Old Spanish reína > réina
trigínta > Old Spanish treínta > tréinta
viginti > Old Spanish veínte > véinte

The development of *rigidu* to *recio* is not at all normal. If *rigidu* (with initial *j*) had paralleled the development of *frigidu* (with initial *i*), which yielded *frío*, we should

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 87.

have expected *reo* as its outcome. If the word were more semantically associated with *sucidu* (which gave *sucio*), it would be tempting to see an analogy.⁹⁶

The *-g-* did remain in some words:

aguriu > agüero	plaga > llaga
agustu > agosto	rogare > rogar

Vulgar Latin double consonants in intervocalic position either simplified or palatalized according to their phonetic nature. This first section deals with those that merely simplified. Intervocalic *cc* simplified to *c* [k]:

bucca > boca	siccu > seco
peccare > pecar	vacca > vaca
saccu > saco ⁹⁷	

The *c'l* and *g'l* clusters (an apostrophe indicates that a Latin vowel has fallen; in the examples below, the vowel that *is to* fall is shown between parentheses) developed as the *l+yod* clusters did. Once the unstressed vowel fell, the *c* and the *g* became yods, and both clusters yield [λ]. This in turn joined the *l + yod* development. Again, this yod only rarely affected the preceding vowel (as in *ojo* below). The initial *ç* of *genuc (u)lu* was not raised because of the yod, but rather was probably influenced by the initial *g*.

apic (u)la > abeja	lentic (u) la > lenteja
artic (u) lu > artejo	çc (u) lu > ojo
cunic (u) l u > conejo	cuag (u) lu > cuajo
genu c (u) l u > hinojo	reg (u) la > reja
ori c (u) la > oreja	teg (u)la > teja ⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 88.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 92.

If *mirac(u)lu* and *sec(u)lu* had developed in the normal way, they would have become *mirajo* and *sejo*. Since they were both part of the conservatively developing ecclesiastic vocabulary, they became *milagro* (Old Spanish *miraglo*) and *siglo*.⁹⁹ If an *l*, an *n* or an *s* preceded these clusters, they usually developed to [č]:

N'gl shows a few curious developments: *spong(u)la* > *esponja* shows intervocalic development of *g'l*; *sing(u)los* > *sendos* shows a change of *l* to *d*; *singulariu* > *señero*, *ung(u)la uña* show a change to *ñ*. *S'cl* also has a few aberrant developments: *muslo* shows loss of *c*, and *mesc(u)lare* > *mezclar* is semi-learned¹⁰⁰

cing(u)lu > *cincho* *masc(u)lu* > *macho*
conc(u)la > *concha* *trunc(u)lu* > *troncho*
manc(u)la > *mancha*¹⁰¹

The Latin *t'l* cluster, because it was so uncommon, was sometimes transformed into *c'l* and developed normally. The *Appendix Probi* corrects: *vetulus non veclus*.

CL *rotulare* > VL *roclar* > Spanish (ar) *rojar*
 CL *vetulum* > VL *vęclu* > Spanish *viejo*

Viejo presents an unsolved problem: why did the *ę* diphthongize when the yod was supposed to prevent diphthongization? We should have expected *vejo*. It is usually stated that *Viejo* is a borrowing from Aragonese (where such diphthongs freely occur), yet it seems unlikely that such a common core word could be a borrowing.¹⁰²

The Vulgar Latin [ks], which also yielded *jota* in Spanish, gave rise to a yod able to raise a preceding *a* to *e*. Up to now, no yod had been able to raise a preceding *a*. The development of this cluster appears to have been: [ks] > [ys] > [yš] > [š] > [x].

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., fn 9, 92-93.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰² Ibid.

axe>eje	laxus>lejos
cōxo>cojo	līxiva>lejía
dīxi>diji	mataxa>madeja
exemplu>ejemplo	maxilla>mejilla
laxare>dejar	taxone>tejón

It is odd that *leijía* did not become *lijía*. The initial *d* of *dejar* is an unresolved Hispanic question. French and Italian retain the original *l* (*laisser, lasciare*), while Spanish shows the initial *d*, and the Portuguese shows two variants with *deixar* in the modern language and *leixar* in older Portuguese.¹⁰³

When the *i* of *fraxinus* fell, the *x* was no longer intervocalic. The yod that developed in this word when *x* became [ys] raised the *a* to *e*, then it disappeared, leaving the *s* intact: *fraxinu>fresno*.¹⁰⁴ The *-ct-* cluster, which developed to [č] in Spanish, also gave rise to a very powerful yod that could raise *a* to *e*. The development of the [kt] seems to have been [kt]>[yt]>[ty]>[č]:

despeçtu>despecho	noçte>noche
dīctu>dicho	peçtu>pecho
iactare>echar	teçtu>techo

As powerful as this yod was, it sometimes did (*dicho*) and sometimes did not (*estrecho*) raise a Vulgar Latin *ī* to Spanish *i*. *Lactare* did not develop to *yechar*.¹⁰⁵

When the *-ct-* followed vowels at the extreme end of the vowel triangle (the *ī* and the *ū*), the yod was absorbed or lost, leaving the *t* intact:

exsuctu>enjuto	frīctu>frito	fīctu>hito	fructu>fruto ¹⁰⁶
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¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 94.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Pectine offers an interesting case. When the unstressed vowel dropped, leaving *pect'ne*, the *-ct-*cluster, although less constricted than when the *n* preceded it, could still not develop fully. The *c* became yod and the *t* fell: *pect'ne* > *peine* (the *i*. of *peine* was retained here extraordinarily in order to avoid an unfortunate homonym).¹⁰⁷

The word *collacteu* 'foster brother or sister' presents another interesting development, showing how two conflicting clusters developed. The *-ct-* cluster (*collacteu*) would normally yield [č], but the *t+yod* cluster (*collacteu*) developed to [ts] before this change was possible; the *c* could do nothing else but assimilate to the *t* and fall: *collacteu* > *collactso* > *collatso* > *collazo*.¹⁰⁸

As a final note, research would like to acknowledge that in Spanish, most Vulgar Latin final consonants were lost along the way:

Final c: *dīc* > *di*, *neç* > *ni*, *sīc* > *sí*

Final d: *ad* > *a*, *aliquod* > *algo*, *illud* > *ello*, *istud* > *esto*

Final t: *aut* > *o*, *dicit* > *dice*, *laudat* > *loa*, *stat* > *está*

Final b: *sub* > Old Spanish *so*

The final *m* was already lost in Vulgar Latin. The lack of the final *m* accounts for the Spanish *-n* in borrowings such as *Jerusalén*, *Adán*, and *Belén*. Vulgar Latin final *l*, *r*, and *x* did not fall. Vulgar Latin final *s* universally remained in verb forms as well as in noun and adjective plurals. Old Spanish carried over some third declension neuter *singular* forms that ended in *s*, but the language usually rejected singular forms with final *s*, thus

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

the etymological *s* was lost. In names such as *Carolus* > *Carlos* the final *s* was retained.¹⁰⁹

A combination of internal and external changes impacted the development of *c* and *g* from Classical Latin to Spanish. There appears to be no specific time or place research can pinpoint these sound-changes. However, most linguistic evolutions are connected to historical events. It appears the spread of languages through sound and/or the substitution of sound depended on the circumstances of that period. The impact is the development of the various Romance languages and their uniqueness, specifically *c* and *g* as they influence the orthographical and phonological evolution that created the sound changes from Classical Latin to today's French and Spanish.

Nevertheless, any reasonable satisfactory theory of sound change must deal first with the basic fact that languages are *not* homogeneous (including single dialects) and that whatever varieties exist in the speech of individuals or speech communities are not simple peculiarities that can be averaged out, or some vague kind of dialect mixture. The differences that exist in usage are *systematic* because language is a *differentiated system*, composed of a variety of coexisting subsystems:

“[I]n most speech communities distinct forms of the same language . . . coexist in roughly the same proportion in all of the geographic subregions of the community.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 86.

¹¹⁰ Weinreich, Labov, and Herzon (1968), 159, quoted in Paul M. Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987), 16.

The conclusions of Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog include a set of general principles for the study of language change that for the purpose of this study, deserve careful consideration:

1. Linguistic change is not to be identified with random drift proceeding from inherent variation in speech. Linguistic change begins when the generalization of a particular alternation in a given subgroup of the speech community assumes direction and takes on the character of orderly differentiation.
2. The association between structure and homogeneity is an illusion. Linguistic structure includes the orderly differentiation of speakers and styles through rules, which govern variation in the speech community; native command of the language includes the control of such heterogeneous structures.
3. Not all variability and heterogeneity in language structure involve change; but all change involves variability and heterogeneous structures.
4. The generalization of linguistic change throughout linguistic structure is neither uniform nor instantaneous; it involves the covariation of associated changes over substantial periods of time, and is reflected in the diffusion of isoglosses over areas of geographical space.
5. The grammars in which linguistic change occurs are grammars of the speech community. Because the variable structures contained in language are determined by social functions, idiolects do not provide the basis for self-contained or internally consistent grammars.

6. Linguistic change is transmitted within the community as a whole; it is not confined to discrete steps within the family. Whatever discontinuities exist within the community, rather than inevitable products of the generational gap between parent and child.
7. Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations, which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior.¹¹¹

It is important to understand the basic premise of language change to help in the teaching process. In the article, *Teaching the Pronunciation of "C" and "G" and the Spanish Diphthongs*, by Leonard E. Arnaud, the author recalls the difficulties of students of Romance languages not retaining and applying the rule for pronouncing *c* and *g*: *Hard before a, o, u; soft before e, i.*¹¹² He goes on to say that the Spanish teacher must also explain: *Strong a, e, o; weak i, u*, for the purpose of forming diphthongs and triphthongs.¹¹³

Changes from Vulgar Latin to Spanish developed in vowels according to their stress or lack of stress and their position in the word. Researching initial consonantal groups reveals that all groups of consonant plus *r* remain the same. Exceptions noted include: *f > h* (aspirated) > *h* (mute): *fabulare > hablar; fel > hiel.*

¹¹¹ Ibid., 187-88.

¹¹² Leonard E. Arnaud, "Teaching the Pronunciation "C" and "G" and the Spanish Diphthongs," *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 29, no. 1 (January 1945): 37-39.

¹¹³ Ibid.

G/g/ is preserved before *a, o, u*, while *p, t, k*, on Spanish soil, had already weakened to *b, d, g* in the Vulgar Latin period.

Perhaps a review of a Spanish text will give more clarity.

The sample text comes from two monasteries San Millán: situated in the west of the modern province of Logroño, and Silos, lying farther west, in Castile. These texts are known respectively as the *Glosas Emilianenses* and the *Glosas Silense*.¹¹⁴

Glosas Emilianenses, pequeñas anotaciones en lengua castellana, que se realizaban para facilitar la lectura de textos en otras lenguas. Los primeros fueron encontrados en el Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla, del siglo X y fueron las primeras palabras escritas en Castellano.¹¹⁵

El primer texto dice así:

Cono aiutorio de nuestro dueno, dueno Cristo, dueno salbatore, qual dueno get ena honore, e qual dueno tienet ela mandatione cono Patre, cono Spiritu Sancto, enos sieculos de lo sieculos.¹¹⁶

Traducción al castellano actual:

Con la ayuda de nuestro Señor Don Cristo, Don Salvador señor que está en el honor y señor que tiene el mando con el Padre, con el Espíritu Santo, en los siglos de los siglos.¹¹⁷

With the help of our Lord, Lord Christ, Lord Savior, which Lord is in the honor, and which Lord holds the command with the Father, with the Holy Ghost, in the centuries of the centuries.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 405.

¹¹⁵ Wikipedia: the Free Encyclopedia, *Romance Language* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romance_Language; accessed 14 December 2004.

¹¹⁶ Mario Pei, *The Story of Latin and the Romance Languages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 296.

¹¹⁷ Wikipedia, *Romance Language*.

¹¹⁸ Pei, *Story of Latin*, 296.

In agreement with Pei, the following features are of interest: full Castilian diphthongization of Latin stressed short *e* and short *o* in both open and closed syllables (*nuestro, dueno, sieculos, tienet*); final vowels that have resisted fall, as is normal in Spanish; no passage of unvoiced plosives to voiced (*aiutorio, sieculos*, though Latin *adjutorium*, “help,” loses intervocalic *d*), which may be due to a dialectal influence from the neighboring Rioja region, where intervocalic -p-, -t-, -k- plosives have remained unchanged; final -s- is kept; final -t-, which later falls; (assibilation of *c* before *e* is indicated by *zerte*-not identified in this glosse); and palatalization of Latin *mn* consonant group seems indicated by *duenno* from *dom'num* (syncopated form of Latin *dominum*); Spanish *dueño*.¹¹⁹

Summary

The Spanish language was developed from Vulgar Latin with influence from Basque, a dominant language in the Pyrenees and adjacent territories; and Arabic, a consequence of a Moslem invasion.

Since there was no written guide to this newly formed language, the language itself became the revolutionizing vehicle for change. For instance, in Classical Latin, vowels affected the meaning of the words depending on whether the written vowels were long or short. However, in Vulgar Latin, vowels were not distinguished by length (no written forms) but by timbre—tone, melody. In other words, changes to the vowel system were developed based on their stress or lack of stress (sound) and their position in the word.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 297.

How did this concept impact this study? The same principle applied to the consonantal system that was very much impacted by the sound of the vowel/consonant that was next to it. Specifically C/k/ and G/g/ in the initial positions were usually preserved with some exceptions; the medial position caused some weakening during the Vulgar Latin period; and in the final position (M is already lost in the Classical Latin period), the consonants were lost with few exceptions.

CHAPTER IV

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF ITALIAN AND ITS CONSONANTAL SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF C/k/ AND G/g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO ITALIAN UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY

Magna Graecia (Latin for "Greater Greece," *Megalê Hellas/Μεγάλη Ελλάς* in Greek) is the name of the area in the southern Italian peninsula that was anciently colonized by Greek settlers in the 8th century BCE, who brought with them the lasting imprint of their Hellenic civilization.¹ Colonies in antiquity were city-states founded from a mother-city, not from a territory-at-large.

The Phoenicians were the major trading power in the Mediterranean in the early part of the 1st millennium BC. They had trading contacts in Egypt and Greece, and established colonies as far west as modern Spain, at Gadir (modern Cádiz) and later at Barcino (modern Barcelona). From there they controlled access to the Atlantic Ocean and the trade routes to Britain. The most famous and successful of Phoenician colonies was Kart-Hadasht (Carthage), a colony founded from Tyre.²

In Ancient Greece, colonies were sometimes founded by vanquished peoples, who left their homes to escape subjection at the hand of a foreign enemy; sometimes as a sequel to civil disorders, when the losers in internecine battles left to form a new city elsewhere; sometimes to get rid of surplus population, and thereby to avoid

¹Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Magna Graecia* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magna_Graecia/accessed 14 December 2005.

² Ibid.

internal convulsions. However, in most cases the object was to establish and facilitate relations of trade with foreign countries.³

There were two similar kinds of colonies, *apoikiai* and *emporía*. The first were city-states on their own; the second were Greek trading-colonies.⁴ The Greek city-states began establishing colonies around 800 BC. Among the earliest of the Greek trading emporia were Al Mina in northern Syria and the Greek emporium at Ischia (Pithekoussai) in the Bay of Naples, both established about 800 BC. Two flushes of new colonists set out from Greece at the transition between the "Dark Ages" and the start of the Archaic Period, in the early 8th century and a second burst of the colonizing spirit in the 6th century BC. Population growth and cramped spaces at home seem an insufficient explanation for the phenomena.⁵

Several formulae were generally adhered to on the solemn and sacred occasions when a new colony set forth. If a Greek city was sending out a colony, an oracle (before all others that of Delphi) was almost invariably consulted beforehand. Sometimes certain classes of citizens were called upon to take part in the enterprises; sometimes one son was chosen by lot from every house where there were several sons; and strangers expressing a desire to join were admitted. A person of distinction was selected to guide the emigrants and make the necessary arrangements. It was usual to honor these founders of colonies, after their death, as heroes. Some of the sacred fire was taken from the public hearth in the Prytaneum, from which the fire on the public hearth of the new city

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

was kindled. And, just as each individual had his private shrines, so the new community maintained the worship of its chief domestic deities, the colony sending embassies and votive gifts to the mother-city's principal festivals for centuries afterwards.⁶

The relation between colony and mother-city (literally *metropolis*) was viewed as one of mutual affection. Any differences that arose were made up, if possible, by peaceful means, war being deemed excusable only in cases of extreme necessity. The charter of foundation contained general provisions for the arrangement of the affairs of the colony, and some special enactments. The constitution of the mother-city was usually adopted by the colony, but the new city remained politically independent. If the colony sent out a fresh colony on its own account, the mother-city was generally consulted, or was at least requested to furnish a leader. The cleruchs (*klêrouchoi*) formed a special class of Greek colonists. The trade factories set up in foreign countries (in Egypt, for instance) were somewhat different from the ordinary colonies, the members retaining the right of domicile in their own fatherland and confining themselves to their own quarter in the foreign city.⁷

It was an old custom in ancient Italy to send out colonies for the purpose of securing new conquests. The Romans, accordingly, having no standing army, used to plant bodies of their own citizens in conquered towns as a kind of garrison. These bodies would consist partly of Roman citizens, usually to the number of three hundred; partly of members of the Latin League, in larger numbers. The third part of the conquered territory was handed over to the settlers. The *coloniae civium Romanorum* (colonies of

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Roman citizens) were specially intended to secure the two sea-coasts of Italy, and were hence called *coloniae maritimae*. The *coloniae Latinae*, of which there was a far greater number, served the same purpose for the mainland.⁸

The duty of leading the colonists and founding the settlement was entrusted to a commission, usually consisting of three members, and elected by the people. These men continued to stand in the relation of patrons (*patroni*) to the colony after its foundation. The colonists entered the conquered city in military array, preceded by banners, and the foundation was celebrated with special solemnities. The *coloniae* were free from taxes, and had their own constitution, a copy of the Roman, electing from their own body their Senate and other officers of State. To this constitution the original inhabitants had to submit. The *coloniae civium Romanorum* retained the Roman citizenship, and were free from military service, their position as outposts being regarded as an equivalent. The members of the *coloniae Latinae* served among the *socii* (allies), and possessed the so-called *ius Latinum*. This secured to them the right of acquiring property (*commercium*) and settlement in Rome, and under certain conditions the power of becoming Roman citizens; though in course of time these rights underwent many limitations.⁹

From the time of the Gracchi, the colonies lost their military character. Colonization came to be regarded as a means of providing for the poorest class of the Roman populace. After the time of Sulla it was adopted as a way of granting land to veteran soldiers. The right of founding colonies was taken away from the people by Caesar, and passed into the hands of the emperors, who used it (mainly in the provinces)

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

for the exclusive purpose of establishing military settlements, partly with the old idea of securing conquered territory. It was only in exceptional cases that the provincial colonies enjoyed the immunity from taxation, which was granted to those in Italy.¹⁰

In the 8th and 7th centuries, driven by unsettled conditions at home, Greek colonies were established in places as widely separated as the eastern coast of the Black Sea and what is now Marseille, France. They included settlements in Sicily and the southern part of the Italian peninsula. The Romans called the area of Sicily and the foot of the boot of Italy *Magna Graecia* (Latin, “Greater Greece”), since it was so thickly inhabited by Greeks. The ancient geographers differed on whether the term included Sicily or merely Apulia and Calabria — Strabo being the most prominent advocate of the wider definitions.¹¹

With this colonization, the Greek culture was exported to Italy, in its dialects of the Ancient Greek language, its religious rites, its traditions of the independent *polis* but it soon developed an original Hellenic civilisation, later interacting with the native Italic and Latin civilizations. Many of the new cities became very powerful and rich, like *Karuiê* (Capua), *Neapolis* (Νεάπολις, Naples), Syracuse, Akragas, *Subaris* (Σύβαρις, Sybaris). Other cities in Magna Graecia included *Taras* (Τάρας, Taranto), *Lokroi* or Locri (Λοκροί), Rhegion (Ρήγιον), *Kroton* (Κρότων, Croton), *Thurii* (Θούριοι) and Elea (Ελαία).¹²

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Wikipedia, *Magna Graecia*.

¹² Ibid.

Magna Graecia was absorbed into the Roman Republic following the Pyrrhic War. During the Early Middle Ages, following the Gothic War that was disastrous for the region, new waves of Byzantine Christian Greeks came to Magna Graecia from Greece and Asia Minor, as southern Italy remained loosely governed by the Eastern Roman Empire until the advent, first of the Lombards then of the Normans. Moreover, without a doubt, the Byzantines' found in southern Italy people of common cultural root, the Greek-speaking *eredi ellenofoni* of Magna Graecia.¹³ For early writers in Latin there was an obvious model, that of Greek, a language with a rich literature far surpassing any other which they might have known, a language, moreover, which in its structure, being of kindred Indo-European origin, presented close affinities with Old Latin. This Greek model was exploited to the full, on an ever-increasing scale as the Roman intelligentsia became more versed in Greek culture.¹⁴

The combined result was a cleavage between studied literary style and colloquial conversation. Latin writers were fully conscious of the difference, and some of them, Cicero and Quintilian in particular, remarked upon it: for them, written or oratorical style, which doubtless included the more deliberate prose of their normal intercourse, was *sermo urbanus*; the lower stylistic categories were variously assessed, either as 'country speech,' *sermo rusticus*, or as 'popular speech,' *sermo plebeius*, *sermo vulgaris*, or just as plain 'everyday speech,' *sermo cotidianus*, *sermo usualis*. But whether rustic or urbane, it

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 19.

was all Latin.¹⁵ Although most of the Greek inhabitants of southern Italy became entirely Italianized (as Paestum had already been in the 4th century BC) and no longer spoke Greek, remarkably a small Griko-speaking minority still exists today in Calabria and mostly in Salento. *Griko* is the name of a language combining ancient Doric Greek, Byzantine Greek, and Italian elements, spoken by people in the Magna Graecia region. There is rich oral tradition and Griko folklore, limited now, though once numerous, to only a few thousand people, most of them having become absorbed into the surrounding Italian element.¹⁶

The Italian Republic or Italy of today (Italian: *Repubblica Italiana* or *Italia*) is a country in southern Europe. It comprises a boot-shaped peninsula and two large islands in the Mediterranean Sea, Sicily and Sardinia, and shares its northern alpine boundary with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia. The independent countries of San Marino and the Vatican City are enclaves within Italian territory.¹⁷ Etruscan was a language spoken and written in the ancient region of Etruria (current Tuscany) and in what is now Lombardy (where the Etruscans were displaced by Gauls), in Italy. However, Latin superseded Etruscan completely, leaving only a few documents and a few loanwords in Latin (e.g., *persona* from Etruscan *phersu*), and some place-names, like Parma.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibid., 20.

¹⁶ Wikipedia, *Magna Graecia*.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Etruscan Language* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etruscan_language/accessed 14 December 2005.

The Etruscans are thought by some to be indigenous people of Italy, living there before the Indo-European migration and the arrival of the Latins, around 1000 BC. Herodotus,¹⁹ however, describes the Tyrrhenians as immigrants from Lydia in western Anatolia, led west, fleeing famine, by their leader Tyrrhoeus, to settle in Umbria [1]; the Tyrrhenians of Herodotus are sometimes identified with the Etruscans, although there is no material cultural evidence to back this up. Literacy was fairly common, as can be seen by the great number of short inscriptions (dedications, epitaphs etc). Though, in the 1st century BC, the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted that the Etruscan language was unlike any other, the Etruscans had a rich literature, as noted by Latin authors.²⁰

Helmut Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, works as a kind of incomplete thesaurus, a main key to studying the Etruscan language. First of all Rix and his collaborators present the only two unified (though fragmentary) texts available in Etruscan: the *Liber Linteus* used for mummy wrappings (now at Zagreb, Croatia) and the *Tabula Capuana* (the inscribed tablet from Capua).²¹ All the rest of the recovered inscriptions are grouped according to the localities in which they were found: Campania, Latium, Falerii and Ager Faliscus, Veii, Caere, Tarquinia, Ager Tarquinensis, Ager Hortanus, and finally, outside Italy, in

¹⁹ Histories, I. 94, quoted in Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Etruscan Language* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etruscan_language/accessed 14 December 2005.

²⁰ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Etruscan Language*.

²¹ Ibid.

Gallia Narbonensis, in Corsica and in North Africa. (Two inscriptions from Sardinia, published in 1935, escaped Rix.).²²

Other inscriptions can be found on small movable objects: bronze mirrors and *cistae* (boxes), on gems and coins. Archeological inscriptions in Etruscan include inner walls and doors of tombs, engraved stele, ossuaries, mirrors and votive gifts. Inscriptions are highly abbreviated and often casually formed, so that many individual letters are in doubt among the specialists. The Pyrgi Tablets are a short bilingual text in Etruscan and Phoenician.²³

Some surviving Etruscan inscriptions appear on thin gold sheets. A "book" of gold sheets bound with gold rings went on display in May 2003 at the National History Museum in Sofia, Bulgaria. It consists of six bound sheets of 24-carat (100%) gold, with low reliefs of a horseman, a mermaid, a harp and soldiers, with text. It was claimed to have been discovered about 1940 in a tomb uncovered during digging for a canal along the Strouma River in southwestern Bulgaria, kept secretly and anonymously donated by its 87-year-old owner, living in Macedonia. Museum Director Bojidar Dimitrov confirmed its authenticity with Bulgarians and experts in London. Bulgarian linguist Vladimir Georgiev is working on a translation of the text.²⁴

About 30 single golden sheets with Etruscan inscriptions are known, according to the Sofia museum's curator of archaeology, Elka Penkova.²⁵ Owing to its isolation, no

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

significant certain translations from Etruscan into modern languages have been produced yet; however, it is certain how the language was pronounced as the Etruscan speakers wrote using a variant of the Greek alphabet. Latin borrowed a few dozen words from Etruscan, many of them related to culture, like *ellementum* (letter), *litterae* (writing), *cera* (wax), *arena*, etc.²⁶ Some of these words can be found in modern languages, especially in Romance languages. Some English words derived from Latin -- e.g., people, person, population -- are considered to be of Etruscan origin.²⁷

The problem of interpreting the Etruscan language and determining its linguistic affiliation is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the lack of a long bilingual text (such as the Rosetta stone which, thanks to parallel inscriptions in Greek, in Ancient Egyptian demotic writing, and in hieroglyphic characters, provided a key to deciphering and interpretation of Ancient Egyptian). Nevertheless, certain striking points of resemblance between Etruscan and Classical Latin or later Romance developments have been noted, such as:

1. The use of three different symbols to represent the unvoiced velar sound *k* (as in *car*): *K* before *a*, *C* before *e*, *i*, and *Q* before *u*. This corresponds to the archaic state of affairs in Latin; it is possible that the Romans may have borrowed this alphabetical feature from the Etruscans.
2. The occasional change of *C* to *Ś* before *e* and *i*, (e.g., *face*, *faśe*), suggesting palatalization, a phenomenon that also occurs in Umbrian, in later Vulgar Latin,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

and in the Romance languages. Whether it is connected with the later general palatalization in Romance is, however, doubtful.

3. The change of initial *f* to *h* appears (*fap-*, *hap-*, in a family name). This phenomenon occurs also in some Italic dialects, as well as some Romance languages and dialects, e.g., Spanish *hambre* from Latin *fam (i)ne*; Calabrian *hiuri* from Latin *flore*. A relationship between the Etruscan and the Romance phenomenon, however, is most unlikely.

The Etruscan used the Old Italic alphabet, an alphabet based on Greek. Etruscan was spoken in north-west-central Italy, in the region that even now bears its name: Tuscany, and in the Po valley to the north of Etruria.²⁸

Standard Italian is based on Tuscan dialects and is intermediate between the languages of Southern Italy and the Gallo-Romance languages of the North. Italian has double (or long) consonants, like Latin (but unlike most modern Romance languages, e.g., French and Spanish). As in most Romance languages (with the notable exception of French), stress is distinctive.²⁹

Italian is the official language of Italy, San Marino and an official language in the Ticino and Grigioni cantons or regions of Switzerland. It is also the second official language in Vatican City and in some areas of Istria in Slovenia and Croatia with Italian minorities. It is widely used by immigrant groups in Luxembourg, the United States, and

²⁸ Wikipedia: Free Encyclopedia, *Old Italic Alphabet* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Italic_alphabet/accessed 14 December 2005.

²⁹ Wikipedia, *Italian Language*.

Australia, and is also spoken in neighboring Malta. It is spoken, to a much lesser extent, in parts of Africa formerly under Italian rule such as Somali, Libya and Eritrea.

Italians say that the best-spoken Italian is *lingua Toscana in Bocca Romana* - 'the Tuscan tongue, in a Roman mouth.' The formative influence on establishing the Tuscan as the elite speech is generally agreed to have been Dante's *Commedia*, to which Boccaccio affixed the title *Divina* in the 14th century. Some people claim that Tuscan became the standard language because it is so close to Latin, but other languages spoken in Italy are even closer to Latin (e.g., sardo logudorese, as well as some Southern Italian idioms). The economic power that Tuscany had at the time, especially considering Posa's influence, gave its dialect weight, though Venetian remained widespread in the markets and streets of the Terra Firma. In addition, the increasing cultural relevance of Florence in the period of Umanesimo (before Rinascimento) made its vulgar become a standard in art, quickly imported to Rome.³⁰

Italy, home and heartland of the Latin language and the Roman Empire, was the first of the future romance lands to achieve Latin linguistic unity. But during the period that intervened between the earlier Germanic invasions (middle of the fifth century) and the appearance of the first Romance written records (ninth century for France, tenth for Spain and Italy), Italy had become, politically speaking, the most fragmented of the Roman lands. The Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties in France had led to a substantial process of unification, equaled and probably surpassed in the Iberian Peninsula during the two centuries of Visigothic rule. Even after the Moorish invasion,

³⁰ Ibid.

the linguistic unity of northern Spain had scarcely been broken, while in the south the Mozarabic of the Christian population had become largely frozen.³¹

In Italy, successive waves of Visigoths, Heruli, and Ostrogoths had swept the country, encountering two lines of resistance—the papal domains and the Byzantine south. Theodoric the Ostrogoth had almost succeeded in establishing a Germanic kingdom of Italy, but after his death in 526, the Byzantine armies of Belisarius and Narses had swept it away in 552. This kingdom was reinvaded from the north by Italy in 568 by the Longobards. The Longobards enjoyed possession of northern Italy with the sole exception of a few coastal cities for over a century. In 754 and again in 774, Pepin and Charlemagne had come to the rescue of the Papacy, taking over the Longobardic north in the process. However, early in the ninth century, the new Saracen menace from North Africa had engulfed Sicily and wrested large portions of the south from its Byzantine occupants. The consequence of these happenings resulted in Italy being broken into three large cultural units marked by fluctuating boundaries. The northern boundary reached down into Tuscany, which had been heavily exposed to a three-fold influence—Ostrogothic, Longobardic, and Frankish while the central area, including the city of Rome and extending to the middle Adriatic, in which the Latin tradition, both imperial and ecclesiastic, managed to live on; and a south, subjected to the Greek-speaking Byzantines and the Arabic-speaking Saracens.³²

³¹ Mario Pei, *The Story of Latin and the Romance Languages* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), 124.

³² *Ibid.*, 125.

As the end of the first Christian millennium approached, and the first documents of the popular tongue began to make their timid appearance, new historical forces were on their way to confirm and add to the process of fragmentation. The lordship of the German emperors over the north, proclaimed by Otto I in 962, was attended by a shadowy sovereignty that left the inhabitants of the cities largely free to develop their own interests and institutions. The Normans re-conquered most of the south and Sicily by the latter part of 1060. The power of the German emperors was broken by Barbarossa's defeat at Legnano at the hands of the embattled Lombard League in 1176, which led to the emergence of the northern city-states as small but fully independent political units. In the south and Sicily the Norman rule gave way to the Swabin, which was in turn overthrown by the French followers of Charles of Anjou, who remained for a time in southern Italy, but were quickly expelled from Sicily by a popular revolt (the Sicilian Vespers), and replaced by the Aragonese.³³

There is no dispute that the lack of political unity led to linguistic confusion and burgeoning of local dialects. On the other hand, in spite of all historical vicissitudes, the Italian soil, homeland of the Latin language and seat of the Christian church that had made that language its own, preserved a measure of the Latin cultural tradition that the other Romance lands could not duplicate. This is perhaps why the consciousness of the break between the popular tongue and the cultural and ecclesiastical Latin came later to Italy than to the other countries. There had been a "vulgar" variety of Latin even back in the days of the Empire. In the absence of a new standard, the local spoken dialects could

³³ Ibid.

still be regarded as continuators of that "vulgar" tongue, even while an earnest effort was made to use the "real" Latin both in writing and in ecclesiastical and learned speech.³⁴

The Italian vocabulary is perhaps more predominantly Latin than those of the other Romance languages.³⁵ The Italian language developed in circumstances quite unlike those which attended the growth of other Romance languages, with the possible exception of Provençal. There was in Italy no sudden response of the vernacular to the Carolingian Renaissance, no startling appearance of a text written in a language considerably different from Latin, and above all no one political centre which, achieving a spectral supremacy, compelled an early acceptance of its standardized speech.³⁶

Italian, although almost universally understood in contemporary Italy, is not the first language of the majority of the population, and its status as a national spoken language in the peninsula is of recent date. Approximately two-thirds of the population habitually uses other forms of speech, and these language varieties are generally referred to as Italian 'dialects,' e.g., Piedmontese, Sicilian. Other varieties of languages include German in the Alto Adiger, Slovene on the northeast border, Occitan and Francoprovençal on the northwest border and pockets in southern Italy, where Greek and Alobanian are also found, Catalan in Sardinia. The immediate status of 'minority' language accorded to these varieties within Italy is also nowadays shared by Sardinian, Friulian and Ladin. With respect to Tuscan, which evolved out of spoken Latin, to become the basis for the standard language, these three Romance varieties are parallel

³⁴ Ibid., 124.

³⁵ Mario Pei, *The Story of Language* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1965), 336.

³⁶ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 447.

developments, as are the many other varieties into which Latin fragmented after the collapse of the Roman Empire. These last, the so-called Italian 'dialects,' are thus historically speaking dialects of Latin not of Italian; their grammars can be as different from Italian as that of Spanish, for example, while the grounds for classifying them differently from Sardinian, Friulian and Ladin are principally sociohistorical.³⁷

Italian evolved out of literary Tuscan, or more precisely, the vernacular of Florence (the epithet 'Italian' being first used by Leonardo da Vinci). From a position of parity at the turn of the millennium among the hundreds of 'vernaculars' (regionally differentiated spoken varieties deriving from Latin, by then considered a separate language of learning), Florentine gradually gained in prestige throughout the peninsula. This was a consequence not of a centralizing, social and political hegemony of the sort that brought about linguistic cohesion in France and Spain (Italy remained politically divided until unification in 1861) but of a cultural pre-eminence in literature and the arts that from the Middle Ages inspired people from all corners of the peninsula to model themselves on Florentine masterpieces.³⁸

The export of Florentine linguistic habits also owed much to the commercial success of medieval Florentine and to the geographically central position of Tuscany, which rendered its speech transitional between northern and southern vernaculars. The fact is that Tuscan had diverged less from Latin, the language of official and scholarly communication (a conservatism sometimes attributed to the structural distance between

³⁷ Glanville Price, *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, Ltd., 1998), 225.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Latin and the Etruscan substrate), also made it a more acceptable common medium than some more radically divergent varieties.³⁹

In Italy the first unambiguously vernacular (rather than 'popular' Latin) attestation belongs to the 10th c.; we must await the 12th c. for a Tuscan text (a Pisan naval account register), while the first Florentine text is a bankers' book dated 1211. The script used was the Roman alphabet adapted to cope with phonological developments such as consonant palatalization. From the late Middle Ages the vernacular began to encroach more and more on the domains of Latin (cultivated literature, statutes, chronicles and treatises) as communication was sought beyond the educated elite. At the close of the 15th c., however, Latin was still the medium used for serious works of scholarship and it remained for many centuries, especially during the Renaissance, an obvious model and a rich lexical source for vernacular writers.⁴⁰

Another increasingly influential model was Tuscan: popular religious compositions and, later, chivalrous romances carried it outside Tuscany and already by the mid-14th c. Florentine had a body of cultivated literature. The literary masterpieces of the writers known as the *Tre Corone* ('Three Crowns'), (1304-74: the *Canzoniere*) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75: *The Decameron*) carried the Florentine-based language in which they were written far beyond the confines of Tuscany, in particular to northern courts such as that of the visconti at Milan.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., 256.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

A natural process of linguistic leveling had been operating in literary compositions and diplomatic exchanges between the many courts of Italy. The avoidance of the most idiosyncratic features of the various regional vernaculars often accompanied the adoption of a broadly Tuscan linguistic base. But it was not the 'language of the courtiers' (*lingua cortegiana*, as it was known in Renaissance discussions) or contemporary Tuscan that was to become the standard language of Italy.⁴²

The *questione della lingua* (the 'question of the language,' a debate as to which variety should be the language of literature) saw the triumph of a more strictly defined choice, not the outcome of a process of linguistic accommodation. Printing made more pressing the need for linguistic standardization and the most practical and efficient solution turned out to be that of the Venetian humanist, Pietro Bembo. Convinced of the classical principle that the language of literary composition should take the 'best' available model, in his *Prose della Volgar Lingua* (1525, 'Essays on the vernacular') Bembo advocated imitation of the Florentine used two centuries earlier by the *Tre Corone* (especially Petrarch for poetry and Boccaccio for prose). The first Italian grammar to appear in print was, however, that of Giovan Francesco Fortunio (*Regole della volgare lingua* 1516, 'Rules of the vernacular').⁴³

The choice of identifying a language that belonging to the 'Golden Age' had the practical advantage of offering clear and easily accessible guidance. Although, while it does not excessively favor any one speech community (for Bembo there was little

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 257.

advantage to be gained from being only in Rome) due to the cosmopolitan nature of the papal city, and, to a lesser extent, in Naples, for cultural reasons, that Tuscan was known by appreciable sectors of the population. Nevertheless, this solution had the disadvantage of halting the natural development of the written language which over the next two centuries became more and more removed not only from the 'dialects' but also from the spoken Italian used mainly by the educated for interregional communication. It was not until the 19th c. that the impetus of social and political events, culminating in the unification of Italy in 1861, combined with the influence of Alessandro Manzoni, to bring about a gradual modernization of the literary language and, slowly, the spread of Italian as a spoken national language.⁴⁴

Yet, can anything be said about these 'dialects' and their possible origins? Roger Lass posits that there are three possible origins:

- a. chance
- b. diffusion (transfer or 'borrowing' of items from one language to another)
- c. common origin: the languages had at some unspecified past time a common ancestor, and the resemblances are inheritances or relics of this common heritage.⁴⁵

Therefore, what is necessary is a common ancestry, a common source and a family from generation to generation with identifiable lineage. The idea of linguistic 'descent,' i.e., monogenesis and subsequent differentiation, is an ancient one; the *locus classicus* in the

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Roger Lass, *Historical Linguistics and Language Change* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 105.

Judaeo-Christian tradition is the Babel story.⁴⁶ Later, particular languages were taken as the source of all others, usually on theological grounds: Isidore of Seville (c. 602-36) even uses the term 'mother' of Hebrew (*Etym.* 1.3.4, asserting 'linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum et litterarum esse matrem').⁴⁷

For both Latin and Greek there is direct evidence in the writings of contemporary grammarians, which are often precise enough to allow good articulatory identification.⁴⁸ The relatively late appearance of any recognizable Italian standard was due in large measure to political circumstance, but also to the fact that Italy was the homeland of Latin. The spoken language evolved slowly from the late Vulgar Latin of the empire, in close contact with the universal standard of Medieval Latin, with the result that the problem of non-intelligibility presented itself less acutely and with less urgency than elsewhere. The conscious identification of new types of speech different from Latin was preceded by a long period of unconscious bilingualism. Each important center then discovered its 'municipal' idiom, a fact, which accounts for the vitality of local dialect to the present day.⁴⁹

Until the end of the twelfth century, the surviving written evidence of Italo-Romance is very fragmentary and often difficult to interpret. Usually claimed as the earliest sample is the so-called 'Veronese riddle,' two lines inscribed in an Italian

⁴⁶ Genesis, 11, 1-9, quoted in Roger Lass, *Historical Linguistics and Language Change* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 105.

⁴⁷ Lass, *Historical Linguistics*, 106.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁹ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 448.

handwriting of the late eighth or early ninth century, probably Veronese, on a Latin manuscript of Spanish origin, still preserved at Verona in the Biblioteca Capitolare. This 'riddle' comes nearly two centuries before any more substantial text. As read by A. Monteverdi is as follows:

Se pareba boves, alba pratalia araba,
& albo versorio teneba, & Negro semen seminaba.⁵⁰

There is some doubt concerning the affiliation of the first verb. According to some scholars it is the imperfect of PARĒRE, and should therefore be read as 'it seemed' (cf. Ital. *Pareva*). Whereas for others, including Monteverdi, it is a dialectal form corresponding to PARABAT, and as such an indication of the place of origin of the couplet, PARARE is still used in the region of Verona with reference to driving animals. If the latter suggestion is adopted, the text translated would read: 'He drove oxen and ploughed a white field, and held a white plough and sowed black seed.'⁵¹

The next traces of Italian vernacular occur in Latin legal texts, and in consequence are more positive evidence and almost entirely dated. They consist, like the *Strasbourg Oaths*, of brief attestations transcribed as spoken. Four such passages, similar in content, survive from the years A.D. 960-3, all belonging to the archives of Monte Cassino. They are as follows:

1. *Capua*, March, A.D. 960

Sao ko kelle terre, per kelle fini que ki contene, trenta anni le possette parte sancii Benedicti.

⁵⁰A. Monteverdi, *Studi medioevali* (1937), 304 ff, quoted in W.D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 448.

⁵¹ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 449.

This formula is used four times in the Latin text.

2. *Sessa Aurunca*, March, A.D. 963

Sao cco kelle terre, per kelle fini que tebe mostral, Pergoaldi foro, que ki contene, et trenta anni le possette.

This formula also occurs four times, with the slight difference that on the last three occasions, *kelle terre*, plural, is replaced by *kella terre*, singular, and *contene*, third person singular, by *centeno*, third person plural.

3. *Teano*, July, A.D. 963

Kella terra, per kelle fini que bobbe mostrai, sancta Marie è et trenta anni la posset parte sancta Marie.

4. *Teano*, October, A.D. 963

*Sao ceo kelle terre, per kelle fini que tebe mostrai, trenta anni le possette parte sancta Marie.*⁵²

The purpose of each of the four Latin documents is to confirm the claims of a particular monastery to certain lands: in the first the monastery is Monte Cassino, in the second San Salvatore de Sessa, and in the last two Santa Maria di Cengla.⁵³

Apart from a concession to notarial tradition in the use of Latin genitives to indicate possession, the texts are almost entirely vernacular. Typical of general Italo-Romance development are the preservation of post-tonic vowels and the fall of final consonants. Among the latter is *-s*, whence the adoption of Latin nominative forms as

⁵² *Ibid.*, 450.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

the customary plural, e.g., *kelle terre, trenta anni, kelle fini*; by the tenth century this was such an established feature that it even appears in the Medieval Latin of Italy.⁵⁴

Italian, too, is the development or maintenance of lengthened consonants, as in *anni, possette* (for *possedette*), and the popular *trenta*, from TRIGINTA. The passage of SAPIO to *so* is represented at an intermediate stage in the form *sao* (cf. FACIO>*fao, fo*; VADO> *vao, vo*). Some features point specifically to southern dialect. The reduction of *kw* to *k*, as in *kella* <ECCUILLA, *ki*< ECCU HIC, is definitely non-Tuscan, but is still characteristic of Neopolitan. Also, southern is the persistence of TIBI as *tebe*, betrays its southern origin by the change of initial *v* to *b*, in pronunciation almost certainly fricative. The absence of spontaneous diphthongization in *contene* (Ital. *contiene*) is consistent with the vocalism of the south.⁵⁵ After these brief but revealing formulae, one encounters no further text written in vernacular on the Italian mainland until towards the end of the eleventh century.⁵⁶

While notaries in Italy were entirely committed to Latin, Logudorese is one of the first branches of Italo-Romance to be attested in literary form. The paucity of earned notarial tradition in Sardinia gave rise to an early practice of the vernacular for local legal purposes. Hence, the popular character of the well-known *Privegio logudorese* or, *Carta consolare pisana*, an original document preserved in the state archives of Pisa, of which the date can be fixed, from its reference to Gherardo, bishop of Pisa, as between A.D.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 451.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

1080 and 1085. It is a brief missive addressed from Sardinia to the Pisana, of some historical interest in that it reflects diplomatic action taken by the latter, rivals of the Genoese, to establish a foothold in the island.⁵⁷

Popular tradition comes again to the surface in a piece of fairly sustained prose, *formla di confessione umbra*, a stereotyped confession of a penitent followed by a form of absolution: this is in fact but a vulgarized adaptation of a Latin text of the kind which had been used in the Church for centuries before. Though strongly marked by Latin influence as to be almost a mixture of the old and the new, it shows the typical features of Italian, together with a few local peculiarities consistent with its having formerly belonged to the monastery of Sant' Eutizio, near the Umbrian town of Norcia.⁵⁸

During the twelfth century and early part of the thirteenth, still is the absence of an Italian literary movement, the evidence becomes rather less scant but no less scattered. It includes such items as the fragments of a Florentine banker's account-book, discovered in the fly-leaves of a manuscript at the Biblioteca Laurenziana and bearing the date A.D. 1211; and the inscription recorded as having once been visible in the cathedral of Ferrara, giving its year of foundation as A.D. 1135.⁵⁹ For the purpose of this study, the reconstruction of vocalic evolution in comparative study of the modern Romance languages, the development of consonants, for which the Latin alphabet possessed an ample range of symbols, is quite generously attested in contemporary evidence. Most of

⁵⁷ Ibid., 475.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 452.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

the prevalent tendencies can be found in the examination of inscriptions and *graffiti*, and in that of the *Appendix Probi* already discussed in this paper.⁶⁰

In the matter of phonology, one prominent linguist has gone so far as to assert that the sound structure of Italian had already been reached by the year 400 A.D. This is an exaggeration, but it is a fact that by and large the phonetic scheme of Italian stays closer to that of the reconstructed Vulgar Latin than does that of any other Romance tongue with the exception of Sardinian.⁶¹ The Vulgar Latin seven-vowel scheme still appears in the stressed vowel pattern of Italian. Consonants resist voicing in Italian to a greater degree than in other Romance languages, with the possible exception of Romanian.

Yet the normal Romance trend of unvoiced plosive to voiced fricative to complete fall is often in evidence. Italian not only resists simplification of double consonants, but often doubles single consonants; regionally, this is a process most frequent in the southern and central dialects, almost completely absent in northern varieties. There is plenty of palatalization in Italian, but no nasalization, save dialectally. This is an example of the Italian outstripping its sister tongues in the general dropping of Latin final consonants, particularly morphologically significant *-s* and *-t*, as well as *-m*.⁶²

The Italian verb system follows rather closely that postulated for Vulgar Latin, but Latin second and third conjugations merge save in the infinitive.⁶³ The Italian vocabulary, especially of the literary variety, is more firmly based on Latin than is the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁶¹ Pei, *Story of Language*, 129.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

case in other romance languages. Borrowing from the parent language is extremely easy for a tongue whose basic phonetic pattern remains close to the ancestral one.⁶⁴

This free-and-easy vocabulary interchange between Latin and Italian does not at all mean that Italian is lacking in loanwords from the most disparate sources, as well as in new formations based in Latin roots, prefixes, and suffixes. In addition to the very numerous words that Latin had borrowed from Etruscan, Oscan, Greek, Celtic, Germanic, and other sources, some of which are attested in Classical times, others hypothetical, there are the many words brought in by the Ostrogoths and Longobards, a few possibly even by the Franks. Many Arabic and Persian words came into the early literary language, some by way of Sicily, others from the Crusades, still others from Spain. Many were the French and Provençal origin that lent themselves to processes of word formation (among them *-aggio; -iere*, with its variants *-ieri* and *-iero; -anza*).⁶⁵

Notable to this study is the treatment of intervocalic voiceless plosive (p, t, and k) and the widespread palatalization of the velar plosive (k and g) before a front vowel, i.e., the tendency of intervocalic voiceless plosives to become voiced, through assimilation to the neighboring vowels.⁶⁶ During the early years of the Empire k and g continued to have their fully velar pronunciation in current speech.⁶⁷ To date the inception of the change whereby the point of articulation of these consonants began to move towards that of the vowels, which followed, is extremely difficult. But it may be inferred from the general

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 131.

⁶⁶ Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, 49.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

development of Romance that by the third century, at the latest, the *c* of words like CERVUM, CAELUM, CĒRA, CĪRCARE, CIVITĀTEM, had in most areas come to be pronounced *kj*; thereafter, with the point of articulation moving still further forward, the quality of *k* entirely disappeared, and the sound became *tj*, which subsequently evolved in medieval Romance either to *ts(j)* or to *tʃ(j)*.⁶⁸

A clue to the timing of *kj*>*tj* may probably be found in the fact that *kj* and *tj* from other sources became identical in Vulgar Latin during the third century, as is apparent from inscriptions of that time containing such forms as TERMINACIONES (for TERMINATIONES) and DEFENICIONES (for DEFINITIONES): a confusion which was to become characteristic of medieval Latin orthography; the sound which ultimately evolved was again *tsj*, as in the German pronunciation given to such words when they were borrowed from Latin.⁶⁹

The medieval scribes of Romance, who in other instances frequently juggled with the letters of the Latin alphabet in an attempt to provide new orthographical devices for the representation of non-Latin sounds, have generally been content to leave a Latin *c* unchanged, whatever the sound had in fact become. One must know that Fr. *cerf* was pronounced *tserf* in Old French and has developed to a *serf* in a modern language (since

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

the thirteenth century), that a similar *ts* evolved in Spanish to *zeta*, whereas, on the other hand, a *c* before a front vowel in Italian and Rumanian is pronounced *tš*.⁷⁰

The palatalization of *g* before a front vowel followed a somewhat similar course. As *k* became *kj*, so *g* became *gj*, and thereafter the sound was dentalized to *dj*; but subsequent development is less easy to trace than in the case of *tj*. In modern romance one encounters both *dž* and *dz*, phonetically parallel with the voiceless *tš* and *ts*. The sound *dž*, however, occurred in this instance not only in Italian (e.g. *gente* < *GENTEM*, *genero* < *GENERUM*), Rhetoromance, and Rumanian (*gintu*, *ginere*), but also in Old Portuguese and Old French, where it was later reduced to *ž* (the Old French pronunciation is preserved in English, in *gentle*, *gender*, etc.). The *dz*-pronunciation is largely restricted to north-Italian dialects, Venetian, Genoese, and Lombard, and to Istrian, where it has been reduced to *z*. There is, moreover, a third evolution, characteristic of Castilian Spanish and Sicilian, in which no affricate developed: at a stage which was either *gj* or *dj* the first element disappeared: hence modern Spanish, *yerno* and Sicilian *yennaru*. Before an unaccented vowel the second element too has disappeared in Spanish, though it continues to be represented in orthography by a superfluous *h*, e.g., *hermano* < *GERMANUM*.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 55.

Confronted with this repartition, we can scarcely venture to draw conclusions concerning the situation at the time of the Roman collapse. All that we can infer is that local differentiation was already taking place, following perhaps with a certain time-lag upon the differentiation of the voiceless equivalent. But again we can point with certainty to the archaism of Logudorese, which has kept velar g, like velar k, to the present day, e.g. (in the Italianizing script of Sardinia) *ghirare*, *ghelare*, etc. A similar conservatism is attested for the former dialect of Veglia.⁷²

Italian, in its literary variety, appears firmly fixed by the beginning of the fourteenth century, and develops from that point on as a cultural tongue for all of Italy, with fairly prompt official recognition in all or most of the country's fragmented political units.⁷³

Summary

Ancient Greeks colonized the southern Italian peninsula leaving a lasting imprint of the Hellenic civilization. This *Magna Graecia* served as the breeding ground for the Greek culture that exported to Italy its dialects, its religious rites, and its traditions. Following the Pyrrhic War, however, *Magna Graecia* was absorbed into the Roman Republic.

Italy, home and heartland of the Latin language and the Roman Empire, was the first of the future Romance lands to achieve Latin linguistic unity. But during the period that intervened between the earlier Germanic invasions (middle of the fifth century) and

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Pei, *The Story of Latin*, 129.

the appearance of the first Romance written records (ninth century for France, tenth for Spain and Italy), Italy had become, politically speaking, the most fragmented of the Roman lands.

Unlike other Romance languages, Italian maintained its Latin roots and was more predominantly Latin. Any attempt to interject into the language a new dialect that differed from Latin, was ignored. In addition, there was no sudden response to the vernacular to the Carolingian Renaissance and no startling appearance of a text written in a language considerably different from Latin.

The /k/ by the third century had in most areas come to be pronounced *kj >ts (j)>tj*. The medieval scribes of Romance, who frequently juggled letters of the Latin alphabet to correspond with a sound, were content to leave a Latin *c* unchanged, whatever the sound had in fact become. The same concept applied to /g/ before a front vowel. As *k* became *kj*, *g* became *gj>dj>dz*. How were *C/k/* and *G/g/* influenced by this unusual evolution? *C/k/* and *G/g/*, without exception, in an initial position were voiced, weakened in the intervocalic position, and disappeared in most instances, in a final position.

CHAPTER V

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF PORTUGUESE AND ITS CONSONANTAL SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF C/k/ AND G/g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO ROMANIAN UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY

Portuguese, a member of the Ibero-Romance subgroup of the Romance languages, is spoken in continental Portugal and the dependent islands of Madeira and the Azores, and in a small number of linguistic enclaves in Spain. There are also significant emigrant Portuguese communities in Germany, France and Great Britain. The largest Portuguese-speaking country is Brazil (population 159 million), which guarantees Portuguese its position as one of the six most widely spoken languages in the world. Portuguese has been an official language of the European Community since Portugal's accession in 1985.¹

Portuguese is a dialect of Galician, the two languages originating in the Romance of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula, and diverging only with the political separation of Galicia and Portugal. In common with the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, the West is known to have been populated by the non-Indo-European Iberians and by pre-existent Basque –speakers, and later the region was colonized by Celtic tribes. The conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by Rome began in 218 BC, eventually forming the region of Gallaecia (of the Gallaeci). The two areas underwent distinctly different patterns of Romanization with Lusitania being quickly Romanized and assimilating

¹ Glanville Price, *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998), 364.

Latin culture from an educated Roman population, while Galaccia was colonized more slowly and the native population preserved their language for much longer. The German invasions of the 5th to 7th centuries, under which the region belonged to the Empire of the Suevi in the 5th c. and to that of the Visigoths in the 6th and 7th, failed to impose any linguistic unity on the region.²

The influence of pre-Roman tribes on Portuguese is a matter of debate. The slow Romanization of the Northwest of the peninsula, compared with the rapid progress of Latin among the populations of the south, has been advanced as a reason for expecting considerable effect of Basque and Celtic as substrate languages on the Romance of Galicia and northern Portugal. Explanations of this kind have been advanced for distinctive phonological developments of Galician-Portuguese such as nasalization (*bonu (m)* > OPtg *bõo* > *bom* [bõ] ‘good,’ *centu (m)* > *cento* [sētu] ‘100’), the extension of lenition to intervocalic laterals and nasals, where geminates were reduced and single consonants were lost (*dolore (m)* > OPtg *door* > *dor* ‘pain,’ *villa (m)* > *vila* ‘town,’ *manu(m)* > *mão* ‘hand,’ *senu (m)* > OPtg *sẽo* > *seio* ‘breast,’ *pannu (m)* > *pano* ‘cloth’), and the palatalization of initial *pl-cl-fl-(plorare)* > *chorar* ‘weep,’ *clave (m)* > *chave* ‘key,’ *flamma (m)* > *chama* ‘flame’), but a conclusive case for such substrate influences over natural phonological developments remains to be made. There were, however, clear effects of these languages on toponymy such as, *Coimbra* < *Conimbriga*, incorporating the Celtic-*briga* suffix; *Ambrões* and *Lamego* (relating to the Celtic tribe of the Ambrones). Similarly, the Germanic superstrate is evident in anthroponyms (*Rodrigo* and its derivative *Rui*, *Gonçalo*, *Alfonso*), toponyms derived

² *Ibid.*, 365.

from them and basic vocabulary items which are common to other Hispanic languages.³

The Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 left almost all of this territory south of the river Mondego in Islamic hands, with the territory between the Douro and the Mondego a disputed zone, subject to successive depopulation and repopulation. The Christian kingdom of Galician-Portuguese which would spread southwards with the Christian Reconquest of the 11th and 12th centuries. In the Arabic south, the presumably bilingual Christian populations continued to speak Mozarabic. The influence of the Arabic adstrate is less strong than in Spanish, and is mainly detectable in the lexicon, in particular in the fields of agriculture (*alface* 'lettuce,' *algodã* 'cotton,' *rabadã* 'shepherd'), commerce (*armazém* 'store,' *quilate* 'carat,' *alvanel* 'stonemason') and administration (*alfândega* 'customs,' *alvará* 'decree,' *bairro* 'district'); its prominence is decreasing as traditional terms fall into disuse, such as the old measures of the *arroba* and *arrátel* equivalent to 15 kilograms and 459 grams in modern terms.⁴

Portuguese developed in the Western Iberian Peninsula from the spoken Latin language brought there by Roman soldiers and colonists starting in the 3rd century BC. The language began to differentiate itself from other Romance languages after the fall of the Roman Empire and the barbarian invasions in the 5th century. It started

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

to be used in written documents around the 9th century, and by the 15th century, it had become a mature language with a rich literature.⁵

Arriving on the Iberian Peninsula in 218 BC, the Romans brought with them the Roman people's language, Vulgar Latin, from which all Romance languages (also known as "New Latin Languages") descend. Already in the 2nd century BC, southern Lusitania was romanized. Strabo, a 1st-century Greek geographer, comments in one of the books of his *Geographia* "encyclopedia": "they have adopted the Roman customs, and they no longer remember their own language." The language was spread by arriving Roman soldiers, settlers and merchants, who built Roman cities mostly near previous civilizations' settlements.⁶

Between A.D. 409 and 711, as the Roman Empire was collapsing, the Iberian Peninsula was invaded by peoples of Germanic origin, known to the Romans as Barbarians. The Barbarians (mainly Suevi and Visigoths) largely absorbed the Roman culture and language of the peninsula; however, Lusitania's language and culture were free to evolve on their own during the Early Middle Ages. This took place because of the lack of Roman schools and administration, Lusitania's relative isolation from the rest of Europe, and changes in the political boundaries of the Iberian peninsula. These changes led to the formation of what is now called "Lusitanian Romance." From 711, with the Moorish invasion of the Peninsula, Arabic was adopted as the administrative language in the conquered regions.

⁵ Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, Portuguese [database on-line]; Internet; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/portuguese>; accessed 13 January 2005.

⁶ Ibid.

However, the population continued to speak their Romance dialects so that when the Moors were overthrown, the influence that they had exerted on the language was small. Its main effect was in the lexicon.⁷ The earliest surviving records of a distinctively Portuguese language are administrative documents from the ninth century, still interspersed with many phrases in Latin. Today this phase is known as "Proto-Portuguese" (spoken in the period between the 9th and the 12th century).⁸

Portuguese (*português*) is a Romance language predominantly spoken in Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea Bissau, Macao Special Administrative Region of China, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Many linguists consider that Portuguese and Galician (the native language of Galicia, Spain) are actually varieties of the same language, but with Galician being strongly influenced by the Spanish language. With more than 200 million native speakers, Portuguese is one of the few languages spoken in such widely distributed parts of the world, and is the fifth or sixth most-spoken first language in the world. Because Brazil, with 184 million inhabitants, constitutes about 51% of South America's population, Portuguese is the most widely spoken language in South America and it is one of the key languages in Africa.

The language was spread worldwide in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as Portugal created the first and the longest lived modern-world colonial and commercial empire (1415–1975), spanning from Brazil in the Americas to Macao in China. As a result, Portuguese is now the official language of several independent

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

countries and is widely spoken or studied as a second language in many others.

There are also various Portuguese Creole languages spread all over the world. It is an important minority language in Andorra, Luxembourg, Namibia, and Paraguay.⁹ The Portuguese language is nicknamed *A língua de Camões* ("The language of Camões," after Luís de Camões, the author of *The Lusiads*); *A última flor do Lácio* ("The last flower of Latium," by Olavo Bilac) or *The Sweet Language* (by Cervantes).

Portuguese language speakers are known as *Lusophones*, after the Roman name for the province of Lusitania.¹⁰

Portugal was formally recognized by the Kingdom of Leon as an independent country in 1143. In the first period of "Old Portuguese" - Portuguese-Galician Period (from the 12th to the 14th century) - the language gradually came into general use. Previously, it had predominantly been used on the Christian Iberian Peninsula as a language for poetry. In 1290, King Denis created the first Portuguese University in Lisbon (the *Estudo Geral*) and decreed that Portuguese, then simply called the "Vulgar language" should be known as the Portuguese language and should be officially used.¹¹

In the second period of "Old Portuguese," from the 14th to the 16th century, with the Portuguese discoveries, the Portuguese language spread to many regions of Asia, Africa and The Americas (nowadays, most of the Portuguese speakers live in Brazil, in South America). By the 16th century, it had become a *lingua franca* in

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

Asia and Africa, used not only for colonial administration and trade but also for communication between local officials and Europeans of all nationalities. The spreading of the language was helped by mixed marriages between Portuguese and local people (also very common in other areas of the world) and its association with the Catholic missionary efforts, which led to its being called *Cristão* ("Christian") in many places in Asia. *The Nippo Jisho*, a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary written in 1603, was a product of Jesuit missionary activity in Japan. The language continued to be popular in parts of Asia until the 19th century.¹²

Some Portuguese-speaking Christian communities in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Indonesia preserved their language even after they were isolated from Portugal. The language has largely changed in these communities and has evolved through the centuries into several Portuguese creoles, some still existing today, after hundreds of years of isolation. A considerable number of words of Portuguese origin are also found in Tetum. Portuguese words entered the lexicons of many other languages, such as Japanese, Indonesian, Malay, or Swahili.¹³

The end of "Old Portuguese" was marked by the publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, in 1516. The period of "Modern Portuguese" (spanning from the 16th century to present day) saw an increase in the number of words of Classical Latin origin and erudite words of Greek origin borrowed into Portuguese during the Renaissance, which augmented the complexity

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

of the language.¹⁴ Portuguese is orthographically similar in many ways to Spanish, but it has a very distinctive phonology. A speaker of one of these languages may require some practice to effectively understand a speaker of the other (although generally it is easier for a Portuguese native speaker to understand Spanish than the other way around). Compare, for example:

Ela fecha sempre a janela antes de jantar. (Portuguese)
Ella cierra siempre la ventana antes de cenar. (Spanish)

Some less common phrasings and word choices have closer cognates in Spanish because Portuguese has managed to retain a much larger vocabulary, with stronger Latin heritage:

Ela cerra sempre a janela antes de cear. (Less common Portuguese)

(Which translates as "She always closes the window before having dinner.")

In some places, Spanish and Portuguese are spoken almost interchangeably.

Portuguese speakers are generally able to read Spanish, and Spanish speakers are generally able to read Portuguese, even if they cannot understand the spoken language.¹⁵

Portuguese also has significant similarities with Mirandese, Catalan, Italian, French and with other Romance languages. Phonetically, Portuguese sometimes appears closer to French and Catalan than Spanish does. The sound set of Portuguese is very similar to the French one, owing to the occurrence of nasalization and some palatalization in both languages, and because of certain sound changes (for example, diphthongization of low mid-stressed vowels, aspiration of /f/, and the devoicing of

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

sibilants. In lexicon, Portuguese *bom* (masculine word for good) and French or Catalan *bon* are very similar, while Spanish *bueno* is somewhat different, and Portuguese *filha*, French *fille* and Catalan *filla* are opposed to Spanish *hija*. European Portuguese came under additional French influence because of the Napoleonic dominion in Lisbon from 1807-1812, and cultural influences after that.¹⁶

Speakers of other Romance languages may find a peculiarity in the conjugating of certain apparently infinitive verbs and of some real infinitives. When constructing a future tense or conditional tense clause involving an indirect object pronoun, the pronoun can be placed *between* the verb stem and the verb ending. This phenomenon is called *mesoclisism*, because the clitic is neither before nor after, but in the middle. For example, Dupondt said *trazer-vos-emos o vosso ceptro*. Translating as literally as possible, this is "bring (stem)-to you (formal)-we (future) your scepter". In English we would say, "We will bring you your scepter." The form *Nós vos traremos o vosso ceptro*, is a regionalism used in most Portuguese speaking countries, as well as Portugal.¹⁷

Portuguese is the first language in Angola, Brazil, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe, and the most widely used language in Mozambique. Portuguese is also one of the official languages of East Timor (with Tetum) and Macao S.A.R. of China (with Chinese). It is widely spoken, but not official, in Andorra, Luxembourg, Namibia and Paraguay. Portuguese Creoles are the mother tongue of Cape Verde and part of Guinea-Bissau's population. In Cape Verde most also speak standard

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Portuguese and have a native-level language usage.¹⁸ Large Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities exist in many cities around the world, including Montreal, Toronto in Canada, Paris in France and Boston, New Bedford, Cape Cod, Providence, Newark, New York City, Miami, and Houston in the United States .¹⁹

Portuguese is spoken by about 187 million people in South America, 17 million Africans, 12 million Europeans, two million in North America and 0.34 million in Asia. The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) is an international organization consisting of the eight independent countries which have Portuguese as an official language. Portuguese is also an official language of the European Union, Mercosul and the African Union (one of the working languages) and one of the official languages of other organizations. The Portuguese language is gaining popularity in Africa, Asia, and South America as a second language for study.²⁰

Portuguese is with Spanish the fastest growing western language, and, following estimates by UNESCO it is the language with the higher potentiality of growth as an international communication language in Africa (south) and South America. The Portuguese speaking African countries are expected to have a combined population of 83 million by 2050. The language is also starting to gain popularity in Asia, mostly due to East Timor's boost in the number of speakers in the last five years, and Macau is becoming the Chinese Mecca for learning Portuguese.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Portuguese is growing to become a language for opportunity due to Chinese strategical cooperation with Portuguese-speaking countries.

Portuguese is a very rich language in terms of dialects, each with its particularity. Most of the differentiation between them is the pronunciation of certain vowels. Between Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese, there are differences in vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax, especially in popular varieties. The dialect of Piauí, in northeastern Brazil is the closest dialect to European Portuguese in Brazil. Other very close dialects are the ones of Belém and Rio de Janeiro. There are several similarities in pronunciation, syntax and simplification in grammar use between vernacular Brazilian Portuguese and vernacular Angolan Portuguese. But there are no differences between standard European and Angolan Portuguese. Coimbra Portuguese is considered the most standardized Portuguese dialect.²¹

Some apparent differences between the two varieties in lexicon are not really differences. In Brazil, the common term for carpet is *tapete*, while in Portugal it is *alcatifa*. However, many dialectal zones in Portugal use *tapete* and other areas in Brazil use *alcatifa*. This applies in several such apparent differences, except in the new terms, such as *ônibus* in Brazil, which is *autocarro* in Portugal. A conversation between an Angolan, a Brazilian and a Portuguese from very rural areas flows very easily. The most exotic Portuguese dialect is vernacular São Tomean Portuguese,

²¹ Ibid.

because of the interaction with local Portuguese Creoles, but even with this one, there are no difficulties when talking to a person from another country.²²

Examples of words that are different in Portuguese dialects from three different continents Angola (Africa), Portugal (Europe) and Brazil (South America).

Bus

- Angola: *machimbombo*
- Brazil: *ônibus*
- Portugal: *autocarro*

slum quarter

- Angola: *musseque*
- Brazil: *favela*
- Portugal: *bairro de lata or ilha*

Go away

- Angola: *bazar, ir embora*
- Brazil: *ir embora* (or *vazar* as a slang - Portuguese "to leak");
- Portugal: *ir embora* (or *bazar* as a slang - from Kimbundu *kubaza* - to break, leave with rush);

Portuguese dialects of Brazil

Brazil

1. Caipira — *Countryside of São Paulo* (Piraquara — caipira from *Vale do Paraíba - São Paulo (state) / Minas Gerais*)
2. Cearense — *Ceará*
3. Baiano — *Region of Bahia*
4. Fluminense — *States of Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo* (the city of Rio de Janeiro has a particular way of speaking)
5. Gaúcho — *Rio Grande do Sul*
6. Mineiro — *Minas Gerais*
7. Nordestino — *northeastern states of Brazil* (the countryside and Recife have particular ways of speaking)
8. Nortista — *Amazon Basin states*
9. Paulistano — *city of São Paulo*
10. Sertanejo — *States of Goiás and Mato Grosso*

²² Ibid.

11. Sulista — *south of Brazil* (the city of Curitiba has a particular way of speaking)

Portuguese dialects of Portugal

Portugal

1. Açoreano — *Azores* (São Miguel Island and Terceira Island have particular ways of speaking)
2. Alentejano — *Alentejo*
3. Algarvio — *Algarve* (there is a particular small dialect in the western area)
4. Alto-Minhoto — *North of Braga (interior)*
5. Baixo-Beirão; Alto-Alentejano — *Central Portugal (interior)*
6. Beirão — *central Portugal*
7. Estremenho — *Regions of Coimbra and Lisbon* (can be subdivided in Lisbon Portuguese and Coimbra Portuguese)
8. Madeirense — *Madeira*
9. Nortenho — *Regions of Braga and Porto*
10. Transmontano — *Trás-os-Montes*

Angola

1. Benguelense — *Benguela province*
2. Luandense — *Luanda province*
3. Sulista — *South of Angola*

Portuguese dialects of Angola

Other areas

- Caboverdiano — *Cape Verde*
- Guineense — *Guinea-Bissau*
- Macaense — *Macau, China*
- Moçambicano — *Mozambique*
- Santomense — *São Tomé and Príncipe*
- Timorense — *East Timor*
- Damaense — *Daman, India*
- Goês — *State of Goa, India*

Portugal in the period of discoveries and colonization created a linguistic contact with native languages and people of the discovered lands and thus pidgins were formed. Until the 18th century, these Portuguese pidgins were used as *Lingua Franca* in Asia and Africa. Later, the Portuguese pidgins were expanded

grammatically and lexically, as it became a native language. About three million people worldwide speak a Portuguese Creole. These creoles are spoken, mostly, by inter-racial communities (Portuguese people with natives).²³

- Angolar Spoken in coastal areas of São Tomé Island, São Tomé and Príncipe.
- Annobonese Language of the island of Annobón, Equatorial Guinea.
- Crioulo do Barlavento (Criol) Spoken in Barlavento islands of Cape Verde. Some divide it into several creoles: São Nicolau Crioulo, Sal Crioulo, Boavista Crioulo, and Santo Antão Crioulo. Some decreolization.
- Crioulo de São Vicente Language of São Vicente Island, Cape Verde. Semi-Creole. Some decreolization.
- Crioulo do Sotavento (Kriolu) Spoken in Sotavento islands of Cape Verde. Some divide it into several creoles: Santiago Crioulo (Bádiu), Maio Crioulo, Fogo Crioulo, and Brava Crioulo. Some decreolization.
- Daman Indo-Portuguese Spoken in Daman, India. Semi-Creole. Decreolization process occurred.
- Diu Indo-Portuguese Spoken in Diu, India. Almost extinct.
- Forro Spoken in São Tomé Island, São Tomé and Príncipe.
- Kristang Spoken in Malaysia.
- Kristi Language of the village of Korlay, India.
- Lunguyê Spoken in Príncipe Island, São Tomé and Príncipe. Almost extinct.
- Macanese Spoken in Macau and Hong Kong, the two special administrative regions of China. Decreolization process occurred.
- Papiamento Spoken in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Spanish influenced.
- Saramaccan Portuguese/English Creole. Spoken in Surinam.
- Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole Spoken in coastal cities of Sri Lanka.
- Upper Guinea Creole (Kriol) lingua franca of Guinea-Bissau, also spoken in Casamance, Senegal.

In the past, Portuguese creoles were also spoken in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, and Indonesia, possibly in Brazil and in other areas in India, Malaysia and China.²⁴

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

Consonants /b/ d/ g/ are only pronounced as plosives when they occur at the beginning of the word. Following vowels, they are pronounced as the corresponding fricatives, a process, which Portuguese shares with Catalan and Spanish. /l/ is markedly velarized, which is very close to the standard American English /l/. In some Brazilian dialects, especially in the dialects spoken in Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Bahia, /d/ and /t/ tend to become affricated before the unstressed phoneme /i/.²⁵

Portuguese, both in morphology and syntax, represents an organic transformation of Latin without the direct intervention of any foreign language. The sounds, grammatical forms, and syntactical types, with a few exceptions, are derived from Latin. And almost 90% of the vocabulary is still derived from the language of Rome. Some of the changes began during the Empire; others took place later. In Late Middle Ages, Portuguese was eroding as much as French, but a conservative policy re-approached it to Latin.²⁶

- Nasalization — A vowel before [m] and [n] has a tendency to become a nasal vowel. In the case of Portuguese, it happened between the sixth and seventh centuries, possibly influenced by previously spoken Celtic languages. LVNA → l[ũ]a — Lua (*moon*). In the Latin example, we used all-capitals so as to be in line with how the ancient language was actually written. Note also that the letter V was the vowel we know today as U.
- Progressive Nasalization — Spread of nasalization forward from a nasal consonant, especially [m]. MADRE → made → mae → mãe *mother*; HAC NOCTE → ãnoite → ãõte → ontem /õtẽĩ/ (*yesterday*).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

- Elision — Vulgar Latin [l], [n], [d] and [g] were deleted between vowels; the vowels then coalesced. DOLORE → door → dor (*pain*) BONV → bõo → bom (*good*).
- Palatalization — Another assimilation occurs before the front vowels [i] and [e], or near the palatal semi-vowel [j]. CENTV → [tj]ento → [ts]ento → cento, (*hundred*) FACERE → fa[tj]ere → fa[ts]er → fa[dz]er → fazer, (*to do*). A more ancient evolution was FORTIA → for[ts]a → força (*strength*).
- Voicing — voiceless stops became voiced stops between vowels (and [b] became [v]):
MVTV → mudo (*dumb*) LACV → lago (*lake*) FABV → fava (*broadbean*).
- Simplification of consonant clusters, especially doubled consonants, occurred: GVTTA → gota (*drop*); PECCARE → pecar (*to sin*)
- Dissimilation — similar sounds in a word have a tendency to become different over time, so as to ease pronunciation. Vowels: LOCVSTA → lagosta (*lobster*). Consonants: ANIMA → alma (*soul*) LOCALE → logar → lugar (*place*).
- metathesis — a sound change that alters the order of phonemes in a word. Semi-vowel metathesis: PRIMARIV → primeiro (*first*); Consonant metathesis in [l] and [r]: TENEBRAS → teevras → trevas (*darkness*); these last ones are rare in Portuguese. Vowel metathesis: GENUCULUM → genoclo → gẽo[lj]o → joelho (*knee*).
- epenthesis, insertion of a sound to break up a difficult-to-pronounce combination of vowels: GALLINA → Gali~a → Galinha (*Chicken*); VINO → Vi~o → Vinho (*wine*).²⁷

Another specially relevant shift was the loss of the intervocalic /l/ in a very large set of words, already described in the list above as an example of "elision" → e.g: SALIRE → sair; COLARE → coar; NOTVLA → nódoa, with the typical Portuguese voicing of /t/ in /d/ (AMATVS → amado). Fewer words remained unchanged, or reevolved to the original word, such as *taberna* (tavern) or *coxa* (thigh). Since the Renaissance, Portuguese became subject to the influence of Literary Latin, other than

²⁷ Ibid.

the spoken form from which Portuguese evolved, due to authors' love for antiquity. Thus many adjectives in Portuguese have literary origin, and the respective substantive has the popular form: ouro (gold) and áureo (golden) both from Latin, AVRV. Other words have popular and erudite synonyms: The Latin LOCALE (place) which evolved to the people's *lugar* has *local* as an erudite synonym.²⁸

Very few traces of the native or pre-Roman settlers like the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Iberians, or Celts' lexicon persist in the language, but there are some exceptions, such as *Abóbora* (pumpkin) and *Bezerro* (year-old calf) from Iberian languages or *Cerveja* (beer) and *Saco* (bag) from Celtic and Phoenician, respectively.²⁹

With the Portuguese discoveries, linguistic contact was made, and the Portuguese language became influenced by other languages other than European or Arabic. In Asia, the language gained words such as *catana* (cutlass) from Japanese (*katana*), *Corja* (rabble) from Malay *Kórchchu* or *chá* (tea) from Mandarin Chinese (*cha*). In South America, the language gained words such as *Ananás*, from Tupi-Guarani *naná* and *Abacaxi* from Tupi *ibá cati* both relating to different species of pineapple, or even Tucano (toucan) from Guarani *tucan*. The African influence in lexicon was made in Brazil and Africa (mostly in Angola) includes words such as *Bungular* (to dance like African wizards) from Kimbundu *kubungula* or *Cafuné* (affections made in the head) from Kimbundu *kifumate*. Many names of places and local animals have Amerindian names in Brazil; in Angola and Mozambique, the

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

same occurring with the local Bantu languages. These influences are also small even in the local variations of Portuguese in Brazil and Africa.³⁰

Portuguese is written using the Latin alphabet with 26 letters. Three of them (K, W and Y) are only used for non-Portuguese origin words, in terms like *darwinismo* (Darwinism, from English "Darwin"). It uses ç and acute, grave, circumflex and tilde accents over vowels, as well as, in some forms and only in Brazil, diaeresis on a U as in *lingüística* (Linguistics, *linguística* is used in the rest of the Portuguese-speaking nations).³¹

The Portuguese language is particularly interesting to linguists because of the complexity of its phonetic structure. The language contains 11 distinct vowel sounds and 25 separate consonantal sounds. A great difference in pronunciation exists between closed and open *a*, *e*, *o* and some consonants, leading to confusion among non-speakers, making some of them think that its various dialects are widely different and possibly unintelligible from each other.

The sound system of Portuguese is somewhat more complicated compared to Spanish. There is a greater number of vowels, and there is not a simple rule relating written vowels to their sounds, as there is in Spanish. Similarly to French, Portuguese has a set of nasal vowels and a set of nasal diphthongs.³² Portuguese is also particularly interesting to scholars because it contains 9 vowels, 5 nasal vowels and 25 consonantal sounds. In addition, Portuguese is a "free accentuation language," as

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

distinct pronunciation exists even in the same dialect. Even with its diversity, Portuguese is one of the most unified international languages and, in each country; people tend to classify the dialects, at maximum, as accents, because they are highly intelligible.³³

There are palatal consonants *lh* and *nh* (the equivalent of Spanish *ll*, *ñ*). The consonants *ch, j* are postalveolar fricatives, SAMPA /S/, /Z/, or the same sound as in French.³⁴ The letter *s* when final or followed by another voiceless consonant is /S/, or before a voiced consonant /Z/. This peculiarity is only valid however in Portugal (most dialects) and in the metropolitan area of the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. In other regions of Brazil and other former Portuguese colonies, the *s* is merely voiced (to /z/) when before a voiced consonant. The Beirão dialect of central Portugal, pronounces the final 's' as 'j'.³⁵

The letter *l* when final in some regions of Brazil is pronounced as /u/ and in the Caipira dialect as /r/. In Rio de Janeiro and other areas of southwestern Brazil, the syllables *te* and *ti* are pronounced as 'tchi' and *de* and *di* as 'dji'. When speaking quickly, a Rio de Janeiro's speaker, the *d* (in these two cases) turns to [ð] (ʌD\ in SAMPA). In most of Brazil with the exception of the deep south *r* is pronounced as alveolar fricative. In northern Portugal, in the Alto-Minhoto and Transmontano dialects, *Ch* is spoken as 'tch'. Also, in Northern Portugal's dialects, 'v' is pronounced as /b/.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

The history of the Portuguese script began in the 12th century, when scribes in the Western Iberian Peninsula started using the local vernacular in documents, in place of Latin. The script evolved naturally until the close of the 19th century, the golden age of Portuguese literature. At about that time the national *Academias de Letras* ("Literary Academies") were created in Brazil and Portugal, and legally empowered to standardize orthography.³⁶

Today, Portuguese orthography is defined by national laws and international treaties, which are binding for most administrative and educational uses. The orthography underwent a major reform around 1940, when a large fraction of the words had their spelling radically simplified. A second reform around 1990 had a much smaller impact.³⁷

The general result of those reforms was to make Portuguese orthography — which until the 1940s had been determined chiefly by etymology — much closer to a phonetic writing system. However, its rules are still rather complex and non-algorithmic, and still somewhat based on etymology. Thus, spelling and pronunciation are still partly determined by tradition, on a word-by-word basis. In particular, many letters have two or more phonetic values ("X" has four), and many sounds can be written in more than one way.³⁸

Portuguese orthography uses several character combinations to represent additional phonemes:

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

- "CH": approximately as in English "shoe".
- "LH": as in English "million".
- "NH": as in French "champignon".
- "RR": trilled "r".
- "SS" (in all contexts): as in English "sun".
- "SC" (before "E" and "I"): the same as "SS".
- "QU" (before "E" and "I"): as in "kettle".
- "XC": as in "easy," "ask," "axis," or "essence," depending on the word.
- "ZZ": as in "Betsy".

The "ZZ" digraph is used in only one Portuguese word, *pizza*, and its derivatives.

(Italian words generally had "ZZ" replaced by "SS," "Ç," or "Z" when borrowed into Portuguese; however the change was prevented in this single case due to collision with a preexisting obscene word.)³⁹

It must be noted that each of these digraphs is treated as two separate letters for the purpose of sorting or indexing (as opposed to Spanish, for example, where each digraph counts as a single special letter). In fact, the Portuguese hyphenation rules require a syllable break between the two letters of *RR*, *SS*, and *XC*: *pro-ces-so*, *car-ro*, *ex-ce-to*. Portuguese digraphs are broken into separate letters also for the purposes of crossword puzzles.⁴⁰

Portuguese also uses diacritics — acute, circumflex, tilde, grave, umlaut, and cedilla on some letters:

- Á, É, Í, Ó, Ú
- Â, Ê, Ô
- Ã, Õ
- À,
- Ü
- Ç

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

The diacritics "acute accent" (*acento agudo*) and "circumflex accent" (*acento circunflexo*) are used primarily to indicate the stressed syllable of a word. The stress diacritic is either written or omitted according to detailed rules that depend primarily on the position of that syllable (first, second, or third from the end) and on the final letter of the word. The rules are such that the stress of an un-accented written word can (almost) always be deduced through them, even if the word was never heard before.⁴¹

When the stress diacritic (acute or circumflex) is present, it also indicates the vowel's quality: namely, "Á," "É," and "Ó" have the so-called "open" sounds, whereas "Â," "Ê," "Ô" have the "closed" sounds. When the vowels "A," "E," "O" carry no diacritics, their sound may be either open or closed, and this attribute cannot always be deduced from the printed word. Thus, for example, *seco* can be either an adjective ("dry") or a verb ("I dry"); the "E" is "closed" in the first case, and "open" in the second. The unmarked vowels "I" and "U" have only one possible sound each, so they may take only the acute accent.⁴²

In a few written words, the acute accent is traditionally used even when the letter in question has the "closed" sound: *também* ("also"), *porém* ("however"), *ninguém* ("nobody"). These two accents are also used to distinguish in print the members of certain homophonous word pairs: *para* ("for," "to") and *pára* (it stops), *por* ("by," "through") and *pôr* ("to put"), *tem* ("it has") and *têm* ("they have"), etc. The tilde (*til*) is used over the vowels "A" and "O" to indicate two additional

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

"nasalized" vowel sounds, which are a characteristic feature of Portuguese among the Romance languages. Unlike the acute and circumflex accents, the tilde does not indicate stress, and indeed a few words carry both a tilde and a stress diacritic, e.g., *ímã* ("magnet") and *órgão* ("organ").⁴³

Historically, the nasalized vowel sounds derive from vowel + "N" groups in the parent Latin words, e.g., *mão* ("hand") from Latin *mano*. The tilde sign originates from the medieval scribal convention of writing the (contracting) letter "N" over the preceding vowel.⁴⁴ The grave accent diacritic (*acento grave* is presently used only over a word-initial "A," to indicate the presence of a contracted preposition *a* ("to," "for," etc.) This grave-marked contraction occurs with only a handful of words, chiefly the article *a* and the various forms of the pronoun *aquele* ("that"). Thus, *a* ("to") + *a* ("the") = *à* ("to the"); *a* + *aquele* = *àquele* ("to that"); and so on. In all these cases, the "À" sounds exactly like "Á" in most dialects.⁴⁵

Until about 1990, the grave accent also replaced the acute accent to indicate the secondary (stem) stress in adverbs formed with the suffix *-mente*, e.g., *hábil* ("deft") + *-mente* = *hàbilmente* ("deftly"). Circumflex accents on the stem were retained, e.g., *sôfrego* ("eager") + *-mente* = *sôfregamente* ("eagerly"). All the *-mente* adverbs are now written without any stress diacritic or vowel quality indication, e.g., *habilmente*, *sofregamente*.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

The umlaut or diaeresis (*trema*) may be used only over the U in the combinations *gue*, *gui*, *que* and *qui*. These are pronounced [ge], [gi], [ke], [ki] when unmarked; with the umlaut — namely, *güe*, *güi*, *qüe*, *qüi* — the "U" is pronounced, yielding [gwe], [gwi], [kwe], and [kwi]; e.g., *agüentar* ("to bear") or *freqüência* ("frequency"). The umlaut is increasingly omitted in Portugal, in which case the correct pronunciation of those trigraphs must be learned word-by-word.

The umlaut does not indicate stress, and indeed a word may contain multiple umlauts — possibly with a tilde, as in *argüição* ("questioning"), and/or a stress diacritic, as in *qüinqüelingüe* ("in five languages," conjectured to be the Portuguese word with most diacritics).⁴⁷ The cedilla (*cedilha*) is used only under the letter "C," only before "A," "O," or "U," and never at the beginning or at the end of a word: *poça* ("puddle"), *moço* ("lad"), *açúcar* ("sugar"). The combination "Ç" always sounds [s] as in "sun," even in contexts where the letter "S" would sound [z]. (Originally, the cedilla was a small "Z" or "S" written under the "C.")⁴⁸

The combinations "Ç" and "SS" are therefore phonetically equivalent, and only tradition determines which of them is correct in a given word. Indeed, writing one for the other is perhaps the most common kind of spelling error made by native speakers. Incidentally, several homophonic pairs or words are distinguished only by the use of "Ç" or "SS" in writing: *paço* ("palace") and *passo* ("step"), *ruço* ("red-haired") and *russo* ("Russian"), *seção* ("section") and *sessão* ("session"), etc.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Although not properly a letter of the alphabet, the apostrophe (') can be part of certain words, usually to indicate the loss of a vowel in the contraction of a preposition with the next word: *de + amigo = d'amigo*.⁴⁹

The hyphen in male names is seen like *papagaio-de-rabo-vermelho* ("Red-Tailed Parrot"). It is also extensively used to append weak pronouns to the verb, as in *quero-o* ("I want it"), or even to embed them inside the verb, as in *levaria + te + os = levar-tos-ia* ("I would take them to you").⁵⁰ There are significant and pervasive differences between the spoken dialects of Brazil and Portugal, as well as within each country. Indeed, much of the orthographic complexity of the language results from the struggle by the national spelling reform authorities to define a single written language for the whole Lusophonic community. In spite of those efforts, there remain numerous discrepancies between the spelling standards of Brazil and Portugal.⁵¹

The main difference is a general switch from acute accents in Portugal (*sinónimo*) to circumflexes in Brazil (*sinônimo*), reflecting a switch in pronunciation, from "open" to "closed" vowels. Another important difference is that Brazilian spelling often omits a "P" or "C" that comes before another consonant other than "L" or "R," such as *ótimo* ("optimum," in Brazil) vs. *óptimo* (Portugal), or *fato* ("fact") vs.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

facto. Some of these spelling differences are reflected in the pronunciation of those words.⁵²

⁵² *Ibid.*

Table of Sounds and Reading⁵³

letter	Portuguese	Meaning	letter	Portuguese	Meaning
a	Talha	cut	lh	alho	garlic
a	amo	master	m-	mapa	map
á	alto, árvore	tall, tree	n-	número	number
Am, an	Campo, canto	field, corner	nh	ninho	nest
b	bola	ball	o	santo, logo	saint, soon
ca, co, cu	casa	house	õ, om, on	limões, montanha	lemons, mountain
ça, ce, ci, ço, çu	Cedo, maçã	early, apple	ó	morte, moda, nó	death, fashion, knot
ch	Cheque	check	ô	ovo, olho, avô	egg, eye, grandparent
d	dedo	finger	p	parte	part
e	leite, vale	milk, valley	qua, quo	quanto, quotidiano	how much, daily
é	resto, festa, café	rest, party, coffee	que qui	aquele, aqui	that one, here
ê	medo, letra, você	fear, letter, you	-r	mar, Marte	sea, Mars
em, en	lembrar, então	remember, then	r	coro, caro	choir, expensive
f	ferro	iron	rr	rosa, carro	rose, car
ga, go	gato	cat	s, ss	sapo, assado	frog, roasted
ge, gi	gelo	ice	-s	galinhas, arcos	chickens, arcs
gua	água	water	(vowel)s(vowel)	raso	evenness
gue, gui	português, guia	Portuguese, guide	t	tosta	toast
h	harpa	harp	u	uvas	grapes
i	idiota	idiot	dithombs with o or u	ao, mau	to, bad
dithombs with 'i'	nacional, ideia	national, idea	un, um	um, untar	one, to dip in grease
Im, in	limbo, brincar	limb, to play	v	vento, velocidade	wind, velocity
j	jogo	game	x	caixa, Xadrez, texto	box, chess, text
l	logo	soon	x	próximo	next
-l	Portugal, Brasil	Portugal, Brazil	z, exa, exe, exi, exo, exu	exame, natureza	exam, nature

⁵³ Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, Portuguese [database on-line]; Internet; available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/portuguese>; accessed 13 January 2005.

Portuguese has two major written forms:

- European and African Portuguese
- Brazilian Portuguese

In Brazil most first 'c's in 'cc', 'çç' or 'ct'; and 'p's in 'pc', 'pç' or 'pt' were eliminated from the language, since they are not pronounced in the cultivated spoken language, but are remnants from the language's Latin origin (though some continue to exist in cultivated Brazilian Portuguese, others in European Portuguese). An example is "facto" (in Portugal) and "fato" (in Brazil), both meaning fact -- one of the rare words that will continue to be accepted and pronounced differently in both countries. The earliest specimen of Galician-Portuguese to have survived is an act of partition dated 1230; as in the case of the dating given by Per Abbat to his copy of the *Cantar de mio Cid* (Elcock 1960: 428). The following is a partial text of this earliest specimen:

*In Christi nomine amen. Hec est notitia de partiçon e de deuison que fazemus antre nos dos herdamentus e dus cout [us e] das onrras e dous padruadigus das eygreygas que forum de nossu padre e de nossa madre en esta maneira: que Rodrigo Sanchiz ficar por sa partiçon na quinta do couto de Uiturio, e na quinta do padroadigo dessa eygreyga en todolus (us) herdamentus do couto e de for a do couto; . . .*⁵⁴

*In Christ's name, amen. This is to give notice of the partition and division which we make between us of the possessions and hunting-reserves and estates and patronages of the churches which belonged to our father and mother, in this way: that Rodrigo Sanchiz shall retain for his share a fifth of the reserve of Vitorinho and a fifth of the patronage of that church, and all the possessions of the reserve and from outside the reserve; . . .*⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ibid., 429.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Elision takes place from Vulgar Latin where [l], [n], [d] and [g] were deleted between vowels. As noted in the other languages, palatalization occurs before the front vowels [i] and [e], or near the palatal semi-vowel [j] and consistent with this study, consonants /b/ d/ g/ are only pronounced as plosives when they occur at the beginning of the word. Following vowels, they are pronounced as the corresponding fricatives, a process, which Portuguese shares with Catalan and Spanish.

Summary

Portuguese, one of the six most widely spoken languages in the world, is a member of the Ibero-Romance subgroup of the Romance languages. It is a dialect of Galician, one of the two diverging languages originating in the Romance of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula, when Galicia and Portugal were separated.

Starting in the 3rd century when Roman soldiers, colonists, and merchants brought the new Latin to the Peninsula, the colonized inhabitants readily adopted this new language, along with the Roman customs. After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the barbarian invasion in the 5th century, the population continued to speak their Romance dialects. Even after the Moorish invasion, where Arabic was adopted as the administrative language, the people continued to speak the popular language—Vulgar Latin.

What was the impact on C/k/ and G/g/ during the evolution of Vulgar Latin to Portuguese? The answer is the same for all the languages in this research: initial consonants, single or followed by another consonant, remained unchanged; less

resistance is offered by intervocalic consonants that either weakened or just disappeared; and final unsupported (preceded by a vowel) consonants or supported (preceded by a consonant) either remained or disappeared.

CHAPTER VI

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANIAN AND ITS CONSONANTAL SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF C/k/ AND G/g/ FROM VULGAR LATIN TO ROMANIAN UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY

Romanian is spoken principally in Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

Dialects (Aromanian, Istro-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian) differing markedly from the language of Romania itself are spoken in various parts of the Balkans, including Bulgaria, Greece, and most of the republics of the former Yugoslavia.¹ The Romanians (also sometimes referred to along with other Balkan Latin peoples as Vlachs) are a nation speaking Romanian, a Romance language and living in Central and Eastern Europe.²

The history of most Romance languages, such as Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, Provençal, Italian, is remarkably well documented. The first written Romance texts are quite early: there are short texts on maps from the 8th century and the *Glosas de Silos* from the beginning of the eleventh century in Spanish, the *Cancioneiro* of Alphonse le Sage from the end of the 13th century in Portuguese, the *Serments de Strasbourg* from A.D. 842 in French, two short formulas in Latin maps from 960 and 964 in Italian. The oldest Rhaeto-Romance text is from the beginning of the 12th century. The study of the Romance languages, with the possibility of comparing different stages of development with each other and of relating existing forms to their Latin counterparts has contributed considerably to the solution of many problems of general linguistics, especially in the

¹ Glanville Price, *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, Ltd., 1998), 382.

² Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, *Romance Language* [database on-line]; Internet; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romance_Language; accessed 13 January 2005.

field of language change. The territories in which they developed are well known; in general, they continue the speech of the original Latin-speaking population of the respective areas.³

In contrast, no records are known concerning the early history of Romanian, a Romance language, spoken by about 20 million people in southeastern Europe, predominantly north of the lower Danube. In that area, a Roman province, Dacia Traiana existed between 106 and A.D. 275. The extent to which this province became Romanized is not clear, and there is no historical mention of any Roman population there after the province was abandoned by the Roman Empire. It was about 800 years later, in the second half of the 11th century that Vlachs (Romanians) were reported north of the lower Danube. Towards the mid-thirteenth century, Vlach political organizations (small principalities) appeared in Muntenia. The first-known written Romanian text is a letter written in 1521 to the judge of Brassó (Kronstadt, Braşov), Hans Benkner.⁴

Dacia Traiana was part, less than 40%, of the territory in which Northern Romanian ("Daco-Roman") is spoken today; it was one of the most distant provinces of the Roman Empire over which Roman domination lasted at most 169 years. In spite of this, the hypothesis is that Latin continued to be spoken in Dacia Traiana after A.D. 275 and that it developed into present day Romanian. In the mid-fifteenth century, Italian humanists travelling in Eastern Europe discovered a people whose language contained many Latin words also existing in Italian. Knowing that the

³ Andre Du Nay, *The Origins of the Rumanians* (Toronto: Matthias Corvinus, 1996), 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

Roman Empire once dominated Dacia Traiana, these humanists assumed that the Vlachs were the descendants of the Romans, who once subdued the Dacians.⁵

Particularly during the last four decades, Romanian archaeologists and historians have made great efforts to find remains in present day Rumania of a Roman population between the end of the 3rd and the end of the 11th centuries. Reports of such a population were based on material remains of Roman style. However, some Romanian scholars, A. Philippide, I. Iordan, and I.I. Russu argue that the materials found from earlier periods are not sufficiently specific for such conclusions. This is because of the powerful influence of Roman culture and civilization on the material culture of all European peoples outside the Roman Empire. Thus, there is no historical or archaeological evidence of the ancestors of the Romanians in the territory of present day Rumania before the 11th century. If the Romanians are not the descendants of Trajan's Romans, where did they come from?⁶

The Roman province of Dacia was founded by the Emperor Trajan in A.D. 106, after a military campaign that had begun in 101. Its precise limits are uncertain but it seems to have included Wallachia, Oltenia, the Banat, at least the south of Transylvania, and part of Moldavia. In 118-19, under Hadrian, the area was divided into two provinces, Dacia Superior (in the north and centre) and Dacia Inferior (in the south), and later (c. 167-9) into three. There is evidence that the territory was colonized by settlers brought in from many parts of the Roman Empire who, together with the military and civil administration, introduced the widespread use of the Latin

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

language. It appears that the indigenous inhabitants, of Geto-Dacian stock, were relatively rapidly Romanized, perhaps by the middle of the 3rd century, abandoning their own language in favor of Latin.⁷

The Dacian provinces were frontier provinces in an area in which Rome was frequently involved in warring with such peoples as the free Dacians (i.e., those who remained outside the borders of the empire) and the Goths and, after only 165 years, the decision was taken, in 271 or 272, during the reign of Aurelian, to withdraw from the greater part of the area; the remainder, the southwest, was given up in 275. It is not, however, entirely certain what happened to the Romanized civilian population, of mixed Dacian and Roman ethnic origins, when the Roman legions and civil administration withdrew. According to the so-called 'sub-Danubian hypothesis,' this Romanized population also abandoned the area and withdrew south of the Danube; it is claimed, in that case, that the ancestors of the present-day Romanians moved back north across the Danube and the Carpathians and into Transylvania from other parts of the Balkans in the 11th and 12th centuries.⁸

Large territories in the Balkan Peninsula were Roman provinces for six centuries and were strongly Romanized. Records and finds such as ruins of churches show that Christianity was propagated in that part of the Roman Empire as early as the 3rd century. There are numerous descriptions of incursions of Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs, and other "barbarian" peoples in the Balkan provinces. Many Roman towns were destroyed, and their inhabitants killed or forced to leave their homes.

⁷ Price, *Languages of Europe*, 382.

⁸ Ibid.

However, records end in the 6th century; by the mid-seventh century, almost the entire peninsula was taken over by the Slavs. Roman and Byzantine chroniclers no longer had access to these territories, and there are no records about the destinies of the Roman population in these times. It is probable that most of the remaining Romans were in a short time assimilated to the Slavs. From the 8th century, there is a mention of a Romance population (Vlachs) living in the valley of the Rhinos, and towards the end of the 10th century, beginning with A.D. 976, Vlachs are repeatedly recorded in different places of the Balkan peninsula.⁹

While the surrounding populations designated them by the equivalents of the name Vlach, they always called themselves *rumîn*, Aromanian *ar(u)mân*, *arrãmãnu* which is an inherited Latin word (from Latin *romanus*). In English, it corresponds to *Romanian*, in French, to *roumain*, in German, to *rumänisch*, and in Serbo-Croatian, to *rymyn*. The etymological form, *rumîn*, is still used today; it appears in the texts of Coresi (16th century), as well as in the *Palia de la Orăștie* (1581-1582), in which also the form *român* appears for the first time.¹⁰

Where did this population live before it was mentioned in the chronicles? What were their socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics? Were they the descendants of Roman colonists or of an indigenous population, which became Romanized during those six centuries of Roman rule in the Balkan peninsula? In the latter case, were their ancestors Thracians, Illyrians, Dacians or other? Who were their neighbours? When was their contact with the speakers of Italian and other

⁹ Du Nay, *Origins of the Rumanians*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Romance languages severed? There are no written records to answer these questions.¹¹

This means, according to Du Nay, that it is not possible to detect anything about the early history of the Romanians using the historical method: analyses and comparison of different texts, - not even by the study of material remains revealed by archaeology. The historian who sticks to these methods can only state: *ignoramus et ignorabimus*.¹² The origin of the Romanian people has been for a long time disputed, and there are several theories:

1. Daco-Romanian continuity;
2. Dacians spoke a language close to Latin and they evolved into Romanians;
3. Migration of Romanic peoples from the south.

The exact region where the Romanian language and people formed is not only a scientific puzzle, but also a heated political controversy. Nineteenth-century Hungarian historians largely supported the migration theory, which maintained that Transylvania was not inhabited by Romanians at the time of the Magyar arrival in central Europe during the 10th century. Most Romanian historians support the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity, and maintain that Transylvania was continuously inhabited by the ancestors of Romanians.¹³

Whatever the truth of the history of the language during the 'dark period,' it is certainly the case that Romanian evolved in very different circumstances from its

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Wikipedia, *Romance Language*.

western sister languages. Whereas all the other Romance languages evolved in a cultural context dominated by the Roman Catholic Church and the Latin language, the development of Romanian was profoundly affected by very different influences: the Orthodox Church, the Greek and Slavonic languages, and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴

It is possible that what is termed 'common Romanian,' i.e., the language of the period before it fragmented into the four main dialects (Daco-Romanian, Istro-Romanian, Aromanian or Macedo-Romanian, and Megleno-Romanian) was spoken (in some areas alongside other languages) over an extensive area both south and north of the Danube up till perhaps the 8th century or later, and that the present dialectal divisions originate in a split between northern and southern varieties that occurred not later than the 10th century, quite possible as a consequence of Megleno-Romanian is probably an offshoot of Aromanian, while Istro-Romanian presumably originated north of the Danube and began to diverge from Daco-Romanian by the 13th century or earlier.¹⁵

What can with some justification be claimed to be the earliest recorded example of Romanian, or at any rate of the Balkan Romance from which it developed, is the brief utterance *torna, torna, fratre* ('Return [or turn back], brother') recorded (in Greek script) in a Byzantine chronicle of A.D. 587. Various Romanian proper names occur in Slavonic medieval texts from the area, but the first extant text in Romanian itself is a brief document in Cyrillic script, of some 200 words, dating from 1521; it is a letter from a nobleman, one Neascșu of Câmpulung (a town in the

¹⁴ Price, *Languages of Europe*, 382.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 383.

Carpathians NW of Bucharest) to a magistrate in Braşov in SE Transylvania, warning him that the Sultan had left Sofia and that his ships were on the Danube. It has been argued that the letter has a well-defined orthograph, which perhaps implies that, though nothing else of the period remains (or has yet come to light), a tradition of writing in Romanian already existed.¹⁶

For the first three centuries during which Romanian was written, the Cyrillic alphabet was in general use, although the number of characters used was gradually reduced from 43 to 28. However, as early as the late 16th century, the Roman alphabet was used in some Romanian texts printed in Transylvania, which was then under Hungarian rule and where the Roman alphabet was used for Hungarian (indeed, the orthography of the Romanian texts in question is influenced by the orthographical conventions of Hungarian).¹⁷

After the Romans conquered Dacia in 106, a process of Romanization of the Dacians took place. The Roman administration retreated from Dacia around 271, but Romanized Dacians stayed on, and have continuously lived in Dacia throughout the Dark Ages. Romanians are their descendants.¹⁸

Arguments for:

- Extensive colonization of Dacia
- The colonists came from different provinces of the Roman Empire. They had no common language except for Latin. In this multiethnic environment Latin,

¹⁶ Ibid., 384.

¹⁷ Ibid., 386.

¹⁸ Wikipedia, *Romance Language*.

being the only common language of communication, might have quickly achieved the dominating position (American history furnishes similar examples).

- Dacian toponyms were kept (names of rivers: Samus - Someș, Marisia - Mureș, Porata - Prut, etc.; names of cities: Petrodava - Piatra Neamt, Abruttum - Abrud.) (It should be noted, however, that the preservation of toponyms only indicates continuous settlement and not necessarily continuous settlement *by the same people*.)
- Similarity in current Romanian traditional clothes and Dacian clothes as depicted on Trajan's Column.
- Constantine the Great assumed the title Dacicus Maximus in 336 just like Trajan did in 106, suggesting the presence of Dacians in Dacia even after Aurelian Retreat of 270-275.
- Numerous archaeological sites prove the continuity of Latin settlement north of the Danube after the evacuation of 271, including many inscriptions in Latin language ("EGO ZENOVIVS VOTVM POSVI").
- There is a mosaic map at Madaba in Jordan which some say would represent the province of Dacia in the IV and V century A.D., and its link to different Middle Eastern trade routes; however this is highly controversial at present.¹⁹

Arguments against:

- The short time of occupation only about 165 years, not to mention the fact that in the last years the Roman occupation was only formal.

¹⁹ Ibid.

- Romans conquered only about 25% of the territories inhabited by Romanians (parts of Transylvania and Oltenia); not to mention, many Dacians lived in remote mountainous areas, with little contact with the main Roman colonies; however some may say the process of Romanization was not limited to the Roman provinces and great cities only.
- Most colonists were brought from distant provinces of the Roman Empire, such as Iberia, Dalmatia, Gaul, Middle East and even Numidia and they could not have spoken a language as close to literary Latin as Romanian (if they spoke Latin at all).
- After the Roman withdrawal, a Dacian tribe (the Carpians - living in Moldavia) conquered the abandoned areas and could have imposed their language or revert the Romanization process (if there were any Romanization process).
- There are very few written documents confirming that Romanic peoples lived in Dacia in the period between the Roman evacuation of Dacia and the 10th century. However, written documents from the Dark Ages usually recorded conflicts, diplomacy, information situated in the sphere of interest of states that produced written documents.
- There are no clear traces of Teutonic influence in Romanian and we know that in the 5th and 6th centuries, Dacia was inhabited by Teutonic tribes. However, migrating people have the least influence over other people.
- Aurelian abandoned Dacia Traiana and reorganized a new Dacia Aureliana inside former Moesia Superior in 270-275, settling it with Romans (in order to

increase taxation Caracalla decrees in 212 that all freemen throughout the Roman Empire become Roman Citizens) brought from the former Dacia Traiana - Eutropius book IX, 15.²⁰

Dacians spoke a language close to Latin. This theory says that the Dacians spoke a language very close to Latin, thus Romanization was achieved much faster.²¹

Arguments for:

- It is thought that the Latins came to Italy in or around 1000 B.C. from the Danube region.
- Romanian grammar kept some Latin features (case system, neuter gender, etc.) that cannot be found in any other Romance language (opponents say that these features may be from Dacian, but these features do not prove that Dacian was close to Latin).
- There was no record of any sort of translation needed when Dacian king Decebalus sent a letter to Roman Emperor Trajan, written on a large mushroom, in the first Dacian war.
- A parallel example may be the language of the Gauls. Though it was a Celtic language and not on the same Indo-European branch as Latin, Gaulish may have been rather close to Latin, and according to scholars such as A. Lot, this similarity is what led to the Gauls' adopting Latin so readily after the Roman conquest. The Gaulish language disappeared soon, and Gaul was quickly assimilated into the Roman Empire.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

- A linguist and Thracologist has proposed that Dacian was a centum language in its early period. Latin was also a centum language.²²

Arguments against:

- No ancient source claims that the language of Dacians is close to Latin (yet ancient sources often neglected to discuss indigenous languages).
- Virtually all current linguists consider that Dacian toponyms and personal names prove that Dacian belonged to another branch of the Indo-European language tree, rather than to Italic (which includes Latin).
- Most linguists believe that Dacian was a satem language.²³

A Romanic population came from the south in the Middle Ages and settled down in present-day Romania.

Arguments for:

- Common words with Albanian in Romanian, thought to be of Thracian or Illyrian origin (yet according to a number of Thracologists, the Proto-Albanian and Dacian languages were probably related, and the common words could have come from the Dacian language).
- There are Vlachs living south of the Danube speaking East Romance languages: Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians and Istro-Romanians (in Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, the Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia). There are mentions of their presence there from the early Middle Ages.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

- There are no traces of Teutonic influence in Romanian, and we know that in the 5th and 6th century Dacia was inhabited by Teutonic tribes.
- There are no written documents confirming that Romanic peoples lived in Dacia in the period between the Roman evacuation of Dacia and the 10th century (opponents point out that there are very few records about this region in the Dark Ages). But many medieval sources indicate presence of Vlachs in areas south of the Danube.
- Romanian toponyms in Albania and Bulgaria.
- Vlach shepherds migrated northwards with their herds in search of better pastures. For example, they moved along the Carpathian Mountains to present-day Poland and even to the Czech Republic. They influenced very significantly the culture and language of Polish and Ukrainian highlanders.
- Eutropius mentions the resettlement of Roman citizens from Dacia Trajana to the south of the Danube in 270-275.
- There are far fewer Slavic words in Aromanian than in Romanian. According to linguists, *proto-Romanian* split after Slavonic settlement in the Balkan Peninsula. It supports theory that major Slavonic influence on Romanian had place after migration of Vlachs and after their settlement in populated by Slavs territories North of Danube.²⁴

Arguments against:

The Jireček Line divides the areas of the Balkans which were under Latin and

Greek influences:

²⁴ Ibid.

- Romanian lacks any Greek loanwords for religious terms. Moreover, the most important religious terms in Romanian, came directly from Latin, which means the Daco-romanians were converted to Christianity in Latin language. Later on, during the Middle Ages, Romanians used Old Church Slavonic as their liturgical language, so Greek Orthodoxy as a form of organised christian religion was probably brought by Bulgarian Slavs. It shows there was a Slavic buffer zone between Greeks and Romanians. However, this argument may support the theory about migration from south since Old Church Slavonic became liturgical language in the Balkans not earlier than A.D. 890. The Vlach migrants from the South could start using it after arriving to present-day Romania, that had been largely inhabited by Slavonic tribes and subdued to Bulgarian Tsars and influenced by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Besides, the conversion to Christianity would be made on Romanized territories of present- day Serbia and northern Bulgaria, south of Danube.
- It appears that there was no obvious Greek influence in the early Romanian; the influence only began in the Middle Ages.
- A 12th century Hungarian chronicle, *Gesta Hungarorum*, affirms that when the Magyars arrived in Pannonia, surrounding areas were inhabited by Vlachs (Romanians). However, this chronicle was written 250 years after the described events and is not necessarily accurate.
- A chronicle by Venerable Nestor (A.D. 1056 - 1136) mentions Walachians (Romanians) fighting against Magyars north of the Danube in 6406 (898). However, this chronicle was written 150 years after the described events and

is not necessarily accurate. Besides, migrating Vlachs could settle in some areas north of Danube before this date.

- No medieval chronicle mentions any large-scale migrations of Romanic peoples from the Balkans to Romania; contrary to a south-to-north movement, a chronicle indicates rather a south-to-north movement: according to Cecaumenos' Strategicon of 1066, the Vlachs of Epirus and Thessalia came from North of the Danube and from along the Sava. (Opponents point out that there are very few records about this region in the Dark Ages. Besides, it is obvious that Vlachs came to Epirus and Thessalia from north, but not necessarily from the North of the Danube; perhaps from Moesia, what is now Serbia and Northern Bulgaria).²⁵

In spite of the above-mentioned results of exhaustive linguistic research, the theory that the Romanian language developed (mainly) from Latin spoken in Dacia Traiana (the theory of continuity) was the official thesis of the Romanian Communist Party.²⁶ Thus, this theory has been adopted in all publications from Rumania during the last four decades.

Owing to its geographical isolation, Romanian was probably the first language that split and until the modern age was not influenced by other Romance languages. It is more conservative than other Romance languages in nominal morphology.

Romanian has preserved declension, but whereas Latin had six cases, Romanian has three, the nominative/accusative, the genitive/dative, and the vocative, and retains the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Du Nay, *Origins of the Rumanians*, 6.

neuter gender as well. However, the verbal morphology of Romanian has shown the same move towards a compound perfect and future tense as the other Romance languages.²⁷

All the dialects of Romanian are believed to have been unified in a Common Romanian language until sometime between the 7th and the 10th century when the area was influenced by the Byzantine Empire, and Romanian became influenced by the Slavonic languages. Aromanian language has very few Slavonic words. Also, the variations in the Daco-Romanian dialect (spoken throughout Romania and Moldova) are very small, which is quite remarkable. The use of this uniform Daco-Romanian dialect extends well beyond the borders of the Romanian state: a Romanian speaker from Moldova speaks the same language as a Romanian speaker from the Serbian Banat.²⁸

About 300 words found only in Romanian (in all dialects) or with a cognate in the Albanian language are generally thought to be inherited from Dacian, many of them being related to pastoral life (for example: *balaur*=dragon; *brânză*=cheese; *mal*=shore. Some linguists believe that in fact Albanians are Dacians who were not Romanized, and migrated south.²⁹ There is another theory that Dacian was fairly close to Latin, originally advanced by linguist Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu. However,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

there is little support available for this idea, and the general view is that Dacian was close to Albanian or Balto-Slavic.³⁰

While most parts of the Romanian grammar and morphology are based on Vulgar Latin, there are, however, some features that are shared only with other languages of the Balkans and cannot be found in other Romance languages.³¹ Among the shared features, there are the postponed definite article, the syncretism of genitive and dative cases, the formation of the future and perfect tenses, as well as the avoidance of infinitive. The Slavic influence was largely based on Church Slavonic, which was a liturgical language until the 18th century, as well as Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Serbian. Up to 20% of the vocabulary is of Slavic origin, including words such as: *a iubi*=to love; *glas*=voice; *nevoie*=need; *prieten*=friend. However, many Slavic words are archaisms, and it is estimated that only 10% of the words in modern Romanian are Slavic.³²

There are some Slavonic influences, both on the phonetic level and on the lexical level—for example, Romanian took the Slavonic *da* for *yes*. Even before the 19th century, Romanian came in contact with several other languages. Notable among these are:

- Greek (for example: *folos* < *ófelos* = use; *buzunar* < *buzunára* = pocket; *proaspăt* < *prósfatos* = fresh)

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

- Hungarian (for example: *oraş* < *város* = town; *a cheltui* < *költeni* = to spend; *a făgădui* < *fogadni* = to promise)
- Turkish (for example: *cafea* < *kahve* = coffee; *cutie* < *kuta* = box; *papuc* < *papuş* = slipper)
- German (for example: *cartof* < *Kartoffel* = potato; *bere* < *Bier* = beer; *şurub* < *Schraube* = screw).³³

Daco-Romanian can be regarded as a dialect continuum and as such, it cannot be neatly divided into separate dialects. However, the Daco-Romanian regional varieties are usually divided roughly into these groups (Romanian "*graiuri*"):

- Muntenian dialect (Graiul muntenesc), spoken mainly in Wallachia and southern parts of Dobruja. Regarded as the standard variety of Romanian.
- Moldavian dialect (Graiul moldovenesc), spoken mainly in Moldavia, northern parts of Dobruja and the Republic of Moldova.
- Maramureşian dialect (Graiul maramureşean), spoken mainly in Maramureş.
- Transylvanian dialect (Graiul ardealean), spoken mainly in Ardeal.
- Banatian dialect (Graiul bănăţean), spoken mainly in Banat.
- Oltenian dialect (Graiul oltenesc), spoken mainly in Oltenia and by the Romanian minority in Timok region of Serbia. Notable feature of this dialect is the usage of the Simple perfect tense rather than the Complex perfect which is used in other dialects.³⁴

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

The late Latin palatals k' and g' (before e and i) have in Romanian the same treatment as in Italian: they are pronounced č and ģ whenever they occur before palatal vowels e or i. Therefore ce,ci, ge and gi are always read če, či, ģe and ģi, while before any other vowel they remain velar (c = k). In order to note the phonetical sequences of velar k/g + e/i, the Romanian writing borrowed from Italian, the practice of introducing an h between the velar and the following vowel. Thus che(chi) and ghe(ghi) would assume the phonetical values ke(ki) and ge(gi)[= French gue and gui].³⁵ Romanian consonantism shows a constant voiced/voiceless symmetry.

Occlusives are:

- labial p and b
- dental t and d
- velar c and g (only before nonpalatal vowels)

Due to its isolation from the other Romance languages, the phonetic evolution of Romanian was quite different, but does share a few changes with Italian, such as [kl] > [kj] (Lat. clarus > Rom. chiar, Ital. chiaro) and also a few with Dalmatian, such as [gn] > [mn] (Lat. cognatus > Rom. cumnat, Dalm. Comnut).³⁶

Among the notable phonetic changes are:

- diphthongization of e, i, o

Lat. cera > Rom. ceară (wax)

Lat. sole > Rom. soare (sun)

- iotacism [e] → [i]

Lat. herba > Rom. iarbă (grass, herb)

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

- velar [k], [g] → labial [p], [b], [m]

Lat. octo > Rom. opt (eight)

Lat. lingua > Rom. limbă (tongue, language)

Lat. signum > Rom. semn (sign)

Lat. coxa > Rom. coapsă (thigh)

- rotacism [l] → [r]

Lat. caelum > Rom. cer (sky)

- Alveolars [d] and [t] palatalized to [dz]/[z] and [ts] when before [e] or [i]

Lat. deus > Rom. zeu (god)

Lat. tenem > Rom. ține (hold).³⁷

The first written record of a Romanic language spoken in the Middle Ages in the Balkans was written by the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes Confessor in the 6th century about a military expedition against the Avars from 587, when a Vlach muleteer accompanying the Byzantine army noticed that the load was falling from one of the animals and shouted to a companion "Torna, torna, fratre" (meaning "Return, return brother!").³⁸ The oldest written text in Romanian is a letter from 1521, in which Neacșu of Câmpulung wrote to the mayor of Brașov about an imminent attack of the Turks. It was written using the Cyrillic alphabet, like most

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

early Romanian writings. The earliest writing in Latin script was a late 16th century Transylvanian text which was written with the Hungarian alphabet conventions.³⁹

Q, W and Y are not part of the core Romanian alphabet; they are used mainly to write imported words, such as *quasar*, *watt*, and *yoga*.⁴⁰ Reading Romanian involves learning a few rules, quite similar to reading Italian.

- The letters *c* and *g* represent the affricates before *i* and *e*, and /k/ and /g/ before *a*, *o*, *u*, *ă*, and *â/î*. The digraphs *ch* and *gh* before front vowels represent slightly palatalized /k/ and /g/.
- *h* represents /h/
- *j* represents yod
- allographs with cedilla, *ș* and *ț* became widespread when pre-Unicode and early Unicode character sets did not include the standard form.
- A final orthographical *i* after a consonant represents palatalization of the consonant (e.g., *lup* /lup/ "wolf" vs. *lupi* /lup/ "wolves").
- *ă* represents the schwa, /ə/.⁴¹

Letters *c* and *g* have special pronunciation when used in these groups of characters, which are the same as in Italian:

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Group	Example
Ce, ci	<i>ch</i> in chest, cheek
che, chi	<i>k</i> in kettle, kiss
ge, gi	<i>j</i> in jelly, jigsaw
ghe, ghi	<i>g</i> in get, give

As cited in an earlier section of this document, the first written record of a Romanic language spoken in the Middle Ages in the Balkans was written by the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes Confessor and the oldest written text in Romanian is a letter from 1521.

Sample Text of the Letter:

"Mudromu I plemenitomu, I cistitomu I bogom darovanomu jupan Hanas Benger ot Braşov mnogo zdravie ot Neacşu ot Dlăgopole (*To the most wise and venerable and by God endowed master Hanas Benger of Braşov, much health to thee wisheth Neacşu of Câmpulung*).⁴²

Owing to its isolation from the other Romance languages, the phonetic evolution of Romanian was quite different, but does share a few similarities with Italian, such as *cl* > *ki* (Lat. *clarus* > Rom. *chiar*, Ital. *chiaro*).

As for the consonants: *ce*(*ci*), *ge*(*gi*) and the late Latin palatals *k'* and *g'* (before *e* and *i*) have in Romanian the same treatment as in Italian: they are pronounced *č* and *ğ* whenever they occur before palatal vowels *e* or *i*. Therefore *ce*, *ci*, *ge* and *gi* are always read *če*, *či*, *ğe* and *ği*, while before any other vowel they remain velar (*c* = *k*).

To note the phonetical sequences of velar *k/g* + *e/i*, the Romanian writing borrowed from Italian, the practice of introducing an *h* between the velar and the

⁴² Ibid.

following vowel. Thus che(chi) and ghe(ghi) would assume the phonetical values ke(ki) and ge(gi)[= French gue and gui]. Thus, it is noted that Romanian and Italian evolved more closely by to the ancestral language but still preserved C/k/ and G/g/ unquestionably palatalized before the front vowels consistent with all the languages in this study. When one reviews the sample texts, the historical context of the language development of this study and the similarities and the differences among the five languages, one sees that C/k/ and G/g/ maintain their guttural sound in the initial placement in a word; are weakened in the intervocalic position and sometimes lost; and in the final position there are exceptions that range from being pronounced to being dropped.

Summary

No records are known concerning the early history of Romanian, a Romance language, spoken by about 20 million people. Particularly during the last four decades, Romanian archaeologists and historians have made great efforts to find remains in present day Rumania of a Roman population between the end of the 3rd and the end of the 11th centuries. There is no historical or archaeological evidence of the ancestors of the Romanians in the territory of present -day Rumania before the 11th century. There is evidence that the territory was colonized by settlers brought in from many parts of the Roman Empire who, together with the military and civil administration, introduced the widespread use of Latin. Inhabitants of the Roman Empire rapidly Romanized and abandoned their own language for the vernacular of their colonizers.

All the dialects of Romanian are believed to have been unified in a Common Romanian language. Owing to its geographical isolation, Romanian was probably the first language that split and until the modern age was not influenced by other Romance languages. It is probable that most of the remaining Romans were in a short time assimilated to the Slavs.

It would appear the geographical isolation of Romanian from the rest of the Romance languages would alter its kinship to the evolution of C/k/ and G/g/ in this study. Not so. The Late Latin palatals k' and g' (before e and i) have in Romanian the same treatment as in Italian: they are pronounced č and ģ whenever they occur before palatal vowels e or i. The similarities continue without exception, in an initial position, consonants were voiced, weakened in the intervocalic position, and disappeared in most instances, in a final position.

CHAPTER VII
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Findings

Thus, this study illustrates the historical overview of the evolution of Classical Latin to Vulgar Latin and the five selected Romance languages. Although centuries have passed, the results show that each distinctive Romance language was characterized by its own speed and flow. Each language had numerous Creoles and pidgins and all had an abiding Latinity. The prevalence of the letter *k* continued to hold a unique place in this review as it assisted in supporting review of this letter and the sound changes that were associated with its transition from *k* to *c* in Vulgar Latin to five Romance Languages. Down through the annals of time, contributors used the unique evolution of *C/k/* and *G/g/* to include the morphological modifications of borrowed and loaned words, as well as the medieval scribes of Romance, who juggled with the letters of the Latin alphabet.

We can conclude with French, *C/k/* and *G/g/* in the initial placement of the word was preserved before *a*, *o*, and *u* up to the twelfth century but became *ts* before *e*, and *i*. Intervocalic *C/k/* and *G/g/* weakened and in a final position, often disappeared during this same period of time.

In reference to the development of the Spanish language from Vulgar Latin, since there was no written guide to this newly formed language, the language itself became the revolutionizing vehicle for change. For instance, in Classical Latin, vowels affected the

meaning of the words depending on whether the written vowels were long or short. It must be noted that in Vulgar Latin, vowels were not distinguished by length (no written forms) but by timbre—tone, melody. In other words, changes to the vowel system were developed based on their stress or lack of stress (sound) and their position in the word.

This concept influenced the same principle applied to the consonantal system that was very much impacted by the sound of the vowel/consonant that was next to it. Specifically *C/k/* and *G/g/* in the initial positions were usually preserved with some exceptions; the medial position caused some weakening during the Vulgar Latin period; and in the final position.

As we speak of the Italian language, Italy was the home and heartland of the Latin language and the Roman Empire. Thus it was the first of the future Romance lands to achieve Latin linguistic unity. It was during the period that intervened between the earlier Germanic invasions (middle of the fifth century) and the appearance of the first Romance written records (ninth century for France, tenth for Spain and Italy), Italy had become, politically speaking, the most fragmented of the Roman lands.

Contrasting other Romance languages, Italian maintained its Latin roots and was more predominantly Latin. All attempts to interject into the language a new dialect that differed from Latin were ignored. Also, there was no sudden response to the vernacular to the Carolingian Renaissance resulting in no startling appearance of a text written in a language considerably different from Latin.

By the third century, the /k/ had come to be pronounced *kj >ts (j) >tj*. It was medieval scribes of Romance who frequently juggled letters of the Latin alphabet to correspond with a sound. They sought to leave a Latin *c* unchanged, whatever the sound had in fact become. This concept was applied to /g/ before a front vowel. As *k* became *kj*, *g* became *gj >dj >dz*.

C/k/ and G/g/ were influenced by this evolution without exception. In an initial position, C/k/ and G/g/ were voiced, weakened in the intervocalic position, and disappeared in most instances, in a final position. The transition of Portuguese was similar.

Portuguese is a member of the Ibero-Romance subgroup of the Romance languages. As a dialect of Galician, it was one of the two diverging languages originating in the Romance of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula. In the 3rd century when many citizens brought the new Latin to the Peninsula, the colonized inhabitants readily adopted this new language. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the population continued to speak their Romance dialects. Even when Arabic was adopted as the administrative language, the people continued to speak the popular language—Vulgar Latin.

The impact on C/k/ and G/g/ during the evolution of Vulgar Latin to Portuguese was the same for all the languages in this research. The initial consonants, single or followed by another consonant, remained unchanged; less resistance is offered by intervocalic consonants that either weakened or just disappeared; and final unsupported (preceded by a vowel) consonants or supported (preceded by a consonant) either remained or disappeared.

Although, there is no historical or archaeological evidence of the ancestors of the Romanians in the territory of present day Rumania before the 11th century, there is evidence that the territory was colonized by settlers brought in from many parts of the Roman Empire who introduced the widespread use of Latin. Inhabitants of the Roman Empire rapidly Romanized and abandoned their own language for the vernacular of their colonizers.

This resulted in the theory that all the dialects of Romanian are believed to have been unified in a common Romanian language. Owing to its geographical isolation, Romanian was probably the first language that split and, until the modern age, was not influenced by other Romance languages. This suggests that most of the remaining Romans were in a short time assimilated to the Slavs.

The resulting geographical isolation of Romanian from the rest of the Romance languages appears to have altered its kinship to the evolution of *C/k/* and *G/g/* in this study. The Late Latin palatals *k'* and *g'* (before *e* and *i*) have in Romanian the same treatment as in Italian: they are pronounced *č* and *ğ* whenever they occur before palatal vowels *e* or *i*. Thus, the similarities continue without exception, in an initial position, consonants were voiced, weakened in the intervocalic position, and disappeared in most instances, in a final position.

Conclusion

It was important to review extracts pertaining to the languages to visualize the language in the vernacular of its time. Each language and its first-known written text

associated with the consonants C /k/ and G /g/, have been offered to illustrate their similarities, as well as their differences.

Relative to all the languages in this research: initial consonants, single or followed by another consonant, remained unchanged; less resistance is offered by intervocalic consonants that either weakened or just disappeared; and final unsupported (preceded by a vowel) consonants or supported (preceded by a consonant) either remained or disappeared, up to the twelfth century. Research also included other variables impacting the languages, such as cultural concerns; non-contact with other Romance languages; and geographical isolation and found no significant influence on the consonants in this study. The most important development that affects the consonants may be summed up as follows: C /k/ and G/g/ before front vowels were palatalized and were then subject to further alterations.

Research in this study has illustrated how Vulgar Latin differed from Classical Latin on all linguistic levels. Examples given indicate that initial consonants remain the same up to the twelfth century (and up to today) with the exception of the palatals; the middle consonants, especially the explosives are weakened and some of them disappeared; and the final consonants maintain their status. In agreement with Alfred Ewert, *The French Language*, the development of the consonants in Vulgar Latin were conditioned by the place which they occupied in the word, by the nature of the preceding or following consonant, and to a lesser degree by the nature of the preceding or following vowel.

A cited example would be how the Romanian language lends itself to the Italian language. This is especially true of the vowel system. The Late Latin palatals k' and g' (before e and i) have in Romanian the same treatment as in Italian: they are pronounced č and ģ whenever they occur before palatal vowels e or i. Therefore ce, ci, ge and gi are always read če, či, and ģi, while before any other vowel they remain velar (c = k). In order to note the phonetical sequences of velar k/g + e/i, the Romanian writing borrowed from Italian, the practice of introducing an h between the velar and the following vowel. Thus, *che* (*chi*) and *ghe* (*ghi*) would assume the phonetically values *ke* (*ki*) and *ge* (*gi*) [= French *gue* and *gui*]. Thus, it is noted that Romanian and Italian evolved more closely by the ancestral language but still preserved C/k/ and G/g/ unquestionably palatalized before the front vowels, consistent with all the languages in this study.

Without question, the Romance or Neo-Latin languages and their dialectical variations are the result of Roman soldiers, merchants, and inhabitants spreading Classical Latin throughout the Roman Empire. As the language was transmitted to the various Roman provinces, over time, a standard of spoken Latin developed into what is known as Vulgar Latin. Aptly named because it represented popular speech; not Classical Latin. Not having any written record as the language was being transmitted caused the language to focus on its physical attributes to carry it throughout the Roman Empire, thereby setting the stage for a divergence of this new vernacular linguistic evolution into the Romance languages we know today.

Such fascinating dialectal deviations have enriched generations in the form of French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian. It seemed appropriate in the

research to look at the history of Latin, its roots, and its digressions. Latin, a member of the Indo-European language family, developed through several stages, i.e., The Preliterary Period, The Archaic Period, The Golden Age, The Silver Latinity, The Archaizing Period, and The Period of the Decline. After the sixth century A.D., Latin divided into the literary language maintained in courts, in the Church, and among scholars and the informal language of the common people. These so-called romance expressions were maintained as a written language. However, a large body of Latin materials did not appear until shortly before 200 B.C. Although Vulgar Latin was spread throughout the Roman Empire and was the basis from which the Romance languages developed, evidence for these emerging languages came much after the Roman Empire's collapse. The cultural manifestations of its demise created a community without schools, military support vacated, and no central seat of government and leadership. As inhabitants were left to take care of themselves, they began to use the language that was developing indigenous to their surroundings and province, resulting in vocabulary and word order based on sound, rather than formal orthography. Therefore, establishing patterns of sounds, accents, and inflections, which changed the points of articulation and impacted the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, creating a new phonological, morphological, and phonetic system.

This introductory guide is addressed to the linguistic novice seeking to know more about the evolution of *C/k/* and *G/g/* from Vulgar Latin to French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian, in the beginning, medial, and final position in a word, up to the twelfth century. It will also serve as a guide for teachers and students of Romance

languages in the development of pedagogy for the study of these languages through historical references, sample vocabulary and texts, and the similarities and differences associated with C/k/ and G/g/ in a finite and concise document.

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