

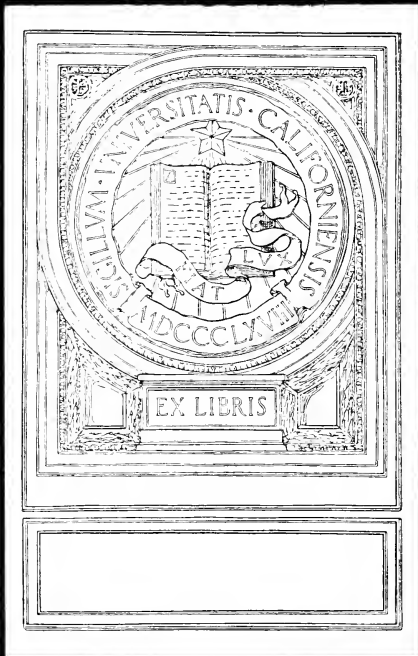
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THE PHONOLOGY
OF THE
PISTOJESE DIALECT

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

JAMES DOWDEN BRUNER

BALTIMORE

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

1894

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ANNOUNCING

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TO

PROFESSOR A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,

OF

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,

WHO HAS BEEN NOT ONLY MY KIND AND

EFFICIENT INSTRUCTOR, BUT ALSO

MY TRUE AND CONSTANT

FRIEND,

THIS MONOGRAPH IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

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SIGNS OF TRANSCRIPTION.

I. VOWELS.

- e = closed e of the Italian.
 e = open e “ “ “
 o = closed o “ “ “
 o = open o “ “ “

II. CONSONANTS.

- c (k) = voiceless velar.
 g = voiced “
 c' = palatal c .
 g' = “ g .
 þ = voiceless th in think.
 ð = voiced th in thine.
 \check{c} = voiceless ch in church.
 \check{g} = voiced \check{c} = j in June.
 l' = gl of the Italian.
 n' = gn “ “ “
 ṣ = voiced s .
 z = ts .
 \check{s} = voiceless sh in shine.
 \check{z} = voiced \check{s} .
 \dot{z} = “ z .

J. D. B.



THE PHONOLOGY OF THE PISTOJESE DIALECT.

INTRODUCTION.

The Dialect of Pistoja and of the Pistojesse mountains forms one of the group of Tuscan dialects. The writer spent six months in 1892 at Pistoja and in the villages of the Pistojesse mountains, in order to collect material for the following monograph, which is based chiefly on the *patois* spoken by the natives of this district.

My purpose in this study is two-fold: to consider the dialect first from an historical and a physiological point of view; and secondly in comparison with other Tuscan (Italian) dialects. The sources at my disposal were the MSS. of the libraries and cathedrals of Florence and Pistoja; private MSS. and publications; the speech of the people of Pistoja and of the peasants of the Pistojesse mountains. At Florence I found seven MSS.¹ in the Pistojesse vernacular, one of the XIII century, dated 1259 (six years before the birth of Dante); the remaining six are of the XIV century.² At Pistoja I found several MSS. and a considerable amount of printed matter. The most important MS. noted here is that of *Albertano da*

¹Two of these MSS. were published by me in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. VIII, cols. 208-214.

²I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Signor E. G. Parodi, of the *Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze*, who kindly helped me to avail myself of these MSS.

Brescia, bearing the date of 1268. It was published by Ciampi at the beginning of the present century. Another valuable MS., which I propose to publish in the near future, is the *Apochalisis di Iohanni*, probably of the XIV century. Of the publications, the most interesting are those of Prof. Gherardo Nerucci, the *Sonetti Popolari* (1890) of Alfredo Pasquali, and especially the anonymous *Pratica della Grammatica per le Scuole Elementari del Circondario di Pistoja*, 1887.

After collecting all the MSS. and printed material I could control, my attention was turned to the speech of the people, in order to verify the pronunciation of what I had already obtained from the printed page or from script, and to supplement this material by drawing directly on the vernacular of the country. To this end I spent about two months in the hospitable and beautiful home, only two miles distant from Pistoja, of Signor Gherardo Nerucci, a retired professor, who has written several valuable works in the *patois*. To his kindly assistance I owe much of my material; he not only supplied me with his own books, and made it possible for me to converse freely with the peasants on his own farm, but also introduced me at Pistoja to the professors and librarians, and aided me in procuring lodgings in private families where I was sure to hear the *patois* in its purity.

During July and August I lived at Cutigliano, a pleasant little village in the Pistojesse mountains near San Marcello. Wherever I went abundant opportunities presented themselves for hearing the natives speak their dialect. Since the literary language is taught in all the schools, the *patois* is gradually dying out; in fact one cannot get the dialect in its absolute purity except from the older inhabitants, and especially from the old women.

In the following monograph I have proved that the orthography of the MSS. is phonetic; by the side of the old MS. forms are put the modern products, just as they are pronounced by the people to-day.

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VOWELS.

A

§ 1. TONIC A.

(a) *a* remains.

1. *-ario*, the learned form, is found in old Pistojesse where the modern has *-ajo*: *operario* (*J.*, 3).

2. *-aro*, half-learned: *ventaliaro* (*Gr. P.*, 43).—Cf. *Luc. calsolaro, capellaro, Racc.*, 246.

3. *-are*: *cavallare* (*Ricc.*, 5).

4. *-aio* is found in old Pistojesse: *denaio* (*I. P.*, 437).—Cf. *Luc. denaio, B. Luc.*, 12.

5. *-ajo*, half-learned: *boajo* (*j = ii*).¹

6. *-aglio*² is used along the valley of the Lima, particularly from Cutigliano to the Lucchese mountains. Most of my examples are taken from the *Mea di Polito*:³ *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), *acciaglio* 12, *staglio* 16, *agoraglio* 25, *merciaglio*, *merdaglio*, *acquaglio* 30, *macellaglio* 43, *pollaglio* 91, *carbonaglio*

¹ cf. Petrucchi, *Vocab. Pron. e Ort.*, p. x.

² cf. Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, p. 210, n. 2.

³ cf. Introduction.

108, *Feraglio* (*Due Lett.*, 19), *liscaglio* (*Uso*, 49); *paglio* *pārĭŭm* (*M.* 23) is not a suffix.—Cf. *Luc. febbraglio*, *Racc.*, 253, *granaglio*, *fornaglio*.¹

7. *-aglia*: *grondaglia* (*M.* 92), *migliaglia* 102, *anguinaglia* (*Uso*, 505), *fungaglia*, *poveraglia*.²

(b) $a > e$: *dēva* (*M.* 5), *andēva* (*N.* 123) and *stēva* 160 are formed by analogy with verbs of the second conjugation, though Wentrup (*Neapol. Mundart*, 7)³ cites the corresponding Neapolitan forms *ḡeva* and *stēva* as examples of phonetic change.—Cf. *Sen. dea*, *stea*;⁴—*Luc. dēvo*, *stēvo*, *andēvo*;⁵—*Pis. dēvo*, *andēvo*.⁶

(c) $a > e$.

1. Before *n*: *dechiarēndo* (*MS.* 1444), *trionfēnte* (*C.* 25) and *sanguinēnte* 26 are formed by analogy with the second conjugation.—Cf. *Sen. lavorente*.⁷

2. Before *r*: *sberno* *ēxbrānŭm* (*M.* 43) and *pēri* *pārĭŭm* (*I. P.*, 466) are Gallicisms; the *ē* in *eria* (*S.*, 6), found only in *all'eria*, is due to dissimilation; *ēra* < *ārĭām*: *primēra* [*mente*] *Al.*, 75, *lumēra* (*Cino*, 228), *manēra* 184.

(d) $a > iē$.

-ieri < *-ārĭŭm*, under French influence,⁸ is a very common form in both old and modern Pistojesse: *consiliēri* (*Al.* 41), *pensiēri* 58, *gabelliēri*, *gonfalonieri* (*J.* 9), *cancelliēri* 11, *terzieri* 24, *sparviēri* 29, *destriēri* (*I. P.* 6), *forestiēri* 451, *staffiēri* (*Ricc.*, 7), *maziēri* 60, *aversiēri* (*M.* 50), *cavaliēri* 68, *cimiēri*, *arciēri* 68, *n.*, *levriēri* (*S.* 94), *paraviēri* 110, *carubiniēri* 116, *camberieri* (*C.* 60), *barbiēri* (*N.* 12), *curriēri* 14, *perruchiēri* 230, *giardiniēri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *paniēri* 13, *quartiēri* 16, *meschiēri* 17, *brigadiēri* 23.—Cf. *Sen. cancellieri*, *candelieri*, *carnieri*, *cavaliēri*, *cellieri*, *conseglieri*, *destrieri*, *dispensieri*, *enfermieri*,

¹*A. G.*, XII, 116.

²Giuliani, *Deliz. d. Parl. Tosc.*, II, 340.

³*A. G.*, IV, 147.

⁴*Zs.*, IX, 433-4.

⁵*A. G.*, XII, 109.

⁶*Ibid.*, 142.

⁷*Zs.*, IX, 520.

⁸For another explanation cf. Ascoli, *A. G.* I, 484-5, *n.*, and Canello, *A. G.* III, 301.

forestieri, fornieri, gonfalonieri, ingegneri, legghieri, mestieri, panieri, pel(l)egrinieri, pensieri, scardazzieri, spezieri, verzieri;¹—Luc. *forestieri* B. Luc., 38, *banchieri* 71, *vinactieri* 72, *ovrieri* 101, *Droghieri* (Racc. 248);—Sicil. *pumpieri, argentieri, currieri, cammerieri*.²

Variants.

(a) $a > i$: *brindolo* O. H. G. *bráto* (S. 7).

(b) $a (+ n) > o$: *gronchio*, (A. G. XII, 130), *cionco*, 128.—Cf. Luc. *gronchio* A. G. XII, 130, *cionco*, 128.

§ 2. ATONIC A.

1. Pretonic a.

(a) $a (+ r)$ remains under influence of the Lucchese (?): *diavularia* (M. 8), *porcaria* 12, *biancaria* 24, *gallantaria* 64, *chiacchiarìa* 65, *furfantaria*, *villanaria* 77, *grazionaria* 86, *acquarello* (S. 27), *ostaria* (Gr. P. 43).—Cf. Sen. *amarò, amarei*, etc.;³—Luc. *argentaria, porcaria, calzarotto, caldarone, lazzaretto*;⁴—Pis. *pagaria, cavallaria, Catarina, comparare, Stentarello, Migliarino, condannarò, confessaràe, lasciaremo*.⁵

(b) $a > e$.

1. Before r : *cherubine* (M. 33); the following three examples are due to dissimilation: *seramento* (Al. 68), *mercure* (Gr. P. 40), *deranno*.

2. By incomplete assimilation: *Bietrice* (B. 77), *Sensone* (C. 99).

3. Special cases: *setanasso* (Ricc., 57), by dissimilation, *trebucco* (J. 25) cf. Fr. *trébucher*.—Cf. Sen. *effetto* = *affetto*, *Nepoleone, secrestia, seramento*;⁶—Pis. *Sensogna* = *Sassonia, Bernabe*.

(c) $a > i$.

1. In hiatus: *piese pāgēnsēm* (Ricc., 30) by incomplete assimilation.

¹ Zs., IX, 521.

⁴ A. G., XII, 113.

² Schneegans, Sicil. Dial., 23.

⁵ Ibid., 143.

³ Zs., IX, 523.

⁶ Zs., IX, 522.

2. By the influence of the following *s, z* the *a* is raised to the *i*: *monisterio* (*B.* 80), *niscondere* (*C.* 84), *culizione* 10.

3. By dissimilation: *imbasciadore*, *imbaciata* (*Ricc.*, 22).—*Cf.* *Pop. Lat. monisterio*;¹—*Flor. monistero Purg.*, XVIII, 122, *colizione Tancia*, 976, *caticrisma C. Son.*, 10;—*Sen. colizione C. Son.*, 68;—*Luc. imbasciatore Can. Pop.*, 17;—*N. Ital. munistiero, mortilitade*.²

(d) *a > o*.

1. Before labial: *oprive*, perhaps formed according to *coprire*;³ *opritura*, *oprimento* (*C.* 85).

2. Before *l, r* by assimilation: *olocco alucum*⁴ (*Gr. P.* 15), *eorogio* *Grk. αἰμορρᾶργία* (*M.* 90), *forbottare bǎrbǔlǎre* (*C.* 11).

3. Before *n*: *sgronchirse crǎncǔlire* (*M.* 90), *scioncare*, § 1, variants, (b).—*Cf.* *Flor. occidente Tancia*, 948;—*Rom. oprive* (*Belli*, 9).⁵

(e) *a > u*.

1. Before labial: *cherubine* (*M.* 33), *carubinieri* (*S.* 116), *cammumilla* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *intruompere* (*Al.* 23) is due to incomplete assimilation, *uccidentale* (*Al.* 54) is influenced by *uccidere*, and *usciole ǎsǎlǔm* (*S.* 6) by *uccello*.—*Cf.* *Aret. cherubina* (*Belli*);⁵ *Rom. cherubigneri* (*Belli, Son.*, 165).⁵

Apheresis.

liso allisum (*Uso*, 40), *locco* 533, *roganza* 834, *uto* (*C.* 8), *'gnamo* 9, *leatio* 79, *micizia* (*Gr. P.* 19).—*Cf.* *Flor. liso* (*Uso*, 40), *gnamo C. Son.*, 43;—*Sen. manza, Vignone*,⁶ *'ndai* (*C. Son.*, 32), *'uto* 52;—*Pis. 'gnamo C. Son.*, 5;—*N. Ital. giron, sassino*.⁷

Syncope.

Pretonic *a* is sometimes syncopated in the Fut. and Condit. tenses of the strong verbs in *-are*: *drǎe* (*Al.* 33), *stranno* (*J.*

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 203.

² Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 111.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 51; Gröber, *A. L. L.*, III, 140.

⁴ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 180.

⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 523.

⁵ Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

⁷ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 115.

3), *stràe* 4, *strò* (*M.* 89), *fresti*, *frebbe*.—The syncope of pretonic *a* in the strong verbs in *-are* is also a strong Florentine characteristic: *strò Tancia*, 892, *frà* 895, *frò* 908, *fremmo* 916, *strem* 930, *drei* 958, *drà*, *strà*, *fresti*, *frebbe*;¹—*Luc. drà*, *B. Luc.*, 59.

Prosthesis.

1. Prosthetic *a* (+ *l*, *r*) is of frequent occurrence in modern Pistoiese; the *l* or *r* is doubled.

(*a*) + *l*: *allaccare* (*S.* 31), *alloscire*, *allonzare*, *allogagione* 32, *allastrico Uso* 41.

(*β*) + *r*: *arritornare* (*S.* 6), *arraccomandare*, *arricordare* 37, *arracontare*, *arriverciare*, *arrosolire*, *arrammentare* (*C.* 53), *arreplicò* (*N.* 6), *arripesco* ('*Stor.*,' 8), *arrimettilo* 6, *arriscontrare* 12, *arriposare*.²

2. Before other consonants than *l*, *r*: *abbenechè* (*C.* 11), *accapare* (*S.* 26), *accosì* (*N.* 6), *addimandare* (*Stor.*, 15), *appopolato* (*Gr. P.* 35), *assortire*, *assommare* (*S.* 41), *assapere* (*C.* 54), *asserbato* (*N.* 35).—*Cf. Sen. ar(r)acomandare*, *arracomidare*, *arrandellare*, *arrassomigliare*, *arréndare*, *ar(r)icordare*, *abbisognare*, *acconvenire*, *accosìe*, *allapidare*, *appoplare*, *as(s)apere*, *assortire*;³—also in *Aret.* and *Rom.*;—*Corton. arrimpire Racc.*, 265;—*Neapol. abbasta*, *abballo*, *accosì*, *arrendere*, *atlassare*.⁴

Metathesis.

stranuzzire (*V. and M.*, 179).

2. Post-tonic *a*.

Variants.

(*a*) *a* remains.

1. Before *r*: *zuccaro*.

2. Morphological *are* *ogna*⁵ (*Al.* 14) from neuter plural *omnia*, *dua* (*C.* 20) from neuter plural *dua*, *mana* (*N.* 332),

¹ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 319.

⁴ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 6.

² *Arch. Trad. Pop.*, III, 373.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 113.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 521–22.

formed by analogy with feminines of I declension, *fuora fōrās*, formed according to *contra* and other adverbs.¹—Cf. Flor. *ugna*, *dua*, *fuora*, *mana*, *zuccaro*;—Sen. *zuccaro* *Racc.*, 283;—Luc. and Pis. *dua*, *ugna*, *trea*, and the proparoxytones *zuccaro*, *cantaro*, *gambaro*, *Lazzaro*;²—N.Ital. *zucaro*.³

(b) $a > e$: *Cēsere* (*C.* 62) by assimilation or under the influence of *r*.—Cf. Sen. *sighero*, *C. Son.*, 31.

(c) $a > i$: *canipa* (*Gr. P.* 11) by dissimilation.

(d) $a > o$: *scandolo* (*Ap.* 11) influenced by the *l*.

Epithesis.

ina (*Al.* 43) < *ine* < *in*, *ohimnea* (*S.* 7) where the *a* represents an off-glide.

Apocope.

un' (*uncia*), *Gr. P.* 12.

E

§ 3. TONIC E.

(a) $e > e$.

1. In open syllable: *tēma* (*Gr. P.*, 49); the oxytones *mē*, *tē*, *rē*, *trē* are learned; *nevē*⁴ (*Gr. P.* 41), *nei* 50, *dēve* are due to dissimilation;—cf. *Rom.* *rē*, *mē*, *tē*;⁵—Piacen. *rē*, *trē*;⁶—Mil. *trē*.⁵

(b) $e > eje$: *mēje*, *tēje*, *trēje* (*M.*), the *e* is lengthened so that an off-glide *e* is developed and then *j* is inserted to break hiatus.—Cf. South Italian *tēje*, *seje*,⁷ and especially Neapolitan.⁸

(c) $e > ie$.

1. In open syllable.

a. After a palatal in old Pistojesse: *incresciēvile* (*Al.* 23), *dolciēz(z)a* 27, *agiēvile* 52, *diciēva* (*Ap.* 5), *riciēve* 11, *piangiēa* 23, *merciēde* 47, *dispiaciēvole* 73, *ciēna* 81, *faciēano* (*I. P.* 17).—

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 107.

² *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

³ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 112.

⁴ cf. Tuscan *nevē* by the side of *nevē*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 114.

⁷ Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 256.

⁶ *Zs.*, XIV, 137.

⁸ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

Cf. Flor. *dicięvo* *Uso*, 92;—Luc. *facięvo*¹ *Uso*, 92, n. 3;—Tuscan *dicięa* *B. D'Ant.*,² 59, *piacięre*, *ricięve*, *cięra* 63, *giacięre* 65.

β. After *n*: *Valdinięvole* (*I. P.* 25), *nięve*.—Cf. Luc. *Valdinięvole*, *B. Luc.*, 5;—Pis. *nięve*;³—N. Ital. *nięve*.⁴

2. In closed syllable.

After a palatal: *Francięsco*, *Cięcco* (*Gr. P.* 21).

Variants.

(a) *ę* remains.

1. In open syllable: *męnima* (*Al.* 10) formed on *męno*; *primavera*.

2. In closed syllable: *architętto* follows diminutives in *-ętto*.⁵

(b) *ę* (+ palatal) > *ei*: *reię* *ręgęm* (*Al.* 53).

(c) *ę* > *i*.

1. In open syllable: *nimo* *nęmo* (*C.* 9), influenced by *niuno*. Meyer-Lübke⁶ says *nimo* is formed upon *nissuno*, but are not *nimo* and *nissuno* (both popular forms) formed according to *niuno*?⁷ *dipo* *dę* + *pęst* (*Al.* 21), *despiri* (*Cino*, 145).—Cf. Flor. *nimo*, *nissuno*;—Luc. *nimmio*;⁸—Pis. *nimo*, *dipo*.⁹

2. In closed syllable: *isse* *įpsęm* (*Al.* 22), *cui*? *ęc*[*cęm*] + *ille* (*C.* 15).—Cf. Flor. *qu*? *C. Son.*, 9;—Sen. *gista* (= *questa*) *Assetta*, 263.

§ 4. TONIC *ę*.

(a) *ę* remains.

1. In hiatus: *Dęo* (*Cino*, 365), *męo* 428.—Cf. Flor. *deo* (only in rhyme) *Purg. XVI*, 108; *meo* *Petr.*, *Son.*, 26.

¹ Both elements of the diphthong *ię* are pronounced.

² *Zs.*, XV, 65.

⁴ *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 111.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115. ⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 62.

⁶ *Gram. Rom.*, § 116.

⁷ cf. *Ital. Gram.*, § 56, where Meyer-Lübke himself thinks *nimo* is formed according to *niuno*.

⁸ *A. G.*, XII, 109.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

2. In open syllable: In the learned words *petro* (*Al.* 4), *convene* 13, *se_çde* (*Cino* 22), *tene* 356, *vene* (in rhyme) 357, *me_çle* (*S. Fr.* 23), *dreto d'ret[r]o* (*M.* 19), *allevo* (*N.* 56), *ce_çlo*, *ce_çco* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Cesare* 46, *gregge*, *regge*, *legge*.—Cf. Flor. *dreto Tancia*, 888, *Petro* 905, *petra* Petr., *Son.*, 4, *ritene* 21, *ven* 140, *tene* 146, *dece* 200;—Luc. *vene B. Luc.*, 22, *tene* 23;—Gen. *ten*, *ven*, *dece* děčĕm, *inseme*;¹—Alatri *me_çle*, *pe_çde*;²—Sicil. *dę_çi*, *me_çi* with final *i*, *pe_çra*.³

3. In closed syllable.

a. Before nas. + cons.: In the learned words *scędere* (*Gr. P.* 49), *faccęnda*, *grembo* grēmĭŭm; *tempio* is formed under the influence of *tempo*.

β. Before open cons.: *fancello* (*Al.* 42) is due to change of suffix,⁴ *stella*, *ellęra* hędĕrĕm, *ęrm*o ěrĕmĭŭm.—Cf. Logdu. *stęlla*, *ęrt*a;⁵—Mil. *stęlla*.⁶

(b) *ę* (in closed syllable) > *e*.

1. Before *n'*: *vegno* (*Cino*, 139), *te_çno*—the *n'* raises the *ę* to *e*.

2. *cutrettola*⁷ cauda + trępĭdĕm follows diminutives in *-ętto*.

(c) *ę* > *ię*.

1. Before hiatus *i*: *riei* (*Al.* 38), *Graciadięi* (MS. 1364), *sie_çi*, *ęs* (*M.* 70).

2. In open syllable.

a. After a palatal: *primogięnito* (*Ap.* 3), *ciętere* 23, *gięneri* (*Gr. P.* 43).

β. After other consonants: *lievora* (*Al.* 7), *sięuito* 14, *siędere* < sędĕre < sędĕre (*M.* 22), *nięgo* (*C.* 32), *liepre* 39, *lieva* (*Gr. P.* 19), and even after cons. + *r*: *prięgo* (*S. Fr.* 8) by the side of Flor. *prego*⁸ *Tancia*, 902; *brięve*, *grięve* (*Cino*, 308) is out of secondary *ę*.—In early Tuscan the diphthong *ię*

¹ *Ibid.*, X, 144.

³ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 45.

⁴ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II.

⁵ *A. G.*, XIII, 137. This *e* is not so open, however, as in Tuscan. *Ibid.*, 140, n. 1.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 91.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 88.

and the simple ϵ are found side by side. Dante uses $i\epsilon$ in open syllable rarely: *triagua Inf. VII, 88*;—*Intell. niego, priego, lievo*;—*Bocc. priego, Dec. I, 1*; *B. D'Ant. priego, lieva*;¹—*Sen. lieva* by the side of *leve, Pietro, Petro, Siena, Sena*;²—*Pad. priega, lieva, mierita, sieguita*;³—old Venet. *lievore, brieve, lieve, grieve, niega, siegua, prieghi*;⁴ N. Ital. *priego*.⁵

3. In closed syllable. This phenomenon is quite common, particularly in old Pistojesse when the ϵ is preceded by a palatal and followed by a nas. + cons. Both elements of the diphthong $i\epsilon$ are pronounced.⁶

a. The old gerundives *nosciendo (Al. 23), faciendo 27, vegi-endo (B. 77), diciendo (Ap. 7), affligiendosi 49, piangiendo 77*.

β. *Vincienzo (Al. 27), ciento (B. 81), inciense (Ap. 33), argiento 41, piangienti 77, giente (Gr. P. 21)*.

γ. ϵ followed by nas. + cons., but not preceded by a palatal: The gerundives *habiendo (J. 15), volliendo (Al. 55), poniendo 56, formiando (I. P. 247), sappiando (S. Fr. 62)*, and the modern forms *tiengo (M. 21), viengo (C. 18)*.

δ. ϵ preceded by a palatal but not followed by nas. + cons.: *statięia (Al. 4)* probably out of *stătęria*,⁷ *cierto 27, lucięna (Ap. 79), riciętto (M. 153), uccięllo aucęllüm (Gr. P. 20)*.—Cf. Flor. *ciento Crest., 20, diciembre 28, tiengo C. Son., 38, vięnga 51*;—*Sen. vięngo C. Son., 7*;—*Luc. sapiendo B. Luc., 3, abb-endo 55, facciendosi 64, tięngo, vięngo*;⁸—*Pis. tięngo, vięngo*;⁹—*B. D'Ant. ciento Zs., XV, 56, digięndo 58, cięrtto 60, argięntto 61, cięrtbia 67*;—*Neapol. prięsto, tormięntto, cappięllo, castięllo, vięntto*.¹⁰

Variants.

(a) ϵ (+ n + cons.) > a in old Pistojesse: *sostenanze (Al. 20), sanza äbsęntięä (B. 82)*.—Cf. Flor. *sustanza, Par. VII, 5*,

¹ *Zs.*, XV, 63, 68.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 523.

³ *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 8.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 248.

⁵ *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 111.

⁶ Also in Lucchese. Cf. *Uso*, 92, n. 3.

⁷ *Parodi, Romania*, XVIII, 596.

⁸ *A. G.*, XII, 164.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁰ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 5.

sanza Intell., 155;—Aret. *sanza* (Billi);¹—*sanza* is found in many old Tuscan texts;²—Fr. *sans*.

(b) *e* (+ *n'*) after a palatal > *ie*: *ingiegno* ĩngĕnĭũm (*Gr. P.* 25); the *n'* raises the *e* to *e*.

(c) *e* (in open syllable) > *i*: *miggio* (*S.* 5) by assimilation, *undicima* (*Al.* 8) influenced by *undici*.

(d) *e* (in closed syllable) > *u*: *nuse* ěxĭt (*N.* 89) formed by analogy with pretonic *u* in *uscire* = *uscio* + ěxĭre.—Cf. Pis. *usce*.³

§ 5. ATONIC E.

1. Pretonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains.

1. In hiatus: *neuno* (*Al.* 3), *ciascheuno* 12 is the primitive and legitimate form out of *quĩsquĕ* + *ũnum*; ⁴ *neente* (*I. P.* 109).—Cf. Brunetto Latini, who has *neuno*, *neente*, while Dante has the forms in *i*; both, however, have the forms *leone*, *leale*, *beato*, *creare*; ⁵—*Intell. neente* 130;—Luc. *neuno* 'B. Luc.', 4, *cescheuno* 93.

2. Latinisms are *incontenente* (*Al.* 21), *Melano* (*Ricc.*, 22), *pregione* (*Cino*, 435), *asseguro* (*M.* 107), *securo* (*Gr. P.* 41); original Latin pretonic *e* is also preserved in *averebbe* (*I. P.* 177), *affinechĕ* 256, *operire* (*S.* 6), *adoperare* (*C.* 47), *serebbe* (*N.* 28), *saperrà* 46, *lemosena* 200, *avvederai* 439, *poterebbe* 452.—Cf. Sen. *mesurare*, *pregione*, *securo*, *fenestra*, *Renaldo*, *segno*; ⁶—Luc. *serà* B. Luc., 28, *poteranno* 79, *menuto* 81, *seguro*, *pregione*; ⁷—Pis. *averò* C. Son., 22, *securo*, *mesura*, *Melano*, *pregione*; ⁸—B. D'Ant. *averebbe*, *saperebbe*, *poterebbe*; ⁹—Aret. *securo* Guit., 6, *pregione* 14;—Petr. *secura* 7;—modern poetry prefers *nepote*, *securo*, etc.; ¹⁰—*Logdu. misura*; ¹¹—Pad.

¹ Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

² *Zs.*, IX, 524.

³ A. G., XII, 142.

⁴ Caix, *Studi*, § 20.

⁵ Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 21.

⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 532-3.

⁷ A. G., XII, 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹ *Zs.*, XV, 72-3.

¹⁰ Caix, *Origini*, 61.

¹¹ A. G., XIII, 106.

segure, misura, preson; ¹—Gen. *preson, misura, seguro, signor, besogno*, and in the proclitics and enclitics *me, te, se*.²

3. The prefix *de-* is sometimes preserved: *denanzi* (*Al.* 9), *dechiarendo* (*MS.* 1444), *defetto* (*N.* 276), *defende* (*Gr. P.* 36), *deliberare*,³ *desiderare, devenire*.—Cf. *Flor. depende Par.* XXVIII, 42, *desiderio Par.* XXXIII, 48, by the side of *disiderio Purg.* XV, 33;—Sen. *denanzi, defetto, dechiarare, deliberare, devenire*;³—Luc. and Pis. *defetto*.⁴

(b) *e > a*. This development of pretonic *e > a* is a prominent characteristic of both old and modern Pistojesse; the change may take place before any consonant or group of consonants. Assimilation and dissimilation play an important part in this development.

1. By assimilation: *aguale*⁵ (*Al.* 13), *asaminare* 43, *contastare* 59, *damando* (*I. P.* 230), *sanato* 468, *raguardate* (*S. Fr.* 12), *maladire, maladeggio* (*S.* 98), *matafera mětäphöräm* (*Gr. P.* 13), *maladizione* 15, *pallareccio pälēä + ēričičüm* 16, *sgangarato cāncēr + ätüm*⁶ (*M.* 107); *antrata* (*Al.* 23) and *giantarmi* (*Son. Pop.*, 49) are influenced by the nasal (+ cons.).⁷

2. By dissimilation: *assemprì ěxěmplüm* (*Al.* 9), *amendare, aleg(g)ersi*⁵ *ēlīgēre* 13, *piatosa* (*Cino*, 308), *aterno* (*M.* 10, n.), *assercito* (*S.* 13), *abbreo*⁵ (*C.* 45).

3. Before *r*: *quarelle* (*M.* 35), *arredi hērēdēm* 48; *marcoledie* (*S.* 7) and possibly (?) *vennardì* 187 are influenced by *martedì*; *sargente sērvičētēm* (*Gr. P.* 11) influenced by O. H. G. *scarjo*⁸ and Span. *sargento*; *iarsera* (*Uso*, 470).

4. Special cases: *afecto* (*Al.* 5) = *effetto* is confounded with *affetto*; *dapoi* (*M.* 1534), *sagreto* = *sēcētüm + säcrätüm* (*M.* 10, n.), *aducazione* (*C.* 44), *oppuramente* (*N.* 2) is formed by analogy with *solamente* and other adverbs; the pretonic *a* in *tutt' addua* (*N.* 218) comes from the neuter plural.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. camaratum, Marcator, marcado, pargamina, Armogenes,*

¹ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 15.

² Flechia, *A. G.*, X, 147.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 532.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

⁶ Canello, *A. G.*, III, 360.

⁷ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 368.

⁸ Diez, *Wörterbuch*, p. 292.

Calandina, iantare, alesia, Amatista, Matauro;¹—many other dialects change pretonic *e* to *a* particularly before *r*: Flor. *aterno Lam. di Cec.*, 3, *accellenza* 33, *assendo, sagreto Tancia*, 905, *iarsera* 919, *aducazione C. Son.*, 47, *sarvare* 86, *sarvietta* 96; —Sen. *iarsera, venardì, Arcolano, arrare* (errare), *caldarone, comparare, delibarare, parsona, povaretto, serafino, vitoparoso, Aduardo, agualmente, carastia, piatoso, sanatore*;²—Luc. *venardie, quarella, gliarsera*,³ *cambariera*;⁴—Pis. *venardie, Valariano, piatà, ialsera = iersera*,⁵ *aduzione C. Son.*, 47; —Corton. *jarsera Racc.*, 258, *sapparà* 259; —Emil. *sarpen, narburù*,⁶ *arsira*;⁷—Pad. *alletto, piatoso, spiandore, arrore, arsera*;⁸—Gen. *asempio, aspose, aspeitar, axalta, axamiano, arror, marchante, sarafin, sarmon*;⁹—Mil. *quarèlla, marmoria, venardi, parchè*;¹⁰—N. Ital. *damanda, piatosa, splandore, asperto, adeficare, imparadore*;¹¹—Campobasso, *maremma, cumarella* (cu)cumerella.¹²

(c) *e* (+ palatal) > *ei* in hiatus in old Pistoiese: *neiente* nec + *ëntēm* (*Al.* 9), *leiali lēgālem* (*J.* 2).

(d) *e* > *i*.

1. In hiatus.

a. *e* + *a* > *i* + *a*: *criatura* (*Al.* 63), *biato, Biatrice* (*B.* 79), *crianzia* (*M.* 83), *riavisassi rē + ādvīsāre* (*C.* 93).

β. *e* + *a* > *i* + *e*: *Bietrice* (*B.* 77).

γ. *e* + *i* > *i* + *e*: *dientro dē + ĩntro* (*Gr.* P. 22).

δ. *e* + *u* > *i* + *o*: *riobarbero rēübārbārūm* (*Gr.* P. 14).

2. By assimilation.

a. *siguitamente* (*Al.* 28), *pigiore* 47, *milliore* 49, *cilimonière* (*M.* 75), *zinia γεveά* (*S.* 10), *pricissione prōcēssīōnēm* (*C.* 12), *carizia cărēstīām* 61, *discrizione dīscrētīōnēm* (*N.* 410), *spirimenti* (*Gr.* P. 13), *pittiroso pētūs + rūssūm* 15, *appipito*;

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 208–15.

² *Zs.*, IX, 529–30.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 113.

⁴ *Raccolta*, 347.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 144.

⁶ *Mussafia, Romg.*, 82.

⁷ *Flechcia, A. G.*, II, 11.

⁸ *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 16.

⁹ *Flechcia, A. G.*, X, 146–7.

¹⁰ *Salvioni, Dial. Mod.*, 105.

¹¹ *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 112, 115.

¹² *D'Ovidio, A. G.*, IV, 156.

the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *discrivere* (Al. 16), *diliberato* (I. P. 98), *dilicato* (Ricc., 63), *disidero* (S. Fr. 23), *dilicatezze* 52; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riplicare* (N. 32), *ribillione* 152.

3. By dissimilation: *necessità* (S. Fr. 21); the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *dicretali* (Al. 16), *dinnegare* 6; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riverenzia* (M. 79).

4. *ex* < *is*: *isaminare* (Al. 43), *ismisurata* (Ricc., 23), *isbandire* (S. 8), *isventolare* 92, *istravolto* ěxtrā + vōlūtūm (N. 2), *iscoprendo* 8, *ispaventosa* 10, *ismovere* 115; also *es* > *is*: *istate* aestātēm (Gr. P. 11), *istivali* aestīvālēm (Due Lett., 13).

5. The atonic pronouns *me*, *te* > *mi*, *ti*, *si* before *lo*, *la*, *ne*.¹ *si ne* (Al. 21), *mi ne* 59, *mi lo* (M. 14), *mi la* 25, *mi l'* 23, *mi ne* 15, *mi n'* 17, *ti lo* 21, *ti le* 93, *si la* 95, *mi la*, *ti lo*, *si lo* (Uso, 678).

6. Special cases: *isopo* (Al. 10) and *convisatione* 38, where the *i* is under the influence of the *s*; *iguale* aequālēm (Al. 60), *sicundo* (Ricc., 103, *dipoi* (Cino, 13), *bittate* 62, and *vintura* 424 are formed according to the regular Italian rule for the development of pretonic *e*; *ubbidienza* (V. and M. 144) is formed according to *ubbidire*, and *nissuno* (N.-N. 8) according to *niuno*.²—Cf. Pop. Lat. *Biates*, *diliberat*, *dilicatus*, *discribere*, *disiderio*, *sicunda*, etc.;³—Flor. *biato* Lam. di Cec., 4, *sipoltura* 29, *binigno Tancia*, 884, *appipito* 896, *cilimonie* 899, *nicistà* 921, *pricission* 925, *mimoria* 926, *dilibrati*, *nissun(o)* 945; *piggioro* Dec., I, 1, *migliore* I, 2; *mi n'andai* Tes., 22; *mine passo* Intell., 3;—Sen. *criatura*, *biato*, *Lionardo*, *riale*, *appipito*, *cimento*, *cirimonia*, *dinajo*, *disiderio*, *lunidi*, *mimoro*, *nicisità*, *pricissione*, *sicondo*, *sipoltura*, *spiciale*, *isbandire*, *iscoprire*, *iscusare*, *iscumunicare*, *ismontare*, *ispedire*, *istate*, *istimare*;⁴—Luc. *ghirone*, *ciaschiduno*, *vissica*, *iscire*;⁵—Pis. *issuto*, *vissica*, *sigondo*, *istate*, *finire*, *iscire*,⁶ *precissione* C. Son., 36, *nissuno* 48;—Aret. *apitito*, *sirvito*, *sintire*;⁷ Corton. *priciso*

¹ This phenomenon is limited almost entirely to San Marcello.

² cf. § 3. (d) 1.

³ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 298-302, 382, 426.

⁴ Zs., IX, 531, 533.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵ A. G., XII, 114.

⁷ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 35.

Racc., 258, *sirà* 259, *nicisserio* 260, *sirvitù* 261, *binissimo* 262, *virità* 266;—Gen. *dinai* = *denari*, *firir*, *neccissitae*, *nigun nec uno*.¹

(e) *e* > *ie* is a prominent characteristic of old Pistoiese.

1. After a palatal cons.: *conciaduto* (*Al.* 20), *cielato* 37, *sacierdotale* (*Ap.* 5), *vincierà* 9, *comincierà* 17, *reggierà* 33, *vangielizzò* 43, *giacieranò* 45, *magiestà* 65, *piangieranò* 75, *disciendea* 85, *dacciello* 89, *velociemente* 95, *gienerazione* 97, *giendarmi* (*S. Fr.* 12); also in modern Pistoiese: *chiacchierone* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Gienerale*, *cieseraria* 21, *gieografia* 22, *sviscierato* 23.

2. *mielate* (*C.* 18), *sientiede* 43, *tenere* 106, and *vienere* 110 are formed by analogy with the stem-accented forms.—Cf. Flor. *vienuco* *C. Son.*, 27, *bieltate* *Intell.*, 132; Prat. *gioso* *Crest.*, 95;—Pis. *vienuto* *C. Son.*, 19;—Aret. *gentile* *Guittone* 170, *ricievendo* 179;—B. *D'Ant.* *ciercando* *Zs.*, XV, 58, *ingieneroe*, *uccielletti* 61, *dolciemente* 62.

(f) *e* > *o*.

1. *e* (+ labial): *proveduto* (*Al.* 47), *adovenire* 54, *doventare* 54, n., *soppellire* *sčpëllire* (*I. P.* 461), *romanere* 476, n., *dopoi* (*MS.* 1444), *propotenzia* (*S.* 199).

2. Confounding of prefixes: *sodduſſe* *sübdüçere* instead of *sëdüçere*² (*I. P.* 476, n.), *protenzione*, *procetti* (*Gr. P.* 12), *projudicare*, *prosunzione*; perhaps also *soppellire*, *proveduto* and *propotenzia* of the preceding paragraph.

3. *oscire* *öſtjüm* + *ëxire* (*Al.* 65) is learned.—Cf. Flor. *soppellito* *Lam. di Cec.*, 35, *protenzione* *V. and M.*, 144, *sodduſſe* *Tes.*, 5;—Sen. *dovenire*, *doventare*, *dovoto*, *procendi*, *proferire*, *profetto* *përfëctüm*;³—Luc. *soppellire*, *romase*, *dopende*, *ciometerio*.⁴

Apheresis.

'*saminamento* (*Al.* 48), '*scrudere* *ëxclüdere* (*S.* 7), *Manuelle* 100, *strazione* 142, *quilibrio* 121, *resia* 123, '*state* *aestätëm* (*C.*

¹ *A. G.*, X, 147.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 534.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 114.

103), *lemosina* (*N.* 200), *reda*, *sperto*.—Cf. Flor. *'siliato C. Son.*, 41, *'limosiniere* 85;—Sen. *mendare*, *difizio*, *senpro* (exemplum) *spresso*,¹ *'resia C. Son.*, 44, *'Manuelle* 77;—Luc. *spettare*, *state*, *scire exire*;²—Pis. *stinguere*, *rede*, *spettare*, *scire exire*,³ *'Uropa C. Son.*, 21.

Syncope.

1. Between mute and liquid: *pricolo*, *considrate* (*M.* 52), *sprimentare* (*Uso*, 935), *sparare*.

2. Between *s* + *r* in the Fut. and Cond. of the verb *essere*: *srò*, *srà*, *srei*, *sresti*, *srebbe*, etc.

3. *istu*⁴ = *se tu* (*Al.* 7).—Cf. Flor. *pricolosa Tancia*, 877, *sre'* 881, *delibrato* 908, *stu* 930;—Sen. *mercordì C. Son.*, 91.

Epenthesis.

Between mute and liquid: *pigherizia*, *mitera mītrām* (*Gr.* P. 22).

Metathesis.

presempio (*M.* 57), *suprestizione* (*V. and M.* 81).—Cf. Sen. *presempio C. Son.*, 5;—Luc. *presempio Uso*, 751.

Post-tonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains in old Pistojesse.

1. In paroxytones: *diece* (*J.* 2), *lunge* (*Cino*, 67), *domane* (*S. Fr.* 28).

2. In proparoxytones: *gioven* (*Cino*, 83).—Cf. Sen. *giovenno*;⁵—Luc. *domane B. Luc.*, 72.

(b) *e* > *ie* after a palatal cons. This development is a strong characteristic of old Pistojesse and is also found in the modern language. Both elements of the diphthong are pronounced.⁶

1. In paroxytones: *lucie* (*Al.* 5), *pacie* 6, *dolcie* 7, *vocie* 13, *nuocie* 20, *dispiacie* 25, *radicie* 34, *leggie lēgēm* 46, *crocie* (*B.* 78), *fornacie* (*Ap.* 5), *falcie* 61, *meritricie* 69, *lungie* 75, *invecie*

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 534.

² *Ibid.*, 125.

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴ Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 528.

⁵ *Zs.*, IX, 541.

⁶ Also in the Lucchese. Cf. § 4. (d) 3. a, n.

(*Gr. P.* 15), *felicie* 67.—Cf. Flor. *diecie Crest.* 24, *pacie* 26; B. d'Ant. *dolcie Zs.*, XV, 51, *piacie* 62, *leggie* 63, *bocie* 70.

2. In proparoxytones: *cresciere* (*Al.* 35), *sempricie* 40, *calicie* 53, *angielo* (*Ap.* 7), *soduciere* *sūbdūcēre* 11, *leggiere* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(c) $e > o$ in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones.

a. Primary e : *puro* (*Al.* 67).

β. Secondary e : *tuo* < *tue* < *tu* (*non sai*) *Al.* 4, *piuo* < *piue* < *più* (*tosto*) 8, and *rendè* < *rendèe* < *rendè* (*lode*) are due to assimilation; ¹—*aveto* (*decto*) *Al.* 68.—Cf. Sen. *rendéo*, *cadéo*, *potéo*, *sedéo*, *vendéo*.²

2. In proparoxytones in modern Pistoiese: *ℓellora* *hédērām* (*Gr. P.* 13).

Variants.

(a) $e > a$ in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *adonqua* (*Al.* 51); *ina* < *ine* < *in* 43 where the a is out of secondary e .

2. In proparoxytones: *senacha* (*Al.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. Flor. *dunqua Intell.*, 162;—Luc. *qualunqua B. Luc.*, 1, *quantunqua* 2, *chiunqua* 18;—Pad. *ancha*, *doncha*; ³—old Ven. *adonca*.⁴

(b) $e > i$ in proparoxytones.

1. In hiatus: *linia* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation.

2. After a vowel: *preiti* (*Al.* 12) *prěsbŷtěrŭm* > *prevete* > *preete* > *preiti* by dissimilation.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *linia*, *tinia*, *vinia*; ⁵—Neapol. *prevete*.⁶

(c) $e > u$: *sūguro* *sūbër* + (*M.* 34) by assimilation.

Syncope.

povra Cino, 67 (in rhyme).—Cf. Flor. *povra Fiera*, 77 (not in rhyme);—Sen. *poro C. Son.*, 42.

¹ cf. my article on $tu > tue > tuo$, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, cols. 97–99.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 254.

² *Zs.*, IX, 427.

⁵ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 437, 441–42.

³ Wendliner, *Pad. Mund.*, 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 356.

Epenthesis.

Between mute + liquid: *maghero* (S. 7), *aghero* (C. 49), *pighero*.—*maghero* and *pighero* are found in other dialects.¹

Epithesis.

e used as an off-glide with oxytones is a strong Pistojesse characteristic; in fact the rule is almost constantly observed by the *contadini*.

1. *a + e*: *arae* (Al. 8), *fae* 10, *strae* 14, *tacerae* 15, *drae* 16, *potrae* 19, *giae* 31, *siae* 42, *viverrae* 53, *atrae* 57, *vendicarrae* 58, *aguae* 71, *strae* (J. 4), *parrae* 7, *sae* (M. 3), *anderae* (S. 34), *sarae* (C. 12), *hae* 27, *vae* 50, *lae* 78.

2. *e + e*: *ée* (Stor., 8), *mée* (S. 71), *potée*.

3. *i + e*: *lallie* (M. 8), *dïe*, *lunedïe*, *lacquie* 51, *sïe*, *cuiè* (C. 9), *accosïe* 10, *cosïe*, *seppellïe* 20, *lïe* 21, *chïe* 39, *martedïe*, *marcoledïe* 81.

4. *o + e*: *altroe* (Al. 11), *lagrimoe* 20, *levoe*, *apeloe* 21, *cioe* 24, *peroe* 68, *amoe* (S. Fr. 21), *ririvoe* (M. 10), *androe* (S. 34), *soe*, *fermoe*, *imperoe* (C. 8), *arrioe*, *doe*, *addenteroe* 9, *scontroe*, *saroe* 10, *voe*, *covoe* 11, *andoe*, *foe*, *cavoe*, *noe* 18, *principioe* 19, *scramoe* 21, *lassoe* 24, *tiroe* 25, *dïroe* 27, *seccoe* 29, *montoe* 32, *garboe* 36, *comandoe* 37, *staroe* 42, *nentroe* 43, *menoe* 44, *tornoe* (N.-N. 521).

5. *u + e*: *tue* (Al. 4), *sue* sūsüm (C. 10), *giue* 14, *lassue* = *la + su* 19, *fue* 26, *piùe* 89.

6. *pere* (Cino, 51).—Cf. Flor. *lae*, *ée*, *piùe*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 4, *tue Tancia*, 911, *giue C. Son.*, 7, *noe* 19, *cosie* 46, *Gesue* 50, *quae*, *lae* 55, *quie* 77, *fue Crest.*, 24, *de Intell.*, 138; Dante uses the epithetical *e* generally for the sake of the rhyme: *ee*, *Inf.* XXIV, 90, *sie*, *Purg.* XXVIII, 8, *sue*, *Purg.* XVI, 30;²—Sen. *colae*, *mee*, *cosïe*, *perde*, *giùe*, *cide*, *giàe*, *piùe*, *sue*, *chïe*, *tue*, *què*, *lïe*, *cittàe*, *veritàe*, *necesitàe*, *volontàe*;³ also numer-

¹ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 126.

² Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 24.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 536.

ous verbs: *amðe, andðe, cercðe, fermðe, levðe, etc.*,¹ *anderðe, durðe, farae, potrae, doe, dae, foe, fae, soe, stoe, voe, vae, etc.*;¹—*Luc. ae B. Luc.*, 1, *quie* 2, *sequitrðe* 15, *farae* 27, *fue* 47, *porterðe, vorrðe* 55, *giue* 72, *noe, fae* 79, *stae* 87, *piue* 91, *serae* 92, *dirroe Racc.*, 253.

I.

§ 6. TONIC I.

(a) *i* in Pistojesse shows very few variations from the literary Italian.

(b) *i* remains: *si sī* (*S. Fr.* 8), *ditto dīctūm*² (*C.* 19).

(c) *i* > *e*: *tresti* (*M.* 95), *dozzena*³ *dōdīcīnā* by change of suffix.

(d) *i* > *iē*: *serviervi* (*N.-N.* 4).

(e) *i* > *u*: *fubbie* or *fubbe* (*M.* 24 and note), the vowel is assimilated to the labial consonant.—Cf. Ven. *fiuba*, Lomb. *fūbia*, O. Fr. *afubler*.⁴

§ 7. ATONIC I.

1. Pretonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains: *agevilez(z)a* (*Al.* 52), *licito* (*J.* 19), *nuviletta* (*S. Fr.* 8), *signato* (*MS.* 1444), *incora hinc + ōrām* (*Due Lett.*, 13); the *i* remains in the atonic pronouns *ci, vi* before *lo, la, ne*: *ci lo* (*M.* 40), *ci la* 75, *ci n' 5*, *vi lo* 20, *vi la* 97, *vi ne* 101.

(b) *i* > *e*.

There are many examples of this phenomenon in both old and modern Pistojesse. Meyer-Lübke⁵ says that the forms with pretonic *e* are under Umbrian-Aretino or Provençal influence.

¹ *Ibid.*, 427–8.

² I give *dīctūm* according to Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 23, and note 3; Körting, *Lat. Rom. Wb.*, 2558; Pieri, *A. G.*, XII, 109, gives *ditto* as formed upon *dissi*.

³ cf. Italian *dozzena*, Canello, *A. G.*, VII, 319.

⁴ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

⁵ *Ital. Gram.*, § 123.

1. By assimilation: *relegione* (Al. 6), *lecenza* 56.
2. By dissimilation: *inemica* (Al. 35), *rilegioso* 67, *openione* 71, *ipocresia* (Ricc., 51), *omessione* (I. P. 86), *temitoso* (M. 88), *prencipi* 90, *letigio* (C. 21), *redicolo* (Gr. P. 23).
3. Special cases: *vertudie* (Al. 4), *vectoria* 51, *vetuperio* 77, *vertù* (Cino, 25), *vertudioso* (M. 78), *metragghie* (S. 112), *per-ruchieri p̄lūcārīūm* (N. 230), *gennastia* (Gr. P. 45), *mesurare*; *in = en (em)*: *entroni* ĩn + tōrnūm (M. 23), *nempare ĩmpārāt* (Gr. P. 20).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *prencepe*, *prencipe*;¹—Flor. *vertù*, *Intell.*, 134, *promession Decam.*, I, 1, *sempatìa*, *C. Son.*, 35, *vecino*;—Sen. *fenire*, *rileggioso*, *trebuna*, *vettoria*, *enfermo*, *em-parare*, and many others;²—Luc. *prencipio*, *fenire*, *perrucca*,³ *mesurai Racc.*, 252;—Pis. *menuto*, *besogna*, *vertude*;⁴—Corton. *ordeneto Racc.*, 259.

(c) *i > o*.

1. Before labial cons.: *obbriaco*, *ombuto* (N.-N. 16), *om-possibile*, *onfiare* (?) C. 85, *onferno* (?)

2. Before *l*:⁵ *baggiolare* *vacillare* or *vagillare*⁶ (S. 232), *ventolazione* 8.

3. Special cases: *Modonesi* (I. P. 301), formed on *Modona*; *oncenso* (J. 28) the pretonic *o* of which probably comes from the article *lo*?³—Cf. Flor. *doviso* Tancia, 877, *noboltà* 932;—Sen. *ombusto*, *ombuto*, *omperadore*, *omperio*, *oncenso*, *onferno*, *onterdetto*;⁷—Luc. *fonire*, *ombuto*, *onferno*,³ *ompiccio* Racc., 245, *ompossibile* 250;—Tuscan *ombuto*, *romasuglio*.⁸

Variants.

(a) *i > a*: *arbatrato* (Son. Pop., 43) and *sarvatico* are due to assimilation; *giangia* g̃ingiṽām (S. 7) under influence of the nasal consonant *n*.—Cf. Flor. *Modanesi*, *Sec. Rap.*, 4;—Corton. *antendere Racc.*, 259;—old Tuscan *salvaggio*.⁹

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 28, 54.

² Zs., IX, 539-40.

³ A. G., XII, 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ Canello, *A. G.*, III, 335.

⁶ Caix, *Studi*, § 179.

⁷ Zs., IX, 540.

⁸ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 123.

⁹ Caix, *Origini*, 75.

(b) $i > u$: *unutile* (*Gr. P.* 49) by assimilation; *buzzeffe* bis + ff (*S.* 235) influenced by the preceding labial consonant *b* and perhaps by the *u* in *due*; *vestuario*.—Cf. Flor. *vestuario*;¹—Sen. *purate, subillo, utilità*;²—Luc. *unutile* Racc., 253;—Pis. *funire*,³ *sumiglia* C. Son., 63;—Aret. *buzzeffe*.⁴

Aphesis.

(a) Before nasal + consonant.

1. After article or pronoun: *lo 'ntendimento* (*Al.* 5), *chi 'ngura*, *le 'ngure*, *la 'ngiuria* 8, *gli 'nvidiosi* 9, *lo 'nsegno*, *lo 'nvegno* 16, *lo 'ncominciamento* 18, *lo 'nduscio* 22, *la 'ncattiviscie* 30, *lo 'nferno* 35, *lo 'mperio* 41, *lo 'nprincipio*, *li 'ncominciamenti* 43, *che 'ntendea* 60, *lo 'mperadore* 73, *all' 'ncanto* (*M.* 30), *lo 'nsaccava* 54, *se 'ntoppiano* 63, *lo 'nteresse* 69, *lo 'nterpidi* 71, *lo 'mparò, della 'ndivia*, *vine 'ntendete* 101, *la 'ndulgenza* 106, *la 'mpamata* (*S.* 119), *la 'nserenata*, *la 'nvezzata* 152, *la 'nmarzata* 210, *la 'mpromessa* 274, *'ghi 'ntraviense* (*C.* 8), *tene 'nteso* 9, *dallo 'ngrasso* 11, *lo 'mprumettieli* 12, *loro 'nzino* 13, *uno 'n* 15, *lo 'nsacca* 17, *lo 'nvito*, *tene 'nfrattanto* 18, *lui 'mperoe*, *allo 'mprovviso* 19, *dello 'ngordo* 23, *'ghi 'ngolaa* 28, *io 'n*, *ti 'ncapocchire* 29.

2. After the words *e* and *a*: *e 'nduscie* (*Al.* 36), *e 'nffine* 76, *a 'ndevinar* (*M.* 8), *a 'nnamorati* 14, *a 'ngorgar* 58, *a 'ntraversar* 74, *a 'nfustirsi* 76, *a 'ntormentire* (*S.* 28), *a 'ngrassa* (*C.* 10), *a 'ngozzà* 14, *a 'ntende* 18.

3. After auxiliary verbs: *era 'ncoccio* (*M.* 30), *ava 'nzurlito* 46, *ha 'nsegni* (*S.* 3), *fussi 'nnamorata* 32, *sie 'ngiallito* 87, *fussi 'nchiostro* 151, *ha 'mpegnato* 266.

4. Special cases: *dei 'mframectere* (*Al.* 3), *da 'mparare* 30, *ogna 'nduscio* 36, *soperbia 'ngenera* 50, *sappia 'nsinor* (*M.* 15), *naso 'nnun* 30, *coresto 'mbattina* 109, *pere 'mparare* (*S.* 27), *ritta 'ntostita* (*C.* 11), *accosìe 'nsino* 15, *foco 'ntra* 18.

(b) Before cons. + vow.: *magine* (*J.* 28), *talia* (*Ricc.*, 24).—Cf. Flor. *e 'ntenda*, *Tancia*, 877, *ho 'nteso* 899, *lo 'ntoppo* 906,

¹ *Uso*, 1023.

² *Zs.*, IX, 540.

³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴ *Uso*, 192.

la 'nvia 914, chi 'mparò 922, lo 'nchino 933, lo 'nferno *Intell.*, 167, ànno 'nteso 170, è 'ntra 148, la 'nsegna 168, lo 'mbusto 177, *Talia* 183, la 'ntenzone *Decam.*, I, 2, lo 'ngegno, I, 3, lo 'nquisitore, I, 6, tutto 'ntero *C. Son.*, 18, lo 'nsegnaan 28, 'taliano 41, la struzione 42;—*Sen.* lo 'ngegno, lo 'ntelletto, la 'nvidia, ho 'nteso, a 'nganni, ne 'nresce, senza 'npaccio; ¹—*Luc.* uno 'nferno, la 'mpostura, ² lo 'ncontri *Cant. Pop.*, 18;—*Pis.* una 'nfamità, questo 'ncanto, *Talia*, ³ lo 'mpossibile, *C. Son.*, 26, tutto 'ntero 35, è 'nutile 46, uno 'gnorante 47, ho 'nteso 88;—*Tuscan* lo 'nperadore *B. d'Ant.*, *Zs.*, XV, 56, lo 'nbusto 65, ello 'ndugiare 66;—*Neapol.* mporta, npace, ⁴ nfaccia, ncapo, ngiuria. ⁵

Prosthesis.

The popular Latin prosthetic *i* before *s impurum* appears in Pistoiese even when the preceding word ends in a vowel: ⁶ (*unde*) *iscrito* (*Al.* 34), (*divina*) *iscriptura* 35, (*e*) *isforzansi*, (*tuo*) *istato* 37, (*ogna*) *ispirito*, (*ria*) *isperanza* 38, (*sono*) *ischer-niti* 40, (*piùo*) *istrania* 41, (*sothi*) *istipulment'* 46, (*soperbia*) *iscenderà* 50, (*consilio*) *ispecialmente* 51, (*quali*) *istuo* 52, (*è*) *istabile*, (*fae*) *istolto* 58, (*potrasse*) *iscelere* 61, (*unde*) *isdegna* 62, (*nosso*) *iscudo* 66, (*motto*) *istudiare* 30, (*nello*) *istangnio* (*Ap.* 89), (*sua*) *iscenza* (*Al.* 68), (*vollio*) *ispoglare*, (*cose*) *iscure* 71, (*è*) *ispezia* 74, (*serà*) *iscandalizato* 76, *tanto ispretato* (*N.* 44), (*correva*) *istupita* 84, (*loro*) *istevano* 414, (*strippata*) *istasera* (*C.* 16).—*Cf.* *Pop. Lat.* *iscripta*, *ispirito*, *ispecies*, *istare*, *istabile*, etc. ⁷

Syncope.

In the loan ⁸ word *testimonanza* (*Al.* 71).

Epenthesis.

aguaito < Ger. *wahtën* (*Al.* 40), *abibisognio* (*Ap.* 17) by reduplication; *fiorte* 75, *nessiuna* (*S. Fr.* 21), *sciabbiosa* (*N.*

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 541.

² *A. G.*, XII, 125.

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

⁵ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 7.

⁶ cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 144.

⁷ *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, II, 338, 342, 346.

⁸ cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

154), *distribuizione* (*Gr. P.* 13), influenced by *distribuire*; *diotto* 24, *inghilesc* 22 influenced by *Inghilterra*.—Cf. Provençal *aguaitar*.

Metathesis.

furigelli *flucellum* (*M.* 47), where the *u* is attracted to the initial syllable by the labial consonant *f*.

2. Post-tonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *forsi*, where the *i* remains on account of its proclitic position.

2. In proparoxytones.

a. Learned words ending in *-bīlīs*:¹ *nuvili*, *odievile*, *rascionevile* (*Al.* 9), *chonvenevile* 14, *increscievile* 23, *abondevile* 32, *piacevili* 38, *inghannevili*, *usinghevili* 40, *agievile* 52, *innomerevili* 53, *onorevile* 70, *bisognevili* (*J.* 7), *fievile*, *debile* (*M.* 8, n.).

β. Special cases: *sindico* (*I. P.* 299), *solidi* (*MS.* 1444).—Cf. *Sen. onorevile*, *ragionevile*;²—*Luc. personevile*, *bisognevile*,¹ *onorevile*;³—*Pis. convenevile*, *ragionevile*, *onorevile*.⁴

(b) *i* > *e* in proparoxytones: *nuveli* (*Al.* 50), *honorevele* (*Ricc.*, 54), *nobeles*, *simele*, *utele*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. nobelis*, *strelis*, *nomene*, *ordene*;⁵—*Sen. onorevele*, *mobeles*, *simele*, *utele*, *ordene*;²—*Pis. simele*, *omeni*;⁶—*Corton. grandene Racc.*, 259, *subbeto* 260;—old Venet. *simele*, *nobeles*;⁷—*N. Ital. graveda*, *nuvelo*.⁸

(c) *i* > *ie*⁹ in paroxytones: *nascie*, *finiscie* (*Al.* 23), *conoscie* 25, *conducie* 29, *disdicie* 35, *istringie*, *digiungie* 45, *contradicie* 53, *crescie* 56, *vincie* (*Ap.* 11), *dicie* 17.—Cf. *Flor. dicie Crest.*, 24.

Variants.

(a) *i* > *a* in the proparoxytone *Modana* (*S.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. Modana, Sec. Rap.*, 4.

¹ cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 119.

² *Zs.*, IX, 541.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 115.

⁷ *A. G.*, XII, 252.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁸ *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 113.

⁵ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, II, 14, 21-2.

⁹ cf. Post-tonic *e* > *ie*.

(b) $i > o$ in proparoxytones: *Modona* (*I. P.* 219) by assimilation, *possivole* (*C.* 37) by assimilation to the preceding labial consonant.—Cf. Flor. *utole Tuncia*, 892, *nobol* 932, *possivol*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 2;—Luc. *Modona*, *possibole*.¹

Syncope.

(a) In hiatus.

1. Before *a*: the loan² words *ingiura* (*Al.* 5), *memora*, *pecuna* 63.

2. Before *e*: *spece* (*Gr. P.* 15), *superficie* 20.

3. Before *o*: *silenzio* (*Al.* 15), *ispazo* 23.

(b) Between consonants: *medesmo* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. Flor. *vitupero*, *impero*, *purgatoro Boce.*, *lussura Intell.*;²—Sen. *engiura*, *matera*, *stora*;³—Luc. *medesmo*, *B. Luc.*, 81.

Epenthesis.

After *l*, *r*, *n*: *cuculio* (*S.* 8), *alia* 32, *premaria* (*C.* 90), *usura*, *tribunia* (*Gr. P.* 16), *minia*, *miria* 17, *calibrio* 18.

Metathesis.

Post-tonic *i* in hiatus is attracted by the tonic syllable: *fiube* (*M.* 24), *sièda* (*C.* 100), *schioppo* (*N.* 22), *pianere*, *rispiarmo* (*Gr. P.* 13), *pianerino* 19, *stiuda* 21, *siero* 49.—Cf. Flor. *pianere*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 23, *sieda*;—Sen. *pianere*, *C. Son.*, 39, *stiuda Assetta*, 275;—Luc. *rispiarmo*, *sieda*, *stiuda*;⁴—Pis. *rispiarmo*;⁵—Aret. *rimiedo*.⁶

O.

§ 8. TONIC ϕ .

(a) ϕ remains.

1. In open syllable before labial cons.: *omero*, *giòvane* by the side of *giòvane*.

¹A. G., XII, 115.
Zs., IX, 542.

²cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

⁴A. G., XII, 126.

⁵*Ibid.*, 153.

⁶Billi, *Dial. Chian.* cf. Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 195, n. 2.

2. In closed syllable: *adonqua*, (*Al.* 9), *lectora* 16, *nolla* *nüllam* (*rimproverane*) 32, where the translator was doubtless influenced by the non improperat of his original Latin text: *gionto* *jüñctüm* (*Cino*, 35),¹ *aleona* *ällicünäm* 17 (in rhyme), *dönche* (*C.* 8), *pönto* *pünctüm*.—Cf. Flor. *donche* *Lam. di Cec.*, 7;—Sen. *donque*,² *gionto*, *ponto*;³—Corton. *donqua* *Racc.*, 261;—Fr. *done*;—Span. *donques*.

(b) $\rho > \varrho$.

1. In open syllable before *r*: *loro* (*Gr. P.* 49), *ore*, *allora*, *ancora* 50.—Cf. Luc. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;⁴—Pis. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;⁵—Fr. *or*, *encor*, *lor*.⁶

2. In closed syllable.

a. Before *r* (+ cons.): *corto*, *giorno*.—Cf. Flor. *giorno*.

β. Before *l* (+ cons.): *volgo* (*Gr. P.* 47), *colla* 50, *volto*.

γ. Before *cc*: *moſcio* *müccidüm*,⁷ *moccio*, *bocca*; secondary *cc*: *sciocco*.

(c) $o > u$.

1. In open syllable: *supra* (*Al.* 25), *devuto* 32, *du' dē* + *übi*, *induve* (*M.* 43), *nu'* = *noi*, *vu'* = *voi* (*S.* 118), *nun* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *nus*, *vus*.⁸

2. In closed syllable.

a. Before nasal (+ cons.): *Alfunso* (*Al.* 5), *prunto* 31, *unde*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *funte*, *prunte*.⁹

β. Special cases: *amoruso* (*M.* 3, n.), *scussi* 29, *puppa*,¹⁰ *fussi* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Flor. *mi* *Tancia*, 926, *nun* *Racc.*, 278, *vu* *C. Son.*, 77;—Sen. *duve*, *nun*, *supra*, *unde*;¹¹—Luc. *duve*, *fussi*;¹⁰—Pis. *nun* *Racc.*, 291, *duve*, *fussi*.¹²

¹ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.

² *Uso*, 351.

³ *Ibid.*, 633.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, 146.

⁷ *Uso*, 606.

⁸ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 118–19.

¹⁰ *A. G.*, XII, 110.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹¹ *Zs.*, IX, 544–6.

¹² *Ibid.*, 142–3.

§ 9. TONIC O.

(a) *o* remains.

1. In open syllable in learned words: *lenzolo* (S. 94), *maghiolo* mällëölüm 97, *solo* 140, *tono* 147, *ovo* 201, *bono* (C. 8), *fora*, *foco* 11, *fōri*, *novo* 16, *çocere* 18, *çore* 22, *logo* 24, *omini* 33, *sono* 35, *figliolo*, *omo* (N. 1), *vole*, *çoce* 20, *çoco* 29, *voto* 208, *sona* (Gr. P. 11), *treçoli* cītrīölüm, 12, *razziolo* 15, *seola* 33, *boi* 47.—Cf. Flor. *core*, *omo*, *bono*, *dole*, *sole Brunetto*;¹ Dante has *loco*, *foco* in rhyme, *trovo*,² *gioco*, *Tancia*, 904, *foco*, *omo*, *Intell.*, 138, *loco* 144, *schola* 146, *bono* 147, *novi* 150, *for* 153, *gioco* 201, *pò*, *coce*, *core* 204, *figliola C. Son.*, 17, *sore* 28;—Sen. *bono C. Son.*, 3, *sora*, *fora*, *vole* 7, *ovo* 8, *novo* 10, *domo* 95;—in West Lucchese only the forms in *o* are heard;³—Pis. “Il dittongo dell’ *ó* è oggi costantemente ridotto nella città, ma resiste pur sempre in alcune parti della campagna;”⁴—Sicil. *bōnu*, *nōvu*, *rota*, *çori*;⁵—Pad. *bon*, *core*, *fora*, *homo*, *nova*. *pò* (pöst);⁶—Gen. *omo*, *bona*, *sor solet*, *vol vuole*, *nova*, *fora*, *po potest*, *cor*, *sona*.⁷

2. In closed syllable: *longo* (Cino),⁸ *ogni*.—Cf. Luc. *longo Racc.*, 253;—Gen. *longo*.⁹

(b) *o* > *u*.

1. In open syllable: *humo* (MS. 1330), *nuve* (MS. 1339), *luglio* lölüm (S. 95), *ugna* (pure) = *bisogna* sönüm 151.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *humo*.¹⁰

2. In closed syllable: in *ugni* (N. 1) and *ugnum* (M. 95) the *o* is raised to the *u* by the *u* + *i*; *fursi* (M. 12) is unexplained.¹¹ Is the *u* due to the following *i*?—Cf. Pop. Lat. *prursus*;¹²—Flor. *ugni Lam. di Cec.*, 4;—Luc. *fursi*, *ugni*;¹³—Pis. *fursi*, *ugni*;¹⁴—Corton. *pu pöst Racc.*, 259.

¹ Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 12, 13.² A. G., XII, 110.³ A. G., XII, 109.⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.⁵ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.⁶ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 12, 13.⁷ A. G., X, 145.⁸ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.⁹ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 114.¹⁰ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 134.¹¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 65.¹² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 123.¹³ A. G., XII, 110.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

(c) ρ in open syllable $> u\phi$: *rispuose* (*Al.* 4), *truono* (*J.* 26), *pruovo*, *truovo*.—Cf. *Sen. rispuose*;¹—*Luc. muodo*, *duodeci*;²—*Tuscan truova*, *puote*;³—*Pad. mud* (= *modo*), *nuovo*,—*uolo*, *cuofano*, *nuove* (< *növēm*), *ruosa*, *cuorpo*, *muorto*, *puovero*;⁴—*old Venet. pruova*, *compuose*, *muodo*;⁵—*N. Ital. muodo*, *nuove*, *ruosa*.⁶

§ 10. ATONIC O.

1. Pretonic o.

(a) $o > a$.

1. Before *r*: *argollio* (*Al.* 8), *barbottare* $\beta\acute{o}\rho\beta\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ + (*S.* 46) influenced by *barba*;⁷ *scarpione* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *canoscentha* (*Al.* 60), *accupare* (*S.* 8) is due to the confounding of the prepositions *ob* and *ad*, *Salamone* (*C.* 96) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. Attavione*, *Salamone*, *scarpione*,⁸ *Taniri* *Purg.* XII, 56, *ancidore* *Inf.* V, 61;—*Sen. scarpione*, *acconare*, *accasione*, *ac(c)upare*, *Salamone*;⁹—*Pis. calosso*, *Bartolomeo*;¹⁰—*Pad. hanore*, *canoscere*.¹¹

(b) $o > i$.

1. By assimilation: *giritondo*¹² $g\bar{y}r[are]$ + *rotunda* (*M.* 77), *pricissione* (*S.* 7).

2. Special cases: *vilume* (*M.* 8, n.) is influenced by *viluppo*, *vilucchio*,¹³ *accomidare* (*S.* 8) is formed on *comido* = *comodo* by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*,¹⁴ *innunistante* (*N.* 33) where the *i* is probably prosthetic *i* before *s impurum*.¹⁵—Cf. *Flor. ignum Tancia*, 907, *pricissione* 925;—*Aret. diminio*, *accomidare*,¹⁶—*Rom. accomidare*.¹⁷

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 542.

² *A. G.*, XII, 109.

³ *B. d'Antona*, *Zs.*, XV, 51.

⁴ *Wendriner*, *Pad. Mund.*, 13.

⁵ *A. G.*, III, 249–50.

⁶ *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 114.

⁷ *Körting*, *Lat.-Rom. Wb.*, 1286.

⁸ *Zs.*, IX, 547.

⁹ *Billi*, *Dial Chian.* cf. *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 195.

¹⁰ *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 205.

⁸ *Parodi*, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

⁹ *Zs.*, IX, 547.

¹⁰ *A. G.*, XII, 145.

¹¹ *Wendriner*, *Pad. Mund.*, 20.

¹² cf. *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 195, n. 2.

¹³ *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 114.

¹⁴ *Parodi*, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

(c) $o > u$.

This development of pretonic $o > u$ is a strong Pistojesse characteristic, particularly of the modern language.

1. In hiatus: in *Buenia* (I. P. 466) and *tuclette* (Gr. P. 15) the e raises the o to u .

2. u with following i .

(1.) Before labial cons.: *ubriaza* (Al. 65), *ubbrigoe* (C. 15), *ubbidienza* (V. and M. 188), *Uvidio* (Al. 54).

(2.) Before other cons. than labials: *ucchiello* (Uso, 1007), *uliato* (Al. 8), *ulivo*.

β . Other cases of u with following i .

(1.) Before l, m, n, r : *tavulini* (M. 31), *culizione* (C. 10), *culizionare* 13, *cultivazione* (N. 228), *inchuminciamenti* (Al. 11), *parturirà* 16, *sbaturlir* (M. 26).

(2.) Before other cons. than l, m, n, r : *puchino* (N. 228), *cucchieri* 320, *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *devuzione* (Son. Pop., 57).

(3.) u with following e .

α . Before labial cons.: *comprumetto* (C. 9), *mumento* 16, *imprumettere* 77, *mumentino* (Gr. P. 39), *Ruberto* (N. 42), *puvesia, pucta, puctare* 91.

β . Before n : *muneta* (C. 41).

γ . Before r : *garanturerò* (M. 71), *curtelluccio* (C. 15), *curtello* (N.-N. 19).

δ . Before t : *prustoe* (C. 36), *prutezione* 179.

4. u with following a .

α . Before liquids: *diavularie* (M. 8), *diavulaccio* 17, *propulaccio* 76, *erullare* (S. 8), *luntano* (Al. 42), *bronturar* (M. 68), *tremurar* 81.

β . Special cases: *cugnato* (Al. 16), *giucare* (M. 3, n.).

5. Special cases: *curruccio* (I. P. 487) and *nunustante* (Son. Pop., 57) are due to assimilation; *frugiuron* (M. 66), *spenzurone* 80.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *cugnata, muneta*;¹—Flor. *munimento* *Intell.*, 198, *ulivo, ubbrigare, pulizia, Spuleto*,² *mumento* C. *Son.*, 9, *culizione* 17, *upinione* 30, *puctico* 33, *prugresso* 52;—Sen.

¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 127, 136. ²Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

ammunire, amunizione, arbuscello, buttiga, buttino, co(n)pusizione, crullare, cumuno, cumunione, cuprire, munisterio, muneto, pulizia, spuleto, ubligare, up(p)inione, urechio,¹ prucissione C. Son., 70, mumento, ugnun Compon., 315;—Luc. cugnato, pulenta, cureggia, Lunardo, muneta,² cucchieri Racc., 247, nunistante 253;—Pis. prutesa, muneta, mumento, fumento, cuscienza, unore, udorato, sumiglia, innucenzia, imprumessa, preputente, memuriale, capurale, piruletta, cugnato, cunsegnare, Furlì, menumare, accumiatare, ammunire;³—Corton. puduto Racc., 258, cugneta, pruvista 261, vussignuria 263, puchino, furestiero, scuprire, puisie;⁴—Neapol. accusi, pueta, prufeta.⁵

(d.) *o > uo* by analogy with stem-accented forms: *rispuondendo* (*Al.* 24), *suonato* (*Gr. P.* 11), *scuolaro* 22.—Cf. *Flor. suonando Purg. X, 4, tuonar XV, 138*⁶;—*N. Ital. repuosare, aluogare, muolare.*⁷

Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the learned word *cocina* (*Gr. P.* 43).—Cf. *Sen. cocina.*⁸

(b) *o > e*: *interpidi* (*M.* 71); *preissione* (*Gr. P.* 11) is due to the confounding of prefixes.—Cf. *Pis. preissione C. Son., 36.*

Apheresis.

'bria òbljät (*Al.* 13), *gni, gnuno* (*Ricc., 30*), *immè = o(h)imè* (*V. and M.* 100), *ibò = oibò* (*Uso, 470*).—Cf. *Flor. gnun Tancia, 910*;—*Sen. 'gnuno C. Son., 8.*

Syncope.

disnore (*Al.* 43), *bainetta* Bayonne + (*S.* 8).—Cf. *Sen. disnore,*⁸ *bainette C. Son., 64.*

¹ *Zs., IX, 547.*

² *A. G., XII, 115.*

³ *A. G., XII, 145.*

⁴ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital., 123.*

⁵ *Collez. Napol., XXVIII, 5.*

⁶ *Zehle, Laut-und Flex., 30.*

⁷ *Mussafia, Beitrüge, 114.*

⁸ *Zs., IX, 548.*

2. *Post-tonic o.*(a) $o > e$.1. In paroxytones: *quando* (*Gr. P.* 22) formed by analogy with *dove*, *donde*.2. In proparoxytones before *r*: *metafero* (*Gr. P.* 13), *fosfero* 14.(b) $o (+ l) > u (+ l, r)$ in proparoxytones: *diavulo* (*M.* 88), *nócciuur* *nüččölüm* 4, *lucčiuuro* 9, *sdrucčiuuro* 29, *rossignuri* *lüscínüölä* 81.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. diavulo*.¹

Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the proparoxytone *lievore* *lěpörřem* (*Al.* 7).(b) $o > a$ in proparoxytones: *filosafo* (*C.* 72) influenced by *säpěre*; *atamo* (*Gr. P.* 14) by assimilation.—Cf. *Sen. filosafo*.²(c) $o > i$ in the proparoxytone *comido* (*C.* 64) formed by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*.³

Syncope.

dialo *dřäbölüm* (*Al.* 55).

Metathesis.

entroni (*M.* 22).

U

§ 11. TONIC U.

u remains: (*un'*) *uncia* (*Gr. P.* 12), probably influenced by the article *un*, is the only example in Pistojesè where tonic *u* varies from the Italian.

§ 12. ATONIC U.

1. *Pretonic u.*(a) *u* remains.1. In hiatus: *ciuino* *süinüm* (*Ner.*),⁴ *suave* (*S. Fr.* 60).¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 133.²cf. Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.³Zs., IX, 548.⁴Quoted by Caix, *Studi*, 289.

2. In learned and half-learned words.

a. Before labial cons. : *supradetta* (B. 83), *suprabunda* (S. Fr. 23), *puppare* (Uso 780), *summità* (S. Fr. 11).

β. Before liquids : *populazo* (Ricc., 32), *moltiplicare* (S. Fr. 27), *particolare* 52, *difficultà* (N. 181), *urviato* (Ricc., 25), *ratturbare* (C. 92), *currieri* (N. 14), *giocurare* (Uso, 437).

γ. Before *n* : *habundare*, *fundare* (S. Fr. 2), *circundata* 8.

δ. Before *s* : *circustantia* (S. Fr. 9), *cusì*.

ε. Special cases : *crucifisso* (J. 29), *scudella* (Gr. P. 12) formed on *scudo*.—Cf. Dante, who preserves the pretonic *u* before *l* : *maculato* *Inf.* I, 33, *canicolare* *XXV*, 10, *singulare* *Purg.* VIII, 67, *sepulcrato* *XXI*, 7, *articulare* *XXV*, 69 ;¹—Sen. *scudella*, *manutenere*, *abundanza*, *voluntà*, *cultui* ;²—Luc. *ruvina*, *scudella*, *curtello*, *singulare* ;³—Pis. *scudella*, *curtello*, *populare*, *cusì* ;⁴—Corton. *cusì* *Racc.*, 263.

(b) *u* > *i* through *ü* ;⁵ that is *u* is fronted and then unrounded : *bigia* (Ap. 97) ; *bifonchiato* (M. 48) and *timore tūmōrēm* (C. 106) are due to dissimilation ;⁶ *manitengolo* 42.—Cf. Flor. *Ridolfo* *Purg.* VII, 94, *ognindì Tancia*, 936, *monimento* 955 ;—Sen. *rimore*, *giramento*, *gidicare*, *gignore* (*junioem*) ;⁷—Luc. *piggello*, *dindolare* ;⁸—Pis. *nicciolo*.⁹

(c) *u* > *o* in old Pistojesse.

1. In hiatus : *perpetoale* (Al. 66), *continoamente* 72.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *perpetoali*.¹⁰

2. For pretonic *u* > *o* out of hiatus it is difficult to formulate a rule. Perhaps the cause of this development can be traced to the influence of the Umbrian-Aretino school : *soperbia* (Al. 9), *omana*, *otilitade*, *natorale*, *anonziano* 12, *prononziano* 13 by assimilation, *soficente* 15, *prodenza* 19 formed on *prode*, *adolterio* 34, *soccidere* 35, *innomerevili* 53, *ineobriato* 54, *ponire* 55, *vitoperio* 57, *oscire* 65, *istodiosamente* 70, *torri-*

¹ Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 31.

² Zs., IX, 549.

³ A. G., XII, 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 191 foll.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 358.

⁷ Zs., IX, 549.

⁸ A. G., XII, 115.

⁹ A. G., XII, 146.

¹⁰ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 162.

bile tūs (tūris) + (J. 3), *dinonzare* 12, *sopportare* (I. P. 273) and *dobboletto* (M. 35) by assimilation, *nodrite* (Cino, 94), *occiso* 105; modern are *ainnosando* (M. 71), *gostasse* 91, *soppidiano* (S. 8), *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *omore*¹ by assimilation.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *homano*, *ponire*;²—Guittone d'Arezzo and his school: *ottulità*, *osaggio*, *storbare*, *gostando*, *soperbia*, *omiltà*, *soficiente*, *prodenza*, *sopporre*, *dobitoso*;³—Sen. *nodrire*, *oneversità*, *omore*, *osanza*, *congiogale*, *forare*, *formento*, *robrica*, *soprrire* (supplire), *stromento*, *totore* (tütörëm);⁴—Luc. *torbato*, *coscino*, *Nonziata*, *oncino*;⁵—Pis. *scottino*, *morella*, *usorieri*, *torbato*, *oncino*.⁶

Variants.

u > *e* before *r*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *userajo* ūsūrārīŭm (S. 8) by dissimilation.—Cf. Sen. *teribilo*.⁷

Apheresis.

'*n* = *uno* (Son. Pop., 43), '*na* = *una* 55, '*niversale* 43. In '*n* and '*na* the tonic *u* becomes pretonic before it is cut off by apheresis.—Cf. Flor. '*n*, '*na*;—Sen. '*na* C. Son., 13, '*Golino* 41;—Luc. '*na* Can. Pop., 19;—Pis. '*Golino* C. Son., 23, '*na* 85.

Syncope.

After *q*: *catrino* (C. 36), *ligori* (Gr. P. 43).—Cf. Flor. *chistione* C. Son., 40.

2. Post-tonic *u*.

(a) *u* remains in proparoxytones.

1. Before *l*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *populo* (S. Fr. 40), *seculo* 51.

2. Before *l* > *r*: *bruscuro* bŭxŭlŭm (M. 3), *pisuro* 7, *roturo* 25, *scarrabatturi* 31, *cioture* German. schutt + ŭlŭm 37, *trot-*

¹ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 274.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 182, 186.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 95; Zehle, *Laut und Flex.*, 32.

⁴ Zs., IX, 548-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ A. G. XII, 115.

⁷ cf. pt > ct, § 16, 2.

tura, *fignuro* German. *finne* + *ülüm* 42, *spiguro* 43, *brocuri* 53, *ventricuro* 56, *pillura*, *rozzura*, *moccuro* *Uso*, 639.—Cf. Flor. *maculo* *Lam. di Cec.*, 8, *popul* *Intell.*, 200;—Luc. *pilhura*, *becuro*, *pentura*, *tomburo*, *populo*, *tabernaculo*, *turibulo*;¹—*populo*, *turibulo*.²

AU

§ 13. TONIC AU.

au (generally secondary) remains in old Pistojesse: *paraula* (*Al.* 3), *paulo* 21, *laudi* 22, *diaula* 48, *imparaule* (*J.* 16), *taula* 24, *auro*, *tesauro* (*Cino*, 424).—Cf. Flor. *auro* *Intell.*, 132;—Luc. *aulo*, *paraula*, *taula*, *diaulo*, *fraula*, *miraulo*, *Paulo*;³—Pis. *naulo*, *raula*, *taula*, *caulo*, *Paulo*.⁴

Variants.

(a) *au* > *u*; that is the *a* is rounded by assimilation to the *u* and then *uu* is reduced to *u*: *u* aut (*Al.* 7).

(b) *au* > *uo*: *può paucum* (*Gr. P.* 40).

§ 14. ATONIC AU.

1. Pretonic *au*.

(a) *au* > *a*: in old Pistojesse: *atorità* (*Al.* 53), *aricalco* (*J.* 24).

(b) *au* > *o*: *odierae* (*Al.* 36), *osingatori* 39, *ogosto* (*Ricc.*, 3), by assimilation, *odito* (*Cino*, 72), *orologio* = *lauro* + *regio* (*V. and M.* 21).—Cf. Luc. *Ogosto B. Luc.*, 16.

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 115.

² *Ibid.*, 146.

³ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

CONSONANTS.

A. LABIALS.

P

§ 15. INITIAL P.

Variants.

- (a) $p > c$: *cicco* = *piccolo* (*M.* 28) by assimilation.
 (b) $p > f$: *fermanenza* (*Gr. P.* 18), probably *permanenza*
 + *fermare*, (*fà*) *foo* = *poco* (*Son. Pop.*, 43) by assimilation.

§ 16. MEDIAL P.

1. Intervocalic *p*.

$p > pp$: *sappiente* (*M.* 6), (*co'*) *ppiè* 53, *doppo* (*C.* 11), *trap-pocho* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. pappa, doppio*, *G(igli)*, *V(ocabolario Cateriniano)*, remarks: "Doppo scrisse la Santa (Caterina), e tutti i Sanesi, ed i Lucchesi, ed i Pisani, ed i Pistojesi, ed gli Aretini."¹

Variants.

- (a) *p* remains: *apo* apud (*Al.* 16).
 (b) $p > b$: *abis läpīs* (*Gr. P.* 11).

2. *p* before a consonant.

$p(+t) > c(+t)$ in old Pistojesse by analogy with the numerous Latin words in *ct* as *dictūm*, etc.: *corrocto cōrrūptūm* (*Al.* 8), *achacta ādcāptūm*, *scricto* 12, *iscrictura*, *incactiviscie* 30, *sectembre* 71.

Variants.

- (a) $p(+t)$ remains: *scripto* (*Al.* 7).—Cf. *Pis. scripto Crest.*, 166.

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 566.

(b) $p(+r) > b(+r)$: *abrile* (Al. 74), *ginebro jünip'rüs* (Gr. P. 14).

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic p : *piolare pīpīlāre* (C. 89) by dissimilation.

(b) Before t : *iscrito* (Al. 14), *Batista* (J. 16), *setanta* (Gr. P. 12).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *otime*, *Setembres*, *setimo*.¹

PP

§ 17. MEDIAL PP.

1. Intervocalic *pp*.

$pp > p$ in old Pistoiese: *aparechia äppärīcūlāre* (Al. 12), *apuntato* (Ap. 7), *aporrà* 99.

2. *pp* before a consonant.

$pp + r > pr$: *apresso* (Al. 9), *aprossima* (Ap. 97).

B

§ 18. INITIAL B.

Variants.

(a) $b > f$: *forbotta* (C. 11) by dissimilation.

(b) $b > m$: *migna* by the assimilation of the oral labial to the nasal labial.

§ 19. MEDIAL B.

1. Intervocalic *b*.

(a) $b > bb$: *abbominazione* (Ap. 71), *rubato* (N. 115), *scabelli* (M. 31), *dobboletto* 35, *robba* (S. 10), *libbera* (C. 9), *subbito* 12, (*qui*) *bbambino* (Gr. P. 23), *subbitana* 24, *sabbato* 35.—Cf. Sen. *robba*, *robbare*,² *subbito* C. Son., 8;—Luc. *debbito*, *nobbile*;³—Pis. *libbero*, *subbito*, *dubbitare*.⁴

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 143-4.

³ A. G., XII, 124.

² Zs., IX, 566.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

(b) *b* > *g* probably under Etruscan influence: *lagorare* (S. 93), *nugole nūbīlēm* (C. 22), *lagoro*.—Cf. Flor. *lagorare Tancia*, 875, *lagorío* 877, *lagoro* 926;—Sen. *lagorare*, *lagorío*, *diagol dīābōlūm*.¹

Variants.

(a) *b* remains in old Pistojesse: *dubio* (Al. 5), *debono* (J. 1), *obedire* 15.

(b) *b* > *sc*: *diascolio* (C. 43), *diascolo*.—Cf. Flor. *diascolo Tancia*, 876.

(c) *b* > *v*: *possivole* (C. 37).

(d) *b* > *vv*: *avorto* ābōrtūm (M. 46).

2. *b* after a consonant.

m + *b* > *mm*: *incommensa cūmbēre* + (Gr. P. 17).—Cf. Luc. *incommensa*, *incammo* = *in* + *cambio*.²

3. *b* before a consonant.

Variants.

(a) Before *r*.

1. *b* remains: *labra* (Al. 3), *febraio* (Ricc., 34), *fabrica* (Gr. P. 43).

2. *b* > *bb*: *libbro*, *libbra* (Gr. P. 11).

3. *b* > *p*: *Ottopre* (Gr. P. 11).

4. *b* > *r* by assimilation: *Ferrago* (S. 76).

5. *b* > *v*: *livre* *librām* (J. 2), *livra* (J. 2, n.).—Cf. Sen. *livro* *librum*, *livra*;²—Pis. *livra*, *ottorre*.³

(b) *b* (+ *s*) remains: *observare* (Al. 13).

(c) *b* (+ *t*) > *c* (+ *t*) in old Pistojesse by analogy with the many Latin forms in *ct* as *dīctūm*, etc.:⁴ *socto* *subtus* (Al. 4), *soctilmente* 13, *soctile* 27, *asoctialimento* 31.—Cf. Luc. *socto* B. Luc., 5.

Zs., IX, 566.

²A. G., XII, 124.

³Ibid., 152.

⁴cf. *pt* > *ct*, § 16, 2.

Syncope.

- (a) Intervocalic *b*: *altroe* älītēr + ūbī (*Al.* 5), *diaula* 48.
 (b) Before a consonant: *oservare* (*Al.* 46), *solevò* (*Ap.* 79), *Feraio* (*Ricc.*, 60).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *Feraras* (= *Februarias*).¹

Epenthesis.

After *m* the voiced labial *b* is introduced as a glide in modern Pistoiese: *stombaco* (*M.* 6), *rigombitò* = *vomitò* 8, *ombè* 16, *stombachini* 47, *camberata* 72, *sembola* (*C.* 17), *cambera* 21, *rembolare rēmōrāre* (*N.* 76), *sembolino*, *gombiti*, *prezzembolo* (secondary *m*) *pētrōsētīnōn*, *coombero cūcūmērēm* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Flor. *ombè Tancia*, 879;—Luc. *cambera*, *coombaro*, *tomburo*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*;²—Pis. *cambera*, *coombero*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*;³—Aret. *fiamba*, *sembola*;⁴—Ladini *stombec*.⁴

BB

§ 20. MEDIAL BB.

1. Intervocalic *bb*.

Variant.

bb > *b*: *babo* bābūm (*Gr. P.* 21).

F

§ 21. MEDIAL F.

1. Intervocalic *f*.

f > *ff* only after the conjunctions *e*, *che*, the prepositions *a*, *da* and the article *la*: *effine* = *e* + *fine* (*Ap.* 5), *eff'a'* 9, *effugli* 25, *effortezza* 31, *effu* 35, *effedeli* 73, *effano* 75, *cheffecie* 59, *afformichare* 11, *affinire*, *daffare* (*Gr. P.* 40), *laffemmina* (*Ap.* 71).—Cf. Aret. *a ffine*, *a ffare Crest.*, 176, *e ffa*, *a fforza* 179.

¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 128; III, 64.

³*Ibid.*, 150.

²*A. G.*, XII, 120.

⁴Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 308, n. 2.

2. *f* after a consonant.

Variants.

(*n* +) *f* > (*n*) + *ff*: 'nffine (Al. 76).

Prosthesis.

fazione = *fare* + *azione* (Gr. P. 18).

FF

§ 22. MEDIAL FF.

1. Intervocalic *ff*.

ff > *f*: *oficio* (Al. 21), *dificile* (Ricc., 29), *difiultà* (Gr. P. 15), *afezionata* 21.

2. *ff* before a consonant.

(a) *ff*(+*r*) > *f*(+*r*): *ofrivano* (Gr. P. 22).

V

§ 23. INITIAL V.

(a) *v* > *b*: *bomitare* (Ap. 17), *bocie* = *voce* 19, *bassogliate* *väsörřüm* + (M. 43), *boto*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *bia*, *bice*, *benisti*;¹—Flor. *boce*;—Sen. *boce*, *bociare*, *boto*.²

(b) *v* > *g*; that is *b* becomes bilabial and is then backed under Etruscan influence: *gola*, *golatina*, *gorpe* = *volpe* (C. 10).—Cf. Sen. *golpe*, *golare*, *golo*.

§ 24. MEDIAL V.

1. Intervocalic *v*.

Variants.

(a) *v* remains: *pavura* (C. 9).

(b) *v* > *vv*: *provveggo* (M. 54), *intravvenuto* (N. 31).

(c) *v* > *b*: *eba* (Al. 26).

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

² Zs., IX, 567.

(d) $v > g$: *rigomitò* (*M.* 8).

(e) $v + i > bi$: *gabie gävëä* (*Gr. P.* 43).

2. *v* before a consonant.

(a) $v (+ t) > p (+ t)$: *ciptadella* (*Ricc.*, 10), *ciptadino* 11, *cipta* 27.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *v* in modern Pistojesse: (*la*) 'ogghio (*S.* 7), *arriare* 11, *rimóere*, (*ti*) *äggo* 32, *riende* 80, *Liorno* 92, *ciilino* 96, *Ciütaecchia*, (*ci*) 'engo 104, *ulio* 106, (*di*) 'edere 122, *diino* 151, (*prendera*) 'ista 152, *gioentù* 159, (*la*) 'ostra 205, *Serralle* 231, *traerso*, *proerbio* (*C.* 8), *cattio*, *brao* 9, *lea*, *diénto* 15, *gioane*, *caati* 18, *gioanino*, *ciétta*, *leatico*, *taola* 19, *taolino* 29, *gioanotto* 36, *dierto* 40, *incattiita* 43, *rincüilita* 44, and in the old language *fao* (*Al.* 15); secondary *v*: *aére* (*S.* 20), *póero* 29, *caallo* 30, *toagghia* Germanic þwahlja 58, *aanzo* 116, *laorare* 128, *seriano*, *troare* 151, *beanda* *bibändä* 153, *laoro* (*C.* 22), *auta*, *addoe* 26, *beer* *bibëre* 27, *caulluccio* 32, *goerno* 33, *seriere* (*S. and C.* 21).—Cf. *Flor. auto Tancia*, 936, (*ci*) 'orrebbe *C. Son.*, 6, (*potessi*) 'enire, (*si*) 'ede 7, (*ha*) 'isto, *troallo* 10, (*una*) 'orta 13, *dientare* 14, *leäre* 15, *goerno* 41, *brao* 44, *taola* 77, *spiouto Race.*, 280, *ceaolo* 282, *quiggione*, *riceere* 284;—*Sen. bree*, (*naso*) 'ole *C. Son.*, 7, *auto* 16, *poero* 26;—*Luc. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *attroe*;¹—*Pis. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *piouto*, *altroe*.²

Epenthesis.

Intervocalic *v*: *Pavolo* (*Gr. P.* 46); under the influence of the labial vowel *o*, intervocalic *v* is intercalated in order to break hiatus.

W

§ 25. INITIAL W.

Variants.

(a) $w > b$: *bidalesco* German. *widerrist* (*M.* 41).

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 119.

² *Ibid.*, 148-9.

(b) $w > g'$: *giangie* O. H. G. *wankja* (*Gr. P.* 14), by assimilation.

(c) $w > v$: *verra* German. *wërra* (*Al.* 68).

B. DENTALS.

T

§ 26. INITIAL T.

Variants.

1. Simple initial.

$t > ch (= k)$ through *tj*: *chiepido* (*M.* 58), *chienire* (*Gr. P.* 37) < *tienire* < *tënëre*.

2. Initial group.

$t(+r) > f(+r)$: *fracchienere* (*C.* 28).

§ 27. MEDIAL T.

1. Intervocalic *t*.

(a) $t > tt$ after *a, che*: *atte* = *a + te* (*Ap.* 9), *attestimoniare* 97, *chettu*, *chettiene* 7, *chetteme* 81; also *eterno* 59, *mattutina* 13, *etta* (*Ricc.*, 44), (*sia*) *ttopi* (*M.* 34), *aneddotto* an-éc-doton (*Gr. P.* 47).—Cf. *Luc. acchitto*, *cottone*, *tittolo*; ¹—*Pis. cottono*, *uttilitade*, *Prottonotaio*, *Mattelda*, ²*regalatta*, *pagatta*, *compratta*, *usatta* *C. Son.*, 59.

(b) $t > d$.

1. In the terminations *-ate*, *-ute*, *-torc* in old Pistojesse: *generalitade*, *oscuritade* (*Al.* 3), *volontade*, *amistade* 4, *veritade*, *fidelitade*, *vanitade* 7, *malvascütade* 8, *nequitade* 9, *otilitade*, *crudelitadi* 12, *quantitade* 13, *qualitade* 14, *sanitade* 15, *adversitade* 19, *difficultade* 23, *onestade*, *bontade* 25, *humanitade*, *somitade* 31, *voluttade*, *infermitade* 35, *necessitade* 36, *iniquitade* 50, *possibilitade* 52, *autoritadi* 59, *povertade*, *parentadi*

¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 151.

61, *libertade*, *mendicitude* 62, *cittade* 64, *benignitude* 69, *santade* 71, *nimistade* 74, *creditade* (B. 81), *nativitade* (J. 1), *etade*, *podestade* 2, *solemnitade* 5, *universitade* 7, *metade* 9, *festivitade* 10, *proprietade* 16, *nuditade* (Ap. 17), *chiaritade* 91; *vertude* (Al. 57), *servitude* 66; *servidore* 5, *inperidore* 53. In Albertano there are only two forms in which the termination *-ate* is preserved: *utilitade* 47, *cupiditade* 71, while the preservation of *-tore* is the rule: *difenditore* 12, *uditore* 14, *lusingatore* 21, *gridatore* 25, etc.

2. Special cases: *privadi* (Al. 21), *rachidine* Grk. *ραχίτις* (Gr. P. 14), *podere*.—Cf. Flor. *volontade* Crest., 20; “Die Endungen der Substantiva auf *-ate*, *-ute*, welche bei den ältesten Dichtern fast ausschliesslich gesetzt werden—höchst selten sind *-ade*, *-ude*—haben bei Dante ebenso häufig *-ade*, *-ude* neben sich, sowohl im Reim wie in der Mitte des Verses. Auch Brunetto hat beide Formen.”¹ *imperadore* Inf. I, 134;—Sen. *fadiga*, *amministradore*, *staduto*, *mudande*, *podere*, *privado*;²—Luc. *fedeltade* B. Luc., 3, *voluntade* 18, *podestade*, *meitade*, *dignitade* 32, *comunitade* 34, *utilitade* 61, *quantitade* 70, *cittade* 74, etc.;—Pis. *utilitade*,³ *servidore* Crest., 58;—Canzon. ital. *podestade*, *eitade*, *sanitade*, *aversitade*, *onestade*, *utilitade*, *amistade*, *gioventade*, *chastitade*, *bonitade*, *pietade*, *charitade*, by the side of the forms in *-ate*, etc. Also *amadore*, *galiadore*, *validore*, *rappidor*, *miradore*, *partadore*, *speradore*, by the side of *vengiatore*, etc.⁴

(c) *t > th* (p) regularly in modern Pistojesse; the development occurs more frequently after the accent than before it.

1. After the accent.

a. 5 Pres. Indicative and Imperative: *fathemi*, *dathemi*, *scusathemi*, *stathe*, *parlathe*, *siethe*, *vedethe*, *credethe*, *dithe*, *sentithe*, *venithe*, etc.

β. Perf. Participle: *datho*, *statho*, *natho*, *amatho*, *portatho*, *pagatho*, *tentatho*, *scusatho*, *mostratho*, *adoperatho*, *autho*, *sapu-*

¹ Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 53.

² Zs., IX, 560.

³ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴ Caix, *Origini*, 155–6.

tho, *perduto*, *itho*, *sortitho*, *capitho*, *sentitho*, *venitho*, *finitho*, *salitho*, etc.

γ. Other cases: *pothere*, *ripethere*, *vitha*, *giornathe*, *mutho*, *consuetho*, and in the old language *popolatho* (*Al.* 58).

2. Before the accent: *patherno*, *pothea*, *compathire*, (*egghi*) *thornava*, *dubithò*, *piethà*, *pathibolo*, (*che*) *thiene*, (*la*) *therra*, (*la*) *thesta*, *muthamento*, and in the old language *catholica* (*Al.* 66).—

In the Florentine dialect intervocalic *t* after the accent becomes *ch* (written in *Uso ch*, in *C. Son.* *c*, before *a*, *o*, and *ch* before *e*, but pronounced open *ch*). Examples from *Uso*: *Pilacho*, *restacha*, *vedeche*, *sieche*, *ache*, *entracho*, *aspettache*, *dareche*, *voissucho* = *volsuto*, *pedache*, *veniche* 206, *voleche*, *potucho*, *siache*, *peccacho* 207, *facciacha*, *parlacho*, *diche*, *nottache*, *usacho*, *ripetuchò* 208, etc. Examples from *C. Son.*: *finico* 19, *scappaca*, *procuraco*, *stampaco*, *proibica*, *studiaco* 20, *giornaca*, *guadagnaca*, *disgraziaca*, *sudaco* 22, *staco* 29, *sentico*, *portaco* 30, *nottache*, *giulebbache*, *sonache* 33, *daco*, *citaco*, *sieche* 36, etc.

Variants.

(a) $t > ct$: *tictolo* (*Al.* 4).

(b) $t > gg'$: *meggia mētā* (*C.* 8).

(c) $t > r$: *coresto eccu + tibi + istum* (*M.* 11).

$t + \dot{i}$.

(a) $t (+ \dot{i})$ remains in old Pistojesse: *gratia* (*Al.* 3), *isposizione* 5, *genneratione*, *gratiosa* 8, *malitia* 11, *amicitia* 12, *giustitia* 15, *tristitia* 20, *pretioso* 27, *avaritia* 34, *malitiosi*, *convisatione* 38, *liberatione* (*J.* 9), *pretio* 11, *amonitione*, *reparatione* 15, *operationi* 17, *tribulationi* (*Ricc.*, 1), *uftiali* 16, *devotione* 23, *venitiani* 24, *tristitia* 51, *tribulationi* 57, *laudatia* (*Ap.* 5), *sagrifitii* 11, *tentatione* 15, *beneditione* 21, *orationi*, *natione* 23, *intossichationi*, *fornicationi* 41, *dannatione*, *bordelatione* 69, *abominatione*, *amiratione* 71, *dilitie* 75, *giustificazioni* 81, *gratiosamente* 89, *difitio* 93.—Cf. *Luc. restitutione B. Luc.*, 2, *conditione* 6, *spetiale*, *petitione*, *gratia* 15, *inquisitione*

23, *compartione* 29, *generatione* 48, *distributione* 54, *examinatione* 91, *emendatione*, *probatione* 101, *diffinitione* 102;—Canzon. ital. *conditione*, *pretioso*, *vitio*, *gratia*, *iustitia*, *karitia*, *dovitia*, *rationale*.¹

(b) $t(+i) > sc(+i) = \acute{s}$ in old Pistojesse: *rascione* (*Al.* 4), *induscio*, *dispresciare* 6, *malvasciamente*, *malvasciatadi* 8, *malvascio* 11, *serviscio* 12, *diliberascione* 23.—Cf. Flor. *rascione* *Crest.*, 20;—Sen. *condan(n)ascione*, *denunziascione*, *rascione*, *serviscio*;²—Pis. *prescio*, *rascione* *Crest.*, 167;—Canzon. ital. *prescio*, *rascione*.³

(c) $t(+i) > z (= ts)$ in old Pistojesse; this development takes place principally with the suffix *-itā*: *aspreze* (*Al.* 7), *caldeze* 10, *dolceza* 15, *vechieza* 16, *ricchezza*, *grandezza* 22, *dimesticheza* 49, *agevileza* 52, *stolteza* 58, *allegreza*, *gentileza* 61, *macteza* 68, *largheza* 69, *forteza* (*Ricc.*, 10), *belleza*, *dispreza* 45; also modern *maza mat(t)ĕa* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Aret. *vagheza*, *graveza*, *gienteleza*, *belleza*, *ricchezza* *Crest.*, 174, *allegreza* 175, *alteza* 180.

(d) $t(+i) > zz(+i) = tsi$ in modern Pistojesse: *prezzio* (*N.* 205), *ringrazzi* (*Gr. P.* 20), *grazzia*, *disgrazzie*, *ozzio* 21, *pastorizzia*, *vizzi* 22, *nazzioni*, *pazziensa*, *condizione* 21.

Variants.

(a) $t(i) > \acute{c}$: *ispreciando* (*Al.* 22).

(b) $t(+i) > c (= k)$: *incumincare* (*Al.* 68).

(c) $t(+i) > th(p)$: *grathia* (*Al.* 16), *impathe* 19, *riccetha* 62.

(d) $t(+i) > sc(sk)$: *rascone* (*Al.* 64), *indusco* 68, *dispresca* 69, *'nduscare* 70.

(e) $t(+i) > sg(+i) = \acute{z}$: *rasgione* (*J.* 5).—Cf. Prat. *rasgione* *Crest.*, 95;—Pis. *stasgione* 58;—Aret. *rasgione* 168.

(f) $t(+i) > ct(+i)$: *discretione* (*Al.* 4).

2. *t* after a consonant.

(a) $(s+)t > (s+)ch (= k')$: *foraschiero* (*C.* 35), *meschieri*, *aschero* (*Gr. P.* 17).

¹ *Ibid.*, 157-8.

² *Zs.*, IX, 561.

³ *Caix, Origini*, 160.

(b) $(s +)t(+r) > ss$ by assimilation: *nosso, vosso* (*M.* 32), *mossato* (*M.* 32, n.).

(c) $(c +)t(+\dot{i})$ remains: *indictione* (*Al.* 16), *subiectione* 75, *electione* (*J.* 2), *factione* 6.—Cf. *Luc. exactione B. Luc.*, 18, *detractione* 61;—*Pis. benedictione Crest.*, 166.

(d) $(n +)t(+\dot{i})$ remains in old Pistojesse: *pronontiare* (*Al.* 13), *dinontiatà* 67, *licentia* (*B.* 77), *conscientia* (*J.* 3), *reverentia* 5, *mentione* 11, *loquentia* (*Ricc.*, 44), *potentia* 30, *presentia* 51, *patientia* (*Ap.* 5), *silentio* 33, *assentio* 35, *mercantie* 75.—Cf. *Luc. licentia B. Luc.*, 9, *credentia*, *dinontiare* 12, *sententia* 13, *mercantia* 16, *stantiato* 19, *antiani* 104, *presentia* 113;—*Pis. presentia Crest.*, 166, *mercantia*;¹—*Aret. sapientia Crest.*, 175.

(e) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n +)th$ (p) in old Pistojesse: *anthi* (*Al.* 3), *usanthi*, *sapientha* 11, *prudentha*, *canoscentha* 47.—Cf. *Luc. dinanthi, innanthi B. Luc.*, 12.

(f) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n) + s$: *Firense* (*Gr. P.* 12), *mancansa* 19, *scensa, coscensa* 20, *pazziensa* 21, *indigena* 44, *innansi* 67.—Cf. *Sen. benivolensa, cominsare, Fiorense, dinansi, senza, stansa*;²—*Luc. dinansi B. Luc.*, 23, *credensa, dilivansa* 99, *rinonsare* 101;—*Pis. senblansa, doglensa, amansa, pietansa, intensa, disviansa, accordansa, soffrensa, dubitansa, partensa Crest.*, 78, *valensa, fallensa, dottansa, convenensa, tardansa, plagensa* 79;—*Aret. sembiansa* 170, *temensa* 176, *valensa, negrigiensa* 183.

(g) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n +)z(+i)$: *confidenzie* (*N.* 101), *presenzia* 106, *reverenzie, sentenzia* 124, *avvertenzie* 315.

(h) $(s +)t(+\dot{i}) > s + ch (= k') + i$: *beschiaccia* (*C.* 24), *beschia, fracchierenere = trattenere* 28, *oschia* (*Gr. P.* 11).

(i) $s(+t) > ss$ by assimilation.

1. *Pret. Ind.* 2: *passassi, mangiassi* (*S.* 208), *prestassi, andassi, stassi* (*Gr. P.* 43), *cadessi* (*S.* 207), *cognoscessi* 62, *potessi* 117, *ebbessi* (*C.* 47), *coghiessi* 65, *dissi* 68, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienessi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *fussi, facessi, dicessi* (*Gr. P.* 33), *sentissi* (*S.* 138), *partissi* 207, *vienissi* (*C.* 110).

¹A. G., XII, 151.

²Zs., IX, 561.

2. Pret. Ind. 5: *andassi* (S. 34), *stessi* (C. 103), *ebbessi* (S. 29), *cognossi* 62, *coggiessi* 64, *volessi* 156, *fussi* (C. 70), *paressi* 86, *potessi* 90, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienssi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *dicessi* (Gr. P. 33), *sentissi* (S. 138), *vienissi* 155, *partissi* (C. 87).

3. Conditional 2: *anderessi* (S. 34), *ameressi* 173, *saressi* 74, *daressi* (C. 14), *diressi* 32, *averessi* 48, *coghieressi* 66, *saperessi* (N. 169).

4. Conditional 5: *anderessi* (S. 34), *aressi* 30, *coghieressi* 66, *dirressi* 68, *saressi* 74.

5. Imp. Subj. 5: *andessi* (S. 34), *aessi* 30, *coggiessi* (C. 65), *dicessi* 68, *fussi* 71, *sapessi* (N. 145), *vienissi* 40.—Cf. Pop. Lat. Pret. 2: *duxissi*;¹—Sen. Imp. Subj. 5: *aitasse*, *andasse*, *avesse*, *dessi*, *dicesse*, *dovesse*, *facesse*, *persassi*, *pigliasse*, *sapesse*.²

Variants.

- (a) $(s +)t$ remains: *fistio*, *stianto* *ăst*[*ŭ*]lă (Gr. P. 11).
 (b) $(c +)t > cc (= kk)$: *spacco* (Gr. P. 43).
 (c) $(l +)t > (l +)g'$: *volgale = voltale* (Al. 13).
 (d) $(n +)t > (n +)ch (= k')$: *manchienuta* (M. 12), *volenchieri* (C. 22).—Cf. Flor. *volenchieri* C. Son., 11.
 (e) $(n +)t > (n +)ct$: *tancte* (Al. 59).
 (f) $(c +)t(+\hat{i}) > zz (= tts) + i$: *affezionato* (Gr. P. 21).
 (g) $(l +)t + \hat{i} > (l +)s$: *filsa* *fīl'tīā* (Gr. P. 21).
 (h) $(n +)t + \hat{i} > (n +)c (= k)$: *fancullo* (Gr. P. 21).
 (i) $n + t + \hat{i} > n + ch (= k') + i$: *denanchi* (Al. 54).
 (j) $(r +)t(+\hat{i})$ remains: *tertio* (Ricc., 41).
 (k) $(r +)t(+\hat{i}) > (r +)s$: *forsa* (Gr. P. 24), *smorsata* 43.
 (l) $(s +)t(+\hat{i}) > ss$: *possa* *pöstčă* (Al. 6). This assimilation of the *t* to the *s* is caused by the strong sonorous character of the *s*.

3. *t* before a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $t('c) > g + i(\hat{g})$: *viagio* (Al. 10).
 (b) $t(+r) > tt(+r)$: *tu tettrè = tutte e tre'* (Gr. P. 24).

¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 145.

²Zs., IX, 413.

(c) $t(+z) > l(+z)$: *falzoletto* dimin. of German. *fetzen* (*Gr. P.* 10); $t > z$ by assimilation and then $z > l$ under influence of the following l ?

TT

§ 28. MEDIAL TT.

Intervocalic tt.

(a) $tt > ct (k't)$ in old Pistojesse: *tuctora*, *versecto*, *infra-mectere* (*Al.* 3), *saecte* 5, *tucto* 7, *mecteno* 11, *poghecto* 13, *bactalia* 29, *combactere* 66, *macteza* 68, *mactina* 71, *lectera* (*Ricc.*, 14).—Cf. *Sen. inpromectere Crest.*, 164;—*Luc. tucto B. Luc.*, 3, *quattro* 22, *saectare* 23, *mectare* 66, *dimactina* 92;—*Pis. tucti Crest.*, 166;—*Aret. tucto* 177.

(b) $tt > t$: *quattro* (*Al.* 30), *tuti* 31, *saecte* 51, *atesto* (*Gr. P.* 44).

Variants.

(a) $tt(+i) > cc (=kk)$: *goccolone güttiä* + (*Gr. P.* 20).

(b) $t(t) + i > z$: *ammazato mä(t)ëä* + (*Gr. P.* 67).

D

§ 29. INITIAL D.

$d(+i) > g$: *gorno dïürnüm* (*Al.* 22, *Gr. P.* 16).

§ 30. MEDIAL D.

1. *Intervocalic d.*

(a) $d \leftarrow > dd$: *sopraddetto* (*B.* 79), *daddio* (*Ap.* 17), *addue* 45, *adduoi* 51, *tuttiddua* (*M.* 4), *verneddi* 17, *contraddanza* (*S.* 154), *addoperà[re]* (*C.* 47), *deddio* (*Gr. P.* 16).—Cf. *Flor. à ddato Crest.*, 25;—*Luc. sodomito*, *rinneddio*, *imbiddia*, *mar-teddì*, *gioveddì*, *luneddì*.¹

¹A. G., XII, 123.

(b) $d > th$ (δ) in modern Pistoiese: *rithere, vithi, motho, erethe, stratho, grithò*, (sono) *thebitore, uthire, methesimo* (secondary d), (*si*) *theve, siethere, cothardo*.

Variants.

(a) d remains: *ched* (δ) *quĩd* (*Al.* 64).—Cf. *Sen. ched*;¹—*Luc. ched è*;²—*Pis. ched ei*.³

(b) $d > l$: *olorare* = $\delta d\acute{e}r\acute{a}re + \delta l\acute{e}re$ (*Al.* 55).⁴—Cf. *Flor. lore Tancia*, 1.

(c) $d > r$: *mirolla mēdūllām* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. *Sen. mirollo*.⁵

(d) $d > t$: *temitoso* (*M.* 88) by assimilation, *mucito* (*Gr. P.* 15), *acito* 23, influenced by *aceto*.—Cf. *Luc. tiebbito, friggito, sucito*;²—*Pis. velocipite, ossito, liquito*.⁶

(e) $d > v$; that is d disappears and v is introduced as a voiced labial glide under the influence of a labial vowel or of a (?): *avolterio* (*Al.* 22), *chivo* (*M.* 3, n.), *slavigli* (cf. *pavesi*) *Gr. P.* 13.

(f) $d (+ i) > g + i$ (\acute{g}): *ogi* (*Al.* 54), *segiole*.—Cf. *Sen. ogi Crest.*, 162.

(g) $d (+ i) > gh$: *poghecto pōdriūm +* (*Al.* 12), *seghe* (*Ap.* 75).

(h) $d + \acute{i} > ggh$: *cregghiate* (*M.* 3).

(i) $d (+ i) > gl + i$ (l'): *noglia* = *noja, gioglia* (*M.* 11).

(j) $d (+ i) > gn + i$ (n'): *vergognia* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(k) $d (+ i) > \acute{z}$: *mezane* (*Al.* 13), *mezo* (*Gr. P.* 22).—Cf. *Luc. mezo B. Luc.*, 21.

2. d before a consonant.

d (secondary) + $r > th + r$ (δr): *pathre, mathre, lathro*.

Variants.

(a) $d (+ v)$ remains in the learned word *adversitate* (*Al.* 19).

(b) $d (+ j) > gl$ (= l') + i : *agliutare* (*Gr. P.* 44).

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 561.

² *A. G.*, XII, 123.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 152.

⁴ Cf. Brugmann, *Indo-German. Gram.*, I, § 369.

⁵ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

⁶ *A. G.*, XII, 151.

(c) $d(+r) > t(+r)$: *itropico* Grk. ὑδρωχ (*M.* 8), *ritropisia* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. Luc. *ritropico*;¹—Pis. *ritropico*.²

(d) $d(+t) > c(+t)$: *macto* mǎdftǔm (*Al.* 4).

§ 31. FINAL D.

$d > t$: *at* = *ad* (*Al.* 21).

Apheresis.

(*pagl'*) 'i = *di* (*M.* 25), (*spin'*) *orsale* (*Gr. P.* 14).

Prosthesis.

deccogghi = *eccogli* (*C.* 9), (*una*) *distanza* = *istanza* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Pis. *dèccomi C. Son.*, 51.

Syncope.

The *d* of the prefix *-ad* is frequently syncopated before consonants in old Pistojesse; perhaps, however, the process is that of reduction, that is the *d* is first assimilated to the following consonant, and then the double consonant is reduced to a single consonant.

1. Before a labial consonant: *afermi* (*Al.* 6), *amaestramento* 9, *avenire* 12, *abisognano* 14, *afigeno* 19, *afatiamento* 31, *amonitione* (*J.* 15), and in the modern language *aversieri* (*M.* 50), *afanni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2. Before other consonants: *acompannerà* (*Al.* 11), *aguagli* 38, *asai*, *asociliare* 16, *alora* 19, *asociliamente* 31.—Cf. Sen. *acomandare Crest.*, 82, *asai* 163.

Epenthesis.

After *n* the voiced dental glide *d* is introduced: *cendere* (*Gr. P.* 11), *cenderone* 12; perhaps the *d* of *inde* (?) is preserved in *in-d-un* = *in uno* (*S.* 24), *'ndel* (*Gr. P.* 40), and *ndella* 67.—Cf. Luc. *chende*, *sinde*,³ *ind ello*, *ind uno*;⁴—Pis.

¹ A. G., XII, 123.

² A. G., XII, 151.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 166.

⁴ A. G., XII, 120.

ind uno, ind ello, cendere, tendero;¹—Canzon. ital. where the *d* is evidently from inde: *vonde* = *vonne, fande, nd'agio, kende* = *che ne, co'nde, minde*, also *nond'ò*, the *d* of which is epenthetical;²—French *cendre*.

DD

§ 32. MEDIAL DD.

Intervocalic dd.

dd (secondary) > *d*: *freddo* (*M.* 41).

TH

§ 33. MEDIAL TH.

1. *Intervocalic th.*

Variants.

- (a) *th* remains: *matheo* (*Al.* 53), *timotheo* 73.
- (b) *th* > *d*: *grysolido chrysolithum* (*Ap.* 92).
- (c) *th* > *z* (probably pronounced *th* = *ð*):³ *cazolica* (*Al.* 66).

2. *th* before a consonant.

th (+ *m*) > *mm* by assimilation: *arimmetica* (*Gr. P.* 20).

C. SIBILANTS.

S

§ 34. INITIAL S.

Variants.

- (a) *s* > *c'*: *ciucciano sūctiāre* (*Gr. P.* 36) by assimilation.
- (b) *s* > *sc* + *i* (*s'*): *scialiva* (*C.* 23).

¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

² *Uso*, 206.

³ Cf. *anthi* = *anzi*, *prodentha* = *prodenza*, *sapientha* = *sapienza*, etc. § 27, 2. (e).

(c) $s > z(s)$: *zole* (*M.* 6), *zinfonia* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. Sen. which changes s into z (s) after l, m, n, r : *il zole*, etc.¹

§ 35. MEDIAL s .

1. Intervocalic s .

(a) $s > \text{ş}$: *coşa, casa*.

(b) $s \leftarrow ss$ in old Pistojesse after *si, di, à, che, e, ma, tu*: (*si*) *ssi* (*Al.* 21), (*di*) *sse* 53, (*a*) *ssofferirilla* 60, *chessono, assignificò, assignioria* (*Ap.* 3), *chessi* 7, *masse, massono, chessiate* 9, *essaperanno* 15, *tusse* 17, *assedere, essopra* 19, *esservono, essalì* 33, *chessole* 41, *assonare* 43, *chessia* 45, *essarà* 59, *assigniore* 73, *essolevo, chessuonano* 79, *assantà* 95. The gemination of s takes place rarely in the modern language: in *assaltare* and *asserito* (*M.* 48, n.) the $s < ks$ is doubled after the pretonic e has become a ; *sessia* (*Gr. P.* 67). I have noted only one example of $s > ss$ after the accent: *risposse* (*Gr. P.* 22) by analogy with *scrissi, vissi*.—Cf. Flor. (*da*) *Ssomaia Crest.*, 20, (*la*) *ssua*, (*da*) *Ssan* 21, (*di*) *ssopra* 23, (*ke*) *ssono* 24, (*ke*) *ssodammo* 25;—Luc. *usso, ussare, visso, vissitare, rossa, chiessa, musso, sposso, spossare, Luchessi*, etc.;²—Pis. “*S* mediano fra vocali, quando è sonoro, si raddoppia di regola nel pisano antico. L’espressione grafica ne è z ò ss ; e son superflui gli esempj;”³—Aret. (*e*) *sse Crest.*, 175, (*e*) *ssollicito* 176, (*e*) *ssaggia, (che) sson, (che) ssiamo* 179.

(c) $s (+ i) > sc (= sk)$: *cascone* (*Al.* 64), *basco bāsšüm* 74, *buscardo* O. H. G. *bōsi + (?)* 43, *malvasco* 69.

Variants.

(a) $s > z$: *ritropizia* (*Gr. P.* 44).

(b) $s (+ \text{î}) > \text{ş} (+ i)$: *malvaşio* (*Al.* 11), *Aşio* 51.

(c) $s (+ \text{î}) > c (= k)$: *caco căsšüm* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation, *chamica* 20.

(d) $s (+ \text{î}) > g$: *cagonate* (*Gr. P.* 21).

¹ Zs., IX, 560.

² A. G., XII, 119.

³ *Ibid.*, 149.

(e) $s + \dot{i} > c + i (\dot{s})$: *camicia*.

(f) $s + \dot{i} > sc + i (\dot{s})$: *chascione* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. *Prat. cascione Crest.*, 95;—*Sen. cascione, divisione*.¹

2. *s* after a consonant.

$(n +) s > (n +) z$: *smenza = immensa* (*C.* 24), *'nzomma* 17, *ricompenza* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchonzente* 46.

Variants.

(a) $(n +) s > (n +) c' (\dot{c})$: *sanci* (*M.* 77).

(b) $p + s > p + ss$: *scripssi* (*Al.* 29).

(c) $(r +) s > 1. (r +) c' (\dot{c})$: *verciar* (*M.* 83); 2. $(r +) z$: *horze = corse*.

(d) $(n +) s (+ \dot{i}) > 1. g$: *prigone* (*Gr. P.* 21); 2. $sc + i (\dot{s})$: *priscione* (*Al.* 10); 3. $sg + i (\dot{z})$: *prisgione* (*J.* 2); 4. $(n +) z (+ i)$: *protenzione, protenzionoso* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. *Sen. piscione; pisgione, presgione*.²

Apheresis.

capata (*M.* 94).

Prosthesis.

1. Before a labial cons.: *sbasì* (*M.* 45), *sbeffare, sposare = posare* 45, n., *sfusciarre* 93, *sviolturi* 95, *sbrendoloni* (*C.* 10), *sfiamicante* 11, *spolverino* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Before a guttural: *scataverno* (*M.* 43), *scampare* 45, n.

Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *s*: *ventiei* (*Ricc.*, 23).

2. Before *c*: *dicendiamo* (*Al.* 51).

Metathesis.

amestico amethystum (*Ap.* 93), *strapoeto* (*Gr. P.* 12), *sbi-lungo = bishungo* 23.

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 559.

² *Caix, Origini*, 139.

SS

§ 36. MEDIAL SS.

Intervocalic ss.

ss > *s*: *discorresi* (Al. 4), *promeso* 24, *prosima* (secondary *ss*) 44, *sonase* (Ricc., 7), *dovese* 8, *neciesaria* (Gr. P. 21), *posiede* 67.

Variants.

- (a) *ss* > *sc* + *i* (*š*): *fracascio* (C. 29).
 (b) *ss* > *zz*: *spazzaa* (C. 14).

Z

§ 37. INITIAL Z.

z > *r*: *razzamağlia* (M. 11) by dissimilation.

§ 38. MEDIAL Z.

1. *Intervocalic z.*

z (+ *î*) > *t* (+ *i*): *topatio tōpāzīŭm* (Ap. 93).

2. *z after a consonant.*

(cons. +) *z* > (cons. +) *s*: *falsoletto* (Gr. P. 10), *scersi* 67.



LIQUIDS.

L

§ 39. INITIAL L.

1. *Simple initial.*

$l' > n'$: *gnin* = *gliene* (*M.* 38).

2. *Initial group.*

(a) (lab. +) $l >$ (lab. +) r :¹ *frussione* (*Gr. P.* 13), *prurale* 22 by assimilation, *bramerebbe* (*C.* 33), *fragello* 34, *sprendore*, *sprendido*.

(b) (gutt. +) $l >$ (gutt. +) r : *groria* (*Al.* 50) and *grorificano* 61 by assimilation, *Crolinda* (*S.* 125), *Crasio*, *grobo* (*Gr. P.* 13), *scrama* (*C.* 9).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *fragellum*, *fros*, *fructuantes*, *gracies*;²—Flor. *sprendore Tancia*, 885, *scruso Lam. di Cec.*, 36, *sprende C. Son.*, 65, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *cremenzia*, *sprendido*, *sprendore*,³ *fremma C. Son.*, 1, *fragello* 55;—Pis. *Frora C. Son.*, 87;—Canzon. ital. *sprendore*, *-sprende*, *bronda*, *craro*, *pruzora*, *prasire*, *brasmare*, *frore*.⁴

§ 40. MEDIAL L.

1. *Intervocalic l.*

(a) l remains: *alegreza* (*Al.* 21), *mandàlo* 29, *ralegratevi* (*Ap.* 79), *olocco àlòcūm* (*Gr. P.* 15).

(b) $l > ll$: *istabile* (*Al.* 6), *parolle* 9, *malli* 11, *dillegente* 13, *periccollo* 43, *vigillie* (*J.* 4), *allexandro* (*Ricc.*, 24) *barulli* = *bag + ulum* (*Gr. P.* 43), *collica* Grk. *κωλική* 44, also fre-

¹ Words borrowed from the Latin change in the old language their l into r . Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 423.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 138-9.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 551-2.

⁴ Caix, *Origini*, 139.

quently in Ap. before the article and personal pronoun after such monosyllables as *a, da, ma, e, che, chi*: *allui* 5, *dalloro* 37, *malla* 95, *ello* 5, *ella, elli* 7, *chella, chelli* 71, *chelle* 89, *chillo* 11; also before nouns: *allaudatia* 5, *allangiolo* 7, *ellingue* 59, *chellione* 41; *sella* = *se + la* (B. 79), *allui* (*Ricc.*, 13), *ellui* (*Gr. P.* 41).—Cf. Flor. *ke lle Crest.*, 22;—Prat. *di llui* 94, *co llui* 95;—Sen. *cho lloro* 118, *a llui* 163;—Pis. *da llei* 58, *a llei* 79;—Aret. *a llui* 170, *no lli* 176, *e llaida, e lloco, se llui* 177, *e lloro* 178, *e llargo* 179.

(c) $l > r$ is a strong Pistojesse characteristic and is in constant use at San Marcello: *pungoro* (*Al.* 73), *miscorino* (*J.* 4), *pistorese* (*Ricc.*, 14), *piura* (*M.* 44), *furigelli* 47 by dissimilation, *buriedò* 54, *vor* (*S.* 152), *var'* 172, *pillore* (*Gr. P.* 17) by dissimilation; the suffix $-šlŭm$ or $-šlŭm > -uro$ in Mea: *bruscuro* 3, *nocciur* 4, *bricciurin*, *pisuro* 7, *lucciuro* 9, *spazzure*, *brendur* 11, *roturo* 25, *sdrucchiuro* 29, *scarabatturi*, *notturi*, *mesture*, *penture* 31, *picchiuro*, *mugura* 34, *cioture* 37, *gócciuiron*, *spenzura* 38, *appisuro* 40, *nocchiuro*, *tomburon* 41, *trottura*, *fignuro*, *mignuro* 42, *spiguro*, *entragnuri* 43, *broccuri*, *moccuri* 53, *ballodure* 55, *ventricuro* 56, *rivendugliuro* 63, *riboburo*, *frugiuron* 66, *svocciura* 76, *briciuro* 81, *rossignuri* 81.—Cf. Luc. *pentora*, *bamboro*, *bellicoro*, *gallettoro*, etc.;¹—Pis. *amburo*, *aminduro*, *Pecciori*, *Montetoperi*.²

(d) $l + \dot{i}$ is written in the older language *li, lli, gl* (= *l'*), *lgl* (= *l'*), *i*.

1. *li*:³ *filiuolo* (*Al.* 3), *melio* 5, *consilio*, *consilieri* 10, *cilia* 13, *asoctiliari* 16, *similianza* 19, *chonsiliare* 21, *meraviliare* 22, *molie* 23, *batalia* 64, *filiola* (B. 80), *vermilio* (*J.* 24).

2. *lli*:³ *filliulo* (*Al.* 3), *mellio*, *isvellia* 7, *argollio*, *seli* = *se + egli* 8, *consillio* 10, *similliantemente* 14, *bactallia* 28, *agualiare* 59, *vermillio* (*J.* 24). This *lli* was not pronounced as *l'* as is proved by the modern pronunciation in the Pistojesse mountains: *travalli* (*Gr. P.* 22), *fillio* 67, etc.

¹A. G., XII, 117.

²*Ibid.*, 147.

³The writing *li* or *lli* prevails in MSS. of the middle of the XIII century. Cf. Caix, *Origini*, 137.

3. *gl* (= *l'*): *mogle* (B. 77), *glavesse*, *glaltri* 81, *meglo* 83, *fogla*, *paglaio* (Gr. P. 21), *travaglo*, *glomini* 22.

4. *lgl* (= *l'*): *volglendo* (B. 77), *melglo*, *volglo*, *valglano* 82, *filgluoli* (MS. 283).¹

5. *i*: *mei'* *měliūs* (Al. 27).

The modern language has also *ll*, *gli*, *j*, *jj*.

6. *ll*: *pallaraccio* *pālčā* + *ērīciūs* (Gr. P. 16).

7. *gli*: *oglio* (Gr. P. 43) by the side of the learned *olio*.

8. *j*: *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49).

9. *jj*: *mejjo* *měliūs* (Gr. P. 39).—Cf. Sen. *ll*, *l* for *l'*:² *filiuoli* Crest., 39, *molie* *mūliēr* 40; *lulglo* 37, (*e*) *lgli*, *alghi*, *dolgio*, *solgio*, *volgio* 81–2, *melgio* 163, *lulglio* 165;—Luc. *tavolieri* B. Luc., 29, *filiuolo* 46, *taliare* 51; *ricolliera* 11, *similliante* 18, *familliale* 19, *filliuolo* 23, *pilliare*, *vallia* 29, *famillia* 40, *alli* = *agli* 48, *Lullio* 58, *ollio* 91, *pilliamento* 100;—Pis. *filio* Crest., 166, *piliare* 167; *mellio* 79; *solgio* 58, *melgio*, *dolgio* 59, *dolgliensa* 78;—Aret. *follia* Crest., 168, *tolliate* 176; *volgia*, *dolgia* 168, *orgolgia*, *acolgia*, *tolgia*, *folgia* 169, *solgio* 172, *filgli* 182;—Canzon. ital. *de li*; *vollio*, *dollienza*, *milliore*, *meravillia*, *kellie*; *meglo*, *voglo*, *spogla*, *vagla*, *dogla*; *melgiore*, *melgio*, *volgio*, *maraviglia*, *spolgia*, *valgia*, *dolgia*;³—Sicil. *meglu*, *figlu*, *consigliu*, *spogla*, *famiglia*, *olghu*.⁴

(e) $l + i > j > gghi$.⁵ For the *j* stage cf. above, § 40, (d) 8 *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49). *gghi* is a modern Pistojesse development: *ammogghiato* (S. 23), *cigghio* 5, *'ogghio* 7, *gghi* = *egli* 11, *quegghi* 25, *pagghia*, *giunchigghia* 29, *figghiolo* 43, *pigghiare* 45, *fogghio* 94, *mogghie* 110, *figghia* 148, *cordogghio* 151, *svegghia* 158, *magghioli* 177, *mantigghia* 195, *cogghi* 200, *metragghie* 212, *figghio* 245, *sbaigghiare* 131, *tagghi* 166, *cavagghieri* (S. and C. 6), *egghino*, *pigghia*, *megghio* (C. 8), *degghi*, *deccogghi* = *ecco* + *gli* 9, *consigghio* 11, *agghi* 13,

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 219–12, where I have published MS. 283.

² *Zs.*, IX, 553.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 137.

⁴ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 134.

⁵ Caix gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133, 210.

dagghi 14, *fogghe* 29, *spoggiassi* 18, *sbadigghio* 32, *bat-tagghia* 35, *botigghia* 36, *foggiolino* 38, *vigghiaccone* 39, *negghi* 41, *cogghie* 65, *toagghia* þwahlja (*Gr. P.* 48).—Cf. Flor. *chegghi*, *foggio*, 'ogghi, *egghi*,¹ *gghi*, (*occhi*), *egghino*, *megghio*,² *scegghi*, *cogghi*; ³—Luc. *pagghia*.⁴ $l + \dot{i} > j > gg$ hi is also met with in many southern dialects and is general in Sicilian;⁵ Sicil. *pigghiu*, *megghiu*, *figghiu*, *pigghia*, *risvigghiu*, *gigghia*, *cogghi*.⁶

2. *l* after a consonant.(a) $l > r$.

1. (Lab.) + $l >$ (lab. +) *r*: *risprende* (*Al.* 5), *asempri* 9, *moltiplicherano*, *ubriaza* 65, *obriare* 68, *risprendiente* (*Ap.* 81), *contempre* (*Cino*, 12), *apprica* (*M.* 6), *pubblicazioni* 72, *semprice* 3, n., *ampre* 20, *pubrico* 74, *repricoe* (*C.* 9), *comprimenti* 19, *ubbrigato* 28, *arreprica* 29, *repubrica* (*Gr. P.* 15), *espricà*, *affritto* 48.

2. (Gutt.) + $l >$ (gutt.) + *r*: *negrigenza* (*M.* 3, n.), *concrusione* (*S.* 153), *concruda* (*C.* 44), *incrinazione* (*Gr. P.* 16), 'nerinato 24.—Cf. Flor. *obbrigato Tancia*, 933, *concrusion* 896, *incrinazione* 949, *rifressione C. Son.*, 28, *compricato* 40, *infruenze* 49, *affrizzione* 77, *concrude* 92;—Sen. *affriggiare*, *affrizzione*, *affritto*, *ampro*, *assempro*, *compressione*, *contemprazione*, *discripina*, *ob(b)rigare*, *repricare*, *semprice*, *rispréndare*, *supricare*, *pubrico*, *ripubrica*; *concrudano*, *negrigenzia*;⁷—Pis. *comprimento C. Son.*, 49;—Canzon. ital. *afritto*, *obria*, *obrianza*, *exempro*, *dobbra*; *nigrigenza*;⁸—Pad. *pubrico*;⁹—Guittone has many examples of this $l > r$.¹⁰

(b) $(r +)l > (r +)ll$ is a special old Pistojesse characteristic. The *l* is doubled in order to give a stronger pronunciation to the *r*: *disporllo*, *schiararllo* (*Al.* 3), *dirllo* 6, *parllo* 9, *parllare*

¹ *Uso*, 206.³ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133.² *Ibid.*, 209.⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 116.⁵ Caix gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133, 210.⁶ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 134-5.⁷ *Zs.*, IX, 552-3.⁹ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 28.⁸ Caix, *Origini*, 139.¹⁰ Caix, *Origini*, 141.

11, *ritenerllo*, *mutarllo* 32, *esaminarllo* 42, *compierrlla* 44, *farllo* 45, *ssofferirlllo* 60, *regharlli* 61, *usarllo* 63, *corromperlla*, *carllo* 66, *pregarlli* 70, *perderlla*, *rinovarlla* 72, *nerlli* (*Ricc.*, 16).—Cf. Prov. *parllam* Bartsch, *Chrest. Prov.*, 1, *parllar* 554.

(e) $r + l' > gghi$ ¹ in modern Pistoiese. This phenomenon takes place only when the personal pronoun *gli* is joined to the infinitive: *arrispondegghi* (C. 8), *mangiagghi* 14, *auzzagghi* 19, *cucinagghi* 20, *fagghi* 22, *tocagghi* 23, *badagghi* 28, *portagghi* 30, *dimandagghiolo* 33, *raccontagghiolo* 42, *leagghi* = *levargli*, *regalagghi* 43.

3. *l* before a consonant.

(a) $l + \text{cons.} > i + \text{double cons.}$ only in the modern language. By the law of least action the friction is taken off the point *l* so that an *i* is developed, and then the following consonant is doubled by compensatory lengthening: *coippo*, *caiddo*, *gaiccina*, *aattro* (S. 11), *aitto* 39, *soiddato* 140, *aittura*, *aittrettanto* (C. 49), *caizza*, *caizzoni* 60, *goippe* = *volpe* 75, *soiddo* 101, *Poiddo* (*Gr. P.* 46), *faccoittà*, *quaiccuno*, *voitto*.—Cf. Flor. *aimmeno* C. Son., 67, *faccoittà*, *quaiccuna*, *saitta*, *aibbusillis*, *aattro*, *voissucho*, *'oitte* = *volte*, *aivvostro*; ² the favorite Florentine development, however, is the assimilation of the *l* to the following consonant without developing an *i*: *lorattri* C. Son., 11, *icchè* 14, *soddi* 16, *attrimenti* 17, *attro* 18, *soddino* 68; also where the *i* is swallowed up in the *i* of the article: *iffatto* = *il fatto*, *iggrillo*, *diccanto*, *ippresente*, *ittempo*, *ivvostro*, *ipprimo*, etc.; ³—Sen. *Vaiddarbia*,⁴ *taicche* C. Son., 7, *aimmanco*, *aizzano* 89.

(b) $l(+ \text{cons.}) > n(+ \text{cons.})$: *'ntandì* = *un + tal + dî* (M. 44) by assimilation; *antro* (C. 52), *antre* (M. 10), *voantre* 97, *noantri* and *lorantri* (S. 118) get their *n* from the indefinite article; *ancipresso* (*Uso*, 52).—Cf. Flor. *maninconoso Tancia*,

¹ Cf. Intervocalic $l' > gghi$, § 40, (e). ³ *Ibid.*, 208 foll.

² *Uso*, 206 foll.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551.

946, *antro*;—Sen. *apostono*, *cononello*;¹—Pis. *antro C. Son.*, 20;—Tuscan *antro*.²

(c) *l* (+ cons.) > *r* (+ cons.) is a strong Pistojesse characteristic.

1. By assimilation: *vortare* (*S.* 22), *varzere* 154, *Sorferino* 209, *Garibardi* 228, *artri*, *bardoria*, *stravorto*, *seportura* (*C.* 8), *ortre* 21, *isvorgere* 42, *agricortura* (*Gr. P.* 22), *artrimente*, *artare*, *Sarvatore*, *Crotirde*.

2. By dissimilation: *svortoloni* (*S.* 114), *curtello* (*S.* and *C.* 19), *tarquala* = *talquale* (*C.* 11), *svortala* 13, *curtelluccio* 15.

3. Other cases are: *morta* (*S.* 71), *vorto* 151, *carze* 154, *quarcheduno*, *sordati* 158, *sordo* 172, *'nnarzata* 210, *corpo* 225, *carzó'* = *calzone*, *barcó'* (*S.* and *C.* 4), *torto* 5, *marfattore* 7, *Arpe* (*N.-N.* 4), *vorte*, *cuarc'* = *qualche* (*C.* 8), *parmo* 9, *arto* = *alto*, *gorpe* = *volpe*, *sortanto* 10, *vórs'* 11, *sarva*, *arza* 13, *iscerta* = *scelta*, *finarmente*, *dimorti* 17, *cardo* 18, *quarcun* 19, *sciorto*, *corpa*, *sarta* 21, *ascorto* 23, *sartabecca* 29, *cuarcosa* = *qualcosa* 32, *sarvátia* 35, *tarpe* (*Gr. P.* 15), *corto* 36, *urtimo*, *furmine*, *pormone*, *farso*, *Rinardo*, *marvagio*, *civirtà*, *civirmente*, *facirmente*, *inutirmente*, *nobirmente*, *sarvamente*, *speciarmente*, *er*, *ar*, *der*, *dar*, *ner*, *cor*, *sur*, etc. In the older language there is one example: *cavarcione* (*I. P.* 8).—*Cf.* Pop. Lat. *arvo*, *arta*, *Arbuciano*, *murtiperas*, *farsa*, *carcedonius*;³—Flor. *quarche C. Son.*, 10, *dimorto* 11, *tarquale* 12, *'orta* = *volta*, *mar (di)* 13, *civirtà* 26, *purce* 31, *nobirmente* 44, *speciarmente* 54, *urtimo* 57, *sortanto* 59, *sordati*, *carzone* 61, *sordo* 62, *convursioni* 77, *sarvare*, *artare* 94, *pormone* 95, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *archimía*, *artro*, *carsolaro* (*calsołajo*), *er*, *ar*, *cor*, *der*, *ner*, etc., *finarmente*, *insurtare*, *morto* (*multum*), *pontuarmente*, *quarcuno*, *sarvamente*, *sordo*, *tarquale*, *vorta*,⁴ *artronde C. Son.*, 3, *sortanto* 14, *arto* 16, *sartato* 21, *furmine* 27, *quarche* 32, (*dar*) *petto* 34, *Leopordo* 43, *ascorta* 46, *sarve*, *Sarvatore* 49, *cardo* 51, *arcuna* 58, *Rinardo* 60, *'nutirmente* 88, *mercordì*

¹ *Ibid.*, 552.

² *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 116.

³ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 138–9.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551–2.

91, *purci, pormoni* 104, *urtimo* 109;—Luc. “Oggi, nel contado, *l* che preceda a consonante vien di regola a *r*: *antro, cardo, sordo, dorco* e *dorcē, farce sarcio tarpa corpo arba parmo borso* ecc. I documenti non offrono di questo fatto se non esempj sporadici: nessuno in bdl., se ho ben veduto; *marvagio* pod. 35, *fraterto* fratel tuo 48, *parmo* inv. 85, *farsa* 90;”¹—Pis. *carzolaio Racc.*, 279, *er (coco)* 281, *sarto, morto* 290; “Preso la plebe della città e nel contado, *l* seguito da consonante vien di regola a *r*. * * * Nei documenti, è fenomeno sporadico: *arbagio, sarvamento, carvellino, Erba, farda,*² *er (convurso) C. Son.*, 5, *quarche, der (tempo), facirmente, sur (serio)* 6, *ar (timone)* 10, *vorte* 11, *artronde* 14, *armeno* 18, *artro* 22, *artare* 23, *sarta* 24, *sortanto, pormone* 41, *farso* 45, *artero* 49, *Purcinello* 50, *Rinardo, sartimbanchi* 58, *virmente* 79, *Frora* 87;—Pad. *cortello, Marchioro*.³

Variant.

$l(+t) > ll(+t)$ only in *colltello* (*Al.* 67).

Apheresis.

Initial *l* is sometimes suppressed by the people, believing it to be the *l* of the article: *usinghe, usinghevoli* (*Al.* 40), *abis läpis, acero* (*Gr. P.* 11), *ago* 15, *astrico, aberinto, orologio*.—Cf. Sen. *le tanie = le litanie, attone, ordura*;⁴—Luc. *tanie, ombrico, astraco, abberinto, ago, abbro, upo*;⁵—Tuscan *astraco, aberinto, ombrico, orbaco, orologio*;⁶—Mil. *apis, astreg = lastrico, ares, üsèll* (lucello- o luxello-?), *ornëtt, ütomia*.⁷

Prosthesis.

l of the article: *lusanza* (*Al.* 6), *lellora hëdërä* (*Gr. P.* 13), *lavaro* 16, *letichetta* 17, *listesso* (*C.* 80), *listessamente*.—Cf. Sen. *lampolla, lape* (= *api*);⁴—Luc. *lamo, lellora, lapa* (= *ape*), *londa*,

¹ Pieri, *A. G.*, XII, 118.

² *Ibid.*, 148.

³ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 28-9.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551-2.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 125.

⁶ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 107.

⁷ Salvioni, *Dial. Mod.*, 177.

lacciúa = *acciuga*; ¹—Pis. *listesso*, *lusuraio*, *litterizia*, *lamo*, *lellerera*, *lacca* = *anca*; ² *listessa*, *listessamente*; ³—Mil. *lecco*, *lovalta*, *loto* = *lottone*, *lüsürria*.⁴

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *l* is syncopated only in the older language: ⁵ *tai* (*Al.* 10), *chotai* 23, *mai* 25, *quai* 71, *fedei* (*Cino*, 240).

(b) *l* after a cons.: *sempice* (*Al.* 6), *singozzo* *s̄nglütütüs* (*Gr. P.* 14).

(c) *l* before a cons.: *idio* (*Al.* 43), *abergare*, *mafattore* (*M.* 4, n.), *utimar* 85, *puce*, *puçino* (*Uso*, 777), *utimo*.—Cf. Flor. *mortai Intell.*, 20, *erudei* 13, *utimo C. Son.*, 95;—Sen. *bestiai*, *cardenai*, *carmai*, *mai*, *rivai*, *cache* (= *qualche*), *mafattore*, *utimo*; ⁶—Pis. *utima C. Son.*, 69;—Canzon. ital. *mai*, *leai*, *augei*.⁷

Metathesis.

Reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r*: *palora* (*S.* 153), *Crolindo* 186, *grolia*, *grolioso*, *balire*.—Cf. Flor. *palore Tancia*, 893, *grolioso* 946;—Sen. *grolia*, *grolioso*.⁸

LL

§ 41. MEDIAL LL.

Intervocalic ll.

ll > *l*: *alegare* (*Al.* 15), *quelo* 22, *metalo* (*Ap.* 77), *aluminerà* 95, *chastelo* (*Ricc.*, 34).

Variants.

(a) *ll* remains: *tollere* (*J.* 9), *gillia* *ärgillä* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. Canzon. ital. *tollere*.⁹

(b) *ll* > *l'*: *canceglieri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *cavaglieri* (*N.* 90).

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 125.³ *Uso*, 532-3.² *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 108.⁴ *Salvioni, Dial. Mod.*, 176.⁵ Cf. *A. G.*, IX, 98-9; *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 552.⁸ *Zs.*, IX, 554.⁷ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 136.⁹ *Caix, Origini*, 138.

R

§ 42. INITIAL R.

Variants.

- (a) $r > d$: *disipola* *erysipelas* (*Gr. P.* 13).
 (b) $r > l$: *leppicar* = *replicare* (*M.* 3).—Cf. *Flor. liverenza Lam. di Cec.*, 33;—*Sen. lobrica (rubrica), lóveri (robur)*.¹

§ 43. MEDIAL R.

Intervocalic r.

(a) $r > rr$: *errano* (*Ap.* 5), *scriverrò* 17, *enterrò* 19, *erragunatevi* 83, *arredi* = *erédi* (*M.* 48), *dirrà* (*S.* 20), *temperrino* (*Gr. P.* 22), *barrile* 23, *miserria* 44, *forro* 47.—Cf. *Flor. a rrascione Crest.*, 19, *perrispese* 26;—*Pis. dirrà* 23;—*Sen. amerrò, temerrò, sentirrà, entrarrà*, etc.²

(b) $r > l$: *volgale* (*Al.* 53) and *famigliali* (*J.* 11) by assimilation, *dilettrice* (*Gr. P.* 10) and *tortale* *türtürëm* 15 by dissimilation, *isvaliato* (*Al.* 54), *cilimoniere* (*M.* 75), *valicosa* (*Gr. P.* 25), *galantisco* 34.—Cf. *Flor. cilimonie Tancia*, 899;—*Sen. célabro, maliscalco*;³—*Luc. Quilico*;⁴—*Pis. Quilico, Catalina, ingiulia*.⁵

Variants.

- (a) r remains: *parochia* (*Gr. P.* 44).
 (b) $r > d$: *contradio* (*Al.* 15).—Cf. *Flor. contradio Tancia*, 885;—*Aret. contradio Crest.*, 178.
 (c) $r > tt$: *otta, allotta* (*C.* 11).⁶—Cf. *Flor. otta Nencia*, 1.
 (d) $r + i > l$: *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), etc. Cf. § 1, (a) 6.

2. r after a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $(n +)r > (n +)rr$: *conrrompe* (*Al.* 57).
 (b) $(p +)r > (p +)l$: *emplici* (*Gr. P.* 17).

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 553.² *Ibid.*, 426.³ *Ibid.*, 148.⁴ *Ibid.*, 426.⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 118.⁶ Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 535, § 89.

3. *r* before a consonant.

(a) $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$: *volgalmente* (*Al.* 58) by assimilation, *albitrio* (*J.* 11, n.) by dissimilation, *saldine* (*Gr. P.* 10), *falsa färsä* 15, *appaltamento* 16, *polche* 17, *alteria* 25.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. alteriae, Foltunatae, felvente*.¹—The phenomenon $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$, which is rare in Pistojesse, Lucchese, and Florentine, is of frequent occurrence in Senese, and is the rule in Pisano.—*Sen. alchetto, alco, Beltrando, riselware, albitro, álboro*,² *bilialdo, paltire C. Son.*, 85, *ritolno, Livolno, giolno, impolta*, 86;—*Pis.* “*Presso la plebe della città e in parte del contado, r seguito da consonante oggi vien di regola a l: calta, polta, porta, peldere, soldo, sordo, polco, melcato e melce, spalgere, corpo corpo, elba felmo velso ecc. Nessun indizio di ciò nostri testi*,”³ *atravelso C. Son.*, 5, *Foltunato* 6, *pelché, folnelli, calbone* 9, *tolno* 13, *Tolquato* 14, *convelsazione, paltita, pelsone* 19, *Govelno, melcato* 24, *Lungalno, diveltimento* 25, *discolsi* 26, *giolnale* 27, *dicetto* 28, *pelsiane* 29, *Velginio* 30, *celca* 31, *giolnata* 33, *solgente* 37, *dolme, gualdia* 38, *fortuna* 42, *felmo, giolno, folno, tolmenti* 43, *selpente* 46, *alchitetto* 49, *velgine, Elnesto* 51, *ielsera* 53, *celvello* 56, *pel messo* 62, *Maltino* 63, *pelso, osselvazione* 65, *Vennaldì* 66, etc.

(b) In modern Pistojesse the *r* of the infinitive is frequently assimilated to the initial consonant of the personal or reflexive pronoun that is joined to it.

1. $r + c > cc$: *èssecci* (*C.* 8), *riedécci* 10, *salicci* 17, *rimettecci* 23, *rappresentacci* (*Son. Pop.*, 61).

2. $r + l > ll$: *sbeffallo* (*C.* 8), *vedello* 9, *addentalla, riaëlla, ingrassalle, campalle, esfortolallo* 14, *ricercallo* 16, *mangiallo* 17, *potello* 18, *agguantallo* 19, *acchiappallo* 20, *menallo* 21, *ritirallo, troallo* 23, *aspettallo, tambussallo* 24, *raffreddalla* 25, *marimettalla* 26, *brancicalla, rimedialla* 37, *rivestilla* 40, *ammazzallo* (*S.* 175), *arrivedello* (*Gr. P.* 17), *ricompensallo* (*Son. Pop.*, 19).

¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 137.

³*Ibid.*, 148.

²*Zs.*, IX, 553.

3. $r + m > mm$: *ingrassammi* (C. 11), *pigghiammi* 20, *mangiammela* 26, *sbatacchiammi* 29, *levammi* (S. 187), *battemmi* 219, *vedemmi*, *sentimmi* (Son. Pop., 29).

4. $r + s > ss$: *smòdessi*, *pigghiassi* (C. 12), *spassionassi* 13, *cercassi* 14, *dilontanassi*, *essessi*, *caricassi* 15, *sentissi* 18, *restassene* 20, *spiegassi* 21, *portasselo* 22, *misurassi*, *lamentassi* 24, *andassene* 25, *posassi* 26, *apprissi*, *serrassi* 29, *arrampicassi* 31, *persuadessi*, *caassi*, *stucassi* 32, *mettessi* 42, *fermassi* (Son. Pop., 45).

5. $r + t > tt$: *mettetti* (C. 8), *mangiatti* 10, *pappatti* 11, *cucinatti* 15, *ingrassatti* 17, *pigghiatti* 18, *contentatti* 21.—Cf. Flor. *dillo* C. Son., 5, *troallo* 10, *guarillo* 27, *dimenallo* 36, *offendilla* 52; *spiegammi* 31, *dammi* 36, *rimpicciammi*, *chiedimmi* 43; *riposassi*, *tappassi*, *strapazzassi* 25, *fermassi* 58; *portatti* 13, *fatti*, *essetti*, *amatti* 14, *vedetti*, *statti*, *recitatti* 43;—Sen. *dalli*, *dilla*, *fallo*, *lavorallo*, *murallo*, *portallo*, *mantenello*, *vedello*,¹ *avello* C. Son., 4, *chiamallo* 82; *rimediacci* 11, *avecci* 54; *rifammi* 35, *fammi* 53; *ditti* 5;—Pis. *stiaffallo*, *rispettallo* C. Son., 31, *martrattallo* 77, *vedello* 95; *pensacci* 78; *selbammi* 95; *godessi* 8, *strapazzassi*, *sbaglassi* 21, *trovassi* 41, *guadagnassi* 58, *levassi* 70, *scardassi* 74, *buscassi* 83.

Prosthesis.

ritropico = *idropico* (M. 8), *rarrabatai* 48, (Signor) *Rispettore* (Gr. P. 10).

Syncope.

1. r after a consonant: *contastare* = *contrastare* (J. 5) by assimilation, *propio* (C. 8), *dreto* $d\bar{e}$ + $r\bar{e}tro$ (M. 52) by dissimilation, *castica* = *gastrica* (Gr. P. 25).

2. r before a consonant: *convisatione* (Al. 38), *fotezc* (Ricci., 10), *maciolo* $m\bar{a}rc\bar{e}um$ + (Gr. P. 25).—Cf. Flor. *dreto* *Tancia*, 901, *propio* *Lam. di Cec.*, 14;—Sen. *drieto*, *detro*;²—Pis. *dreto* C. Son., 102.

¹ Zs., IX, 428.

² *Ibid.*, 554.

Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *r*: *coresta* = *codesta*.

2. *r* after a consonant.

(a) after a labial: *prungitopoli*, *frusto fūstīs* (*Gr. P.* 13), *prugne* 37.

(b) after a dental: *drotrina* (*Al.* 29) by assimilation, *mas-tricare* 31, *listra* (*Gr. P.* 16), *mantrice* 17.

3. *r* before a consonant: *mandorlino* (*Gr. P.* 11), *aermaria* 41.—Cf. Flor. *coresto Lam. di Cec.*, 11, *attronito* 13, *concu-brina Tancia*, 929, *mandorlino C. Son.*, 33, *aliustre Racc.*, 282;—Sen. *Prietro Crest.*, 40, *caprestro*;¹—Luc. *bruscola*, *frin-estra*, *vespre*;²—Pis. *bruscola*, *calubrinieri*, *trōccolo* = *tocco*,³ *aliustre Racc.*, 283.

Metathesis.

verneddì (*M.* 17), *frebbe*, *preta* 17, n., *sberno* 43, *drento* 47, *presempio* 57, *scropiti* (*C.* 9), *Preto*.—Cf. Flor. *drento Tancia*, 895, *Preto* 905, *vreto* 930, *frebbe* 948, *preta Lam. di Cec.*, 17;—Sen. *catredale*, *drento*, *frabicare*, *frebbe*, *Grabiello*, *persente* (*prae-sentem*), *prefeto* (*perfectum*), *vreto*;¹—Luc. *presempio*;⁴—Pis. *treato*, *Penestra*.⁵

For the reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r* cf. § 40, Metathesis.

RR

§ 44. MEDIAL RR.

Intervocalic *rr* > *r*: *tera* (*Al.* 11), *nararo*, *guera* 21, *terena* 33, *coruccio* 68, *discoro* (*S.* 49), *gueriera* 127, *arosto* (*S.* and *C.* 13), *fero* (*C.* 24), *pori porrum* (*Gr. P.* 13), *emorogia* haimor-hagia 16, *guera* 21, *soccoriamo* 23, *ricore* 44, *erore*, *corezione* 46, *carozza*, *caro* 47, *affèrare*, *accorer* 67.—Cf. Luc. *tera*, *faro*, *tore*, *corere*, *fero*, *caro*, *guera*, *teritorio*;⁶—Pis. *tore*, *tera*, *soc-corere*, *coreggiere*.³

¹ *Ibid.*, 554.

² *A. G.*, XII, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ *A. G.*, XII, 118.

E. NASALS.

M

§ 45. MEDIAL M.

1. Intervocalic m.

(a) *m* remains: *dimi* (*Al.* 27), *bestemia* (*Ap.* 69), *femina* 73, *solevomi* 91, *mostromi* 95.—Cf. *Sen. fumo Crest.*, 163;—*Luc. femina B. Luc.*, 49;—*Canzon. ital. femina.*¹

(b) *m* > *mm*: *amme*, *damme* = *da* + *me* (*Ap.* 17), *chemmi* 43, *consummate* (*S.* 17), *fummare* 137, *cammerieri* (*N.* 162), *stommaco* (*Gr. P.* 12), *ammente* 13, *camummilla* *chaimafmelon* 16, *fummo* 17, *ammodo* 32, (*di*) *'mmondo* 50, *cammera*, *nimmo*.—Cf. *Sen. comme*;²—*Luc. nimmo*, *cocommalo*, *cammera*, *sem-mola*, *presumma*, *insiemme*, *chiamma*, *primma*;³—*Pis. commo*, *cammera*, *presumere*, *fummare*;⁴—*Aret. che mme Crest.*, 171.

Variant.

m > *n*: *lagrunare* (*Al.* 62).

2. *m* before a consonant.

(a) *m* (+ *n*). 1. remains: *omnipotente* (*Ap.* 5); 2. becomes *n'* (written *ngn*): *ongni* (*J.* 18), *ongniuno* (*Ap.* 99); 3. becomes *r* (+ *n*): *auturno* (*M.* 19), *sciorni* *ëx* + *sömnüm* 72; 4. becomes *s* (+ *n*): *smenso* (*N.* 115) by assimilation.

(b) *m* (+ lab.) > *n* (+ lab.) by dissimilation: *senpice* (*Al.* 6), *tenporale* 61, *temperare* 72, *inparare* 76, *inprima* (*B.* 77), *lanpe* (*Ap.* 19), *anpolle* 23, *campo*, *senpre* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Lanberto*, *banbina*, *tenpeste*, *conpratore* 21, *temperino* 22, *dinpero* = *de* + *impero* 23, *conposto* 24, *onbrelli* 43, *cambialo* 66, *ronpetto*, *ganba* 67, *'nvecille* (*C.* 8), *tenpo*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. Decembres*, *Novembres*, *senper*, *ponpae*;⁵—*Sen. anbasciadore*, *anbo*, *banbino*, *cambiare*, *decembre*, *ganba*, *menbro*, *canpana*, *campo*, *sen-*

¹ *Caix, Origini*, 142.² *Zs.*, IX, 558.³ *A. G.*, XII, 120.⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.⁵ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 108.

pro, tempo;¹—Pis. *senblansa Crest.*, 78;—Aret. *menbrança* 63, *conperagione* 169, *conpiuto, compimento, senbrate, senpre* 170, *tenpestoso* 171, *enpone* 174, *menbra* 177, *tempo* 178, *scanpare* 179, *canpana* 181, *compagnia* 182;—Canzon. ital. *tempo, senpre, inpero, canpana, menbre, scanpar, compimento, onbra, tenpestoso*;²—in old Tuscan texts: *onbria Intell.*, 6, *insenbre* 17, *assenbiamento* 19; *B. d'Ant. tempo, inperadore Zs.* XV, 55, *compagnia* 56, *canpana* 57, *inprometto, campare* 62, *Lombardia, scanpare* 63.

Syncope.

Before *n*: *daneggiare (Al. 37), dona* 50, *onipotente (Ap. 21)*, that is *mn > nn* by assimilation and then *n* by reduction.—Cf. Aret. *onipotente Crest.*, 170.

MM

§ 46. MEDIAL MM.

Intervocalic *mm > m* by reduction: *somo sūmmūm (Al. 8), somitade* 31, *somaria (J. 5), amiratione (Al. 71), goma gūmmā (Gr. P. 11)*.

Variant.

mm > rm: gattomarmione (M. 26).

N

§ 47. INITIAL N.

n > n': *gniochi nūclēūm (Gr. P. 43), gnente nēc + ěntēm (S. 46)*; that is the dental becomes palatal according to the law of least action, for *gnente* = one action and *niente* = two actions; for the same reason *nēc + ūnūm > gnun, nīvēm > gneve*.—Cf. Flor. *gnun Nencia* 13;—Sen. *pergnente Racc.*, 283, *gneve*;³—Luc. *gnucca nuca*;⁴—Pis. *gnucca*;⁵—Tuscan *gneve, gnucca, gnente*;⁶—Rom. *gnuca, ggnente*;⁶—Venet. *gnente*.⁶

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 558.

² *Caix, Origini*, 146.

³ *Romania*, XVIII, 603.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁶ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 132, 208.

§ 48. MEDIAL N.

1. Intervocalic n.

(a) *n* remains: *inanzi* (*Al.* 6), *genaio* (*Ricc.*, 2), *maganzino* Arab. *machsan* (*Gr. P.* 1).

(b) *n* > *nn*: *gennerale* (*Al.* 3), *dinnegare* 6, *ingennera* 7, *genneratione* 8, *nonnavere* (*Ap.* 9), *nonné* 71, *ennuda* 73, *nonneso* 83, *annulare* (*Gr. P.* 13), *'un-n aete* (*S.* 75), *'un-n è* 155.—Cf. Flor. *si nno Crest.*, 23;—Sen. *inn una* 37;—Pis. *gennero*, *cannapo*, *gennerale*, *tennesse*, *vennisse*, *tenne*, *venne*;¹—Aret. *tra nnoi* 170, *inn esta* 172, *sennato* 173.

(c) *n* + *ì* is written variously as its correlative *l* + *ì*; *ni* is correlative to *li*, *nni* to *lli*, *gn* (*n'*) to *gl* (*l'*), *gni* (*n'*) to *gli* (*l'*), *ngn* (*n'*) to *lgl* (*l'*), and *ngni* (*n'*) to *lgli* (*l'*).

1. *ni*: *miniatte* (*Gr. P.* 43).

2. *nni*: *sinniore* (*Gr. P.* 20), *punniale* 21.

3. *gn*: *calugna* = old Italian *calogna* *călŭmnă* (*Gr. P.* 19), *vegno*, *tego*.

4. *gni*: *bisognia* (*Ap.* 3), *abibisognio* 17, *signiore* (*Gr. P.* 22), *ingiegnio* 20, *compagnio* 66.

5. *ngn* in old Pistojesse: *tengnano* (*B.* 82), *singnore* 10, *vengnono* (*J.* 14), *ritengnano* 19, *assengnato* 23, and the modern *compangni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

6. *ngni* only in the older language: *vingnia* *vīnĕă* (*Ap.* 61), *bangniata*, *singniore*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *regnio*, *signium*;²—Prat. *tengno Crest.*, 94;—Sen. *singnorìa* 40, *chonpangni* 161; *signiore* 161; *compangnia* 162;—Pis. *sengnor*, *sengnorìa* 59, *sengnoraggio* 79; *vegna* 166;—Aret. *sengnoraggio* 64, *sengnorìa* 168, *sengnor* 171, *Bologna* 176;—Canzon. ital. *sengnoragio*, *sengnorìa*, *vengno*; *tego*, *vegno*.³

Variants.

(a) *n* > *n'*: *pezzalagna* (*M.* 40).

¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 148-9.

² Schuch, *Vokalismus*, I, 116.

(b) $n > l$ by dissimilation: *molimento* (Al. 79) perhaps influenced by *mōles*, *malucano* (S. 14), *consolante* (Gr. P. 13).—Cf. Sen. *calonaco*.¹

(c) $n > r$: *marimette*' (C. 9).

2. *n* after a consonant.

$gn > n'$ (written *gn*, *gni*, *ngn*, *ngni*. Cf. $n + i > n'$).

1. *gn*: *'gnudo* *Ignūdūm* (C. 18), *'gnudassi* 19.

2. *gni*: *regnio* (Al. 5), *indegnatione* (Ap. 69), *legnio* (Gr. P. 20), *legniam* 26.

3. *ngn*: *ingnude* (Al. 68), *sengnare* (J. 4).

4. *ngni*: *rengnio* (Ap. 5), *insengniare* 11, *dengni* 15, *sengniale* 41, *angnielo* 57, *sengnio*, *mangnificherà* 63, *stangnio*, *rengniarono* 85.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *congnatus*, *ingnes*, *singno*; ²—Sen. *lengna* *Crest.*, 37, *Angnelone* 117;—Pis. *congnoosciuto* 167;—Aret. *degnia* 170, *benignio* 175, *regniando* 176, *pegnio* 178, *pugniando* 183; *sdengni*, *dengno* 169, *lengno*, *pungnare* 173, *ingnoranza* 174;—Canzon. ital. *segnio*; *dengno*, *sengnare*.³

3. *n* before a consonant.

(a) n (+ lab.) remains in the prefixes *in* and *con* in old Pistojesse.

1. *in*: *inperciochè* (Al. 7), *inpedimento*, *inpedisca* 14, *inposto*, *inportuno* 15, *inpossevile* 16, *inmantenente* 22, *inpara* 30, *inprende* 44, *inperadore* 53, *inparaule* (J. 16).

2. *con*: *conposta* (Al. 15), *compresa* 16, *conbacteno* 53, *conrronpe* 57.—Cf. Sen. *inbarbagliato*, *'nbrattato*, *inpegnare*, *imperiale*, *'npiccare*, *inpregnare*; *enpazzare*, *enpedimento*, *enpercid*, *enpiegare*.⁴

(b) $n + g > n'$: *divegna* (Al. 9), *vagnelo* $\epsilon\nu + \alpha\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, *perteгна* 12, *pognasi* 59, *piagnere* (N. 89), *ugnerlo* 115.

(c) $n + l > ll$ by assimilation in *con* + a personal pronoun in old Pistojesse: *cholloro* (Ap. 11), *collui* 19, *collei* 75.

¹ Zs., IX, 557.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 148–9.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 114.

⁴ Zs., IX, 539, 555.

(d) $n (+ \text{cons.}) > m (+ \text{cons.})$ in old Pistojesse.

1. Before labials by assimilation: *'mframectere* (*Al.* 3), *Sampaulo* 4, *lamfrancho* 16, *um* (*proverbio*) 38, *Sampietro* 52, *gram* (*parentadi*) 61, *dom* (*francesco*) 81, *chomforta*, *chomfessoro* (*Ap.* 15), *confusione* 17, *nom* (*fnavano*) 21, *gram* (*fornacie*) 37.

2. Before dentals by dissimilation: *temtati* (*Ap.* 9), *pentire* 13, *nom* (*truovo*) 15, *emtrerrò* 19, *vemtriquattro* 21, *assembio* 35, *ventre*, *dentro* 43, *onipotente* 63, *chom* (*techo*) 81, *ardente* 91, *chomtaminata* 95; *remdette* 3, *gramde*, *chamdellieri* 5, *risplemde* 7, *gramdissima* 13, *ripremdo* 17, *nascomdeteci* 29, *Rubem* (*d.*) 31, *gramdine* 35, *remdere*, *vemdichare* 47, *amderà* 71, *disciemdeva* 89, *rispremdiente* 93.

3. Before a sibilant: *comsigliò* (*Ap.* 11), *chom* (*sette*) 21, *inciemsi* 33, *nom* (*se*) 57, *nom* (*siu*) 67, *schomsolata* 77; *dinamzi* 3, *penitemzia* 9, *potemza* 39, *semza* 57.

4. Before gutturals: *adomqua* (*Al.* 3), *incontrario* 7, *cimque* 39, *sam* (*giovanni*) *B.* 78, *temghono* (*Ap.* 11), *com* (*gramde*) 21; *'mgiura* (*Al.* 53), *principe* (*Ap.* 3), *principio* 5, *amche* 9, *gram* (*cittade*) 77, *angielo* 15, *chom* (*gregarli*) 67.

5. Before a liquid: *sam* (*lorenzo*) *B.* 79.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. tantum, duocentum, cessante, Palamino, quantum, sententiam, voluntas, fervente, umde; optumsi, demsis; quincumque, avomculus, tamgentium, umguentum*;¹—*Prat. comquisa Crest., 94, gram* (*bene*), *nom* (*possa*), *im* (*foco*) 95;—*Sen. comferente, sam* (*p*), *alcum* (*modo*), *alcum* (*fratre*); *Anonio, dipentore, novanta, quanto, rimcontro, allomgo, arcangelo; osservanzia, quittamz(i)a, nom* (*pajono*);² *nom* (*so*), *pemsieri Crest., 81*;—*Aret. im* (*buona*) 169, *comquiso* 182;—*Canzon. ital. nom* (*poria*), *im parte, gram bene, im frondo, comforto; pemsar, comsento*.³

Variant.

$n + r > rr$: *marritta* (*Gr. P.* 15) by assimilation.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75, 109.

² *Zs.*, IX, 556.

³ *Caix, Origini*, 150.

Prosthesis.

n of the preposition *in*:¹ *neutrare* (C. 21), *ninferno*, *nabisso*;
n of the adverb *ne*:² *nusciamo* (C. 9), *nesce* 15, *nescita* (S. 84) and probably *nempara* = *impara* (Gr. P. 25).—Cf. Flor. *nescire* Lam. di Cec., 10;—Sen. *ninferno*;³—Luc. *neutrare*, *niscire*;⁴—Pis. *neutrare*, *nuscire*.⁵

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *n*: *Sa iacopo* (Al. 35), *no' abbia*, *no' ostante* (J. 29) are also modern Pistojesse.

(b) *n* before a cons. only in old Pistojesse: *comendando* and *comesso* (Al. 22) by reduction, *co' (loro)* 39, *ubriaza* = *oblianza* 65.—The *n* of the preposition *con* (+ cons.) falls occasionally in Pop. Latin: *cofisse*, *coiectis*, *covenimus*.⁶

Epenthesis.

Before a cons.: *Banbilonia* (Ap. 59), *andonque* 53 and *angonia* (M. 12) by assimilation, *schiansimo* = *spasimo* (M. 5), *rinchiasta* (J. 8), *stencurito* = *steccolito* (M. 46).—Cf. the Pop. Lat. which inserts *n* after long vowels before *s*, and after both short and long vowels before other consonants, than *s*: *Allans*, *diens*, *Cheronensi*, *herens*, *Indigens*, *disponsuit*; *candi*, *recendens*, *cendentes*, *frenquens*, *congnato*, *tringinta*, *vinginta*, *sinbi*;⁷—Sen. *ancadere*, *anconciare*, *parangone*, *rinchiédare*, *sincondo*, *enscure*.⁸

NN

§ 49. MEDIAL NN.

Intervocalic *nn* > *n* by reduction: *anonziano* (Al. 12), *anonziamente* 16, *inocenzo* 32, *cinamomo* κιννάμωμον (Ap. 77).

¹ Caix, *Origini*, 150.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 196.

³ Zs., IX, 555.

⁴ A. G., XII, 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ Schuch, *Vokalismus*, I, 107.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 112-14.

⁸ Zs., IX, 445, 455.

F. GUTTURALS.

PALATAL C'.

§ 50. INITIAL C'.

Variants.

- (a) $c' > c(h) = k'$: *chelano* (*Al.* 46), *checco* 46, n.
 (b) $c' > t$: *tin caglieria = chincagliera* (*Gr. P.* 12).

§ 51. MEDIAL C'.

1. Intervocalic c'.

$c' > c' (\acute{s})$ is a strong modern Pistojesse and Florentine characteristic: (*à*) *cinque*, (*e*) *cento*, *dice*, *dicea*, *coce*, *cocea*, *face*, *facea*, (*ma*) *cietta*, *cucire*, *cucina*, (*la*) *celia*, (*doppo*) *cena*, (*la*) *ci*, *diacere*, *piace*, *piacere*, *giudice*, *diece*, *undici*, *dodici*, (*che*) *cerchi*, (*una*) *cestina*, *bocina*, *'nvecille*, (*di*) *certo*, *vicino*, (*poero*) *ceco*, *facile*, *difficile*, *porticina*, *decidere*, (*la*) *città*, *macina*, (*di*) *celo*, (*a*) *cervello*, *fece*, *piacimento*, *capace*, *voce*, *noce*, *croce*, *foce*, *luce*, etc.; secondary c' in *camicia*, *bruciare*.—Cf. Sen. $\acute{c} > sc$ ($\acute{s}?$): *croscce*, *dodisci*, *drusciolare*, *vosce*.¹

Variants.

- (a) $c' > ch (= k')$: *mendichitade* (*Al.* 62), *chiachierone* (*Gr. P.* 20).
 (b) $c' > gh (g')$: *poghissime* (*M.* 89).
 (c) $c' + \grave{i} > ce (kk)$: *noccuolo*, *becchacca* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Sen. *bracca*, *dicotto*, *fanculla*.¹
 (d) $c' + i > zzi$: *sarifizzi* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2. c' after a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $l(+c') > l(+z)$: *calzone*.

¹ *Ibid.*, 564.

(b) $(r +) c' > 1$. $(r +) \check{c}$: *barcetta* (*Gr. P.* 21); 2. $(r +) t$: *artibugi* (*M.* 33).

(c) $(s +) c' > sci$ (\check{s}): *mascile* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(d) $(n +) c + i > (n +) gi$ (g'): *giangie* O. H. G. *wankja* (*Gr. P.* 14) by assimilation.

(e) $(s +) c' + i > sci$ (\check{s}): *pescio* (*Gr. P.* 11).

VELAR C.

§ 52. MEDIAL C.

1. Intervocalic c.

(a) *c* remains: *piacuto* (*Al.* 20), *sicome* (*Ap.* 65), *sfiammicante* (*C.* 11).

(b) $c > cc$ (*kk*): *periccolo* (*Al.* 43), *accolui* (*Ap.* 9), *accoloro* 35, *accavallo* 83, *giuccate* (*N.* 27), *accui* (*Gr. P.* 40), *articolo*, *domiciliato* *Son. Pop.*, 39.—Cf. *Pis. Pocco*, *articolo C. Scn.*, 59;—*Aret. a comune Crest.*, 176, *a ccui* 179.

(c) $c > ch$ in old Pistojesse.¹ Traces of this open consonant *ch* are still found in the Pistojesse mountains. Ciampi² says: "L'aspirazione dopo la lettera *c* accanto alle vocali *a, e, o, u*, è proprio della pronunzia toscana, e specialmente fiorentina. In que' principj della scrittura volgare seguitavasi servilmente il suono che ne udia l'orecchio, perciò in questo codice è quasi sempre l'*h* dopo la *c* unita a quelle vocali. L'orecchio è certamente stato sempre la guida principale nella scrittura; ed ha prevalso di sovente alle regole grammaticale."

Examples in old Pistojesse: (*si*) *chome*, (*a*) *chui*, (*di*) *chascione*, (*mio*) *charissimo*, (*che*) *chanti*, (*percuote*) *choll'*, (*quella*) *chosa*, (*e*) *chosi* (*Al.* 3), *pechato*, (*e*) *chato*, *senocha*, (*uomo*) *churiciato*, *amicho* 4, (*de*) *chonsolare*, *bocha* 7, (*di*) *choloro*, *nemicho* 8, (*puote*) *champare*, (*buoni*) *chostumi* 9, *sichura*, *dicho*, *fuocho*, (*morire*) *cho*, *anticho* 10, (*chi*) *chastiga*, (*quasi*) *chani*

¹ Cf. my article, "Manuscripts in the Pistojesse Dialect," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 213-14.

² *Albertano da Brescia*, 89.

11, *achatta*, *sechondo* 12, (*gudico*) *cholui*, (*la*) *chonvenevile*, (*la*) *chupidità* 14, (*dei*) *chomendare*, (*apresso*) *chonfortare*, (*la*) *chonfortazione* 15, *echo*, (*tua*) *chugnata*, (*lo*) *chaso*, (*ò*) *churato* 16, *medicho*, *richo*, (*la*) *chasa* 19, etc., (*viene*) *cholli*, (*è*) *choloro*, *domenicha*, (*sette*) *chamdellieri*, (*li*) *chapelli*, *focho* (*Ap.* 5), (*usciva*) *choltello*, *secholi* 7, etc., etc.

Examples in modern Pistoiese: (*di*) *chamica*, (*la*) *cholpa*, (*dalla*) *chulla* (*Gr. P.* 20), *amicho* 21, *trappocho* 25, (*de*) *chastelli*, (*vacca*) *cholla* 43, *nemicho*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. sechundo*, *locho*, *monachicho*;¹—*Sen.* (*la*) *chasa*, (*nei*) *chalçari*, *rachonciatura Crest.*, 36, (*e*) *charta* 37, *richolse domichato*, (*che*) *choriva* 38, (*la*) *chonpagna*, *domenicha* 39, (*a*) *chui* 82, *jachomo*, *Caciachonti*, *sichuri* 161, *sichome*, (*avemo*) *chostumato*, (*e*) *chosì*, *rachondati*, (*a*) *chagione*, (*avemo*) *chon* 162, *prochuratore*, (*nè*) *chapo*, *achordo*, (*da*) *chorte*, (*e*) *chavalehate*, *achata*, (*neuna*) *chosa*, *tochase* 163, etc.;—*Aret.* (*e*) *chasa* 175, *pocho* 176, *dicho*, *anticha*, (*che*) *chapitale*, *giocho* 178.

(d) *c > g*: *pogo* (*M.* 37), *figo*, *sego*, *amigo*, *aguto*, *siguranza* 10, n., (*che*) *gosta*, *seguzione* 84, *asseguero* 107, (*-o*) *gattivo*.

Many words which in Italian are exceptions to the rule that voiceless cons. $\leftarrow >$ voiced, follow the rule in Pistoiese, e. g. *segondo*, *savere*, *tregento*, etc.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. segundo*, *plagat*, *logationis*;²—*Flor.* (*paese*) *gastigar Tancia*, 930;—*Sen.* *aguto*, *fabriga*, *fatiga*, *logagione*, *loriga*, *vagazione*,³ *gativi Crest.*, 165;—*Luc.* *segura scure*, *seguro*, *segondo*, *fogaccia*, *pogo*, *miga*, *sbigorare*, *regare*, *giuogo*;⁴—*Pis.* *siguro*, *segondo*, *pogo*, *oga*, *duga*, *stadigo*;—*Aret.* *pogo Crest.*, 64;—*Canzon. ital.* *siguro*, *poga*, *asigura*, *segondo*.⁵

(e) *c > gh*: in old Pistoiese: *luogho* (*Al.* 7), *pogho* 14, *pregho* 33, (*-e*) *ghostantino* 72, *draghone* (*Ap.* 49), (*quattro*) *ghomiti cübītüm* 93, and modern *botteghaio äpöthēcārīüm* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. preghar Crest.*, 169, *pogho* 176, *negho* 177, *seghondo* 178.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 74.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 121.

² *Ibid.*, 126-7.

⁵ *Caix, Origini*, 169-70.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

(f) $c > h$ (sometimes written h , but generally c) in modern Pistojesse: *poho*, *domeniha*, *magnifiho havallo*, (*bella*) *honsolazione*, (*di*) *huore*, (*fece*) *horrere*, (*horrere*) *harubinieri*, (*bravo*) *hustode*, (*fatto*) *havaliera*, (*di*) *haresima* (*Gr. P.* 50), *rediholo*, *diho*, *sihuro*, *pehora*, *imbriaho*, (*cattivo*) *hane*, (*a*) *hapito*, (*a*) *homido*, *delihato*, (*e*) *hammina*, (*le*) *hapre*, (*le*) *harze*, *ciho*, (*una*) *hattiva*, *foho*, *coho*, *amiho*, *nemiho*, *periholo*, *spettaholo*, *fiho*, *miha*, *cohombro*, *diffihultà*, (*la*) *harne*, (*ugni*) *hosa*, (*si*) *hosta*, (*la*) *hampana*, (*lo*) *hompro*, (*si*) *homprende*, (*la*) *hontadina*, (*mi*) *rihordo*, *mediho*, (*le*) *hode*, *paniho*, (*i*) *havalli*, *mašihana*, *fihura*, *portiho*, etc.—This development of intervocalic $c > h$ is quite as common in modern Florentine as in Pistojesse;—Sen. *havaliera*, *halende*, *hontento*, *judiho*;¹—Luc. Qui pure il ben noto digradamento toscano a fricativa (*la h̄asa*, *memiho*; * * *), * * * se non che il $h̄$ lucchese differisce da quello d'altre parlate, in especie dal fiorentino, per la minore 'stretta orale' come anche mostra il suo totale dileguo;²—Pis. "Qui pure il digradamento a fricativa."³

Variant.

$c + i > cc$ (*kk*): *facca* *faceat* (*Al.* 76).

2. c after a consonant.

(a) $(l +)c > (l +)ch$: *alchuno*, (*l*) *chane* (*Al.* 3), (*nel*) *chuore*, (*il*) *chapo*, *oricalcho* (*Ap.* 50), (*nel*) *chospetto* 47, (*yl*) *charatere* 59, and modern (*il*) *chane* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Sen. (*el*) *chosto Crest.*, 163, (*al*) *chumune* 164, (*el*) *chonte* 165;—Pis. *alchuno* 167;—Aret. *alchuno* 169.

(b) $(n +)c > (n +)ch$: *mancha* (*Al.* 10), *inchuminciamenti* 12, (*in*) *chasa* 19, *vincha* 34, *anchora*, (*chon*) *choreggia bianca* (*Ap.* 5), *imbiancharono* 33, *ancho* (*MS.* 22).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *choncava*, *speluncha*;⁴—Sen. (*in*) *chorsa Crest.*, 162, (*in*) *choncordia* 163, *ancho* 164, *inchorata*, *inchontanente* 165;—Aret. *spiloncha* 176.

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 563.

² *Pieri, A. G.*, XII, 120–21.

³ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 73.

(c) $(r +) c > (r +) ch$: *cercha* (*Al.* 3), *porcho* 49, (p) *chombattere* 37, *archo* 41, *merchatanti* 75.—Cf. *Sen. merchantia Crest.*, 161, (pur) *choviene* 162, (per) *chanpare* 165.

(d) $(s +) c > (s +) ch$: *oschura* (*Al.* 8), *naschoso* 10, *dischaccia* 20, *didaschalo* 35, *pascha* (*Ap.* 49), *mescholato* 63, *veschovado* (*MS.* 22), *rischuotere* (*MS.* 183).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. coruscho*;¹—*Sen. Meschada Crest.*, 36.

3. *c* before a consonant.

(a) $c (+ r) > g (+ r)$: *lagrunare* = *lacrimare* (*Al.* 62), *sagrifitii* (*Ap.* 11), *sagramento* 71, (i) *grostini* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. sagramenta*;²—*Sen. gruogo* (*crocum*);³—*Pis. (povero) gristiano C. Son.*, 23.

(b) $(\text{vow.} +) c (+ r) > h$ in modern Pistoiese: (la) *hresima*, (la) *hrazione* (*Gr. P.* 50), (lo) *hredo*, (lo) *hristiano*, (la) *hroše*, *sahro*.—Cf. *Luc. (la) hroce*, *sahro*.⁴

(c) $c (+ t)$ remains in learned words in old Pistoiese: *doctrina* (*Al.* 3), *sancto*, *dilectione*, *facto*, *dicto* 4, *driectura*, *effecto* 5, *tracta*, *costrecto* 6, *aspecta* 8, *driectamente* 9, *predecte* 12, *dilectamente* 13, *frecta*, *frectoso*, *driectissimo* 14, *tractare*, *lectora* 16, *fructo* 19, *benedecto* 20, *convicti*, *vendecta* 21, *Risurrectione* 25, *auctorità* 33, *dilecta* 38, *sospecto* 42, *vectoria* 51, *distructa* 52, *electi* (*J.* 2), *octo* 3, *fecte* *ěvēctā* (?) 24.—Cf. *Luc. facto B. Luc.*, 1, *dicto*, *tractato* 2, *nocte*, *distrecto* 3, *octo* 5, *effecto* 6, *victoria* 7, *electo* 15, *distructo* 20, *contracto*, *conductor* 41, *afficto* 56, *exactore* 59, *cocto* 84, *sospecto* 83, *Octobre* 90, *auctorità* 99, *diriectamente* 100, *predecto* 111, etc.;—*Pis. dicto Crest.*, 166, *vendecta* 167;—*Canzon. ital. constrecto*, *giecto*, *facto*, *dilecto*, *tracto*, *conducto*, *puncto*.⁵

(d) $c (+ t + i)$ remains. Cf. $(c +) t + i$, § 27, 1.

Variants.

(a) $c (+ d) > z$: *soza* (*Al.* 5).

¹ Schuch, *Vokalismus*, I, 73.

² *Ibid.*, 126.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

⁴ *Pieri, A. G.*, XII, 120–21.

⁵ *Caix, Origini*, 175.

(b) $c(+l) > 1. ce'$ (čč): *speccietti* (Gr. P. 43); 2. *chi* (= *ki*): *orechie* (Al. 3), *ochi* 10; 3. *ti*: *mastio* (Gr. P. 11).

(c) $c(+t) > 1. ce$ (kk): *spacco* (Gr. P. 43); 2. *t*: *altorità* (Ricc., 14); 3. *ss*: *resurrezione* (Ap. 87).

Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *c* is regularly syncopated in modern Pistoiese. The different stages of the development of intervocalic $c > g > ch > h$ then syncopation, are all supported by examples; e. g. *paucum > pœcu > poco > pogo > pocho > poho > poo > po*: *mia* (M. 33), *siuro*, *rediole* (C. 8), *cio* 11, *manio* 18, *dio* 25, *sarvatia* 35, (*si*) 'onosce, (*progresso*) 'ammīna, (*ugni*) 'osa (Son. Pop., 11), (*santi*) 'aro 17, *gioondo* 19, *poo* 27, *letiare* 29, (*picchiava*) 'ol 33, (*ci*) 'ontaa, (*lo*) 'ondanna, (*di*) 'acio 35, *pizziore*, (*mi*) 'ultello 37, (*partire*) 'onfini 43, *avvoato* 45, (*di*) 'ore 47, (*di*) 'orsa, (*è*) 'avalleggeri, (*enno*) 'orazzieri, *nemio* 49, (*di*) 'otone 55, (*su*) 'omitato 61, (*la*) 'ambiale 63, *coombero*, (*della*) *Iesa*, (*la*) *iave* (Gr. P. 12), *difiultà*, (*questa*) 'ofaccia 15, (*la*) 'arne, (*si*) 'ompra 24, etc.; I have noted two examples also in old Pistoiese: *afatiamento* (Al. 3), *ebraiamente* (Ap. 39).—The syncopation of intervocalic *c* is of frequent occurrence in modern Florentine;—Sen. *auto*, *amio*, *coo* (*cuoco*), *diano* (*decanum*), *dio* (*dico*), *givo*, *musia*, *perìolo*, *rediole*, *siurare*,¹ (*bevetti*) 'or, (*mì*) 'ara, *giudiare* C. Son., 1, (*ti*) 'onfondi 3, *avvoato* 4, *poo* 5, (*di*) 'ascare 7, (*du*) 'astagne 8, (*mondo*) 'ane, (*de*) 'omprimenti 10, *Gioondo*, (*tanto*) 'onfidenza 12, (*fate*) 'onfusione 13, etc.;—Luc. (*la*) *asa*, *nemio* ecc.;²—Pis. *repubbria*, *assiuro* C. Son., 8, *foo* 9, (*di*) 'oraggio 10, (*mì*) 'onfondo 12, *dio*, (*co*) 'avalli 13, (*fece*) 'omprimenti 16, *amio*, (*mì*) 'ugino, etc.

2. *c* before a consonant.

(a) Before *r*: *saramento* (J. 2), (*una*) 'resta (C. 11), (*lo*) 'redo 15, *sarestano* (*un*) *rimandello* (Gr. P. 12), *miroscopio* 14, *sarafizzi* 22, (*dottrina*) 'ristriana 50.—Cf. Sen. *saramento*, *sara-*

¹ Zs., IX, 562.

² Pieri, A. G., XII, 120–21.

ficie, (lo) 'redo *C. Son.*, 7, (*Dio*) 'ristiani 25;—*Pis.* (lo) 'rederesti *C. Son.*, 12, (la) 'rociata 44.

(b) Before *t*; that is *ct* > *tt* by assimilation and then > *t* by reduction: *otava* (*Al.* 8), *vendeta* 21, *drito* 28, *drotrina* 29, *dileta* 38, *fato* 58, *vetoria* 65, *dilezione* 75, *charatere* (*Ap.* 59), *benedito* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. vitoria*;¹—*Sen. ottobre Crest.*, 36, *deto* 37, *oto* 38;—*Luc. exatione B. Luc.*, 31.

Variant.

Before *d*: *anedotto* (*Gr. P.* 47).

Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *c*: *giranico* (*Gr. P.* 17), *stantico* 24; *medico* 13 is formed by analogy with *police*, *indice*.

2. After *r*: *sciorecinati* (*M.* 68).

PALATAL CC'.

§ 53. MEDIAL CC'.

(a) *cc'* > *c'* (*č*): *socidere* (*Al.* 35), *faccia* 52, *uciso* (*Ap.* 53), *lucese* (*Ricc.*, 10).

(b) *cc'* > *cc'* (*čč'*): *riccetha* (*Al.* 62), *tocchetto* (*M.* 35).

VELAR CC.

§ 54. MEDIAL CC.

1. Intervocalic *cc*.

(a) *cc* > *ch*: *pechato* (*Al.* 4), *bocha* 7, *achusatore* (*Ap.* 51), *suchero* (*Gr. P.* 23).

(b) *cc* > *cch*: *echo* (*Ap.* 5), *boccha* 7, *riccho* 9, *saccho* 27, *fiacchola* 35, *piccholi* 87, *roccha* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchovacata*, *saccho*, *schocchare*, *becchacca* 21, *socchorso* 44.—Cf. *Aret. toccha Crest.*, 179.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 134.

2. *cc* before a consonant.

cc (+ *l*) > *c* (+ *l*): *eclesia* (*J.* 12).

Epenthesis.

Before *qu*: *terrácqueo* (*Gr. P.* 12).

CH

§ 55. INITIAL CH.

ch > *c* (*k*): *cocolata* (*Gr. P.* 43) by assimilation.

PALATAL G'.

§ 56. MEDIAL G'.

1. Intervocalic *g'*.

(a) *g'* > *g'* (*ǵ*) in old Pistojesse: *legerai* (*Al.* 4), *lege* 6, *legieramente* 7, *fugire* 12, *afigeno* 19, *regesse* 24.

(b) *g'* > *g'* (*ǵ*) in modern Pistojesse and Florentine just as intervocalic *c'* > *c'* (*ś*): (*hua*) *gira*, (*co*) *gesti*, (*le*) *genti*, etc.

Variants.

(a) *g'* > *v*: *pavesi pāgēnsēm* (*S.* 253); the *g'* disappears and then the voiced labial glide *v* is introduced to break hiatus.

(b) *g'* > *ǵ*: (*terra*) *Ghozzi Gogem*, *Maghozzi* (*Ap.* 87).

2. *g'* after a consonant.

Variants.

(a) (*n* +) *g'* > (*n* +) *g*: *Angolino* (*Gr. P.* 21).

(b) (*r* +) *g'* > (*r* +) *i*: *ariento*, *inariantata* (*J.* 24).—Cf. *Flor. ariento Tancia*, 926;—*Luc. ariento B. Luc.*, 48.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *g'*: (*le*) *iande* = *ghiandi* < *gländēm* (*Gr. P.* 13).

VELAR G.

§ 57. INITIAL G.

g remains: *goia* (*Al.* 65), and modern *goie* (*Gr. P.* 21), *gubba* 22, *gallo* 23.

§ 58. MEDIAL G.

1. Intervocalic *g*.

(a) *g* > *c*: *ficurati* (*S.* 168), *sficurito* 210, *ficura* (*C.* 17), (*febbre*) *castica* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. ficura, lecato*.¹

(b) *g* > *gh* in old Pistoiese: *Aghostino* (*Al.* 5), *reghole* 46, *sinaghogha* (*Ap.* 9), *gastigho* 17, *aghore* 39, *piagha* 45, (*terra*) *Ghozzi Gogem, Maghozzi* 87, and modern *voghan* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. fighura Crest.*, 170, *mitighando, piagha* 175.

Variants.

(a) *g* > *ch* in old Pistoiese: *rumichare* (*Al.* 30), (*sofferente*) *chovernarsi* 60.

(b) *g* > *v*: *tevoli tēgŭlă* (*Gr. P.* 17), *bavulli bag + ŭlŭm* 43; the *g* disappears and the voiced labial glide *v* is introduced to break hiatus. Cf. intervocalic *g' > v*.

2. *g* after a consonant.

(a) (*l* +) *g* > (*l* +) *gh*: *volghare* (*Al.* 16), *tolgha* (*Ap.* 17), *folghore* 19.

(b) (*n* +) *g* > 1. (*m* +) *gh*: *temghono* (*Ap.* 11); 2. (*n* +) *gh*: *lunghamente* (*Al.* 7), *inghanno* 9, *vengho* (*Ap.* 7).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. longho*.²

3. *g* before a consonant.

g (+ *n*) remains: *cognosci* (*Al.* 10), and modern *cognoscere* (*S.* 62).—Cf. *Luc. cognoscere*;³—*Pis. cognoscere*.⁴

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 565.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 122.

² *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, I, 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

Prosthesis.

granocchiaccio (S. 5), *granocchio* (C. 75).—Cf. Luc. *gragnolo*;¹—Pis. *granocchio*.²

Q(U)

§ 59. MEDIAL Q.

1. Intervocalic *q*.

g > *h* (generally written *c*) in modern Pistojesse: (*ma*) *huando*, (*e*) *huarche*, (*vieni*) *huè*, (*vieni*) *hua*, (*e*) *hualo*, (*due*) *huattrinelli*, (*scrama*) *huarcun*, (*huella*) *huercia*, (*e*) *home*, (*buscassi*) *huarhosa*, (*sulla*) *hualità*, (*una*) *huanità*, (*e*) *hualunche*, (*se*) *huattro*, (*e*) *huasi*, (*ma*) *huasimente*, (*ecco*) *huanto*, (*uno*) *huattrino*, and in old Pistojesse (*errasti*) *cuando* (Al. 47).—Cf. Flor. which has regularly the same development of intervocalic *q* > *h*;—Luc. (*la*) *huantita*, etc.³

Variants.

- (a) *q* > *qq*: *aqqe* (Ap. 5), *laqqie* (M. 51).
 (b) *q* > *c'* (*č*): *riciedere* (Al. 12), *diocce* = *dio che* 22.
 (c) *q* > *g*: (*zii*) *guasi* (Gr. P. 23), *ligori* 43.—Cf. Flor. (*resta*) *guasi* C. Son., 11;—Sen. (*rimase*) *guasi* C. Son., 14;—Pis. *liguori* C. Son., 84.
 (d) *q* > *ce* (*kh*): *accua*, *accuolina* (C. 18).

2. *q* after a consonant.

(*n* +) *q* > 1. (*n* +) *ch* (= *k'*): *quantunche* (Al. 63), *qualunche* (J. 5), *donche* (C. 8), *chiunche*; 2. (*n* +) *c*, *h* (*h*): *cincu'* (S. and C. 4), (*un*) *huattrino*, (*un*) *huattrinello* where the tongue is drawn back from the teeth and the velum is closed so that simple aspiration is produced.—Cf. Flor. *donche Tancia*, 895;—Sen. *chiunche*, *qualunche*, *donche*, *onche*.⁴

¹A. G., XII, 122.³Ibid., 121.²Ibid., 151.⁴Zs., IX, 563.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *q*: (*codesti*) *uaderni* (*Gr. P. 24*), *euatore* 50, (*ecco*) *ui*, (*vieni*) *ua*, *auila*, (*la*) *uantità*, (*la*) *uale*, (*ate*) *uarche*, (*uella*) *uercia*, (*e*) *uasi*, (*hai*) *uasimente*, (*va*) *uando*, (*vuole*) *uanto*, (*la*) *ualità*, (*uno*) *uattrino*.—Cf. Flor. which regularly syncopates intervocalic *q*;—Sen. (*vieni*) *'ua C. Son.*, 9, (*bada*) *'uanto* 10, (*guardi*) *'ome* 11, (*la*) *'uadriglia* 29, (*essere*) *'ualunque* 65.

X

§ 60. MEDIAL X (= KS).

1. Intervocalic *x*.

(a) *x* remains in learned words in old Pistojesse: *proximana* (*Al. 54*), *proximo* 75, *crocifixo* (*J. 3*), *relaxare* 16, *alexandro* (*Ricc.*, 24), *exercito* 28.—Cf. Luc. *proximo B. Luc.*, 2, *exactione* 18, *relaxare* 29, *texeno* 50, *taxare* 87;—Canzon. ital. *luxura*, *exemplo*, *proximo*;¹—“Anche nel P. Intell., e così in molti cdd. del sec. XIV e talvolta nell A. Petr. e perfino in rima: *crocifixo* (: *abisso*) C. D. Comm. 96.”¹

(b) *x* > *s*: *proximo* (*Al. 5*), *masimamente* 12.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *proxima*.²

(c) *x* > *ss*: *asempri* *ëxëmplüm* (*Al. 9*), *essercito* (*Ap. 83*), *lassa*[*mi*] (*C. 9*).—Cf. Luc. *lassare B. Luc.*, 114;—Pis. *lassamo C. Son.*, 16.

2. *x* before a consonant.

Variants.

(a) *x* (+ *c*) remains: *exceptione* (MS. 283).

(b) *x* (+ *p*) remains: *experto* (*J. 6*).

(c) *x* (+ *s*) > 1. *c'* (*č*): *preciutto* *përëxsüctüm* (*Gr. P. 21*);
2. *sc* (*sk*): *scocchi* *ëxsücüm* (*Gr. P. 67*); 3. *st'*: *stioced* *ëxsücäüt*

¹ Caix, *Origini*, 176.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

(Gr. P. 36).—Cf. Sen. *excesso, excepto*; ¹—Luc. *excepto B. Luc.*, 12; *preciutto*; ²—Pis. *preciutto*.³

J

§ 61. INITIAL J.

j > *g* in both old and modern Pistojesse: *gusto* (Al. 6), *gudicare* 7, *Gobo* 20, *ga jam* 47, *govare* 48, *gudice* 56, *guridizione* 57, *gustamente* 62, *gudico* = *giudicio* 63, *Guda* 64, *guratori* 70, *gamai* 71, *gustitia* 75, *goventudine* 76; *govane*, *goccolone* (Gr. P. 20), *Gotto* 21, *guramento* 44, *gudicie* 22.—Cf. Sen. *Gováni*, *gudisio*,⁴ *gugno*, *gudice Crest.*, 39.

Variants.

j > *di*: *diaceglio* (M. 38), *diaceglione* 41, *diacere* (C. 24).

§ 62. MEDIAL J.

1. Intervocalic *j*.

Variants.

(a) *j* > *g'* (*ǵ*): *magiormente* (Al. 5), *magiori* 13, *pegio* 30, *pegiora* 63.—Cf. Prat. *magiore Crest.*, 95;—Sen. *magio* 36.

(b) *j* > *g*: *magoremente* (Al. 67), *magore* 68.

2. *j* after a consonant.

(*n* +) *j* > (*n* +) *g*: *ingura* (Al. 8).

H

§ 63. INITIAL H.

h remains in old Pistojesse: *honore* (Al. 5), *honestà* 7, *humile* 13, *huomini* 38, *homana* 48, *hora* (J. 14), *honestamente*, *habiendo* 15, *heride* 25, *homicidiale* (Ap. 91).

¹ Zs., IX, 564.

³ *Ibid.*, 151.

² A. G., XII, 122.

⁴ Zs., IX, 565.

Variants.

(a) *h* falls and the *l* of the article takes its place: *lamo hāmūm* (*Gr. P.* 15).

(b) *h* falls and *r* takes its place: *racinto* hyacinthum (*Ap.* 93), *ritropisia* hydrops + (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. *Luc. ritropico*;¹—*Pis. ritropico*.²

§ 64. MEDIAL H.

Variant.

Intervocalic *h* falls and *l'* takes its place: (*di*) *glieri hēri* (*M.* 79).

To be followed by the Morphology.

JAMES DOWDEN BRUNER.

¹*A. G.*, XII, 123.

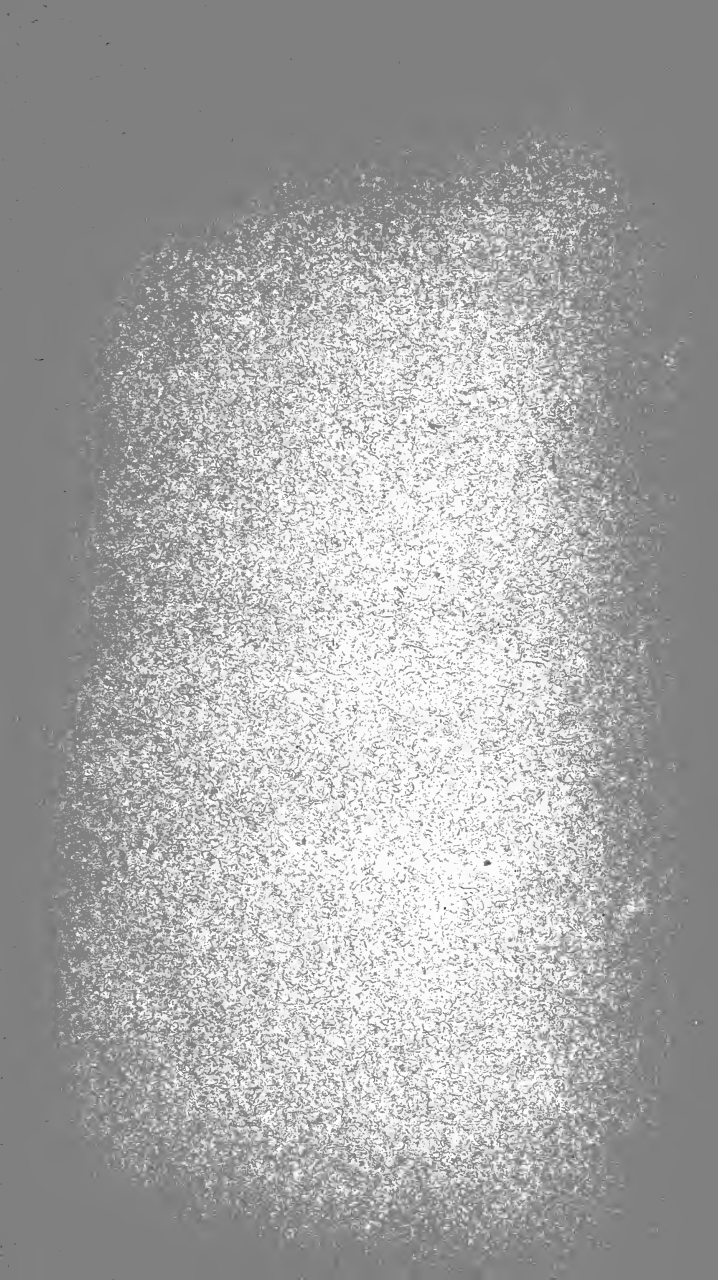
²*Ibid.*, 151.

LIFE.

I, James Dowden Bruner, was born near Leitchfield, Kentucky, May 19, 1864. I attended college two and one-half years at Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky., and one year at Franklin College, Franklin, Ind., taking the degree of proficient in the former institution in 1886, and that of A. B. in the latter in 1888. During the year 1885-6 I was Instructor in Latin at Georgetown College, Ky., and for two years, 1887-9, Instructor in French and German at Franklin College, Ind. In October, 1890, I entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in the special department of the Romance Languages under the direction of Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, assisted by Drs. H. A. Todd and F. M. Warren. In my first subordinate subject (Italian) I followed the lectures of Prof. Elliott and Dr. John E. Matzke, and in my second subordinate (The Renaissance in Italy), those of Prof. H. B. Adams. I spent the summer of 1891 (four months) in Paris for practice in speaking French, and at the same time I carried on linguistic investigations in the National Library. In February, 1892, upon the advice of Prof. Elliott, I went to Italy to collect material for my thesis on the Pistoiese Dialect, returning to Baltimore in October of the same year. I studied several months of this time under Prof. Pio Rajna of the *R. Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze*, and did manuscript and other work in the Florentine National Library. In July, 1893, I was elected Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,
October 11, 1893.







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