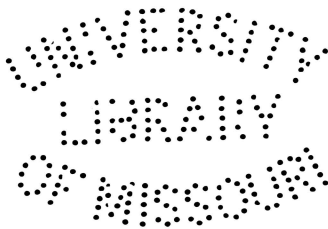


A Comparison of the Phonology of Latin Umbrian and Oscan.

"Ā"

I. Ā has met with the same fate in Latin as in the Oscan and Umbrian dialects except in final syllables. In final syllable, in Latin I. Ā "ā" remained unchanged (In the course of time however shortened to "ă") while in Oscan it was changed to "o" (often written as "u") and in Umbrian it became sometimes "u" and sometimes "a". In New Umbrian however we always find either "u" or "o".

When "ā" became final by the dropping of a "-d" or "-m", vowel weakening did not occur. Examples: Oscan: viā, Umbrian: totā, Latin: praedā. Other examples illustrating the destiny of final I. Ā "ā" in



Oskan Umbrian and Latin respectively are:
malta, mutu, multa.

It seems that in the Oskan and Umbrian dialects as in Latin, the "a" was first shortened and then in these dialects was further weakened to "o" and "u". This shortening took place at a very early period, a tendency which seemed to be at work in all of the Italic dialects. The general theory is that the shortening of "a" in Latin was confined originally to Iambic words. It seems more natural to me however for this change to have been produced by the slurring over of final syllables, a change naturally brought about by rapid pronunciation. This principle would hold for both the Oskan ^{and Umbrian} dialects as well.

"ā"

I.G. "ā" in Umbrian and Oscan just as in Latin in accented syllables = "ā".

Examples: Latin: ab, Umbrian: ab, Latin: pater, Umbrian: patre, Oscan: pater.

In unaccented syllables, we find that this vowel shows much greater stability in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin, where it is regularly weakened to "e" in close and to "i" in open syllables.

Examples: Oscan: aamanaffed, Latin: commendare, Umbrian: autare, Latin: integris (v. tag), Umbrian: iupater, Latin: Jupiter.

There are only two certain examples of the weakening of I.G. "ā" in Oscan and Umbrian and they are readily explained as due to assimilation. They are:

Umbrian: prehubia, cf. Latin, labes, prohibeo,
Oscan praefuens by the side of foeus. Other
examples are cited but they are not
certain. Such as Oscan prupukid. cf.
Latin, paesci.

Old Latin shows the same tendency in the
stability of this vowel as the Oscan and
Umbrian. "Fafced" for example found
in the Manius Inscription serves to il-
lustrate this point. The Latin merely
shows a more advanced stage of development
than the Oscan and Umbrian.

"E"

I G. "E" = "e" in Oscan, that is an open sound
inclining toward "e"; In Umbrian = "e" or "e".
In Latin = "e"

Examples: licutud in Oscan and licetu in Latin.

Again we find respectively in Oscan, Umbrian and Latin - habitu, habetu and habeto.

While forms in "i" appear in Umbrian in a great many cases those in "ē" are much more numerous, especially in old Umbrian.

Such forms as Latin filius for filius (cf. Umbrian filiuf) might be explained as due to a dialectic influence such as Oscan. Cf. also Latin detineo (tēnis) and subtilis (sub + tēta). This change however is commonly explained as due to the assimilation of the "ē" to the following "i"

"E"

I. G. $\check{e} = \ddot{e}$ commonly in the Italic dialects in the accented syllable. In unaccented syllables, \check{e} also commonly remains while in Latin we find "i". Examples: Oscan: est, Umbrian: est, Latin: est, Oscan: petiro, petur, Latin: enico (i. nec).

There is apparently no regularity in the vowel changes from "ĕ" in Oscan and Umbrian. We sometimes find "ē" as in Latin represented by "o" and "i" but not under any well defined circumstances as in Latin. There can be no well established rule laid down since we find these changes in both accented and unaccented syllables. Examples: Oscan: ēst alongside of est. amiricatud, commiricium etc. These last examples seem to be influenced by the sound group re.

"ī"

I. G. "ī" = "i" commonly in the Italic dialects. In Oscan and Umbrian we find the same stability as in Latin. Examples: Oscan: lūmitum, Latin: lūmitum, Umbrian: viu, Latin: vinum. In Umbrian we sometimes find "ē" for "ī"

especially in final syllables, in the case of enclitics. Examples: pire, pure, pafe, mure.

In Oscan "d" in the Abl. was kept, In Umbrian it was dropped and then in a few cases the "e" weakened to "i". Example: poni for ponid and finally pone. We find this same change in Latin words of the third declension in the Abl. case. Of marid, mare. Apparently the "d" was dropped, the vowel shortened and finally weakened to "e". This change in Latin may be due to a dialectic influence, or what is more likely, the natural similar inherent tendencies of the Umbrian dialect and the Latin brought about this change. Here again the development has proceeded farther in Latin than in Umbrian or Oscan.

"i"

I. G. "i" = "i" in general in the Italic dialects in accented syllables. Examples: Oscan: pi, Umbrian: pisi, Latin: quis.

In Oscan, very seldom, and Umbrian as in Latin - generally in unaccented syllables, - we sometimes find "e" for "i". There is no well established rule for this change but we generally find it before "r" or the sound group "rs". In Old Umbrian the change to "e" is quite common in unaccented syllables, less so in accented ones. In New Umbrian there is no certain example of "i" changed to "e" unless we find it in perse before the above mentioned "rs". This change might be compared with Latin sero from seio, eineris for einesis. Mare is an example in Latin of the weakening of the final vowel.

ō

I. G. ō is commonly represented in the Italic dialects by a close sound. I. G. "ō" = "ō" in Latin = "ū" commonly in Oscan = "o" in Umbrian. Examples: Osk. dūmme, Latin dōmme; Umbrian nōmme, Lat. nōmme. In the endings ^{-or-om} (-ōdās) we find in Osk. instead of "ū"; "o", in Umbrian "u" for "o". We observe here an almost exact comparison in the Umbrian and Latin. In Latin we find praetōr but praetūra, datōr but datūra. Cf. with Umbrian arsferture, arsferturo, kuestur. The phonetic principle by which "o" becomes "u" in these examples is not clear.

ō

I. G. "ō" in Osk. and Umbr. (represented by the symbol "u" in native writing, "o" in Latin

alphabet) was retained almost everywhere.
 Examples: Osk. pust (post), Umbrian post,
 Latin post.

The weakening of this vowel to u is
 found on several points to correspond
 exactly with Latin:

(1) Before nasal and guttural, Osk. auruukuu
 (ausonkuod). Cf. Lat. uucus (for oucus)

(2) In the ending om in Osk. Examples,
doluum, dunuum. (3) In other final syllables -

Osk. essuu, (essof), paakuu (paakol). (4) Before

nt and lt Osk. and Umb. retained the "o" where Latin weakened it to "u". Umb. -hout,
 Lat. -unt (3 person plural); Osk. molta, Umb. uotar
 (from molta) Lat. multa. Cf. old Latin moltaticod.

A comparison of this vowel in Latin will show
 much greater weakening than in Umb. and
 Osk. Here again the development has

proceeded farther in Latin than in Osk. and Umbrian. It is altogether probable that the tendency which we see at work in these dialects would have eventually terminated in the same result as in Latin.

The vowel "ö" in Osk. and Umbrian, just as the vowel system in general, is more stable than in Latin. In final syllables I. G. "ö" generally remains in Osk. and Umbrian. We sometimes find however in late inscriptions - "uni" in the Accusative instead of "oni".

In Umbrian, in unaccented syllables before "r" we find I. G. "ö" quite often represented by "u".

"ū"

I. G. "ū" became almost invariably "ī" in Umbrian. In Osk. we find almost

invariably I. G. "ū" represented by "ū". Likewise in Latin. We sometimes find however in both Osk. and Umbr. I. G. "ū" represented by "i". Examples: Osk. futre, Lat. fū (old Lat.), Umbr. friſ (frūſ), Lat. frūſ. Castrū serves as a possible example of I. G. "ū" represented by "i" in Osk.

"ū" is the only vowel which shows greater stability in Lat. than in the dialects.

"ū"

I. G. "ū" remains regularly unchanged in Latin, Umbr. and Osk. Examples: Osk. supriis, Umbr. supra, Latin super.

We find in the Osk. and Umbr. dialects just as in the case of Latin that "ū" is one of the most stable vowel of the whole vowel system.

In Umbr. however we find "ū" changed to

"o" regularly before "ni". Examples; *trifo*,
fortrifum, also for *assum*. "o" for "i" is
 also found sometimes before "p" and
 "rs". Examples; *Sopa* by the side of *supa*
 (cf. Latin *suppus*). *Sorsor*. (cf. with Lat. *subus*)

In Osk. "i" becomes "iu" after the dentals,
 d, t, n and s. Examples; *tiuri* by the side
 of Lat. *turrine*.

The form *siu* in Osk. for *siu* seems
 to indicate that the same confusion
 existed here as in the case of "maximus"
 and *maximus* in Lat. and as in *libet*
 and *libet*.

To sum up then the Osk. and Umb. vowel
 systems, we find them similar in the
 most important respects to that of the
 Latin. We find the irregularities in the
 Latin vowels comparatively few which can

be traced back as due to a dialectic influence. We find further that there is much more stability in the Osk.-Umb. vowel system than in the Lat., with but one single exception - that is of the vowel "ū", "ei", which is perfectly stable in Lat. but quite irregular in its destiny in Osk. and Umb.. On the whole the same influences appear to have been at work in each case but by slightly different modifications producing slightly different results.

H. Meyer (in K. Z. XXVIII, 175, in Gröbers Grdr. I. 360) shows a striking parallelism between the fate of the vowels in Osk. and in Vulgar Latin, where qualitative and quantitative distinctions largely disappear. Thus we have seen that Osk. ē and ē become \bar{e} , \bar{o} and \bar{u} , \bar{v}

with entire loss of qualitative and quantitative distinctions.

Diphthongs.

Latin forms a mean proportional, so far as diphthongs are concerned, between Osk. and Umbr. In Osk. the I. G. diphthongs are preserved almost without exception, while in Umbr. almost without exception there is assimilation.

"ai"

I. G. "ai" was retained almost without exception in Osk. Only in one sure example is "ae" found. (Except where the Latin Alphabet is used, where "ae" is more often found than "ai")

In Umbr. on the contrary we regularly find "e" and in Latin "ae". "ai" passed into "ae" about the beginning of the second Century B. C., and already at this early period, if we are to

believe the early Grammarians "ae" was pronounced by the common people as "ē", though on Inscriptions and in literature in general "ē" is not regularly exchanged with "ae" until the 4th Cent. A.D.. This pronunciation we are told, in time affected the Latin of the Capital and of the whole Roman World.

In Latin Inscriptions we find "ē" for "ae". For example cēdere for caedere is found on a Latin Inscription in Umbria. We naturally attribute this change of "ai" to "ē" in these Inscriptions to the Umbrian influence where "ai" was regularly represented by "ē"; We would certainly not have to stretch our imagination to any great extent to conceive the possibility of an Umbrian influence on the pronunciation of "ae" as "ē" in Latin. But it seems more plausible to me

mind to explain this result in Latin as due to an internal tendency common to several of the Italic dialects. Examples; Osk. *kaispater*, Lat. *caespes*, Umbr. *repse*, *pre*, Lat. *salpice*, *prae*.
 "ei"

I.G. "ei" remains in general in Osk. but in some cases has passed into "ē". It is changed to "ē" commonly in Umbr. and to "i" in Lat.

Here Osk. and Umbr. form a class in which the *i* was assimilated to the "ē". In Latin the "ē" was assimilated to the "i". Thus *ei*, *ii*, *i*.

At an early period I.G. *ei* was represented by "ē" in Lat. the same as in Umbr. By the 2nd Cent. B.C. this diphthong had everywhere passed into "i" in both accented and unaccented syllables. It seems to me that here again the same force was at work in the Umbr. as in the Lat. and that if this force had not been checked by external forces this "ē"

in Umbr. would also have passed into "i". Examples: Osk. *deivai*, *deikun*, *prevatid*, Umbr. *deve*, *preve*, *stru-*.

These Umbrian words might be compared with the Latin words - *divus*, *privus*, *iterum*.

I.G. "ei" as in Lat. in some few cases in Umbr. also passed into "i". Example: *sorsaliv*.

The phonetic law which caused I.G. "ei" to pass into "i" in Umbr. was lacking apparently in the case of the words *ivrosesse* and *eitipes*. These words can be accounted for as representing two vowel sounds in the "ei" or as being loan words from some other dialect.

"oi"

I.G. "oi" in the Osk. dialect in the National script is represented by the symbol "ii", and never do we find it represented by a simple sound as in Latin and in Umbr.

In Lat. and Umb. this diphthong has been reduced in stem syllables to a simple sound represented commonly by "ū", doubtless, passing through the form "oe" as is seen in old inscriptions. For example, *poplœ*, *pilumœ*. In some few instances "oi" did not pass into "ū". Examples: *foedus*, *ruœnia*, *paœna*, *Clœlius*.

Examples: Osk. *mūnikū*, *ūnūvresūm*, *Abellanū*, *Uvulanū's*. Umbrian, *Kuraia*, *Kurato*, *munealu*, Lat. *ūnus*, *cūret*, *ūnus*.

In final syllables in Latin "oi" became "i";
in Umbrian "e" or "v".

Examples: Umbrian; Zere, Zere, Lati;
populis etc.

"au"

I.G. "au" is sometimes represented by "av"
and sometimes by "ay" in the national
script of the Osk. dialect, more often how-
ever by "av". Examples: avt, thesaurum. (Cf.
with Latin aut and thesaurum).

In some rare cases we ^{have} "au" represented in
Osk. by "o" just as regularly is the case in
Umbrian. For example, Osk; ulau, Ufis.
Umbrian; ote, toru. (Cf Latin aut, taurus).

In Latin I.G. "au" was represented by the
same symbol in accented syllables regularly.

and in unaccented syllables by "i".

Grammarians tell us that in the Classical period "ai" in Lat. was pronounced by the common people as "o", that even in the streets of Rome this was the current pronunciation and that Cicero himself in everyday speech used this pronunciation and sometimes even used this spelling in his writings. Examples: Clodius with Claudius; plostrum with plastrum; osculum - for ausculum etc.

There is a marked similarity as I have shown before between the vowel destiny in Osk. and Umbrian and that of the common speech of Lat. - especially the Lat. in the stage just previous to passing into a Romance Language. In the case of "ai" being pronounced "o" in Lat. it is a question whether the phonetic law in Umbrian by which I. G. "ai" became "o" had any influence or whether this

same phonetic law was at work in the Latin. Of course Latin Inscriptions found in Umbria with 14 "ay" represented by "o" are readily traceable to a dialectic influence. But I have little faith in the theory, pretty one that it is, that the pronunciation of "ay" as "o" in Latin, universally-as it came to be pronounced-was influenced by the Umbrian dialect.

It seems to me scarcely within the limits of possibility "for such a small lump of leaven to leaven the whole mass."

That "ay" seems to have had resonance with "o" in Plautus in such words as aurum with ornamentum, and auspicium with omen, would lead us to the conclusion that "ay" and "o" were at least very nearly pronounced alike.

"E_y and o_y"

I. G. "e_y" and "o_y" fell together in the Ur-Italic period as "ou", apparently in all of the Italic dialects. It was preserved as "ou" in Osk., written "u_o" in National Script. In Umbr. it became "ō". Examples: Osk. toutad, tuvtiks, Umbr. totam, totar etc'.

Here again I must refer to the tendency in Osk. to retain its diphthong, unassimilated, while the general tendency in the Italic dialects is toward assimilation — Umbr. to "ō", Latin to "ū". Examples: Osk. Luukis, tuvtik (toutad) alongside of Latin Lucius and uovus (that "ou" in uovus is not assimilated is accounted for by the fact that these letters do not belong to the same syllable.) Umbr. Totam (Osk. toutad) vofu, vofa etc' (cf. Lat. rufus). There are only two well established examples to be found

where "ou" is retained in Umbrian:-

In Osk "ou" is sometimes represented by "ō", examples: Ufiis, Nōla (cf Latin Nōla).

In Latin where "o" appears instead of ~~ou~~ "ū" we can only attribute it to a dialectic influence. For example robus^(ruber) and robugo.

Just as in the case of the diphthong "ei" in Osk. and Umbrian tending toward "ē", and in Latin toward "ī" so with "ou" in Osk. and Umbrian we find "ō", and in Latin "ū". This teaches us how slight phonetic differences will in time bring about, apparently wholly different formations in sister languages - if allowed to go on unrestrained. This certainly has been the case in the Umbr-Osk and Latin, at first, starting doublets, with only slight phonetic differences.

Consonantal "I and U"

In the beginning of a word consonantal "i" regularly remains, in Osk. and Umbrian, as in Lat. Examples: Umbrian. *ionies*, *Patia*, *inomis*, Umbrian. *inka*, Osk. *inklei*, Lat. *iocus*.

Intersonantal "i" seems to have disappeared between vowels, in primitive times of the Italic dialects. Examples: Umbrian. *eam*, *eam*, Osk. *iook*, Lat. *ea* (cf. Gothic *ija*) from *eya*, *eio*.

Postconsonantal "i" was only retained as a consonant in the dialects, where in I. G. there had been a consonant before it.

Examples: Osk. *Jiv* - Umbrian. *Juv* - Latin. *Juppiter* (From original *dieu*)

In other cases "i" became sonantal in Latin. In Umbrian and Osk. we cannot

tell whether the "i" was consonantal or sonantal, but there are evidences that the "i" was in many instances consonantal, showing the same peculiarity that we see in Latin as shown by Romance languages.

Consonantal "u."

I. 4. "u" seems to have been a pure consonantal form in Osk. and Umb. Von Planta says it held this same position in Latin until the first Century after Christ and was then changed to a voiced spirant (w). The fact that the Gr. digamma was employed in both Osk. and Umb. to represent

this character seems to me to indicate
~~the~~ its consonantal nature. The
 fact that the digamma was introduced
 into Osk. and Umb. and not into Lat.
 is accounted for by the fact that "u"
 in Osk. and Umb. was used to rep-
 resent both the character "u" and "o";

Initial consonantal "u" remains in Osk.
 and Umb. Here "u" = "u" in Latin = "v" in Umb.
 and Osk. Examples: *Fep̄topel* in Osk.; *virtus*
 in Umb. *virtum* in Lat. This initial "u"
 is sometimes lost apparently in all of
 the Italic dialects before "r" and "l". Examples;
 Umb. (u) *randem-e*; Lat. (v) *radix*; Got. *vaurths*;
 German *wurzel*.

(*) Intervocalic "u".

"u" in this position remained in Osk. and Umbrian as in Latin.

Examples: Osk. juuutis, Umb. juuu Lat. juuus.

Liquids and Nasals.

"r and l" initial.

In Osk. Umbr. and Lat. I. G. "r" remained "r": "l" remained so in Osk. and Lat. but in Umbr. we find "v": Examples: Osk. regature, Umbr. rikte, Lat. regere, Osk. ligatus, Lat. lex, lapide, lavito. Umbr. vopere, vutu etc.

While Scholars have pretty generally agreed that initially "l" became "v" in Umbr. still they have been unable to give any very clear examples

"r and l" medially and finally.

In Osk. and Umbr. as in Lat. "r and l" are often interchanged by dissimilation.

Examples: Umbr. stafhari from *staf~~l~~ali, Umbr. luisarips from *loisali. So too we find in

Latin: caeruleus from caelum, used in Oscan and Umbrian just as in Latin too, "r" and "l" are never interchanged except by dissimilation. We find apparent exceptions to this rule, however, in ~~both~~ Umbrian and Latin.

Examples: Umbrian: ar^{ri}is by the side of Latin: alⁱus, Umbrian: ur^{ri}to by the side of Latin: adoles^{ce}to?, Umbrian: famer^{ri}as = Latin: familⁱas. We will note in each one of these exceptions that the original "l" was followed by an "e" or "i". Perhaps there was an original sound group "li" which in Umbrian became "ri(e)". These apparent exceptions can be very well accounted for in this way.

There is an apparent change of I. G. "l" into "d" in Latin in the case of the form "ade^ps" (Greek ἀδεψα). This, if it be an example, is the only apparent example in Latin where I. G. "l" is represented by "d" and might be

very well explained as due to a dialectic influence. The Sabine dialect for example represented I. G. "l" by "d" and this form may be due to the Sabine dialect or it may be a loan word and lastly it may not be connected at all with the stem seen in the Greek ἄλεια.

Loss of "r"

In Latin "r" disappears before the consonant groups sc-st. In Umb. and Osk. "r" ^{sometimes} disappears and is sometimes retained before these groups. The group rsk seems to have always been retained in Osk. Examples: Lat. potr)scu, caua (from cersua through the forms cesua, esua and finally ena), fatr)stium, Umb. perselo, perelo.

In Umb. we also find reductions before in the sound groups rsu, rs, and rsv. Examples: per)snium, ter)sva, delr)sva, tur)setu etc.

Before other consonants "r" remained in Osk. and Umbr. as in Lat. In Umbr. "r" final was oftentimes dropped. For example *emante* for *emantur* etc.

"l" in Umbr. disappeared before "t". Example: Umbr. *nuta*, Oskan, *nulta* Lat. *multa*.

We also find forms in Umbr. where "l" is apparently changed to "i". These forms are probably of Etruscan origin.

The group "rl" is assimilated in Lat. to "ll". In Osk. it remains unchanged, Examples: Lat. *stella* from *sterla*, Osk. *aderla* = Lat. *atella*. Examples of "rl" are wanting in Umbr.

"rs" in Osk. and Umbr. when final as in Lat. became "r".

Nasals.

In Osk. and Umbr. "m" and "n" are not retained with the same regularity as in Latin.

In Latin I. G. "m" and "n" are regularly retained in all positions. In initial syllables and between consonants they are regularly retained in Umbr. and Osk. - Examples: Osk. mātreis, Umbr. māter, Latin mater; Osk. famelo, Umbr. famēnos, Latin, famulus, Osk. nesimais, Umbr. nomner, Lat. nomen.

In final syllables "m" was regularly retained in Osk. while in Umbr. it was generally lost. Examples: Osk. dūmm, Umbr. dunn, Lat. domum.

Just as in Lat. "m" in Umbr. evidently had a very weak sound when final, before vowels or before "n". Examples: Umbr. eitipes from eitom-hipens, Lat. animadvertere from animum-advortere, Umbr. kuvitu for kuvortu.

I. 4, 'n' when final, in Osk agrees with Lat. in being retained while Umbr. generally disagrees by dropping it or changing it to "m". This change to "m" however may be only an apparent one and not a real one since it is only found in a few rare cases. (See *Von Planta* § 252.).

Latin in some rare examples shows "n" for "m" in Inscriptions. Examples: nomem, inquem.

Lat. also has "n" for "m" in Inscriptions, Examples: domum, mentem. No such changes as this appears in either Osk. or Umbr.

Liquid and Nasal Sound Groups.

I. 4, "nm" became in Osk. and Umbr. "mm". Examples: Osk. amiricatum (from *ammiricatum) for *amirica, while in Lat. it became evidently in some cases "rm" but in most cases as in Osk. and Umbr. "mm". Examples: carmen, evidently from the root seen in canol

); in + manis = immanis; gem + ma = gemma.

The group "nl" in Osk. and Umbr. as in Lat. became "ll". Examples; Osk. Visulliais, Umbr. Padellar, Lat. corolla.

The group "lu" in Lat. also became "ll". Example; collis for *coluis. No sure example of this kind can be found in either Osk. or Umbr.

Before mutes and spirants the nasals are often omitted in Osk. and Umbr., especially in old Umbr. In new Umbr. only before spirants and in Osk. especially often in unaccented final syllables. We find this same disappearance of nasals in Latin ^{Inscriptions.} Examples: Secundo for secundo, eudem for eundem, faciedos for faciendos etc.

In Latin "ni" before j, t, s, c, d generally became "n". Example: princeps from prinsicjeps.

We must not overlook the fact that the

changes, ^(except the last) mentioned above are practically in Lat. limited to Inscriptions while in Umb. and Osc. the changes take place practically everywhere.

I. 9. "us" appears in Osc. as -"ss"-f and "us"; in Umb. as -f and "us". Examples; Osc. leiquas, vias; funktatuf; deicans, Umb. turf, traf; abrous etc. I. 9. "us" apparently became regularly -ss, in Osc. ^{and} "f", in Umb. The "u" seems to have been quite unstable in early Lat. also for we meet in old Inscriptions cosul for consul, cesor for censor, eosentiuat for consentiuat, We also find it omitted in Classical Lat. for example, vice sinus for vice sinimus, quoties for quotiens. I would not regard this tendency as due to any dialect but as a mere inherent quality common to all.

Sonants, Liquids, and Nasals.

I. G. r , l , m , n met with the same fate in the Osk. and Umb. dialects as in Latin. They became ur - ul , or , ol , eu , eu . We also find ra - la , na , na , and ar al - an . Examples: Osk. fortis, molto, aflokus, tristamentid, aragetid, taugimud, Umb. untas, mita (from molta), trap, inwuga (Lat. invenca), mauf, natic (Cf. Lat. natus).

The treatment of the sonant liquids and nasals does not concern us here as it agrees in all particular points with the treatment in Latin.

Gutturals.

According to the general treatment of scholars in the Indogermanic "Ursprache" there were two sharply distinct groups of gutturals - the Palatals and Velar groups. The Palatal group was represented in Lat. Grk. Ger. and Keltic by a pure guttural while in the Aryan, Armenian, Albanian and Baltic Slavonic Languages it became a sibilant. The I.G. velar gutturals on the other hand remained pure gutturals in all of the Indogermanic tongues and in the Italic dialects the Velars fell together with the Palatals. So if we wish to find whether an Italic "K" - or any guttural - is a palatal or velar we must compare the root of the word containing the guttural with the equivalent

root in one of the languages where the palatal and velar qualities were kept distinct. The palatals are designated by Brugmann as: \tilde{k} , $\tilde{k}h$, \tilde{g} and $\tilde{g}h$ - the velars as: q , qh , g , and gh .

I.G. \tilde{k} and q' = Osk. "k" = Umbr. "k" = Latin "c" = unitalic "k". Examples: ^{Osk} Kluvatiunum, Umbr. Kluviér, Lat. Clueo, SKT. cne - Umbr. vuku - Lat. voco, SKT. veça - Osk. Krustatar, Latin cruor, SKT. Kravis; Umbr. Kaneta, Lat. caro, SKT. Karakan

In Inscriptions from Iguvium I.G. $\tilde{k}q'$ is represented by "c" or "s" before "e" or "i": Example: "Sihitu" from *kiukt (Lat. Cingo). In these same Inscriptions I.G. \tilde{k} is represented by "c" or "s" before "e" or "i". Example: cive.

I.G. "kt" is represented in Osk. and Umbr. by "ht" and sometimes in Umbr. by simple "t". Examples: Osk. Uhtavis, Lat. octo, Umbr. ahta

subator, Lat. subactor.

"q".

I.G. \bar{q} and q' are represented in the Italic dialects by "q". Examples: Osk. *Lenetai*; Latin, *qigno*; Umbr. *ager*; Latin, *ago*, Osk. *gela*, Lat. *gelo*, Umbr. *gonia*, Lat. *gemo*.

In the Umbr. from *Ignovium* we meet with a use similar to that of Uralic "k", that is, in Umbr. "q" becomes "i" before "e" or "i". Example: *muieto*. (Cf. Lat. *mugio*). We see this same result taking place in Lat. when it passed into a Romance language: "je" became "je".

Uralic ku, qu.

I.G. $q^2, q^2 =$ Uralic $ku, qu =$ Osk-Umbr. $p, b =$ Lat. qu, u . Uralic qu however became "qu" in Lat. after a consonant, and before a consonant

and before "u" it became "g". Examples: Osk-Umbr. pis, Lat. quis; Latin vuis, vruu, Umbr. beuust, berus.

Such forms as Osk. Kuaistur, and Umbr. Kuestur are to be explained as loan words from Lat.

The phonetic law by which I. G. g²g² becomes b, p, in Osk-Umbr. will serve to explain such words as: popina (Cf with Lat. coquina), Popidius (doubtless for Cocidius), pos, (for pure Lat. vos). The Latin word baetere is probably a loan word. (Cf. Osk. baiteis and Umbr. "ebetrafe"). This origin will serve too to explain e for "ae" in betere. Perhaps turba may be due to the same influence - (Cf. Gr. ταρραίνω;

There are some apparent examples in Osk. and Umbr. where I. G. g₁ became w

as in Latin

It seems to me that the most of these changes attributed to dialectic influences may have been due to common agencies already at work in the Ur-Italic period. The embryonic agencies in some dialects then may have been completely checked; partly checked in others, while in still others complete changes may have been made.

"qu"

I. G. *qu* in Latin fell together with Ur-Italic *ku*, which was represented in Latin by "qu" except before consonants and "u" where it became "c". There was apparently a falling together of these forms in Osk. and Umb. also, but not in all cases. Examples: Umb. *ekvine*. The locative form "equini" seems to indicate that I. G. "qu" was retained

Or the form may be accounted for as being a loan word from Latin.

The origin of *ky* in *Niobr.* and *Osk.* is involved in much obscurity. We even find examples in these dialects where I. G. "q̄" apparently became "k."

Dentals.

The dental mutes, remained in Osk. and Umbr. in most cases as in Latin. Examples: Osk. toutain, Umbr. tota-, Latin totus; Osk. tereuniss, Umbr. teruno-, Lat. terminus.

The sound group "ti" sometimes, through assibilation became "s" in Osk. Example: Bausae for Bantiaae. Cf. the Lat. form Marsus (pure Lat. Martinus). This is evidently a dialectic form.

There are no well established forms in Umbr. which show this change or would lead us to believe that the sound group ti was not retained in Umbr.

We note in the Romance languages assibilation taking place under the same circumstances as in Osk.. Here again we are reminded of

of the marked similarity of Osk. and the
every day speech of the Latins, or Latin, in
the stage just previous to passing into
Romance Languages.

The I.G. sound group "tl" became medially
"kl" in the Uritalic period. Initially "tl" in
the Uritalic period remained unchanged
but in Latin the "t" was dropped. Examples:
Umbr. "tlatie"; Latin, latus, vehiclum, polum
etc.

"Stl" also remained in the Uritalic
period. In Latin it became "scl", sometimes,
mostly lower "l" - In Osk. we find "sl".
Examples: Latin, locls; Osk lalgi.

"ts."

In the Uritalic period this group became "ss",
often written simply "s". Examples: Osk, pos

Umbr. pusi, sesust; Lat. "viso" (from *vesto).
 On account of the greater frequency of syn-
 copation in these dialects than in Latin we find
 more often in them the "ts" group changed to "ss"
 or "z". Examples; Osk. hurz; Latin hortos, Osk.
Verzkei for Vetoskei etc. Von Planta is in-
 clined to think that a great many of the
 examples usually cited as illustrating this
 change, are false and that they do not show
 the original sound group "ts" but some other
 groups.

"t" final.

Here Oskan and Umbr. differ ma-
 terially from Latin. In Latin "t" re-
 mains while in Osk and Umbrian
 it became "d". We often meet final "t"

however in Osk. and Umb. and in these examples we generally find the "t" representing the I-G. sound group "ti". In every case where "t" comes from "ti" it is retained in both Osk. and Umb.

In Umb. the "d" representing an original "t" was lost. Examples: Osk. deicad (3rd pers. sing.) pusid; Umb. facia, dede; Latin facit, dedit.

In Latin too, especially in Inscriptions, final "d" for "t" is sometimes found. For example in the old Manios Inscription; - Manios ued fefaked Umunasioi, u finet in the form fefaked, "d" for "t". We also find the forms sied, faked both in Inscriptions and in the early literature in general.

There seems to have been a very close relationship between the sounds of final "t" and "d" in all of the Italic dialects, and while there

are only a limited number of examples in Latin where final "t" is represented by "d", it seems best to me not to explain this change in Latin as due to a dialectic influence, but, since the interchange of "d" and "t" seems to have been common to all of the dialects, to explain the change as due to the tendency in each particular dialect to slip over final consonants and thus modify their sounds according as one sound group or another preceded or followed. In time however, in each particular dialect, it's own peculiar internal tendencies brought about varying changes. In Latin the phonetic tendencies settled on the form "t" instead of "d" and "d" is only found in that stage of the language where this phonetic principle was in it's embryo stage.

"nt" final.

"nt" final commonly appears as "us" in Osk. and Umb. Examples; Osk. deicans. We find one example where "nt" is reduced to simple "n". This reduction may be due to the fact that the following word began with a "t"; for the language avoided, we observe, the use of double consonants. It is interesting to observe this same tendency in Lat. For example, miles for milites for original militis.

Such forms as Lat. quotiens and totiens may be due to a dialectic influence.

"nt" from "nti" was regularly retained.

"rt" final.

In this group "t" is retained in Osk. as in Lat. but in Umb. "t" is retained only in one apparent case. The group "st" final is also retained as in Lat.

"d"

I G. "d" is regularly retained in Osk. ~~and~~ in initial and medial syllables just as in Latin. Examples: Osk. *deicum*; Latin, *dico*; Osk. *edum*; Lat. *edere*. I G. "d" is not so stable in Umb. In this dialect between vowels or after consonants "d" was represented by "rs" and by "r" in the Latin script. Examples: Umb. *pēre* (cf. Lat. *quid*), *pūre* (cf. Lat. *quod*). This sound group in turn sometimes became "r" especially before g. v. f. b. Examples: *mersuwa* from **medeswa*, *arfetur*, *arpatati*. We meet this same change in Latin again illustrating similar tendencies in Umb. and Lat. Examples: *Minerva* from *Meneswa* from root **med-*, old Latin, *arperunt*, *arpestor*, *arvorsum*, *arvocati*, *arvortores*, *arbitor*.

Lat.

Such forms as meridie and glarea (Gr. γλῆδος) may be explained as due to some dialect where "d" became "r", the Dolseian for example.

Such forms as Lat. laeruma alongside of laeruma, olo and oleo beside odor, sella (sedeo) may also be forms due to dialectic influences, but not the Uubr. or Osk., for the change of "d" to "l" does not take place here.

"di"

In the first syllable in most of the Italic dialects "d" of di was lost. Examples: Uubr. Juvr; marcian. Jvors; Lat. Jupiter. In Osk. original "d" is sometimes retained. Example: Diuvri. In Osk. zicolo from dxicolo (Lat. deecula) we have an assibilation similar to that seen in the case of "ti" in Bansae for Bantiae.

"du"

In beginning syllables I. G. "du" became in Lat. sometimes "d" and sometimes "b",; in Osk. and Umb. "d". Examples; Latin, bellum, bēs, binus, diuus, ~~des~~; Osk. dias; Umb. difue.

In the groups "nd", "ind", "du", "dui" in Osk. and Umb. the "d" is regularly assimilated. Examples: Osk. upsam au; Umb. auferener. (Cf Lat. operandus and sacrandus). Where in old Lat. "nu" appears for "nd" there is evidence of a dialectic influence, Examples: dispennite, distennite, ^{used} by Plautus.

The groups "tt", "dt" became "ss" in Latin. Examples: passus for pattus, visus for vidtus.

We find the same result in Osk. and Umb.: except in Umb. after "r" and "u" where we find "f". Example; ^{Umb.}trahuorfi; Latin, transverse, utt appears also in Umb. as "f". Example; mefa - Cf Lat. mensa.

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Labials.

"P"

"p" remained in the Italic dialects unaltered in most positions. Examples: Umbrian: pacer, Latin: pax. (The Latin form "quingue," (idg. pengue) may be explained as due to assimilation.

I. G. "pt" = Latin "pt" = Oscan "ft" = Umbrian "ht".
Examples: Latin: scriptae, Oscan: scriftas, Umbrian: screihtor.

I. G. "ps" was assimilated to "ss" (s) in Oscan and Umbrian while in Latin this sound group remained unchanged. Examples: Oscan: essuf, Latin: ipse, Umbrian: esuf. Where syncope has taken place in Oscan and Umbrian we find the group "ps" unchanged. Examples: Oscan: ipsannam, upsed etc. In Umbrian assimilation took place.

"B."

"B" seldom appears in Oscan and Umbrian as a representation of I. G. "b" but generally of I. G. "gu" or "du". In the beginning of a word "b" nearly always represents I. G. "du" or "gu", Latin u. Examples: Umbrian: bia, Oscan: bious, Latin: via, vivus.

In the middle of a word "b" in Oscan and Umbrian as well as Latin ~~commonly~~ ^{sometimes} represents an original I. G. "b". Examples: Umbrian: trebe, Latin: trabs.

"Aspirated Mutes."

I.e., "qh", "qh" = "h" in both beginning and medial syllables in both Osk. and Umb. also generally in Latin. Examples: Osk. humus, homous; Lat. homo; Osk. hurz; Lat. hortus (Greek ὄρτος); Osk. mahis; Lat. mathior; Osk. hafiest; Umb. habitu, Lat. habeo (cf. air gabiu).

In Lat. before and after nasals and before liquids "q" appears instead of "h". Examples: gradior, magnus alongside of mathior.

"q" apparently appears in Umb. also instead of "h". Examples: cringato, ninetu (cf. Lat. nungito). "q" also appears often in Lat. in place of "h" between vowels. Examples: figura, liquor etc. h however is regularly found. Examples: vho, traho, mihi etc.

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"f" instead of "h" for I.G. "gh".

Varro, Festus and other Latin Grammaticians cite numerous examples of old Latin words where "f" appears instead of "h" for I.G. "gh".

This "f" apparently represents both I.G. "gh" and g'h. Examples; folus, fostis, fostia, hordeum etc'.

It is generally accepted however that these are not pure Roman words, but words introduced through contact with other Italic Races - The Sabine and Faliskians for example where "f" apparently was the regular symbol for I.G. "gh". Grammaticians quote the following as pure Sabine words: fircus (cf. Osk. hirpus, got. gaitis), fedus, fascua etc', - also Sabellian foied for hodie. Umbr.-Lat. font - (Lat. fons) apparently has "f" for I.G. "gh". (cf. German giesen)

I. G. "g^{zh}" (Velar)

In the uritalic period this sound group was evidently represented by "f" in initial syllables and also medially before "r". Between vowels this group became in Lat. "u"; in Osk. and Umbr. generally "f", sometimes "u" before a consonant. Examples: Lat. formus, foeder; Osk. famel; Umbr. famerias; Lat. virum (Guevīpa); Umbr. fameras, vufime; Lat. voros; Umbr. vufru, dh.

The group "dh" became "f" in Lat. which in proximity to "r" became "b", but in the middle of a word between vowels "d" is found. Examples: ruber (stem = rubro), fumus, fido, etc.

In Osk. and Umbr. "f" is found both initially and medially. Example: Umbr. facia, rufra; Osk. mefru = Lat. medus; Lat. medus rufus is

evidently dialectic as well as such forms as; crepare, Tufius etc, Where we find "d" medial in Osk. and Umbr. it is the result either of assimilation or of a borrowing from the Lat. Example aidil in Osk. "dh".

I. 4. "lh" initially and medially became "f" in Osk. and Umbr. In Lat. it became "f" initially but "l" medially. Examples: Osk. fust; Umbr. fust; Lat. fui, but tribus, albus etc. This initial "f" became occasionally in old Lat. "h". Examples; haba for faba, haubum for faubum, lordus for for dus, horctum for forctum, hebris for febris etc. This change is evidently due to a dialectic influence such for example as the Faliskian from which dialect haba is cited as a loan word in the Lat.

Grammarians tell us that "f" and "h" were

almost completely interchangeable and they actually account for the origin of a great many words in this way, and in many cases they are doubtless correct. But when we are told that these letters are interchangeable in the Slavic dialects in general, we pause for investigation - for we find in two of the most important dialects - the Osk. and Nubr. - only an occasional changing of "f" into "h" as in the case of the fat. These few cases where "h" appears for "f" may very well be accounted for as loan words or changes due to the influence of the Poliskian dialect.

Dental spirant "s"

The dental spirant "s" remained unaltered in initial syllables in Osk. Nubr. and Fat.; in medial syllables too, generally, before and after surd mutes and in the group "ss".

Examples: Osk. *sūm*; Umb. *seut*; Lat. *sum*;
 Osk. *comparascetur*; Umb. *pepersent*; Lat. *posco*.
 Osk. *knaisstur*.

"SS"

The destiny of original "SS" in Osk. and Umb. is difficult to determine. It seems probable that this group became "tt", for we find in the perfect ending - *atte*, which might be compared with the old sigmatic aorist in Lat. - *asseu-assin*. Von Planta says he is not quite willing to accept this theory however. In Lat. the "SS" became "s" after a diphthong or long vowel.

Examples: *fusus*, *usus*, *fisis*, *visis* etc. Von Planta also cites ^{as} examples of this same change in Osk. and Umb. - Osk. *Fislar*, *knivresim*; Umb. *Fisin*, *Fiso* alongside of *Fissio*.

"Sr"

In the unitalic period this group evidently became "fr" which in middle syllables in Lat. became "br". Examples; Lat. frigus, fragum etc. The change of "sr" to "br" may be seen in the Latin words "sobrius", tenebrae, cerebrum, funebris etc.

I.G. "sr" became apparently everywhere in Osk. and Umb. "fr". Examples: Osk. tefro, anafriss; Umb. tefro.

"sn", "sni", "sl"

In the treatment of these groups in Osk. and Umb. there is a sharp contrast with Lat. In these groups in Osk. and Umb. - in both initial and medial syllables "s" is retained while in Lat. it is lost. Examples; Umb. snata, Lat. nare; Umb. snursim (cf Lat. Murcia). Osk. fuisun, Lat. faunum, Umb. cersuatur (cf Lat. cena).

"rs"

"rs" in Lat. so far^{as} "s" represented an I. G. "s" became ~~ss~~ "rr". Examples: terreo, torreo, curro, erro, fere, acerrimus. This serves to explain the apparently different modes of comparison of adjectives in Lat. For example adjectives in "-er" are compared regularly like those in "-us" - that is by adding "-issimus" to the final stem dropped to form the superlative. But by vowel weakening and then the loss of the vowel and by assimilation we get the ending "-rimus".

Osk. and Umb. each differ from Lat. and from each other in the treatment of "rs". In Osk. we find after a long vowel only "r", after a short one "rr", as in Lat. Examples: teras; Lat. terra; Osk. kërre (Lat. Cere's might be compared with this form). In Umb. I. G. "rs" generally

remained. Sometimes however we find simply "s", and sometimes apparently "rj", examples; tursitu (Lat. terreo), trahorfi, (Lat. transverse).

In final syllables "-rs" in Osk. and Umb. just as in Lat. became simple "r". Examples: Osk. far; Lat. far; Umb. far (idg* thars); Umb. azer; Lat. azer from *azers.

"ls"

in initial and medial syllables

"ls" was assimilated to "ll" in Lat. Examples: Collum, velle etc. In Osk. and Umb. there are no sure examples showing any such assimilation but as Umb. "-rs" was retained in opposition to Lat. and Osk. it is quite probable that "ls" was also.

"ls" in final syllables, just as "-rs" became "r", became "l" in Osk. and Umb. and Latin. Examples: Osk. famel, aidil; Umb. ticel, Katel etc.

"Ns" medially.

Here again a distinction must be made between the original I-G. group "ns" and the group "ns" developed at a later time from some other sound group. Original "ns" is retained regularly in all of the Italic dialects, ^{except when final} Examples; Osk. Censamur; Umbr. auseriatu; Lat. Censor. In all of these dialects the "n" must have had a very weak sound for it is sometimes lost in all of them.

In Latin this "n" is omitted commonly with a lengthening of the preceding vowel. Example: formosus for formous.

"Ns" final.

In Lat. this group is regularly retained while in Osk. it became "ss" and in Umbr. "f" which is often lost. Examples: Lat. auanus; Osk. viass; Umbr. avif, nerf, traf (Cf. Lat. trans)

"Ns" is also sometimes represented by a simple "f" in Osk, particularly in the Nominative. Example: fruktatuf. "Ns" in some rare cases is retained in Osk. and Umbr. It is always retained where "n" and "s" come together through syncopation.

Intervocalic "s" Rhotacism

I. G. "s" between vowels regularly becomes "r" in Latin and Umbr. and "s" voiced in Osk. It is quite probable that in all of the Italic dialects I. G. spirant "s" first became voiced "s" (z) and then underwent the further change in some of the dialects to "r". That "s" between vowels was voiced even in Osk. is shown from the fact that in the Tabula Bantina we find the character (z) and not "s".

In Osk. I. G. "s" between vowels = "s" (z in Lat. script). Examples: aasai = Lat. ara, ezum =

Lat, esse, census &

That intervocalic "s" was voiced in Osk. is further shown from the fact that Greek words containing intervocalic "s" were transcribed by "z" instead of "s".

We find that Rhotacism is foreign to this dialect. The few instances where intervocalic "s" has been changed to "r" may be explained as loan words from the Rhotacizing dialects or have not been properly explained.

In Umb. intervocalic "s" regularly became "r". This change (Rhotacism) took place after the work of syncopation had been effected for we find the form oratu from opesatu, showing that syncopation took place before Rhotacism for otherwise we would have oratu. The following examples of Rho-

tacism may be given: kuraia, eru, fak-
wrent, furent etc.

Examples of Rhotacism in Lat. are: houor's,
ara, gener's etc.

As in Osk. we found some words which had apparently undergone Rhotacism so in Umbr. and Lat. we find many words where apparently the law for Rhotacism did not hold. Many of these words may be explained as coming from the non-Rhotacizing dialects. The Lat. forms amasius and viasius for example can only be explained as loan words from some such dialect as Osk. or forms due to the influence of such a dialect. Many forms too, may be explained as contract forms for "ss" or "rs" both in Lat. and Umbr. Examples: Lat. causa for caussa. The argument may be

made too that original "s" intervocalic is retained in both Lat and Uubr. in certain cases depending upon the surrounding sound groups. But it seems to me that this argument is false, for, when we search the examples we find where intervocalic "s" apparently is retained there is no regularity in the surrounding sound groups. It seems best then to regard the greater number of these forms as due to dialectic influences. Grammarians for example quote numerous Old Lat. forms and refer them to the Sabine dialect. Examples: lobesum, Valesii, Fusii, dasi, arbosem, robosem, maiosibus, meliosibus, lasibus etc. Such words too, as asinus, loser, rosa may be explained as foreign loan words.

This Thesis is respectfully submitted to the Committee on Graduation.

Approved
J. C. Jones

Norman Funderberg et.

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