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A HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR

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A HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR

BY

ARSÈNE DARMESTETER

LATE PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE
AND OF MEDIAEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE AT THE SORBONNE

TO WHICH WAS AWARDED THE PRIX SAINTOUR
BY THE FRENCH ACADEMY 1897

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PREFACE

1 In his introduction to the Collected Essays of Arsène Darmesteter[2], his brother James Darmesteter has told the story of the inception of this *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la langue française*, based on the lectures given by the author to the students of the *École Normale Superieure des Filles* at Sèvres from the time of its foundation until the author's death —

'At the end of 1881, M Greard entrusted a delicate task to my brother At that time, M Greard, admirably seconded by the eminent woman whom he had chosen for directress (Mme Jules Favre), was organizing the *École Normale Superieure des Filles* at Sevres, one of the noblest creations of our educational system since 1870 On the success of this school, intended to train teachers for high schools for girls, depended the whole success of the law which *ex nihilo* had created secondary education for girls in France This law was regarded

[1] The English editor hopes that the inclusion of M James Darmesteter's introduction, and of the chief portions of the separate prefaces to the four volumes of the French text, will serve to justify the length of the present preface

[2] *Reliques Scientifiques d'Arsene Darmesteter* (L Cerf, Paris, 1890, 2 vols 8vo), vol 1 p xxiii

with distrust and anxiety in many quarters, and according to the failure or success of its first trial in practice might ruin the cause of female education for years, or give it a decisive triumph Arsène was charged with the organization of the teaching of the French language

'Undeterred by the timid counsels of some, who thought that vague generalities were enough for women, he initiated his auditors into the all-unwonted methods and results of science, not by lowering science to their level, but by raising his pupils to the level of science His success was beyond all expectation His teaching, instead of scaring and embarrassing so ill prepared an audience —for Latin had no place in their programme even as a voluntary subject—soon became a source of ardent interest to his pupils Their other lectures they followed dutifully and as a matter of course, his they attended with pleasure, intelligence, and enthusiasm To these fresh spirits, more open to disinterested work than the students preparing for the examinations of the Sorbonne, the study was a continuous revelation It was to them an entrancing voyage of discovery, in a language which they thought they knew, and were surprised to be learning afresh, they travelled indeed amid familiar forms, but traced them back to the past, where they assumed a new aspect, and they made acquaintance with the whole of the latent life of the language, which, once recognized, gives it new accents, and harmonies vibrating with the thought of bygone ages The historic spirit now for the first time revealed itself to his hearers, and many of them still retain the glow of the revelation And so this became my brother's

favourite course Nowhere else did he feel himself to be so well understood, and this is the supreme object and the supreme reward of the master He associated the students with his work, setting them tasks that he would never have dreamed of asking of his pupils at the Sorbonne "We had such admiration for him," one of them wrote to me, "we were so proud of him and of his work, that the smallest bit of copying or handiwork was cherished as an honour We were only a set of ignorant young girls at the school, but I am very sure that the void he has left could nowhere have been felt more deeply"

'Genuine popularization is impossible save by masters of science, these lectures, retouched annually by my brother during the seven years of his teaching at Sèvres, and enlarged for the public of the *Faculte des Lettres*, will find among students generally the same success that they formerly had among the girls at Sèvres'

Many portions of the course were developed so as to make it suitable for University audiences, but the book remains accessible to students with no previous knowledge of Latin

2 Arsène Darmesteter was preparing this book for the press, when, in the prime of life, he was carried off by disease Two of his former pupils, both distinguished scholars (MM Muret and Sudre), undertook to revise and edit his manuscript, filling up certain lacunae left by the author

The following passages, translated or summarized from the prefaces to the volumes of the French text, explain clearly the nature of the task of the editors

The work is divided into four books .—

Book I *Phonetics*, or the study of the sounds

Book II *Morphology*, or the study of the grammatical forms (Declensions and Conjugations)

Book III *Formation of Words* (Composition and Derivation), and *Life of Words* (or Semantics)

Book IV. *Historical Syntax*

With regard to Book I, dealing with *Phonetics*, M. Muret writes —

'In fulfilling the request of the family of the lamented Arsène Darmesteter to revise the manuscript of the first part of the *Grammaire Historique*, I have not for a moment forgotten that I was publishing the posthumous work of one of the masters of French philology, and I have done my utmost to respect his thought, and to accomplish his intentions Most of my corrections in the first edition have been corrections of detail which the author would doubtless have made in my place, if he had lived to put the last touches to the volume I shall not be thought to have departed from this line of conduct by recasting certain paragraphs (notably §§ 77 and 78) in order to bring them into harmony with researches published since 1888 But, in spite of the restriction which I laid on myself, the modifications of the original text have been not a few and increasing in number as the historical survey approached modern times Thus the paragraphs summing up Chapters IV and V have been completed In Chap V, § 98 has been somewhat extended For Chapter VI, I had at my disposal, not the author's notes, but a pupil's draft of his notes read over and paged by the author A comparison of this with the corresponding portion of

the *Seizieme Siecle en France* by A Darmesteter and Ad Hatzfeld showed that this summary *resumé* was altogether incomplete I have not hesitated, therefore, to recast it and to add several sections, §§ 111, 114, 117, &c, so that for the last pages of the volume I have been not only the editor but the collaborator and successor of A Darmesteter

'In preparing the second French edition of the book, from which the English translation was made, I have remained faithful to the principles just set forth I have corrected, as far as was possible, all errors brought to my notice or that I had discovered But I have not felt justified in substituting my own opinion or that of others for that of the author where the change was not forced on my own conviction and that of the most competent judges by irresistible evidence These scruples will no doubt seem justified alike by the elementary character of the work and the respect due to the memory of the author

'In reading the proofs of the excellent English translation by Mr A Hartog, I have allowed myself to deal somewhat more freely than with the French text entrusted to my care Not only have I corrected, with the obliging help of Mr Philip Hartog, errors and contradictions that had previously escaped my attention, but the repeated comparison of the translation with the original, the sagacious observations of Mr Hartog, and my own reflection have led me to modify the form and arrangement of several paragraphs, to add or replace examples in a certain number of cases, and to correct certain dates The English translation of Book I is therefore to be

considered as a third edition of the *Phonetics* of A Darmesteter, carefully revised and corrected'

In Book II, on *Morphology, or the Study of the Grammatical Forms*, M Sudre, adhering to the plan laid down by M Muret, has introduced considerable additions or modifications in §§ 148, 164, 170, 188–190 (degrees of comparison), in §§ 205–208 (demonstrative pronouns), and §§ 219, 222, 244, 249, and 253 He has also added § 198 on the impersonal pronoun, and the account of the forms of the verb *être*

Book III, on *The Formation of Words and the Life of Words*, is essentially a summary of three works by the author, the *Traite des Mots Composes*, the *Creation des Mots Nouveaux*, and the *Vie des Mots* (see p 525[1]) M Sudre has modified slightly certain paragraphs relative to popular derivation and borrowings from foreign languages, but the book may be regarded as an almost exact reproduction of the author's lectures

Of Book IV, dealing with the *Syntax*, unfortunately the note-books had not been finally revised by the author, and the examples, especially of Middle French, were insufficient in number

'Certain paragraphs,' M Sudre writes, 'those on the personal pronouns (§§ 390–499), the relative pronouns (§§ 410–415), the subjunctive mood (§§ 442–447), on tenses other than the participle (§§ 442–447), on number and person in the verb (§§ 459–460), needed completing or recasting, finally, one whole chapter, that on the Order of Words, although announced in the rest of the course, was not drawn up I have tried to fill up these lacunae while scrupulously respecting the plan and general ideas of

the author with the help of the many researches published on French syntax, and especially those of Tobler, Haase, Clédat, Étienne, and Huguet In the chapter on the Order of Words I have followed the lines of the corresponding chapter of the *Tableau de la langue française au XVI^e Siecle* (§ 303 *et seq*) In this reconstitution, I venture to hope that I have not misrepresented the ideas of Arsène Darmesteter, and that I have reproduced, in a manner not unworthy of him, this part of his teaching, of which he was so justly proud[1]

3 Clear as the original appears to a person acquainted with Modern French from infancy, it is full of unsuspected difficulties for the English reader having even a wide acquaintance with the language, and these it has been sought to overcome in this English edition The French text was translated in the first instance by me, and my translation was then carefully revised by one or both of my sons, Professor Marcus Hartog of Queen's College, Cork, and Mr Philip Hartog of the Owens College, Manchester, the latter of whom had had the advantage of discussing certain parts of the work with the author during a prolonged residence in France The arduous labour of seeing the volume through the press has fallen entirely on them Every addition or modification has been submitted to and discussed with the French editors, who have also read the proofs, and have liberally responded to

[1] Since the printing of this edition, the manuscript of the author's work on Syntax, destined for the *Traite des Mots* written to precede the *Dictionnaire General de la langue française*, has fortunately been found It is hoped that in a future edition this may serve to control any points where doubt may exist as to the author's views

the call for supplementary information[1] Very great pains have been taken to eliminate errors,[2] although in so immense a mass of detail it is practically impossible to get rid of these entirely

4 *Typographical Conventions* — The conventions of the French text have been scrupulously followed in Book I, dealing with Phonetics, where strictness was essential In the later portion of the book such strictness would have caused unnecessary awkwardness. M. Muret writes —

'The reader will notice with regard to Latin examples that the feminines of the 1st declension, in **-a**, are always quoted in the nominative case, while feminines of the 3rd declension, and all masculines, are quoted in the accusative The reason for this will be found in Book II, §§ 145–153, on the history of the Latin declension in Gaul Reference may also be made to Book I, § 64, 1

'The *asterisk* (as in ***vervicem**) is used throughout to denote Latin words not to be found in dictionaries of classical and ecclesiastical usage It seemed superfluous to distinguish those which occur in Low Latin texts from those whose existence has been deduced from French and other Romance languages

'Wherever French words are traceable to a Latin type differing from the classical type, the fact has been indicated,

[1] New matter, wherever difference of opinion seemed at all possible, or where it concerned only an English reader, has been enclosed in brackets

[2] Thus the geographical limits of French and German have been reverified by consulting original sources and maps, and practically the whole of the quotations, some 1300 in number, in Book IV have also been reverified For the correctness of those in the previous Books the French editors are responsible

if not expressly, at any rate by the juxtaposition of the classical and popular forms[1]

'Roman, thick, and italic type are used in each case to distinguish pronunciation or spelling of different dates or origins As a rule, thick type is used for the oldest form, italic for the latest Thus in Chapter III, on the history of the *Pronunciation of Popular Latin in Gaul from the 5th to the 10th century*, thick type is used for Latin words, italic for French A number of examples in this chapter show the successive pronunciations of a given word from the time of the oldest French texts down to the present day, so that the mind easily connects the form of the 10th or 11th century with that of the 19th In some cases the pronunciation of forms anterior to the appearance of French is given as restored by induction such forms are always given in italics between parentheses and precede the earliest forms of which we have direct evidence Forms of Middle and Modern French have also been printed in parentheses, side by side with the Old forms, in cases where the inexperienced reader was likely to feel doubt as to the pronunciation of the earlier forms Various associations of ideas, and (since the 15th and 16th centuries) the pedantry of learned men, too closely followed by the Academy, have disturbed the traditional spelling and pronunciation of many French words. in these cases the forms now in use are printed in parentheses and in Roman characters, merely to give additional information, or as translations of the forms of the Old language

[1] The reader is supposed, after Book I, to be aware of the distinction between Popular and Classical forms, and the Popular form is quoted *without the Classical*, e g **recipęre, and not recipere.**

'As the diacritical signs were unknown to the Middle Ages, their use in the case of words anterior to the 16th century has been restricted to examples where it was necessary to distinguish open e and o (è and ò) from close e and o (é and ó), or open or close e from e feminine or mute' [Expressions such as 'close é,' 'open ò,' although pleonastic, have been used in the text as more likely to impress the memory]

For French before the 17th century, i e Old and Middle French, it is necessary to have some term, and the expression in the original, *l'ancienne langue*, has been translated by 'the Old language' This is to be distinguished from 'Old French,' which means French from the 9th to the 14th century As an abbreviation for 'the Old language' the symbol '(O F)' has been used the use of a dagger (†) for obsolete words, adopted in the Indexes, suggested itself unfortunately too late to be adopted in the text

The 'Modern language,' written with a capital, must be taken as a technical expression for French from the 17th century down to our time Occasionally the French of the 17th century is contrasted, however, in the original with the modern, i e contemporary language, and in this case 'modern' has been written without a capital In spite of apparent complexity in this convention, confusion is hardly to be feared in any instance The use of capitals in the terms 'Popular' and 'Learned formation,' resorted to, for greater clearness, in the last two Books, should have been adopted throughout

A new feature has been introduced, namely the marking, in all cases where it seemed to be of use, of the place of the tonic accent or *tempus forte* (see § 40) in Latin words,

e g. **recipęre**[1] Many etymologies have been introduced with the assistance of the French editors where the additions conduced to clearness

5. *Translation of Words and Examples* —An elementary knowledge of French is assumed on the part of the reader, to translate every word and example would have been irritating, and would have increased the bulk of the book unduly In Book I, translations are relatively few and limited to unfamiliar words In Book II, the quotations from Old French (chosen to illustrate grammatical forms and not difficult points of syntax) have been kindly rendered into Modern French by M Sudre, and are accompanied only rarely by English renderings In Book III, the same principle has been adopted as in Book I, but certain unfamiliar *technical* French words, quoted for the sake of completeness, but of which the English equivalents are as unintelligible to the average reader as the originals, have been left untranslated In certain cases where lists of words are given, such as those illustrating the significance of suffixes, one or two words only are translated as examples , for the rest the reader must consult a dictionary if necessary

In Book IV, dealing with Syntax, practically every example quoted from a text[2] has been translated, and translated so as to fit the context in the original author This latter fact is mentioned, as not infrequently a simpler

[1] We may warn the casual reader that, in all cases where it is not otherwise stated, Popular Latin forms, e g **recipęre**, and not Classical forms, e g **recipere**, are quoted

[2] M Sudre has occasionally modified the spelling of examples from Norman and other dialectal texts, to bring them into harmony with the forms of the Île de France, or French proper, thus, forms

translation than the one given suggests itself, but is rendered inadmissible by the context Every one acquainted with such matters will realize the immense difficulty of translating isolated passages satisfactorily. Wherever it seemed possible, an attempt has been made to render the French idiom by a literally corresponding English idiom Where this has been out of the question, literalness of sense has been preferred to maimed English That difference of opinion must arise with regard to the best translation possible is inevitable

Square brackets have been used to enclose words translated literally from the French, but which need to be omitted to make good English, and also words to which no equivalent exists in the French text, but necessary to make the translation read No English reader will be at a loss to understand their significance , differentiation of the two cases by typographical signs was found to render the book difficult to read, without bringing any real advantage

6 *Cross References* —The number of cross references has been very greatly increased The student is advised, on his first reading, to use them as a rule only when in difficulties

7 The bibliography of Book IV has been completed, and dates of birth and death of the authors quoted, and of the authorship or first publication of texts, have been added

Finally, an extensive index of words and phrases, and indexes of prefixes, suffixes, and intercalated consonants and syllables, will, it is hoped, be regarded as a material addition to the work

like *dunt*, &c , in the *Chanson de Roland* have been replaced by *dont*, &c Conventional spellings of the 16th century, e g *practique* for *pratique*, have also in some instances been abandoned

My cordial thanks are due to my daughter, Mme Arsène Darmesteter, for considerable assistance in the first part of the work, to the French editors, to Mr Paget Toynbee, who has done so much to promote the study of Old French in England, for his generous help in revising the proofs of Book I, and of parts of the rest of the work, to Mrs A M Langdon, who read a great part of the proofs, to M Louis Brandin, now of the University of Greifswald, for considerable help in compiling the new Bibliography and verifying many otherwise inaccessible references, to Prof Victor Kastner, Prof Tout, and Mr Oliver Elton, of the Owens College, for various suggestions, and especially to Mr G A Wolff, the reader of the Clarendon Press, for his extraordinary care, and for many valuable corrections of slips other than typographical errors I shall be grateful to any reader who will send me corrections or suggestions for a future edition, to the care of the publishers[1]

A HARTOG

[1] We add a list of the chief works by M A Darmesteter —

(i) *Reliques Scientifiques* (Paris Leopold Cerf, 2 vols, 8vo, 1890) This work contains various memoirs on phonetics and morphology

(ii) *Traite de la formation des Mots Composes dans la langue française* (Paris Vieweg, 1st ed, 8vo, 1874), the second edition, revised and augmented by the author, was published in 1894 under the supervision of M Gaston Paris (Paris Bouillon, 8vo)

(iii) *De la creation actuelle des Mots Nouveaux dans la langue française et des lois qui la regissent* (Paris Vieweg, 8vo, 1877)

(iv) *The Life of Words, as Symbols of Ideas* (London Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co, 8vo, 1886)

(v) *Le seizieme siecle en France, tableau de la litterature et de la langue*, par A Darmesteter et A Hatzfeld (Paris Ch Delagrave)

(vi) *Dictionnaire General de la langue française*, par A Hatzfeld et A Darmesteter, avec le concours de A Thomas (Paris Ch Delagrave, 8vo)

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BEFORE commencing the study of the historical grammar of the French language, we must know what we mean by the words *language* and *grammar*

1. *What we mean by Language*

1 The idea of *language* is an idea so familiar to all that it is clearer than any definition that we can give of it A definition, however, has the advantage of specifying its essential characters We may give the name of *language* to any *natural system of words* used by a group of men to communicate their thoughts to one another Such a system embraces various series of facts coming under four different heads the Pronunciation, the Vocabulary, the Grammatical Forms, and the Syntactic Constructions

2 The number of languages spoken on the surface of the globe is very great One of the reasons for their number is that they are subject to incessant change A language established in any given region in most cases ends by undergoing variations both in time and in space in time, in such a way that after a certain number of years it becomes sensibly different from what it was at first, and finally appears as a new language, in space, so that it splits up into different local groups (called *dialects*) each of

which may, if sufficiently important, become in turn a new language, itself capable of undergoing fresh subdivisions. Evolution is the law that governs the existence of languages, for they are, like all organisms, in a perpetual state of 'becoming'

The changes to which languages are subject affect them in the four categories of which we have spoken the Pronunciation, the Words, the Grammatical Forms, and the Syntactic Constructions

3 *Pronunciation* When we turn from our own mother tongue to the study of a foreign language, German or Italian for instance, the first difficulty to strike us, and the first to be overcome, is the strange system of pronunciation In speaking these languages, the vocal organs have acquired special habits, which we in our turn have to master And the differences that strike us so strongly in the comparison of two living languages, we find to be no less real, though less easily appreciable, when we compare the pronunciation of the same language in different provinces, the same sounds have undergone various and more or less far-reaching modifications in different places Now different states such as are evident to us in comparing different languages, and even different sister-dialects, may be passed through by one and the same language in the course of time Thus the pronunciation of classical English varies so rapidly that the character of the language changes from century to century The rude cadences of Modern German represent the latest stage of an idiom which, if we may judge of it by the Gothic of Ulfilas[1], with its melodious combinations of vowels and diphthongs, was sonorous in its harmonies and of extreme sweetness

An example, chosen from French, will illustrate this process of evolution even better

[1] A Gothic bishop of the 4th century, whose translation of the Gospels into Gothic is the oldest monument we possess of the Germanic languages

The word *crois* (in *je crois*, Lat **credo**) is now pronounced **crwa**

In the 18th century it was pronounced **crwè**,
" 17th " " " **crwès**,
" 16th " " " **crwè** (written *croi*),
" 15th " " " **croi**
" 14th and 13th centuries it was pronounced **cróı** (a diphthong)[1],
" 12th century it was written and pronounced **créı**,
" 11th and 10th centuries it was written and pronounced **creıd**,
" 9th and 8th centuries it was probably pronounced **créd**,
" 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries it was written and pronounced **crédo** (with a strong stress on the **e**, which was close)[2]

4 Such changes in pronunciation take place unconsciously, and are hence general, affecting all the sounds in a language placed under similar conditions, so that they suffer no exceptions[3] Owing to this uniformity it has been possible to make out the history of these changes, and the science which determines the laws of these changes has received the name of *phonology* or *phonetics* (from a Greek word **phōnē**, *sound*)

5 *Vocabulary* The words of every language are the fundamental elements of that language, for the object of a language is to express thought, and words are the symbols of ideas The words of a language considered as a whole are called its *vocabulary* We may study words with

[1] Approximately like the Greek οι in μοι, σοι, &c

[2] For the explanation of the notation of vowel sounds here employed, see p 66

[3] What are regarded as exceptions are the resultant effects of forces acting in different directions Cf A Darmesteter, in 'The Life of Words'

regard to their [proximate] origin, to the processes of their formation, and to the meanings which they express. In the case of French we have to see in what way and by what means the vocabulary of Popular Latin, which became that of French, gradually enriched itself For the language was not satisfied with its original stock In order to express the new ideas brought to it by the development of civilization, it borrowed largely both from neighbouring tongues and from the classical languages of antiquity Again, from the words that were its own it formed new words with the help of suffixes and prefixes, and by combining words together French possesses within itself various resources for the extension of its vocabulary in this way, and these resources we shall have to review

Finally, since words are the symbols of ideas, we must investigate the changes of meaning to which they are subject, the laws followed by the mind, when their functions are modified, extended, or restricted, and the causes that determine the evolution or disappearance of words

6 *Grammatical Forms* The majority of words in every language are subject to certain variations or 'accidents,' which differ in different languages In the classes of words called *nouns* and *pronouns*, these variations considered as a whole are called the *declensions* (including variations of gender, number, and case), in the words called *verbs*, these variations are called the *conjugations* The systems of declension and conjugation, together entitled the *grammatical forms*, are regarded by many grammarians as constituting 'the grammar' of a language properly so called, since they make up the skeleton or mould of the language Vocabulary and pronunciation may change, but so long as this mould remains unaltered the language remains the same, and if it were possible to keep the same vocabulary and pronunciation, and yet to alter this mould in a given language,

we should have a different language Arabic (a Semitic language) has penetrated Persian (an Indo-European language), and Persian has in turn penetrated Turkish (a Ural-Altaic language)[1], to such an extent that the original vocabularies of Persian and Turkish are each, as it were, submerged in the flood of an exotic vocabulary Nevertheless, as the 'grammar' of Persian has remained unchanged, it remains an Indo-European language in spite of the Semitic importations, and similarly Turkish has kept its own grammatical forms, and therewith its Uro-Altaic individuality

English since the 11th century has adopted so many French words that almost half its vocabulary may be claimed by the French, and certain philologists include the study of English in that of the Romance languages But English 'grammar' has remained Germanic, and English must therefore rank as a Germanic tongue

Words are borrowed, lost, and renewed But the grammatical forms through which this mobile and fugitive material passes endure, just as the external forms of living organisms endure, although the molecules of which they are composed are continually replaced under the action of the forces of assimilation and dissimilation[2]

7 *Syntax* Men do not think in isolated ideas; they exchange with their fellows judgements, which are groups of ideas, and these groups of ideas are expressed by groups of words Now in every language words are combined, not at random, but according to habits of construction established by usage The exact statement of these habits is called *syntax* Here again the historian of language has to follow the successive transformations imposed by custom on all the elements of syntax

[1] Turkish, Finnish, and Hungarian are three sister languages of the Uralian or Altaic family

[2] See 'The Life of Words'

8 Thus, considering French alone, we may study the Pronunciation, the Vocabulary, the Grammatical Forms, and the Syntax in their historical evolution As generation has succeeded generation from the time of the Romans down to our own, so the language has been transmitted orally from each generation to the next by continuous and uninterrupted tradition But during this succession through the ages the habits of the language have changed insensibly from those of Latin, until they have reached the state we see in the French of to day

The study of the Modern language demands something more than an exact record of the usages of the present day, we must explain these usages And the explanation can only be found by questioning the past, since their source is to be found in the earlier stages of the language

2 *What we mean by Grammar*

9 We may define Grammar in two ways, according as we consider it as an art or as a science

The conception of grammar as a science, we may fairly say, is a new idea, born with the modern school of linguistics generally Viewed from this standpoint, the grammar of a language is the determination of the natural laws that have governed its historical evolution Its object is to re establish the different stages of the Pronunciation, the Vocabulary, the Declensions and Conjugations, and the Syntax, assumed at the different stages in its history

Its one aim is to explain the usages at a given period by means of the earlier usages whence they are derived The means of investigation are to be found in texts of past times, scrutinized in every element, in neighbouring languages of the same family, and in dialects which can be traced to the same source By the methodical comparison of such allied languages and dialects, grammar arrives at the recognition of the successive phases through which

these have passed. It is then called *Comparative Grammar.* As we see, Comparative Grammar forms part of Historical Grammar [1]

10 Grammar may be considered as an art It was considered from this point of view only by the Greeks and Romans, and by mediaeval scholars, and it is so still by those modern grammarians who are not of the historical school The definition of Grammar as 'the art of speaking and writing correctly' dates back from ancient Rome

What is the meaning of the words 'to speak and write correctly'? In what does correctness consist? Does it consist in following right usage? Does this imply the existence of a wrong usage? And, if so, how are the two to be distinguished?

Now, the usages of language are in a state of perpetual change, for any given form now accepted by all was at some moment of the past a neologism and constituted a departure from earlier usage, and such neologisms have occurred at every period in the history of the language Should we not, then, admit that every new form considered as barbarous is wrongly so considered? Should we not admit that it ought to be accepted in its turn like its fellows in preceding ages, and regard its acceptance as destined to become an accomplished fact?

[1] The name of *General* or *Universal Grammar* was given to a group of philosophical inquiries, much in vogue in the 17th and 18th centuries, which aimed at studying and bringing to light the features common to different languages, and thereby the common natural processes used by the human mind in the exercise of speech This general science of grammar was premature, and was based on observations too imperfect, and syntheses presenting too great difficulties, for it to attain to any lasting results When the history of the numerous different families of languages spoken on the surface of the earth has been completed, then, and then only, will it be possible to attempt a general history of the mental laws reflected in language Down to the present time we have only been able to grapple with certain special problems in connexion with those groups of languages that have been studied best

The answer is, No For this theory of the accomplished fact would lead to nothing less than the destruction of the language. Of possible changes, some are good, others bad, and a right usage and a wrong usage *can* be distinguished.

11 If it is true that every language is subject to endless changes, such changes take place nevertheless in virtue of natural tendencies, so strong as to be irresistible, and these constitute the genius of the language

The history of the stages through which French has evolved brings into clear relief a movement of the language towards a definitely analytic condition Thus it is the desire for clearness that has transformed many syntactic idioms derived from Latin Every change favouring this tendency is healthy, every change opposing it is harmful, just as every change favouring the development of a living organism is good, every change hindering it, bad It is only by a thorough study of the history of the language, therefore, that we can get the light necessary to determine the true character of new practices that may be adopted or rejected

12 Every one, however, cannot consult this history, which is indeed hardly more than sketched out. If we ask then, failing this, to what authority we should have recourse, the answer is, the great writers, and people who speak well.

The authors recognized by universal consent as masters of the French language have become great writers because they have made a thorough study of its happiest idioms, sought out its strongest forms of expression, and taught themselves a way of writing which has become a model, or else because instinctively, and as it were unconsciously, they have had a just and precise feeling of what is good French.

13. The tendencies which have influenced French for

centuries, and which have formed its individuality, are still alive, and will live as long as the language itself They exist in a state, more or less conscious or unconscious, in the thought of all those who speak the language, and each bears within his mind something of its genius Writers who naturally and instinctively feel this genius write well without any effort or seeking to do so

Similarly with those who speak well Some through a special study of the language, some through careful education and the influence of their surroundings, some again through instinct, speak naturally with more distinction, clearness, and precision, in a way more in accordance with the general tendencies of the language

Right tradition does, then, exist it is the duty of grammar to make it known and to defend it against any deteriorations It is in this teaching of right usage that grammar, from being a science, passes into an art.

14 Nor is this all The literary language ought to be conservative Generally speaking, in a literary language with a great past to look back upon, any attempt at innovation must be, if not thwarted, at least carefully watched In the neologism lies the revolutionary force which tends to transform languages Abandoned to the action of this force alone, they may be hurried into changes so rapid that in a short time they become unrecognizable, like the speech of certain tribes in America and Oceania, which is transformed, it is said, from one generation to the next Now, the state of health of a language consists in a balance more or less durable between the conservative force, tending to keep it stationary, and the revolutionary force, tending to carry it away in new directions To suppress either one or other of these forces would mean to condemn the language to decline and death To give French over to the uncurbed action of neologisms would mean the gradual abandonment of the works of the great

writers to oblivion, the destruction of literary traditions, and of national traditions

To sum up The object of grammar as a science is to determine the various steps through which the language has passed in the course of centuries, and to explain the grammatical usages of each period by those of the periods preceding Considered as an art, it teaches us how to speak and write in conformity with right usage, that is, the usage determined by the natural tendencies of the language When historical grammar fails to throw light on these tendencies, it is to literary masterpieces and to the conversation of well bred people that we must look as our authorities

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

FIRST PART

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF FRENCH

1 Latin —2 Popular Latin and Classical Latin —3 Geographical limits of Latin —4 The *Lingua Romana* —5 Low Latin —6 The Gallo Romanic group —7 The boundaries of Gallo Romanic —8 More precise definition of these boundaries —9 Dialects and patois —10 Dialects and patois of the *langue d'oc* —11 The *langue d'oil* and its dialects —12 The spoken language of the Ile de France, or French

1 LATIN —**French**, like Portuguese, Spanish, Provençal, Italian, Roumansch, and Roumanian, is the outcome, after a long succession of changes, of the language spoken by the Romans, namely **Latin** Latin belongs to the family of languages called the Indo-European or Aryan These languages sprang from an older idiom, now lost, spoken at an unknown period, and in an unknown region, by a people which has left no history, and which is commonly called the Aryan people This people, whose cradle or dwelling place has been affirmed, without any valid reason, to be the central plateau of Asia, sent into Europe and the southern portion of the Asiatic continent a number of tribes who carried with them a common inheritance of language, belief and civilization, and developed eventually into as many new and distinct peoples.

One of these tribes made its way towards the Mediterranean, and this has been called by scholars the Graeco-Italic, because one part of it was destined to give rise to the various peoples of Greek speech, the other to the various peoples of Italic speech

Of these Italian tribes, who spoke more or less closely allied dialects (Umbrian, Samnite, Oscan, &c), the one inhabiting Latium had an extraordinary destiny. This little people of wild and plundering shepherds became, in the lapse of time, a powerful nation, which spread from Rome as a centre, first increasing at the expense of the other Italic peoples and then absorbing them, conquering the whole of Italy, and then making the whole of the known world its dominions The language of this people followed in the wake of its political advance and finally also conquered the greater part of the empire The language of Rome is called Latin, from the name of the small territory of *Latium*, which was the cradle of the Roman nation It was this Latin language which was to develop later into the various Romance tongues

2. POPULAR LATIN AND CLASSICAL LATIN —The Latin of the early times of the Roman Republic differs considerably from the Latin of three or four centuries later, it is the archaic language preserved in a few rare inscriptions which are still under discussion by Latin scholars[1].

During these centuries of war and barbarism, Latin, possessing no literature and untrammelled by any conservative forces, underwent rapid changes But with the conquest of Greece came a new era for the language. Under the influence of Greek letters, a school of writers and of poets was formed at Rome. Naevius, Pacuvius, and Livius Andronicus sought to polish the rude and

[1] The text of the oldest Latin inscription known, which is engraved on a clasp, and probably dates from the time of the kings, runs as follows *Manios med fhefhaked Numasioi*, i e *Manius me fecit Numasio*, Manius made me for Numasius.

coarse Latin speech, and to introduce uniformity into its grammar and pronunciation. A little later, with Ennius, a writer of genius, the chief characteristics of Classical Latin became fixed. Ennius was for Latin what Dante was for Italian, and Luther for German, what Ronsard aimed at being for modern French, and he may be justly considered as the father of the literary language of Rome. In shaping the written language into that marvellous instrument of expression which we find in its famous masterpieces, the great writers who filled the first century B C. were but continuing his work. It is, however, to be regretted that this written language, which was born under the influence of Greece, should have been so powerfully subjected to the seductive charm of Greek literature that it never had strength to emancipate itself. Indeed, neglecting the natural genius of their own tongue, the Latin writers modelled their vocabulary, their constructions, and their versification after the Greek Thus the form of the *whole* of Classical Latin poetry, instead of being a national form, was only borrowed[1].

We may now ask, what was the relation between the written language which we admire in the classics and the spoken language? Of this relation some idea may be formed (though the comparison is defective in many points) if we compare literary with spoken French. Literary French is a product of art, and the result of the persevering efforts of an uninterrupted series of great writers, and from this literary language the language of everyday life differs in certain matters of pronunciation and vocabulary, and especially in matters of syntax Moreover, the differences increase as we pass downwards from the class of the elegant aristocracy and the educated *bourgeoisie* to that of the people, whose speech

[1] There was, it is true, a movement against Greek influence (with Cato), but it was too weak to exert any appreciable action [cf Cicero, *De Finibus* 1 1]

is freer and more natural, and is not governed by rules learnt at school and in society.

Similar differences were to be found with regard to the language spoken and written in Rome The aristocracy and governing classes probably affected a speech as close as possible to the language of literature, while that of the middle classes was somewhat freer But school teaching, and, at an older age, literary education and the influence of social surroundings in which written Latin, the language of the tribunals and the civil, religious and military administrations, was supreme as the official language,—all these things prevented the popular speech from undergoing any very fundamental changes Even the plebs, who were less easily subjected to conservative influences, still felt their action to a certain extent, for, hearing a grammatical language with fixed rules spoken around them, they were restrained, in spite of themselves, from being borne along by the current which was destined, a little later, to carry away Latin

This is why the spoken language varied, in fact, but little during the whole time of the Republic and the Empire But in the fifth century, when the classical language, exhausted with the production of the masterpieces of a Cicero, a Livy, a Tacitus, a Lucretius, a Virgil, and a Horace, became condemned to sterility, and when the official language had collapsed together with the vast edifice of the Empire, the language spoken by the people, now freed and unfettered, developed naturally and in accordance with its own proper genius [1]

A number of expressions and constructions, and also of grammatical forms and words which had been denied

[1] This movement was accelerated by two special causes—the advent of Christianity and the barbarian invasions On the one hand, in order to attract the masses and attach them to the new faith, the clergy spoke the language of the people which at the same time they raised to their own level On the other hand, the barbarians destroyed, together with Rome, her official language

a place in the literary language owing to a feeling either of disdain or conservatism, now achieved an irresistible victory, and as in matters of language the voice of the majority is law, and at the end of the Empire the immense majority of the nation belonged to the plebs, the ways of speech of the masses prevailed exclusively When we say then that the Romance languages are derived from Popular Latin, what we mean is that they form the continuation of Popular Latin in the course of time. They form in fact the modern stages of Popular Latin.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF LATIN —Latin was carried by conquest from Latium through Italy (265 B C), into Sardinia (227 B C), into Cisalpine Gaul and Istria (178 B C), into Spain (133 B C), then into Gaul (50 B C), and to the borders of the Danube and as far as Dacia (106 A D) Rome understood how to transport her own language with marvellous skill into conquered countries, to make them forget their own tongues and become Latin Still, the boundaries of Latin fell far within the boundaries of the Empire

At the time of its greatest extent[1] the Empire included Italy, Spain, Gaul as far as the Rhine, Great Britain to the wall of Septimius Severus, the south of Germany to the confluence of the Save and Danube, on the left bank of the Danube, Dacia as far as the Dniester, on the right bank, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, in Asia, the province of Asia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, in Africa, Egypt and the whole of the coast as far as the Atlantic (Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco).

The boundaries of Latin were, as we have said, less extended In the first place Latin was unable to supplant **Greek**, which persisted in Greece and is still spoken there in a more or less modified form (**Modern Greek**), and which prevailed in Asia, until **Syriac** on

[1] See G Paris, *Romania*, 1 12 sqq

the one hand, and **Arabic** on the other, caused it to disappear

In Africa, Egypt also proved refractory to Latin; this country was shared between **Greek**, which was used by the upper classes and in the administration, and **Coptic**, the language of the peasants or fellaheen Greek disappeared from Egypt at the end of the Empire; and Coptic died out in the seventeenth century, leaving **Arabic**, which had invaded the region, with Islam, in the seventh century, entire master of the field

In the provinces situated further to the west, Latin came into contact with **Carthaginian** or **Punic**, a Phoenician dialect closely allied to Hebrew, and **Numidian**, it destroyed Carthaginian, which was, however, still used as a patois in the time of St Augustine, but left untouched Numidian, and this language is still spoken in our own day under the name of **Berber** In the seventh century Latin was displaced in these provinces by **Arabic** Had it not been for the Arab conquest, a sister language to Spanish and Provençal would now be spoken on the coast of Africa

In Italy, Latin might well be considered as a native tongue, it was spoken throughout the Peninsula, and in the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily[1].

In Spain it caused the indigenous language of the Iberians to disappear, only a remnant surviving as **Basque** or **Euskara**

In Gaul, Latin took the place of the **Celtic** dialects from the Atlantic to the Alps, and from the Mediterranean to the mouths of the Rhine, but this state of things was modified later by various invasions

[1] The Greek element, which had been strongly established in Sicily and the south of the Peninsula (Magna Graecia) by Hellenic colonization, doubtless disappeared at the beginning of the Middle Ages The Greek dialects to be met with here and there in Southern Italy and Corsica are of comparatively recent foundation

In Great Britain, Latin had no time to penetrate deeply into the minds of the masses of the people; nevertheless it left behind a number of words in **Welsh** and **Anglo-Saxon.**

In Germany, in Rhaetia, Norica, and Pannonia, it disappeared before the idioms of the German and Slav barbarians. It was only preserved in Eastern Switzerland (the Grisons) and the Western Tyrol, where it is known as **Ladino, Roumansch,** or **Rhaeto-Romanic**

In Illyria, the native languages, although they were influenced by Latin, must have maintained their existence, if it be true that they have been preserved under the form of modern **Albanese**

Slavonic languages were spoken over a great part of the Balkan Peninsula

Dacia, conquered and romanized by Trajan in 106 A D, was abandoned in 274 by Aurelian, who transported its inhabitants to Moesia and Macedonia It was only nine centuries later that the descendants of these Latins, then half-nomad herdsmen, again made their way north, recrossed the Danube, and repeopled the vast desert of Dacia, which for eight centuries had been the battlefield of the barbarians. For, from the fourth to the twelfth century this had been a place of conflict and slaughter for the Goths, the Huns and the Gepidi, the Lombards, the Avars and the Bulgars, the Magyars, the Cumans, and the Patzinaks in turn. With the new colonization of these desolate regions the language of Rome flourished there again, and is still spoken under the form of **Roumanian.** Roumanian at present is divided into two chief dialects—**Daco-Roumanian,** spoken in Dacia, and **Macedo-Roumanian,** spoken in Macedonia and Epirus

Thus Latin reigned supreme in Italy, Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, throughout Spain (except in the Basque region) and in the Balearic Isles, in Gaul and the Channel Islands, in Western and Southern Switzerland

and a small portion of Eastern Switzerland, and also here and there on the north and south coasts of the Mediterranean and in the basin of the Danube It is, indeed, almost certain that it was spoken along the borders of the Mediterranean from the Adriatic to Macedonia without any break[1]

It was this Romanic or Romance language—*Lingua Romana*, as it was popularly called—which was spoken in the various countries of the *imperium romanum* or *Romania*, and in one land became **Italian**, in another, **Hispano-Romanic**, which developed into **Spanish** and **Portuguese**, which towards the east became **Roumansch** and **Roumanian**, and towards the north **Gallo-Romanic**, the mother of **Provençal**, **Catalan**, and **French**

4 THE LINGUA ROMANA.—If we ask whether the language spoken throughout this vast territory was uniform, the answer is somewhat difficult to give in the actual condition of our knowledge But all the probabilities point to a state of almost perfect unity of speech Certainly the same accidence and the same syntax, and probably the same vocabulary, prevailed from the Black Sea to the Atlantic, and from the banks of the Rhine to the Atlas

It is, however, no less probable that the pronunciation varied from one place to another, for this language was spoken by people of different races, who, although they had forgotten their ancestral dialects, in spite of themselves preserved their own systems of pronunciation

It was only gradually, and under the influence of a multiplicity of causes—the influence of diverse surroundings, of invasions, and the opportunity of independent evolution—that the linguistic varieties of Romanic began to

[1] The Latin patois of the Tyrol, the Trentin, and Istria already showed, in embryo, linguistic traits which are found freely developed in the Roumanian dialects The continuous line referred to above was broken later by German and Slav colonization

take shape We may attribute to the seventh, or at latest to the eighth, century those more rapid and characteristic changes which gave to different countries each its own language. Some words would be full of life in one place, unknown or forgotten in another, with the lapse of time, the pronunciation in different spots displayed decided divergence, and slightly different syntactic constructions came into use With regard to these points we can at present only advance more or less probable and general hypotheses

But, neglecting these specific differences between the Romance languages, if we turn our attention to the oldest forms of their common traits, if we remember that these languages have almost the same vocabulary, the same declension, the same methods of composition and derivation, and the same syntax, then they appear to us as different aspects of one and the same language, as the blossoms of the same tree grown on different soils

Each of the Romance languages kept for itself, as its own property, the name of **Roman**, which the people of Rome gave to their language Even at the present time the name is borne by **Roumanian**, and by Ladino or **Roumansch** (from an adverb *romanice*)[1] Provençal calls itself the *langue romane*, and many Provençal speaking people believe that their language has the exclusive right to the name

In the Middle Ages, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French are often designated by this name In Old French, to translate from Latin into *roman* means to translate from Latin into French The substantive *roman* means 'a composition in the common tongue', the Roman de la Rose is the 'French poem of the Rose,' and the Roman de Renard is the 'French poem of Renard' The 'vieux romanciers,' of whom Boileau speaks, are the old French poets. Thus this word *roman*, preserved by each of the languages

[1] French-speaking Switzerland is called *la Suisse romande* (see p 20)

derived from Latin as its own special name, forms an unimpeachable testimony to the original unity of these languages, once fused in the *Lingua Romana*

We mean then by the term Romance or Romanic languages (*langues romanes*) the various languages which have sprung from Latin Each of them is *a* Romance language, but not *the* Romance language The *langue romane* or *Romanic* means Popular Latin, as it was spoken from the third to the seventh or eighth century. The Romanic or Popular Latin spoken in different countries has received special names, thus the terms **Gallo-Romanic, Hispano-Romanic, Italo-Romanic,** are used to designate the Romanic spoken in Transalpine Gaul, in Spain and in Italy This Popular Latin was a *spoken* language It must not be confused with the *written* language of the time, which was **Low Latin**

5 Low latin.—**Low Latin** was the literary Latin of the time, written by people more or less ignorant, who perpetrated mistakes derived from the spoken language, which are analogous to the blunders of schoolboys of our own time when they try to write Latin During the barbarous period, Low Latin was modelled almost entirely on the spoken language, except in the Fathers of the Church, thus it offers a spectacle of the completest barbarism, and hence furnishes rich materials for the study of Romanic, since behind its barbarous forms we can discover, by induction, the spoken language of which no memorial remains[1].

[1] We give two examples of this barbarous Latinity (1) *Qualiscunque a quemcunque epistolas de nomine nostro, manus nostras firmatas, ostensas fuerint vacuas permanecant* (Rozière, *Formules*, CXXIX) In good Latin this would be—*Qualescumque a quocumque epistolae de nomine nostro, manibus nostris firmatae, ostensae fuerint vacuae permaneant* The feminines, *epistolas, firmatas, ostensas, manus nostras,* are here in the accusative, and not in the nominative or ablative, because in the popular speech of the time feminines were no longer used in any other case but the accusative (2) *Vendedi ad illo campello ferente modius tantus* (Rozière,

In the Carlovingian period, under Charlemagne, a renascence of Latin literature took place, and the documents written by the more learned clerks of the time resemble more nearly those of Classical Latin. All lettered men in the Middle Ages wrote in Low Latin This Low Latin, which was, then, the continuation of Classical Latin in the Middle Ages, differed from it by certain distinct characteristics The vocabulary of Classical Latin had to be modified, since it was required to express ideas unknown to ancient Rome, and Low Latin was the instrument used by an intelligent minority to render in words a new and very complex civilization The grammar, especially in matters of syntax, was influenced by the popular speech, but nevertheless preserved the traditions of a regular grammar In the sixteenth century Low Latin disappeared before the efforts of the humanists and Ciceronians, who brought back into favour the language of the great classics of Rome

6 GALLO-ROMANIC —Let us now dismiss from our minds the other Romance languages and consider only the Gallo Romanic group

Popular Latin first of all caused Celtic to disappear, a result at which we may justly feel surprise How could a great people, with a civilization as advanced as that of the Gauls, forget their language and nationality to become merged in the Roman unity? A number of men of letters, feeling unable to accept the possibility of so strange a thing, have regarded French and Provençal as the outcome of a mixture of Gaulish and Latin, together with a Germanic element introduced by invasion, and from this formless mixture they derive French This view is mistaken. As

Formules, cclxxx) this should run—*Vendidi ad illum* (or better *illi*) *campellum ferentem modios tantos* In Popular Latin the forms used were *vendedi*, *vendedit*, with the penultimate *e* short and accented, whence the oldest French forms *vendie*, *vendiet*, the dative *illi* was replaced by the periphrasis, *ad* with the accusative, the final *m* had long disappeared from the pronunciation, and atonic *u* and atonic *o* had become assimilated, hence the forms *illo*, *campello*, *ferente*, and *modius tantus*

we have already said, French is nothing else than the development, in the course of centuries, of Latin, before which the Celtic language disappeared

After the conquest of Caesar the Gaulish nationality disappeared We are wrong indeed to use the word *nationality*; the idea of a Gaulish nation, united in interests and in language, is not based on fact.

There were in Gaul as many nationalities as there were tribes, they were nearly all at war one with the other The rising of the year 53 B C was only that of one-third of the population, and was in defence rather of aristocratic interests than of a fatherland Caesar found allies even among the most powerful of the tribes The Belgi, Aquitani, Remi, Lingones, Treviri, and Bellovaci refused to send contingents to Alesia, and a large portion of Gaul regarded the supreme struggle with passive indifference Of those who offered resistance to the conqueror, Vercingetorix alone, perhaps, had the feeling of a common country After the terrible repression which followed the conquest, and involved the decimation of the aristocracy and the annihilation of all resistance, Rome, with her usual skill, kept up local rivalries, and favoured the democracy of the communes and cities at the expense of the nobles, and the Gaulish people found their freedom and independence increased under a foreign dominion which left their municipal liberties and their local governments untouched, and moreover bestowed on them distinctions and dignities The Gauls were sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently civilized to recognize the intellectual and moral superiority of Rome and to profit by it They became romanized with enthusiastic haste

As soon as Gaul was subjugated, new towns were founded side by side with the old ones Civic privileges and rights were meted out and extended by Rome with judicious skill, until the day when Caracalla declared that all the subjects of the Empire should be Romans

Moreover, Rome was not content to exert her action only by means of the concession of political rights. Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, covered Gaul with great roads, which linked together the Channel and the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees and the Rhine, the Alps and the Atlantic. As early as the reign of Augustus, temples, circuses, theatres, and baths, sprang up all over Gaul, even in its farthest corners and remotest valleys

After Italy, Gaul is the richest of all countries in Roman monuments and Latin inscriptions, most of which date from the first century A D Spain, which became Roman a hundred years earlier, ranks after France in this respect Under Augustus 1,200 men formed a sufficient army of occupation for Gaul, while 15,000 were needed in England, and 45,000 in Germany Thus the Gaulish civilization had disappeared as if by magic before the Roman civiliza tion We must abandon the brilliant historical fancies of men like Amédée Thierry and Henri Martin with regard to a Gaulish fatherland and nation, which they identified with the home and believers of the Druidic religion

We may regret so complete a forgetfulness on the part of a people, who, unlike the natives of America after their overthrow by the Spaniards, had no thought of preserving the memory of their heroism in national song In this case it is to Caesar, the conqueror himself, that we owe the story of the supreme struggle But regrets are unavailing against facts With the civilization of the Gauls their language, which was indeed *very nearly related to Latin*, disappeared as well

Severe critical examination of the Celtic element in French reveals very few words of Gaulish origin, and even these must have been introduced through Popular Latin They are exactly comparable to the English and German words which we see imported every day into France, and which then become French Gaulish pronunciation

doubtless left some traces in the pronunciation of Gallo-Romanic, but Gaulish grammar—and the grammar is the fundamental element of every language—had no influence on Gallo-Romanic As the same grammar is to be found in early French, early Italian, early Spanish, &c, and as this grammar is to be traced back to Popular Latin, if we maintain that Gallo-Romanic was influenced by Celtic we must admit that Popular Latin was influenced by Celtic—a conclusion condemned by its own absurdity.

We find evidence of the existence of Gaulish down to the fourth century. Latin conquered first the towns and then, but only gradually, the country districts, leaving great islands, as it were, of Gaulish-speaking territory, which diminished in course of time till they finally disappeared At the period of the barbarian invasions no word of Gaulish was to be heard spoken in Gaul.

At Marseilles and in its neighbourhood, Popular Latin had to encounter Greek, which had been brought there by the Phocaeans. Greek survived there till the first century, but with the political decay of Marseilles it died out and ceased to be a spoken language Of the six or seven thousand inscriptions of Roman Gaul, only some sixty are Greek

Thus Popular Latin was spoken from the Mediterranean to the mouths of the Rhine, from Port Vendres to Antwerp, and from the Atlantic to the Alps, when invasions, which began in the fifth century, came to disturb at four points the state of things settled four centuries earlier.

1. The Wisigoths in Aquitaine, the Burgundians in Burgundy, the Salian Franks in the north-east, the Austrasian Franks in the east, brought with them their Germanic dialects These dialects disappeared after a certain time, but the northern and eastern frontiers were abandoned by the Gallo Romans, who fled before the invaders, and were occupied by the Germans, who estab-

lished themselves in these territories, and spoke a **Low-German** dialect in the Flanders, and a **High-German** dialect in Alsace-Lorraine.

2. Again, the Anglo-Saxon invasions of England in the fifth century drove out the Breton populations, who established themselves in lower Armorica, at that time depopulated, and caused a Celtic dialect to flourish once more in a corner of the land from which Latin had driven out Gaulish [1].

3 In the south-west the invasions of the Vascones, who crossed the Pyrenees in the sixth century, imported into a portion of Gaulish territory the old language of the Iberians, which Latin had destroyed in Gaul, and, in Spain, had driven into the **Basque** provinces and Navarre.

4. Finally, in the eighth century, the Arab invasions had forced the Hispano-Romans to take refuge in the north, leaving vast regions on the eastern side of the peninsula depopulated, this led emigrants from Roussillon to cross the Pyrenees, and to establish themselves in Catalonia, the province of Valencia, and the Balearic Isles, to which they brought with them a Gallo-Romanic dialect, now called **Catalan.**

This fourfold movement of contraction and expansion resulted in the formation of new boundaries to the Gallo-Romanic domain, and these boundaries have remained unchanged up to the present time, save at a few points where Gallo-Romanic has won territory from its neighbours.

7 THE BOUNDARIES OF GALLO-ROMANIC.—We can only define the boundaries of Gallo-Romanic with precision

[1] The Celtic languages are divided into three branches. (1) ***Gaulish***, which was spoken in Gaul and entirely disappeared in the fourth century, of this language only a very few inscriptions remain (11) The *Breton* dialects, preserved in Lower Brittany, Wales, and, until last century, in Cornwall (111) *Gaelic*, including (1) Irish, still spoken by a few hundred thousand peasants in Ireland, (2) Gaelic properly so called, spoken in certain parts of Scotland, and (3) Manx

along the line where it is in contact with non-Latin neighbours We shall start from the north and follow the eastern and southern frontier The line starts from Gravelines (department of the Nord), enters Belgium near Armentières, and continues nearly in a straight line to a point south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then it forms a right angle, turning sharply to the south towards Longwy in the Meurthe-et-Moselle, and slants eastward in Alsace-Lorraine, crosses the former department of the Moselle [1], of which one third in the west and south west is French-speaking, the department of the Meurthe, of which only a narrow strip in the north-east is German speaking, the department of the Bas-Rhin [1], of which a small portion in the south-east is French-speaking, and that of the Haut-Rhin [1], of which only the south western part is French-speaking, enters Switzerland beyond Laufon, giving to Romance speech the western portion of the canton of Berne (the Bernese Jura), the cantons of Neuchâtel, Vaud and Geneva, and half the cantons of Freiburg and the Valais, and then, south of the Valais, follows, roughly speaking (see p 20), the Italian frontiers of Piedmont to a point beyond Mentone

8 More precise definition of the boundaries — *From Gravelines to the Belgian frontier (department of the Nord* [2]) The line begins to the east of Gravelines, the most northerly Romance-speaking town in Europe, follows the boundary of the department of the Nord as far as the neighbourhood of Saint-Omer and goes a little beyond it (into the department of the Pas-de-Calais), but follows it up again from near Renescure as far as Thiennes Thence it turns northward, including Merville, Steenwerck and Nieppe, strikes the frontier, which it follows along the course of the Lys, from Armentières to Comines

[1] I e the department before 1871

[2] From M de Coussemaker, *Annales du Comte flamand de France*, 1 p 377

and Halluin, and enters Belgium That part of the department of the Nord situated beyond those limits is occupied by *Flemish*, a Low German dialect allied to Dutch It comprises —(1) the arrondissement of Dunkirk, except a corner in the east, and, in the centre, Bergues and the surrounding villages, (2) the arrondissement of Hazebrouck, excepting a large strip on the south-east and south It is especially in the country districts that Flemish is spoken French is the language of the towns, and is every day, moreover, markedly gaining upon its rival, which is destined to disappear

In Belgium[1] —The line enters the province of West Flanders, and leaves to the French language Mouscron, Luingne, Herseaux, Dottignies, and Espierre, thence it follows the common boundary of East Flanders and Hainaut, and then turns southward to a point beyond Lessines and Enghien, whence it takes a northward direction and enters the province of Brabant In Brabant it passes through Saintes and Tubize, then through Braine le Château, Wauthier Braine, and Braine-l'Alleud, north of Waterloo, la Hulpe, Wavre, Archennes, Bossut, Beauvechain, L'Ecluse, and Jodoigne, and strikes the north-west frontier of the province of Liège, of which it leaves a corner to Flemish, including Houtain-l'Evêque and the part to the north-west In Limburg our line passes south of Tongres and north of Otrange, Herstappe, Roclenge, Bassenge, Wonck, Eben-Emael, and Lanaye, and then turns south again into the province of Liège, crossing the Meuse south of Visé

From Visé it turns south-west, passes to the south of Aubel and Eupen, where it enters Rhenish Prussia and takes in a long strip of country extending as far as the Amblève. The most important town included here is Malmedy, and the Walloon villages on the frontier are Sourbrod, Faymonville, Oudenval, Ligneuville, and Pont. The line touches Saint Vith, follows the Our, a tributary of

[1] From the linguistic map of Kiepert.

the Sure (or Sauer), as far as Oberbeslingen, passes between Clervaux (or Clerf, German speaking) and Wilz (French-speaking), both in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, follows the Sure as far as Martelange (or Martelingen), on the confines of Belgian Luxemburg and the Grand Duchy, passes southwards to the east of Arlon (or Arel), and strikes the French frontier north of Longwy (in France) This line forms with the southern frontier of Belgium a kind of right-angled triangle, of which the hypothenuse is the French political frontier, while the two sides separate the French dialects from Flemish on the north, and from High German on the east

This territory comprises a corner of the two Flanders and Limburg, almost the whole of the provinces of Liège, Hainaut, Luxemburg, and all the province of Namur, and, beyond Belgium, a corner in the west of Rhenish Prussia, and a strip of country in the north of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg The French spoken by the people in this large region belongs to the *Walloon* dialect, and presents different characteristics in different provinces, it is easy to distinguish between the Walloon of Mons, of Liege, and of Namur

We may add that French (the French of Paris) is spoken not only in all the towns of French Belgium, but also in those of Flemish Belgium, such as Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Ostend, &c Until quite lately French, which is the official language, was making visible progress in the territories where Flemish is spoken, at the present time Flemish is protected by the Government, is being taught in the schools, and is becoming again a semi-official language

From Longwy to Laufon At Longwy the line turns to the east, follows the frontier of Luxemburg, turns southwards to the east of Fantoy (or Fentsch), and strikes the Moselle at its confluence with the Orne, south of Thionville (or Diedenhofen), it passes between Vigy (French-speaking) and Metzerwiese (German-speaking) on the one hand, Vigy and Boulay (or Bolchen, German speaking), on the other,

it crosses the Nied a little north of the point where the French Nied flows into the German Nied, it follows the latter, roughly speaking, for a certain distance, crosses the forest of Remilly between Remilly and Faulquemont (or Falkenberg), and crosses the Rottenbach, a tributary of the French Nied, near its source, it includes Morhange (or Morchingen), leaving to French Metz and Briey with their two arrondissements, and the western part of the arrondissement of Thionville, in the former department of Moselle At Morhange, the line enters the former department of the Meurthe, goes eastward to Albesdorf, passes southwards between Dieuze (French-speaking) and Fenestrange (or Finstingen), going from the lakelet of Muhn to the lakelet of Stock, it then passes between Lorquin (or Lorchingen, French-speaking) and Sarrebourg (or Saarburg, German-speaking), meets the Saar Rouge in the latitude of Saint-Quirin, and follows it along the eastern slope of the Vosges as far as Mont Donon, where it enters Alsace The boundary in the department of the Meurthe thus assigns to the German language the greater part of the arrondissement of Phalsbourg (or Pfalzburg) and a small strip of land north of the arrondissement of Château-Salins (or Salzburg), it assigns to French the greater part of the latter arrondissement, the whole of which now belongs to Germany, and the arrondissements of Lunéville, Nancy, and Toul

At Mont Donon the line enters the former department of the Bas-Rhin, at the intersection of the river Meurthe and the Vosges Mountains, it crosses the forest of Winsch, passes through Lutzelhausen, and at Liepvre (or Leberau) passes into the former department of the Haut-Rhin There it joins the new political frontier, then leaves it for a moment to pass between La Poutroye (or Schnierlach) on the one side and Kaysersberg on the other, turns southward towards Türckheim (German speaking), joins the new political frontier north of Munster, and follows it almost

regularly as far as the Swiss frontier, passing to the west of Massevaux (or Masmünster), to the east of La Chapelle, to the west of Dannemarie (or Dammerkirch), Strueth, and Pfetterhausen, and finally ascends the watershed of the Largue to the village of Lucelle (or Lützel) near the sources of the Ill, where it enters Switzerland.

Thus in the western portion of the former department of the Haut-Rhin a strip of country of varying breadth is claimed by French in the arrondissements of Colmar and Belfort

From Laufon to the Mediterranean The line takes a sudden bend to the east, passing south of Laufon (or Laufen), turns to the south-west through the canton of Berne to the lakes of Bienne (or Biel) and Neuchâtel, crosses the lake of Morat and the canton of Freiburg, and then divides the canton of Berne from the canton of Vaud It enters the Valais over the Wildstrubel, passes near Sierre (or Siders), passes between the Val d'Anniviers on the one hand and the valleys of Tourtemagne (or Turtmann) and of Zermatt on the other, and then, not far from the Matterhorn, crosses the political frontier of Italy so as to include the upper valleys of certain tributaries of the Po, it then rejoins this frontier, which it follows southward as far as the Mediterranean at Mentone Thus in Switzerland the cantons of Neuchâtel, Vaud, Geneva, and part of those of Berne, Freiburg, and the Valais[1], and, in France, Savoy and the department of the Alpes-Maritimes, belong to the Gallo-Romanic domain

In Corsica an Italian dialect is spoken

The Gallo-Romanic domain is bounded by the Mediterranean as far as the Pyrenees There it meets **Catalan**, which some consider as a dialect belonging to Provençal, and others as a distinct language The frontier of Catalan follows the boundary of the department of the Pyrenées-Orientales, leaving out Saint Paul de Fenouillet and its neighbourhood, it enters the department of the Ariège at

[1] Which together are called '*la Suisse romande*' or 'French Switzerland'

the corner near Quérigut, then crosses the Pyrenees, and takes from Spanish the seven provinces which used to form the old government of Catalonia and the old kingdom of Valencia (Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, Castellón de la Plana, Valencia, and Alicante), as well as the Balearic Isles. The line marking the furthest extension of Gallo-Romanic follows the northern slopes of the Pyrenees as far as Lescun, where it meets the **Basque** language, brought into Gaul by the Vascons of Spain in the seventh century.

The present boundary of the Basque language lies slightly within the space bounded by the river Vert, the Gave d'Oloron, and the Adour as far as its confluence with the Nive The seacoast from Saint-Pierre d'Irube to Bidart is Romance—either Gascon or French The Basque district is surrounded by districts speaking the Gascon dialect, except in the towns where French is spoken. The domain of Basque has been gradually restricted, as may be seen by the Basque names of towns in which French is now the sole language, e g Biarritz, Bayonne, Bidache, Arancou, Issor, &c [1]

The line then follows the Atlantic Ocean and reaches Brittany, the extremity of this province is occupied by **Low-Breton,** which is derived from the language introduced in the sixth century by the Breton emigrants from the south-west and west of England The boundary is a sinuous line which starts from the mouth of the Vilaine in Morbihan, goes north to the east of Elven, Plaudren, Saint Jean de Brévelay, Moréac, Naizin, Noyal-Pontivy, and, entering the Côtes-du-Nord, leaves on its left Mûr, Saint-Mayeux, Corlay, and Saint Gilles, continuing as far as Saint Fiacre, and then goes eastwards, passing through Plouagat, Plélo, and Plourhan, and joins the English

[1] The Basque localities on the frontier of the territory that we have just delimited are Sainte Engrace, Haux, Tardets, Esquiule, Arrast, Aroue, Etcharry, Domezain, Arberats, Camou Mixe, Ilharre, Bardos, Ayherre, Briscous, Urcuit, Lahonce, Saint Pierre d'Irube, Arbonne, Bidart.

Channel not far to the east of Plouha. In the region to the west of this line French is spoken in the towns, and in the country it is rare to find villages where the younger inhabitants are totally ignorant of French

Thus half of the departments of the Morbihan and the Côtes-du-Nord and the whole of Finistère are Breton in speech We may add also the islands of these three departments, in particular Belle Ile, and in the Loire Inférieure the peninsula of Batz, where there is a Breton colony

The line then goes northwards towards the Channel includes the Channel Islands (Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark), and rejoins the Flemish frontier at Gravelines

Such is the vast domain of Gallo-Romanic One and the same language was originally spoken throughout this immense territory, but in the course of time and in different districts, south, north, east, and west, it developed into an infinite variety of local dialects Each district gave its own local colouring and peculiar aspect to Latin, yet the process did not give rise to new units, delimited philologically and geographically, because the various characteristics of any given local dialect generally overstepped the limits[1] of the district and radiated unequally in various directions, penetrating into the several neighbouring districts more or less, and in different ways

The changes—and this is an all-important matter to note—were produced without any discontinuity, and, if we were to draw a straight line starting from any one point of France to any other, we should find that the local speech of the one passes gradually into that of the other by imperceptible gradations The people speaking two neighbouring dialects understand one another, if they are separated by a common neighbour they have more difficulty in understanding each other, when they are separated by several others they become unintelligible to one another

[1] Except in cases where there were natural limits such as the sea, mountains, &c.

Owing to this continuity in linguistic change, the various dialects of a province display both a general similarity and specific differences It is because of this that it has been possible to name them after the provinces where they are spoken (e g Gascon, Languedocian, Champenois). It must be understood, however, that these geographical terms designate, not linguistic units, but the whole of the dialects used in a province, regarded from the aspect common to them all

Thus we see that Popular Latin, sown over the soil of Gaul by the Roman conquest, covered it with an immense linguistic flora infinitely varied by an infinitely varied process of evolution

9. DIALECTS AND PATOIS —But at the same time that Popular Latin, left to itself and to the mysterious actions which guide the spontaneous evolution of language, was expanding into this multitude of local tongues, other actions, both political and social, intervened, the effect of which was to re establish a certain unity after this endless subdivision

In each region a single one of these local tongues (*parlers*), belonging to a particular town or aristocracy, rose above its neighbours, gaining dignity and throwing the others into the shade The local tongues which have remained in the shade are called *patois*, those which rose to literary dignity are called *dialects*

Thus in various centres written languages were formed which radiated in all directions, forced themselves as noble languages on the populations of neighbouring regions, and created linguistic subdivisions or dialects in which the local patois became more and more obliterated or choked out of existence These dialects spread, no longer by means of oral tradition, but by literature, and their development must be considered as a phenomenon of civilization, and not of the organic and natural life of the language

In this new linguistic evolution dialects differed more or

less among themselves according as they were separated by a larger or smaller number of patois, a greater or lesser geographical distance Their characteristics became more sharply differentiated, and they developed into distinct languages

Thus was formed in France a series of different regional speeches, and these various patois which continued to exist obscurely in each province were generally named after the provinces where they flourished Thus, for example, *Norman* not only signifies the dialect used by the Norman writers such as Wace, but is also the general name given to the patois, which were at one time spoken, or still survive, in Normandy

Now, if we consider the totality of both the dialects and patois which have flourished on French soil, we first recognize two great masses that of the dialects and patois of the **langue d'oc**, and that of the dialects and patois of the **langue d'oïl**[1].

10 DIALECTS AND PATOIS OF THE LANGUE D'OC —Among the dialects belonging to the **Langue d'oc** two are distinguished, which in the Middle Ages were considered as independent languages—**Gascon** and **Catalan** **Gascon** is spoken in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées (except in the region occupied by Basque), in the Hautes-Pyrénées, the Landes, the south of the Haute-Garonne, the Gers, and the Gironde It is limited by three rivers the Gironde, the Garonne, and its tributary the Arize (in the department of the Ariège) But Libourne and Castillon, also, on the right bank of the Dordogne, speak Gascon We have already noted the limits of **Catalan** Beyond these two regions **Provençal** patois and dialects spread

[1] In the Middle Ages the languages were sometimes designated from the affirmative particle e g langue d'*oïl*, langue d'*oc*, langue de *si*, &c Dante, by a poetical periphrasis, calls Italy

'Il bel paese la dove il *si* suona'

'The beauteous country where the *si* resounds'

over twenty-six departments which they partly or completely cover, the most generally spoken of these dialects are **Limousin, Languedocian, Provençal** properly so called, **Dauphinois, Savoyard**, and the dialects of that part of Switzerland called *la Suisse romande*.

As early as the tenth century we find a Provençal literature, and we possess a fairly long fragment of an imitation in verse of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* by Boethius In the twelfth century there appeared a brilliant literature, largely lyric, the authors of which were called *troubadours*[1], and which disappeared in the middle of the thirteenth century, drowned in the blood which flowed during the crusade against the Albigenses Saint Louis tried vainly to undo the evil and pacify the country the troubadours left the impoverished land and its closed seignorial courts, and carried their songs to Spain or Italy The institution of the floral games (*Jeux Floraux*)

[1] *Troubadour*, i e *trouveur* (finder), comes from the verb *trobar*, Fr *trouver*, to find, the old Provençal declension was as follows —

	Sing	Plural
Nominative	*trobaire*	*trobador*
Accusative	*trobador*	*trobadors*

Old French had a corresponding word derived from the verb *trouver*

	Sing	Plural
Nominative	*trovere*	*troveor*
Accusative	*troveor*	*troveors*

In both languages the accusative form has become the ordinary form of the word *troubadour*, *trouveur* —The scholars of the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth brought the nominative *trouvère* again into favour, which is unfortunate, since in this nominative the connexion with *trouveur* and *trouver* is concealed, it is to be hoped that *trouveur* may replace *trouvere* For the Middle Ages the poet was, then, the *trouveur*, the inventor, with the Greeks he was also the *poetes*, the 'maker' or creator, with the Romans he was in early times the *vates*, the soothsayer or magician, but the Romans replaced this expressive word by the Latinized Greek word *poeta*, an unfortunate borrowing In Middle French *trouveur* was discarded for *acteur*, which implies a confusion between the two Latin words *actor* (actor) and *auctor* (author) At the Renaissance, men of letters went again to Latin for the word *poeta*, which the Romans had themselves taken from Greek

at Toulouse (1323) did not succeed in stopping the decadence of the southern literature. After the end of the Middle Ages we find scarcely anything in the shape of written memorials but deeds, diplomas, and local legal documents[1]. The southern dialects were thus degraded from the rank of literary or written languages to that of spoken languages only, or patois. A literary revival has taken place in our own time. Poets of rare talent, Jasmin first, then Aubanel, Roumanille, and the greatest of all, Mistral, have composed remarkable poems in their maternal language. The movement of the *félibres* (which is the name assumed by these poets[2]) has resulted in the restoration to literary life of each of the local patois. Mistral conceived the idea of converting the Provençal patois into a literary language for the whole region. Hence the wide welcome he gives in his writings to patois words of various dialects if they are of a good stamp, but, if his vocabulary is derived from all sources, both his grammar and his phonetics are those of his own dialect.

It is impossible to determine accurately the limits which separate the dialects of the *langue d'oc* from those of the *langue d'oil* for a reason which is easy to understand, as the local patois of the one language pass by imperceptible shades into those of the other. However, if we confine ourselves to a small number of more notable linguistic characteristics selected from those which distinguish the patois of the north from those of the south, we shall be able to determine approximately a line of demarcation. In spite of great difficulties, two French scholars, M. Bringuier

[1] Local poets, such as Auger Gaillard, the wheelwright of Rabastens (born about 1530, died after 1592), are isolated examples, and their rarity proves the absence of all tradition.

[2] This word is of uncertain origin. The Provençal poets who first assumed it, on May 21, 1854, took it from a popular religious poem, where it apparently means *doctor of the Law*. M. Mistral gathered the poem from the lips of an old peasant woman at Maillane in Provence. (See *Romania*, XXIII. p. 463.)

and M. de Tourtoulon, tried some years ago (1876–1879) to determine this frontier line They traced a line which, starting from the Pointe de Grave, leaves the northern part of the Médoc district to the *langue d'oil*, crosses the river Gironde, and then follows it as far as Villeneuve, passes through Vérac, turns southward towards Libourne, and then, dividing several communes, northwards towards Puynormand, passes east of Coutras, Angoulême, and Civray, goes south of Montmorillon, la Trimouille, Argenton, and la Châtre, and thus passes through Guyenne and the Limousin The death of M Bringuier put an end to the researches of the explorers at this spot.

Although we cannot trace this line further with the same precision[1], we see that it continues through Auvergne and the Lyonnais, through the south of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, it then enters Switzerland and leaves the cantons of Vaud, Neuchâtel, Geneva, and the Romance-speaking portion of Freiburg and the Valais to Provençal[2] Thus the line goes much further north in the east than in the west

11 THE LANGUE D'OIL AND ITS DIALECTS.—Let us cross this frontier and study the development undergone by Popular Latin in Northern France

From the seventh century onwards this popular language became sufficiently distinct from learned Latin, or rather pseudo-classic Latin—**Low-Latin**—for it to be already recognized as a new language

In 659 A D Saint Mummolin was called upon to succeed Saint Eloi in the episcopal see of Noyon, because *he was not only acquainted with the Germanic language* (spoken by

[1] A precision that is only relative, for the value of some of the criteria adopted is contestable

[2] An eminent linguist, M Ascoli, has determined the characteristics of a mixed dialect intermediate between French and Provençal, which he calls *Franco Provençal* This dialect extends over the departments of the Isère, the Rhone, the Ain, and the Jura, French speaking Switzerland, Savoy, and some high valleys on the Italian slopes of the Pennine and Graian Alps

the conquerors), *but also the Romance language* (spoken by the people[1]).

In the following century, Girard, Abbot of Sauve-Majeure, extolled his master, St Adalhart, Abbot of Corbie, for his knowledge of Romance, Latin, and German 'If he spoke *Romance* one would have thought he knew that language alone, if he spoke *German* his language was still more brilliant, but when he spoke *Latin* it was perfection[2]' From this century date certain Latin-Romance and Romance-German glossaries, rendering Latin and German words by Low-Latin words or Romance words, in which we seem to recognize French words in embryo[3]

[1] 'Quia praevalebat non tantum in *teutonica*, sed etiam in *romana lingua*' (*Acta Sanctorum Belgii selecta*, IV 403) Sigebert de Gembloux relates the same fact with some differences of detail At the death of Saint Eloi, he says in his Chronicle, Mummolin was called upon to succeed him, in 665 A D, because he was a very holy man and knew *the Romance language no less well than the German language* 'Propterea quod *romanam* non minus quam *teutonicam* callebat linguam' (Jacob Meyer, *Annales Flandriae*, I 5)

[2] 'Qui si *vulgari*, id est, *romana* lingua loqueretur omnium aliarum putaretur inscius Si vero *teutonica* enitebat perfectius, si *Latina* in nulla omnino absolutius' (*Acta Sanctorum ordinis S Benedicti*, saeculo IV p 335)

[3] These are the glossaries of Reichenau and Cassel, fragments of which have been published with linguistic commentaries by Diez and translated into French by Bauer, as vol V of the *Bibliotheque de l'École des Hautes-Études* Cf also Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzoesisches Uebungsbuch*, I col 1-44

The glossary of Reichenau [so called because it came from the Abbey of Reichenau, but now preserved in the library of Karlsruhe (MS 115)] is in its first and greater part a commentary on what were judged to be the most difficult words in the Vulgate There is an alphabetical lexicon at the end

In the following examples the words printed in italics are the words of the Vulgate, the others are the Popular Latin or Romance words by which the author of the glossary explains them

Aversa (Gen IX 23), distornata (Fr *destornee, detournee*)
Pulcra (ibid XII 11), bella (Fr *belle*)
Levam (ibid XIV 15), sinistram (O Fr *senestre*)
Pronus (ibid XVII 3), qui a dent' iacet (O Fr *qui adenz gist*)
Mares ibid XVII 23), masculi (Fr *mâle*)

In the ninth century the councils of Tours and Rheims (813 A D) ordered the bishops to translate the homilies for Sundays either into Romance or German, so that they might be more easily understood by everybody[1].

Doubtless from this period forward the habit of writing in the vernacular had become adopted, but texts of the time, written on waxed tablets or on pieces of parchment, were too fragile to escape the numerous possibilities of destruction Thirty years later (on February 14, 842 A D) were pronounced the famous *Oaths of Strasburg*, the text of which, owing to its historical importance, was reproduced by a contemporary historian, the celebrated Nithard, and has thus been handed down to us This venerable document has been preserved, together with the histories of Nithard, in a manuscript copy of the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh The general features of the *langue d'oil* appear in them to be already established, notwithstanding the Latin aspect which this text offers at first sight

Semel (ibid XVIII 25), una vice (Fr *une fois*)

Arena (ibid XXII 17), sabulo (Fr *sablon*)

Femur (ibid XXIV 2), coxa (Fr *cuisse*)

Vescentes (ibid XXIV 54), manducantes (O Fr *mangeanz*)

Rufa (ibid XXV 30), sora (O Fr *sore*, fem of *sor*, now written *saur*, as in *hareng-saur*, red herring)

Orta (ibid XXVI 1), nata (Fr *nee*)

Minatur (ibid XXVII 42), manatiat (Fr *menace*), &c

The glossary of Cassel (Royal Library of Cassel, Cod Theol 24), dating from the end of the eighth century or beginning of the ninth, is Latin German We quote a few of the Latin, or, to speak more correctly, Romance, words *mantun* (menton), *uncla* (ongle), *figido* (from *ficatum*, foie), *pirpici* (pronounced *birbici*, brebis), *camisa* (chemise), *ferrat* (verrat, here we have f for v), *aucas* (oies), &c —There are also some other old glossaries of less extent, but of the same kind, belonging to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries Cf Foerster and Koschwitz, loc cit

[1] Labbe, *Concilia*, VII 1263 'Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in *rusticam romanam linguam* aut theotiscam' This is the seventeenth canon of this council The Council of Mayence (857 A D) renewed the ordinance See also the Capitularies of Charlemagne (*Capitula regum Francorum*, ed Boretius, I p 174, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*)

To the same century belongs also a *sequence* or *prose* in honour of a virgin saint and martyr, improperly called the *Cantilene de Sainte Eulalie*, a poem of twenty nine lines probably written in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes.

The documents dating from the tenth century are more numerous First we have a fragment of a homily in honour of the prophet Jonah, a rough sketch of a sermon written partly in Latin, partly in French, partly in Tironic[1] notation This comes from the north east region of France, and was preserved by a miracle, the bit of parchment having served as binding to another manuscript[2]. We have next two long poems, one of which celebrates the Passion according to the Gospels, and the other the life and death of Saint Leger, after a Latin life of this saint and martyr These latter poems are preserved in the library at Clermont-Ferrand, and are written in a half-French, half-Provençal dialect[3]

In the eleventh century appear literary works of the highest order Firstly we find the *Chanson de Saint Alexis*, and a little later the *Chanson de Roland*, two poems with which French literature makes a noble beginning, and at the end of the century the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne a Jerusalem*, a comic-heroic poem of a curious character, in which familiarity and parody are, without any sense of strain, associated with the lofty style and march of the epic

The twelfth century is the golden age of old French literature. the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth

[1] A kind of shorthand used during the first centuries of the Middle Ages It came from the Romans, and its invention was ascribed to Tiro, a freedman and secretary of Cicero

[2] This manuscript, as well as that of the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie*, is in the library at Valenciennes Hence the name of *Valenciennes Fragment* by which it is often known

[3] The poem of *Saint Leger* seems to be the dialect translation of a text previously written in a Burgundian dialect The five texts in question have been published in heliogravure facsimile by the *Societe des Anciens Textes Français* (*Album des plus anciens textes français*)

centuries was less original, but yet was surpassingly fertile and rich.

The literature of these times was not limited to any one region, it extended over the whole domain of the *langue d'oil*, though it was marked by various linguistic peculiarities in the different provinces Each dialect had its literature The *langue d'oil* was in fact subdivided into dialects whose limits were ill-defined, because these dialects were not geographical units By any single dialect we mean the sum of a number of linguistic peculiarities extending unequally in different directions, and each dialect penetrated by means of some one trait into one or several of the neighbouring dialects (cf pp 22, 23) The term 'dialect,' strictly speaking, must only be understood in the present connexion as the general form assumed by Popular Latin in any given district, and we may thus admit the existence of as many dialects as of districts.

Until the fourteenth century these dialects were almost independent Roger Bacon, travelling in France about the year 1260 A D, found that French was differentiated into four dialects, **French, Picard, Norman,** and **Burgundian**[1]. A troubadour of the thirteenth century, Peire Cardinal, declared that he spoke neither Norman nor Poitevin[2] A personage in the Provençal romance, *Flamenca*, knew how to speak '*Burgundian, French*, German, and Breton[3]' A translator of the Psalms, of the fourteenth century, writing in Lorraine, announced his work in these words 'This is the Psalter translated from Latin into Romance, into the *Lorraine language*[4].'

[1] 'Nam et idiomata variantur eiusdem linguae apud diversos, sicut patet de lingua gallicana quia apud Gallicos et Normannos et Picardos et Burgundos multiplici variatur idiomate Et quod proprie dicitur in idiomate Picardorum, horrescit apud Burgundos, imo apud Gallicos viciniores' (*Opus Maius*, III 44)

[2] Raynouard, *Choix des poesies originales des Troubadours*, vol v 304

[3] Edition by P Meyer, lines 1916–17

[4] *Psautier de Metz*, edit Bonnardot, I p. I.

But this independence soon received a check From the midst of the political anarchy of the eleventh century there arose, with the Capet dynasty, a central power destined in time to supersede the feudal powers Royalty, having sprung from the Duchy of the Ile de France, had its seat in Paris The royal court raised the rank of its own dialect, and gradually imposed it both on the aristocracy and on writers From the twelfth century the pre-eminence of the French of the Ile de France became assured, and the lustre of royalty under Philip Augustus and Saint Louis finally ensured its supremacy Towards the year 1170, the clerk Garnier of Pont-Sainte Maxence (in the present department of the Oise), boasts of having written his fine poem on the life and death of Thomas Becket 'in good Romance' (*en bon roman*)—

Mis languages est buens, car en France sui nez[1]

A noble of Artois, Conon de Bethune, a poet contemporary with Philip Augustus, complains of having excited the ridicule of the young king, of the queen-mother, Alix of Champagne, and the court by reciting one of his songs before this illustrious audience with his local accent, and adorning it with words of the Artois dialect

La roine n'a pas fait que cortoise (*acte de courtoisie*)
Qui me reprist, ele et ses fius (*son fils*) li rois
Encor ne soit ma parole franchoise,
Si le (*la*) puet on bien entendre en franchois
Ne chil (*et ceux-la* ne sont bien apris ne cortois
Qui m ont repris, se j'ai dit mos d'Artois,
Car je ne fui pas noris (*eleve*) a Pontoise[2]

[1] 'My language is good, for I was born in the Ile de France'

[2] 'The Queen did not show courtesy,
When she corrected me, she and her son the king.
Even though my speech be not French,
It still may be understood in French
And those are neither well bred nor courteous,
Who checked me when I used words of Artois,
For I was not brought up at Pontoise'

Adenet, the author of *Berthe aux grands pieds*, relates that in the time of Pépin.

[1] Avoit une coustume ens el tiois[2] pais (*dans le pays allemand*)
Que tout li grant seignor, li conte et li marchis,
Avoient entour aus (*eux*) gent françoise tous dis (*toujours*)
Pour aprendre françois lor filles et lor fils
Li rois et la roine et Berte o (*avec*) le cler vis (*visage*)
Soient près d'aussi bien le *françois de Paris*
Com se il fussent né au bourc à Saint Denis[3]

The Lyons trouvère, Aimon de Varennes, who wrote in 1188 at Châtillon-sur-Azergue (Rhône), adopted French for his *Roman de Florimont*

[4] As François voil de tant servir,
Que ma langue lor est sauvage,
Que je ai dit en lor langage
Al mieus que ju ai seü dire
Se ma langue la lor empire,
Por ce ne m'en dient anui
Mies aim ma langue que l'autrui
Romans ne estoire ne plait
As François, se il ne l'ont fait

A translator of Boethius, born at Meung, in the thirteenth century, apologizes for writing in a language which is not so supremely correct as that of Paris, for, he says, 'I am not

[1] 'There was a custom in the German land,
That all the great lords, earls, and marquises
Should have around them French people always,
To teach French to their daughters and their sons
The King, and Queen, and Berte with the bright face,
Knew the French of Paris almost as well
As though they had been born in the borough of St Denis'

[2] *Tiois*, a French form, corresponding to the Italian *Tedesco*, and representing a primitive form of the modern German *Deutsch*

[3] Berte, ll 147–154 (Scheler's edition)

[4] ' I wish to obey the French
For as my language is to them barbarous,
I speak their language as best I can,
If my language spoils theirs,
Let them not bear me malice for that
I love my own language better than any other
No romance nor tale pleases
The French, if they have not themselves written it'

a native of Paris; .. but must be content to use the language

Que m'aprist ma mere
A Meung quand je l'alaitoie[1]'

In the fourteenth century Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, represents a nun who spoke the French of Stratford atte Bowe, 'for *Frensh of Parys* was to hir unknowe[2].'

The dialects, regarded already with disfavour by a preceding age, were still used by writers until well into the fourteenth century, but they were beginning to die out and to give way to French, which had become the official language of the Government, the literary language of the kingdom of France, and the spoken language of the upper classes Hardly anywhere but in the country districts did the local modes of speech continue to exist, to develop, and to undergo an untrammelled evolution During the succeeding centuries they became more differentiated, each assuming characteristic features[3], except where, as in the case of the patois of the Ile de France and its vicinity, they were destroyed by the absorbing influence of the French of Paris At the

[1] 'That was taught me by my mother
At Meung, when she suckled me'
(Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits français de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, II p 327)

[2] Prologue, line 124
And Frensh she spak ful faire and fetysly
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensh of Parys was to hir unknowe

[3] This is the opinion generally held As a matter of fact, the question is more complex The action of French on the provincial dialects, taken as a whole, must have found its counterpart in the action of each of these dialects, as it became literary, on the popular forms of speech which flourished in the various portions of the region to which it belonged In other words, the local patois must be *older* than the literary dialects which in each province were developed from some one of the patois (viz that which was the most important, owing to the political situation of the town where it was spoken) at the expense of the others After the loss of the dialects, the patois alone remained, never having ceased to exist from the time of their Latin origin down to the present day as terms of a continuously developed and infinitely varied series

present time, throughout the domain of the *langue d'oil*, Belgium is the only country where a dialect (*Walloon*, the local form of speech of Mons, Liège, and Namur), cultivated, as the dialects of the south of France are cultivated, by provincial amateurs, is attempting to rise again to the dignity of a literary language

12 THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE OF THE ILE DE FRANCE, OR FRENCH.—We have thus shown how the spoken language of Paris, towards the end of the Middle Ages, conquered the various domains of the *langue d'oil*, one after another, with slow but uninterrupted progress. The detailed history of these conquests has yet to be written, but enough of it is known to enable us to follow the main features of this extension of the language. However, while superseding the dialects, French also suffered some local modifications. Although the inhabitants of the provinces adopted the official language, they could not help introducing into it turns of phrase, constructions, and expressions belonging to the vanishing local patois, and above all a pronunciation determined by the phonetic characteristics of each dialect, the—wrongly—so-called *accent*. Thus was formed this provincial French, which each province has, so to speak, marked with its own stamp. In spite of literary education provincialisms have been preserved down to the present day, and often occur in the conversation of townspeople, although they do not appear in literature. And the provincial whose home is at any distance from Paris can be recognized in a crowd by his accent.

At the end of the twelfth century, and more especially in the thirteenth century, after the war with the Albigenses, we find that French crossed the frontier of the *langue d'oil*, and entered the southern towns in the wake of the royal administration. We have seen above (p. 33) that a native of Lyons in 1188 abandoned his own dialect to write in French. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the language followed the progress of the royal power. From

the beginning of the sixteenth century we find the southern cities, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Lyons, Grenoble, &c, enriching literature with works in French At the end of the Middle Ages French also prevailed over Low Latin, which had remained the official language of law and education The decree of Villers Cotterets, issued in 1539 by Francis I, enacts that *all decrees and proceedings, any other acts, and deeds in law or belonging thereto, be pronounced, registered, and delivered to the parties concerned in the maternal French language, and not otherwise,* and during the sixteenth century there appeared, for the first time, philosophical and scientific treatises in the common tongue French was on its way to become the language of France[1]

And yet in spite of the triumph of the absolute monarchy, and of three centuries of general and local administration in which the language of Paris was alone used, and in spite of the rise of the marvellous literature which has given to French an unrivalled position in the eyes of the world, the language has not yet achieved the conquest of the whole land At the present day, Provençal in the cities of the south, and local patois in the greater part of the country districts belonging to the *langue d'oui*, are still spoken side by side with French in the country districts of the south the peasants hardly know any other speech but their patois, the Basque region and Lower Brittany have been hardly affected at all by French But with military service and compulsory primary education we can foresee the time when the French of the Ile de France will have completed the conquest of France

On the other hand, French has spread beyond the French frontiers From the thirteenth century this language has been written in French Switzerland (*la Suisse romande*), where it has taken such deep root that it has superseded

[1] All the languages of great nations have had a similar history thus Latin was originally the dialect of Latium, Italian, the dialect of Florence, English, the dialect of Middlesex, &c

the Provençal (or *franco provençal*) dialects in the canton of Geneva, and has largely encroached upon them in the cantons of Vaud, Neuchâtel, Freiburg, the Bernese Jura, and the Valais

In the eleventh century **Low Norman** was introduced by William of Normandy and his barons into England, and until the fourteenth century remained as the official language and the literary language both of royalty and the aristocracy, it then became imperceptibly fused with Anglo-Saxon, which it has penetrated to such an extent that nearly half of the English vocabulary is formed of French words[1]

In the sixteenth century sailors from Dieppe introduced French into North America, where it is still spoken by 50,000 people in Louisiana, and 1,400,000 in Canada (1891) In the last-named province the French element has rapidly acquired considerable importance, and French has become an official language concurrently with English In the West Indies and other colonies, French has fused with the African language of the negroes and given rise to new dialects called *Creole* In Africa, Mauritius has remained French in language Finally, the conquest of Algeria has now restored to French that coast of the Mediterranean, which Arab invasions, twelve centuries ago, had wrested from the Roman empire

Protestant emigration introduced French into Holland and various parts of Germany, where the traditional use of the language of the seventeenth century in the reformed churches has been preserved Lastly, among the aristocracy and higher middle classes, there is no country in Europe where French has not become a second mother-tongue French was imposed by Louis XIV on all the courts of Europe as the language of diplomacy Down to the present day it has kept this privilege, which it owes no less to its sovereign lucidity than to a historic right

[1] We may mention also subsequent inroads, due to the influence of law terms, and (in the seventeenth century) to that of French culture and literature

SECOND PART

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRENCH

13 The different periods in the history of French — 14 Gallo Romanic — 15 Old French — 16 Middle French — 17 French of the sixteenth century — 18 Modern French

13 THE DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF FRENCH —We have seen the events which caused the French of the Ile de France to become finally the language of a great country In its gradual extension, which was a work of time, this dialect underwent various changes, and was subjected to various influences which we must rapidly indicate The majority of these changes and influences appear, for the rest, in the history of the other dialects of the *langue d'oil* and other Romance languages But we have only to consider them here in so far as they concern the dialect of the Ile de France

The history of French may be divided into four periods, with the ninth, the fourteenth, and the end of the sixteenth century as their limits These divisions are not intended to indicate any discontinuity in the development of the language, but they bring more clearly into view the paths followed in the course of its evolution We may call these the **Gallo-Roman, Old French, Middle French,** and **Modern French** periods

1 GALLO-ROMANIC

14 GALLO ROMANIC By this name we mean Latin as it was spoken by the peoples of Gaul from the time of the downfall of the empire (in the fifth century) to the ninth century, the time when the *Oaths of Strasburg*, the first French document that we possess, appeared No texts

have been handed down to us from these early times, simply because the language was then only a vast mass of dialects, spoken by the people, which no one thought of writing

Invasions had destroyed all civilization, and a profound darkness seemed to envelop the West The Church alone preserved the tradition of Latin literature, a new literature was created by a few gifted priests, and in the monasteries the monks assiduously copied and preserved for future ages the manuscripts of Pagan Rome, while a certain number of clerks devoted themselves either to a very elementary study of theology or to writing a few historical chronicles

But outside this very limited circle of scholars who still bore in their hands the flickering torch of knowledge the country at large was given over to an ever-growing barbarism The immense majority of the inhabitants of Gaul, deprived of any protecting administration, a prey to the capricious will of their conquerors, and incapable of culture, allowed their language to drift into confusion, and the revolutionary forces which bring a language to ruin held unchecked sway It was at that time that Latin was most rapidly and completely altered Within a period of four centuries Latin sounds changed to such a degree that at its conclusion we find ourselves in the presence of a new phonetic system *lacryma* (pronounced *lacruma*) had been transformed into *larme* (larme), *vetulum* into *viel* The words had in great measure become unrecognizable Popular Latin had passed into French

During this transformation of the sounds, what had happened to the vocabulary, the grammatical forms, and the syntax?

Vocabulary.—A thorough study of the sources of the French vocabulary, and a methodical comparison between the vocabularies of the various Romance languages, allow us to re-establish fairly accurately the vocabulary of Popular Latin as it existed at a period of which no memorial has been directly handed down to us A con-

siderable number of words, such as *père, mère, frère, sœur, fils, fille, oncle,* &c., are common to this language and to Classical Latin These words have existed at all times in the language, they are traceable through an uninterrupted tradition back to Popular Latin, and are found in their primitive form in Classical Latin[1]. But a great number of words belonging to the classical language were lost irretrievably, being either words representing objects belonging to forgotten habits and manners, or purely literary words expressing philosophic, scientific, and artistic ideas, which had foundered with the wreck of civilization[2]

On the other hand, Popular Latin possessed many words not to be found in classical Latinity Most of them were Latin, but were of familiar or common use, others were classical terms turned from their proper use by metaphor, and transformed by popular imagination With regard to some of them, we have the formal evidence of old grammarians, who noted as vulgar certain words which have precisely become the ordinary words of the new language[3] A great many other Romance words were

[1] See in Appendix I of the *Life of Words*, by A Darmesteter, a long list of words, most of which are traceable to the Latin of the classic period, and have more or less completely preserved their original meaning

[2] 'The rich synonymy of Classical Latin became notably restricted Of several words more or less synonymous, only one was preserved, the various shades of expression that literature had developed were overlooked' G Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, 5th edit p 54

[3] For example, we find employed—

Instead of the Classical Latin	The popular forms
arbusta	*arboreta* (A Gell 17, 2), O Fr *arbroie*
pugna	*battalia* (Adam Martyr), Fr *bataille*
uincula	*boia* (Festus), O Fr *buie*
mutare	*cambire* (Apuleius), *cambiare* (Lex Salica), whence we have *changer*
felis	*cattus* (Palladius, &c), *chat*
culina	*coquina* (Arnobius, &c), *cuisine*
immittere	*lanceare* (Tertullian), *lancer*
mandere	*masticare* (Apuleius, &c), *mâcher*
columbus	*pipio* (Lampridius), *pigeon*

formed by composition, and still more by derivation, from simple words which have been preserved side by side with their derivatives, or which have been entirely superseded by them We must also add to these a multitude of neologisms, introduced by the German conquest, and expressing facts and ideas belonging to the new institutions For the language of the German conquerors, which in the ninth century was no longer spoken in Gaul[1], had not disappeared without leaving behind some traces of its existence in the language of the vanquished. The French of the time had been interpenetrated and saturated by it, yet from the period of the Capets onward a great part of this foreign element was gradually eliminated from the language, the Romance element prevailed, although the language preserved down to the Middle Ages a considerable number of Teutonic words, and still possesses at the present day several hundreds of them

The vocabulary, being a faithful mirror of the manners and state of civilization of the time, had but few learned ideas to express (we shall see that one of the great characteristics of the learned formation consists precisely in the restoration to the language of the abstract terms of which it was in need) But it must have abounded in words denoting material things, or recording the multitude of new facts introduced by a political and social revolution, and the general ideas belonging to daily life It must have been expressive, full of imagery, picturesque, and well fitted to render the most varied feelings of a discriminating and supple-minded people.

propinquare *propiare* (Paulinus Nolanus), *approcher*
sanguinolentus *sanguilentus* (Scribonius Largus), *sanglant*
hirsutum *villutum* (Gloss Mai vi, 501), *velu*
gena (cheek) *gabata* (bowl), Fr *joue*
humerus *spatula*, Fr *espadle*, *espalle*, *espaule*

[1] The *Oaths of Strasburg* prove this Louis the German was obliged to speak French to make himself understood by the barons of Charles The latter must have forgotten their mother-tongue and become Romance

Grammatical forms.—It was during the period with which we are dealing that the grammatical forms underwent most radical transformations. But these transformations, nearly all of which are to be also found in the other Romance languages, were the outcome of long preparation, and are to be traced back, at least in so far as their origin is concerned, to the language of the Empire.

The declensions were disorganized, and gave way to a new system founded on new principles, which was destined to be first completed and then irrevocably abandoned in the following centuries.

Of the pronouns, some were preserved and others transformed, but their total number was diminished, while their forms and functions became more clearly defined.

But it is their conjugation which must be regarded as the masterpiece in the creation of the new languages. A new system arose from the debris of the shattered Latin conjugation. The passive disappeared in part, the deponent completely, the reflexive appears as an entirely new creation, a new mood, the conditional, resulted from a periphrasis of the infinitive with the Latin imperfect-optative, a system of past tenses, composed of an auxiliary and a past participle, was added to the simple present and past tenses of Classical Latin.

By a more delicate analysis of thought (of which the germ is undoubtedly to be found in the Rome of Imperial times), a system at once learned and ingenious, supple and refined, was developed in Popular Latin, which superseded the fine synthetic order of the classical conjugation.

Syntax.—The syntactic changes were less profound. The use of the prepositions, which was extended and became more frequent, and the use of the subordinate personal proposition, which at an early period seems to have replaced, in many cases, the construction of the accusative with the infinitive, form the most noteworthy characteristics of the new syntax. We do not reckon

as new the loss of those learned constructions which we admire in the great writers of Rome The syntax of a written language is that part of the language which is most susceptible to the personal influence of the writer, but as a rule learned combinations of the kind we speak of are unknown to the syntax of spoken and familiar speech[1]. The syntax of Gallo Romanic, so far as science can reconstruct it, is in its essentials the popular syntax of Rome

To sum up, the characteristic features of the language about to pass from Latin into French were these a pronunciation so profoundly changed as to give the impression of a new language, a vocabulary containing a mere remnant of the classical vocabulary, but increased by original creations and additions borrowed from the language of the conquerors, an accidence also not only deeply modified, but cast in a new mould, and a syntax that had become fairly stable

Co-existent with Gallo-Romanic we find Low Latin, that degraded form of Classical Latin used by the few men in whom literary and intellectual traditions had survived The constructions of Low Latin bore the impress of Gallo-Romanic, but the language possessed a more extensive vocabulary, for it had not only preserved the majority of Gallo-Romanic words (mostly under a Latin garb), but had also retained the greater part of, and even enriched, the abstract and learned vocabulary of the Classical Latin discarded by the people

Gallo-Romanic was spoken by eight or ten million people Low Latin was written, and possibly spoken, by some thousands

[1] This is the meaning of the often quoted passage of Suetonius on the mode of speaking of the Emperor Augustus 'Necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones verbis addere, neque conjunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis etsi gratiam augent' (*Octavius Augustus*, lxxxvi)

II OLD FRENCH.

(FROM THE NINTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY)

15. OLD FRENCH.—The general characteristics of Gallo-Romanic to which we have drawn attention have been partly determined by an examination of the language of the following centuries, particularly the eleventh and the twelfth. By going back from the state of the language at that time to its Latin starting-point, we are able to reconstruct the intermediate stage through which Gallo-Romanic must have passed. In other words, we find in Old French the traits that we have indicated above more deeply accentuated.

Syntax.—The *langue d'oïl* was a language with declensions, having a nominative case and an objective case. The relations of the substantives with the verbs in a sentence were then determined, not, as they are now, by a fixed place in the sentence, but by their inflexion. This essential characteristic gives great freedom of form to sentence constructions, and the dominant word can easily be placed at the beginning of each proposition. The syntax of Old French, still half-Latin, possessed a wealth and freedom of construction which allowed it to follow the impulse of thought easily, and to render the *impression* of the moment. Still simple and attenuated in the texts of the tenth century, we find it in a more advanced stage in the eleventh century, though it is still incapable of expressing all the relations of subordinate with principal sentences.[1]

[1] If we translate the *Oaths of Strasburg* into Latin, and, while freely modifying the vocabulary, leave the *construction* untouched, we shall immediately recognize the Latin construction.

'Pro Dei amore et pro christiani populi et nostra communi salute, abhinc isto die, prout Deus sapientiam et potentiam mihi donat, *sic* servabo ego istum meum fratrem et in adiumento, et in unaquaque re, sicut homo suum fratrem per ius servare debet. Et cum Lotherio nullum conventum habebo qui (ad) meam voluntatem isti meo fratri Karlo in damno sit.

'Si Ludovicus sacramentum quod suo fratri iuravit conservat, et si

It gradually grew stronger, became more and more free from Latin constructions, and gained in originality in the language of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries But it was still wanting in breadth, and unable to grapple with the *period*[1], except in works translated from Latin, which in truth were more Latin than French

Grammatical forms —The system of declensions, which indeed only affected masculine nouns, became better defined and more developed between the ninth and the eleventh centuries at the end of the latter century it attained its full expansion, *the rule of the s* (§ 146) had become general, and was now applied not only to all declinable masculine nouns, but even to feminine nouns in the singular On the other hand, the delicate laws of euphony which modified the final consonant of the noun, under the influence of the flexional *s*, gave to the words an elegant variety of pronunciation thus *coq* became in the singular *li cos*, *le coq*, in the plural *li coq*, *les cos*

The conjugation exhibits a singular richness in forms, but a richness neither excessive nor disorderly, since the use of those forms was, in general, governed by well-defined laws Under the influence of the tonic accent the vowel of the root presents itself under different forms, disappearing or reappearing in the different persons with a regular and harmonious alternation[2]

To foreigners, assuredly so learned and complicated

Karolus meus dominus de sua parte suum frangit, si ego deducere non illum inde possum, nec ego, nec ullus quem ego deducere inde possum, in nullo adiumento contra Ludovicum illi ero'

In the construction of primitive French, says M G Paris, 'the complement preceded the noun, the qualifying adjective preceded the substantive qualified (cf the adverbs in *-ment*), the direct or indirect object preceded the verb, and the verb preceded the subject, unless the subject were a personal pronoun expressed' (*Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, 5th edit p 53)

[1] In the *Chanson de Roland*, especially in the past tenses, we hardly find any conjunctive propositions introduced by *quand*, *lorsque*, or *puisque*

[2] See on p 46 the forms of *laver*

a system must have offered great difficulties. We who are able to trace these diverse forms back to Latin, and account for them by the simple working of phonetic laws, can but admire the beauty of their endless variety and their regularity The verb *laver* (*lavare*), to wash, gave, in the present indicative, *je lef, tu leves, il leve, nous lavons, vous lavez, il levent*, and, in the present subjunctive, *que je lef, que tu les, qu'il let, que nous lavons, que vous lavez, qu'il levent* The corresponding parts of the verb *lever* (*levare*), to rise, were *je lief, tu lieves, il lieve, nous levons, vous levez, il lievent, que je lief, que tu lies, qu'il liet, que nous levons, que vous levez, qu'il lievent* And all these different new forms are regularly derived from Latin forms, they are, indeed, the Latin forms modified in different ways by the laws of phonetics, according to the place of the accent and the nature of the sound following the consonant of the root

Vocabulary —The vocabulary was singularly copious To the original elements we have before mentioned were added new derivatives, formed from roots which gave rise to large families of words Moreover, each dialect brought to the common language terms of its own, mostly words of Germanic origin, established in each special region by the invaders who introduced them To these we must add words of learned formation, which were taken direct from Latin and found their way anew into the common language By this assemblage of elements from diverse sources a considerable stock of words was formed[1]

The original sense of the words was entirely preserved, for the metaphors were not yet worn out by too frequent usage, and their etymological meaning was still felt The words have a sound and full ring about them, like good coins, the language was frank, clear, simple, and healthy

Pronunciation —The pronunciation was soft and melo-

[1] The *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, now being published by M Godefroy, will form ten quarto volumes Seven and a half are occupied by words which have died out before modern times.

dious. Towards the ninth century the last of the hard and difficult combinations (e g *ft*, &c), formed by the meeting of consonants previously separated by atonic vowels which had dropped, were resolved Only those combinations whose second consonant was an *l* or *t*, or whose first was an *s*, survived , vowels and diphthongs abounded It is true that in this period the dropping of medial consonants caused the formation of new hiatuses , but these hiatuses, formed by vowels of equal intensity, were not harsh The nasal vowels, which were then in course of formation, were not yet sufficiently numerous to make the pronunciation in general heavy The transformation of the *l* into the vowel *u* produced several new series of melodious diphthongs , the *e* feminine, which was still felt in pronunciation, formed a kind of sonorous accompaniment at the end of the word, prolonging it until it became gradually inaudible The pronunciation of the twelfth century must have had the charm of the Italian pronunciation of the present day, and greater brilliancy, owing to the greater variety of vowels and diphthongs The French ear was both more sensitive and more discriminating, and readily appreciated differences of sound which we can now barely recognize The rhymes and assonances of the poets required an absolute identity of the vowel sounds, whilst at the present day people are content with approximations In the Middle Ages the rhymes *flamme* and *âme*, *menent* and *viennent*, would not have been tolerated

All these traits collectively gave to the French of those days a linguistic perfection which it was destined not to regain. It was full of images, and picturesque , the vocabulary was clear, the grammar ingenious, the syntax ample, the language free, unstilted, and graceful in form. Doubtless, however, it was wanting in vigour, and it seems inadequate to the expression of great thoughts ; it was neither the language of politics, nor of science, nor of lofty religious and philosophical speculation. But this weak-

ness was the fault of its writers The thinkers of the Middle Ages disdained the language of the people, and left it to the poets and to those whose aim was to amuse the masses, they continued the traditions of the writers of the Merovingian and Carlovingian period, and wrote in the only language used at the time to express learned ideas, namely Low Latin Later on, in the sixteenth century, when Low Latin had disappeared and French had become the language of philosophy, politics, and of lofty abstract thought, it acquired its higher qualities, though at the expense of others, not again to be recovered

And this mediaeval language and its literature roused a universal enthusiasm which lasted until the fourteenth century Foreigners preferred it to their own tongue, it was in French that Rusticiano of Pisa wrote down the voyages of Marco Polo and compiled the romances of the Round Table, that Brunetto Latino, the reputed master of Dante, wrote his Encyclopaedia, the *Tresor*, that the anonymous *Chronique de Morée*, and the *Chronique Vénitienne* by Martino da Canale, were drawn up Brunetto Latino says, in a phrase which has become famous, that French is 'la parleure la plus delitable et la plus commune a toutes gens' Another Italian, Martino da Canale, whom we have just mentioned, also proclaims, 'que langue françoise cort parmi le monde et est plus delitable à lire et à ouir que nulle autre' And finally the Catalan, Ramon Muntaner, informs us that the noblest chivalry was that of the Morea, and that French was spoken there as well as in Paris[1]

III MIDDLE FRENCH

(FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

16. MIDDLE FRENCH.—Towards the end of the thirteenth century we perceive obvious signs of a revolution that was to last during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the first half of

[1] See E Gebhart, *De la Renaissance en Italie*

the sixteenth century The period of **Old French** was at an end, that of **Middle French** began

The syntax and grammatical forms —The period in question is especially remarkable for the loss of the declension of the substantive and adjective Hence arose profound confusion in the syntax At length, after numerous experiments, those inversions which the declension alone rendered possible vanished, and the strict logical order which makes a word subject or object, according to its position, appeared and became established. The construction thus became more analytic, and paved the way for the modern sentence[1]

The grammar was thus profoundly affected The loss of the declension, and the triumph of the objective case over the nominative, led to a simplification in the use of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, which had previously been refined and complicated. The conjugation was also simplified Complex forms, in which the root was modified according as it was accented or not in which the flexions of different conjugations for the same tense differed without any apparent reason therefor in which the participle and perfect differed so widely from the root of the verb that the connexion was hard to perceive —all these were got rid of under the simplifying influence of analogy, which tended to efface all differences of this kind But during the period in question the language did not yet take any decided direction Popular usage was assuredly clearer and less faltering than literary usage the reduction of grammatical forms, which was imperceptibly taking place, was not in actual usage full of the uncertainties to be found in the texts the language followed its course steadily But in writers who upheld the literary traditions old forms

[1] See in the Appendix to Book I, as a specimen of these changes, the successive versions of the same text originally written in the thirteenth century, and revised in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

sanctioned by well known classical works, and preserved in the teaching of schools, were used at random alongside with more modern forms, so that the literary language offers a spectacle of anarchy and chaos.

Pronunciation —The pronunciation also changed It began to lose the melodiousness characteristic of the language in the Middle Ages More and more diphthongs died out and were reduced to vowels Slight differences between kindred vowel sounds, which at one time were quite distinct, became obliterated and finally disappeared The *e* feminine tended, in certain cases, to become silent It was the vowel-system which was chiefly affected, the consonants underwent little change

Towards the end of this period, the importation of learned Greek, and, still more, of learned Latin words, introduced into the language spoken in the narrow circle of literary men groups of sounds as yet unknown in general usage, and thus was inaugurated a distinction between the learned pronunciation and common pronunciation, which was soon to become more widely extended

Vocabulary —The vocabulary was also in a state of transition From the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century a great number of terms fell into disuse, including verbs, substantives, and adjectives, some expressing facts and ideas which belonged essentially to the Middle Ages, and were destined to disappear when they came to an end, others rendering general ideas or lasting facts, which acquired new forms of expression. This change in vocabulary is one of the most striking of the characteristics by which the new language tended to differentiate itself from the old The losses were repaired in various ways by the creation of new derivatives from old words, by the extension of the meaning of other words which, whilst still preserving their proper and primitive sense, also took the meaning and place of lost words, and, lastly, by borrowing from neighbouring

languages, or from Classical Latin or Low Latin, i e by means of the learned formation The last method was the most fruitful of all

The method of **learned formation**, which consists in borrowing words from the Latin of the books, may be traced back to the earliest period of the language When the clerks commenced to write in French, it happened that they occasionally took words from Latin in order to express ideas that French was as yet unable to render Instances of this are especially to be met with in religious and didactic texts, but, on the whole, they are rare in the Middle Ages

With the fourteenth century the Classical Renascence began to dawn, and was marked in the language, among other traits, by a copious introduction of Latin words These borrowings from the Latin increased during the fifteenth century to such an extent in a short time as to constitute as it were a second language grafted on to French Towards the end of the fifteenth and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, we find versifiers, like André de la Vigne, in whose works French words are crushed under a mass of Latin This plenty is a sign of great poverty The desire to endow language with borrowed riches implied ignorance of its real resources At the same period the school of the *Rhetoricians* was in full vigour, and the muse of writers was the pedantic, solemn, and tiresome *Dame Rhetoric*

The prose of the story-tellers possessed grace, but a trailing grace that got entangled in the folds of the still ill-constructed and over-Latinized period The prose of the historians affected a more severe aspect, it was over-full of solemn epithets, and had a somewhat strained, awkward, and pretentious air The poetry was absolutely worthless The language and thought of French poetry never fell so low as during the time when

the Meschinots[1] and Cretins[2] flourished, and Clement Marot[3] was still a child With Marot the poetical language was raised from these depths, and attained both the grace and ease of the prose story-tellers of the fifteenth century; but it remained without brilliancy or power.

17 THE FRENCH OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—In the sixteenth century the language presents the following characteristics

In the *pronunciation* the diphthongs continued to weaken, and some new nasals were formed Certain groups of consonants, discarded by the older language, reappeared in words borrowed from Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian The final consonants became silent, and the *e* feminine was dropped

Moreover a double tendency set in in the pronunciation, which became at once more rapid and indistinct in familiar usage, and fuller and more precise in oratory The usage of the Parliament of Paris and of the Court tended more and more to become looked on as the standard

In the *accidence* we find the abandonment of archaic forms continued, although a certain number persisted, only to be finally discarded in the seventeenth century

In the *syntax* we find (especially in prose) the sentences formed into long dragging periods, encumbered with particles, conjunctions, relative pronouns, and present participles This construction of the period comes in most part from the *naive* dragging sentence of the Middle Ages, but in writers who had received a Latin education we also perceive a more or less conscious and more or less skilful imitation of the Latin period This overloaded period was to continue until the middle of the seventeenth century, save with a few writers like Montaigne[4], where the rapidity of thought and quickness of

[1] Meschinot died in 1509
[2] Cretin died in 1525
[3] 1495 or 1496-1544
[4] 1533-1592

action of a powerful mind, at once alert and poetic, resulted in the mastery of the sharp-cut sentence, '*le parler haché*'

In the *vocabulary* the losses continued, although the language still remained singularly rich; they were due in some measure to the introduction of a large influx of foreign words from Spanish and especially Italian, brought into fashion by the wars with Charles V of Spain and the marriage of Henry II of France with one of the Medicis Henri Estienne[1] protested strongly, in two celebrated works[2], against this invasion of a foreign element It was not only terms of art, terms of fashion and of the Court, but terms of war and words of general usage which Italy imported into France, thus displacing sterling French words which expressed as well, if not better, the very same ideas We must, however, recognize the fact that although this invasion was of considerable extent, and although people of fashion spoke what was almost a Franco-Italian jargon, a great many of these exotic elements were firmly rejected by the language Still a certain number of terms—substantives, adjectives, and verbs—have been preserved and assimilated by the language

The learned formation was strongly opposed, as early as the year 1529 A D, by Geoffroy Tory[3], a grammarian and printer, by Etienne Dolet[4], and by Rabelais[5], and Ronsard[6] and his school continued the process of arrestment. Ronsard, who to this day has had to bear the weight of the unjust accusation, brought against him by Boileau, of speaking Greek and Latin in French, showed himself,

[1] 1528–1598

[2] *La Precellence du langage françois* (1579) and the *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianisé* (1578)

[3] 1480 circa–1533 [4] 1509–1546

[5] 1490 circa–1553. Rabelais ridiculed the ultra Latinists in the *Ecolier Limousin*

[6] 1524–1585

on the contrary, the earnest defender of pure French[1] He indignantly protested against contemporary borrowings from Latin, Italian, and Spanish He wished and endeavoured to create a *language for poetic use* that should be rich and expressive and full of imagery, and to form it from native sources, to introduce into it terms and metaphors carefully selected from provincial dialects, and from the technical terms of the arts and crafts, of hunting and fishing, and war, &c., and to add to it by neologisms formed by methods of composition or derivation from purely French elements

IV MODERN FRENCH.

(FROM THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO OUR OWN TIME)

18 MODERN FRENCH —From the great effort made by Ronsard and his early disciples there resulted a poetic language at once more flexible and nobler in form By comparing the French of the year 1540 A D with that of 1570 or 1580 A D. we can measure its progress

Forty years of continuous work had made the poetic period richer in rhythms and expressions, and had introduced into it new turns of phrase It was this singularly enriched language that Malherbe[2] found ready to hand But he availed himself of its newly-acquired qualities without recognizing or acknowledging, even to himself, to whom they were due In the work of the Pléiade he could only see its weakness, and hence the reaction with which his name is connected. He rejected Ronsard's idea of the necessity for a language of poetry apart, and would admit of nothing but the language of Paris, the ordinary

[1] See A Darmesteter, *De la formation actuelle des mots nouveaux en français*, p 9

[2] 1555–1628

language of the capital No provincial or technical terms were to be used, and the vocabulary of poetry, as well as that of prose, was to be understood by all In his hands the grammatical constructions became more precise and exacting, and pleonasms, ellipses, and anacolutha (changes of construction) were forbidden, the functions of the parts of speech were determined with greater precision, and the use of the adjective as an adverb or a substantive was avoided. The sentence, in a word, became more chastened But the work of Malherbe only affected the language of poetry, his prose had in part the faults which he blames in the poets of his time Moreover his imitation of Latin is too obvious, and he uses many purely Latin words, or French words to which he gives a Latin meaning

In the seventeenth century Balzac[1] did for prose what Malherbe had done for poetry twenty or thirty years previously It was he who truly 'degasconized' the Court, or, in other words, expelled from the language the southern element introduced by the Bearnese (with Henry IV) Balzac restored French to its former purity, and endeavoured also to make the sentence at once more correct and more artistic in form. The long dragging period of the sixteenth century was rendered fuller and more harmonious, and thus became capable of developing, in the hands of a Pascal[2] and a Bossuet[3], into that marvellous period which united the synthetic power of Latin with the grace and clearness of French in a surpassing and original form.

The history of the language in the seventeenth century divides itself into two distinct periods from 1600 to about 1650, and from this time to the end of the century

During the first period several remarkable features of

[1] J L Guez de Balzac, 1609 1650

[2] 1623-1662 [3] 1627-1704

the preceding age still survived The constructions display a freedom in form and in phraseology, but little later regarded as incorrect, the vocabulary contains a certain number of terms destined soon to disappear, and in the use of words we find a certain frankness, or even roughness, which has a grace of its own Such was the language of Hardy[1], of Cyrano de Bergerac[2], of Mairet[3], of Rotrou[4], and of Corneille[5] But the general movement in all men's minds towards a chastening and refinement of the language became more and more emphasized, and attained its highest pitch under Louis XIV Society lent its aid to the gifted writers of the day, the need for perfection of form was felt everywhere The just use of words, their value, and their degree of distinction were discussed in the *salons*, some of which, the Hôtel de Rambouillet for instance, have become historic The grammarians at last made their appearance, with Vaugelas[6] at their head, a man of refined taste who, without great grammatical knowledge, but with the authority due to sound judgement, enforced on the nation, as it were naturally, decisions founded on thirty years' observation The need for a constituted authority and of a supreme court of appeal was so great that the French Academy arose by a general consensus of opinion It existed informally for several years before its official foundation by the decree of Cardinal Richelieu[7]

In consequence of this great movement French grammar assumed unprecedented strictness The formation of new words was proscribed, and hence the vocabulary seemed to be closed and definitively settled We find the sentence of the time noble in movement and of a natural majesty A general tendency towards psychological

[1] 1527 circa–1631 circa.
[2] 1620–1665
[3] 1604–1686
[4] 1609–1650
[5] 1606–1684
[6] 1585–1650
[7] 1635

analysis, and a decided taste for the abstract, rendered the language capable of expressing at once clearly and strongly the most abstract general ideas and the most refined shades of analysis, and of easily sustaining the weight of the most profound conceptions For the expression of the most puissant and the most subtle thought it served as an instrument of unrivalled delicacy Like a garment of infinite suppleness it served to reveal the form of the idea, without obscuring it

But in this language, the beauties of which cannot be sufficiently admired, we already divine the faults of its splendid qualities, faults that became emphasized in the eighteenth century It showed a tendency towards *dryness* that gradually unfitted it for the picturesque expression of poetry In La Fontaine[1] we find almost the only exception to the general rule, and his French was itself exceptional It was not from his contemporaries, but from the authors of the sixteenth century, that he derived a style so rich in imagery that it brings vividly before our eyes nature in all her many aspects

In the eighteenth century, thoroughly revolutionary in every way as it was, we find the traditions of the seventeenth century with regard to the vocabulary and grammar continued Voltaire[2] was a respectful admirer of Classical French In the vast mass of his writings he hardly ventured on a single neologism In the *Dictionnaire néologique* [1726] of the Abbé Desfontaines[3] the only attacks made against the language of this time are directed against a few affected and distorted figures of speech in Fontenelle[4], Lamotte[5], and others But a radical change was taking place in the texture of the sentence The full and majestic period, the period used for the

[1] 1621–1695
[2] 1694–1778
[3] 1685–1745
[4] 1657–1757
[5] 1672–1731

dogmatic statement of truths, disappeared, and gave way to the sharp-cut, alert, sentence, light as an arrow, keen as a sword We find this sharp-cut sentence already foreshadowed in La Bruyère[1], except in the last chapter of the *Caracteres,* where, together with the dogmatism of tone, there reappears the period of Descartes, of Pascal, and Bossuet

In Massillon[2], with whom the seventeenth century ends and the eighteenth century begins, the lengthy period and the shorter style seem to be combined, for he united short propositions to form great sentences resembling the period In the eighteenth century Buffon[3] still preserved the qualities of the language of the seventeenth century His sentences were in general oratorical, and resembled the period in form, but the tendency to abstraction, marked by the choice of general rather than particular terms, gives to certain parts of his work a vague and declamatory character

In most of the authors of the period, both poets and prose-writers, the sentence was clear, precise, witty, and full of point, but had little light and shade, or picturesqueness With Jean Jacques Rousseau[4] it assumed new qualities which foreshadowed the nineteenth century Through Bernardin de Saint-Pierre[5], Rousseau formed Chateaubriand[6]

Meanwhile, however, the advance of the learned formation continued In the seventeenth century Classical Latin affected the construction and meaning of words in the works of the great writers In the eighteenth century the immense development of the sciences led to the introduction of a great number of Latin words, and a still larger number of Greek words, into their different nomenclatures Towards the end of this century there

[1] 1645-1696
[2] 1663-1742
[3] 1707-1788
[4] 1712-1778
[5] 1737-1814
[6] 1768-1848

began an invasion of English words which still continues, and a second influx of Italian gave to French its musical terms

Despite continued changes in pronunciation, the grammar, properly so called, of the seventeenth century became fixed by the masterpieces of the time, and it still controls the language of the nineteenth

The end of the eighteenth century was marked by the most terrible revolution that has ever involved a nation in confusion Yet this revolution had no direct effect on the language During this period of troubles, followed by the no less troubled years of the wars of the First Empire, men's minds were too much bent on action to practise art Up to the time of the Restoration almost the only two names in literature which deserve to be quoted are those of Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël[1] Chateaubriand alone influenced the language Following the models left to him by his precursors Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Rousseau, he imparted to it light and shade, picturesqueness and poetic movement

During the calm of the Restoration men gave themselves up to art and literature, and the Revolution then bore its fruit A host of ideas and feelings had penetrated into the minds of the people, and the over-narrow limits of Classical French were burst by the Romantics With Victor Hugo[2] and his disciples the sentence, both in verse and prose, acquired an intensity of colouring till then unknown, but lost in precision and clearness what it had gained in poetic power.

At the present time it would seem as if the French Academy had lost all authority, save in questions of spelling, as if neologisms were submitted to no check, as if there were a return to the doctrine of Ronsard, and not only Parisian words, but provincial and even purely

[1] 1766–1817 [2] 1802–1885

technical terms, were to find a place in the vocabulary, even the programme of the Pléiade being overstepped in the excessive introduction of Latin words,—and the superabundance of the language has become a sign of poverty And, to add to the evil still more, we find an excessive use of abstract words to express concrete ideas[1]

Not only the new vocabulary, but the new grammatical constructions also, violate the genius and the secular traditions of the language As if by a return to the past the French of our day has regained the power, the exuberance, and, we must add, often the vagueness and incoherence, of that of the sixteenth century.

We seem to be in a period of crises and at a turning-point in the history of the language Is the twentieth century to bring order into this new chaos? This we dare not hope, for we see no sign of any principle of order and authority round which men of letters may rally Is it not, on the contrary, to be feared that with the complete triumph of democracy French may assume a new form which will render the classical language obsolete, and with it the great writers of whom Frenchmen are so justly proud? Will not the authors who are now the best instruments of their intellectual education become in their turn too difficult to read, and join Montaigne, Rabelais, Villon, and the great trouvères of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the oblivion of the past?

[1] Cf Syntax, § 364, pp 574-5

BOOK I

STUDY OF THE SOUNDS, OR PHONETICS

(HISTORY OF THE PRONUNCIATION)

19 HISTORY OF THE PRONUNCIATION.—We have seen that Popular Latin, by a series of constant changes in pronunciation, developed into the French of the Ile de France. In what do these changes consist? This is the question which we have to study.

Speaking generally, the present history will include only **words of popular formation**, i. e. such words as have lived on uninterruptedly, from the Roman period until the present time, in the oral tradition of the language. From it will be excluded, as far as possible, all **words of learned formation**, i. e. those which at some given time had disappeared from oral use and were forgotten by the people, but were later, owing to the action of clerks and writers, restored first to the written language and thence to the spoken language.

A complete history of pronunciation should also include both words of learned formation and words of foreign origin, for these, when once adopted by usage, became French, and were submitted in the later periods of their existence to the general laws of pronunciation. But a study of this kind lies beyond the limits of this elementary treatise.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL THEORY OF SOUNDS—THEORY OF THE FRENCH VOWELS

20 Sound—21 Vowels—22 French vowels pure or mouth-vowels—23 The series of vowels in French—24 Duration or quantity of vowels—25 Notation of the pure vowels—26 Nasal vowels—27 Pure and nasal diphthongs—28 Summary

20 SOUND.—Words are composed, from the physical standpoint, of **vocal sounds** which may be classified by analysis into **vowels** and **consonants**

But before defining vowels and consonants we must define **sound**

Sound is the sensation experienced when the brain receives through the tympanum, or drum of the ear, the impression of vibrations of the air In every sound four elements must be distinguished **pitch, intensity, duration,** and **timbre**

Pitch is determined by the number of vibrations per **second**, **intensity** by their amplitude, **duration** by the time during which the cause producing the vibration continues to act The nature of **timbre,** unknown until recently, was discovered by the illustrious physicist, Helmholtz, **timbre** is the resultant of the combination of a fundamental sound with the **harmonics** which accompany it

It is well known that no sound is produced without being accompanied by secondary sounds called **harmonics,** which blend with it and modify its nature Now the number and intensity of the harmonics vary both with the form and material of the vibrating instrument The difference in timbre between one piano and another,

a violin or a flute, is precisely the difference in the number and relative intensity of the harmonics which accompany the production of each note

We may explain this by an example Let us first take the G note on a piano, in any octave If I strike it with a certain degree of force it will produce a sound. If I strike it twice as hard the intensity of the note will be doubled, because the amplitude of the vibrations will have been doubled If I strike the G note of the octave higher with the same force as the G note of the former octave there will be a difference in pitch: the note will be sharper or higher because the number of vibrations per second will be greater If I damp the note at once I shall produce a difference in its duration. Lastly, if, maintaining the conditions of intensity, pitch, and duration the same, I strike the same note on two different pianos, the harmonics produced by the different kinds of wood, or metal, and different forms of cases of the two instruments, will also be different, and give the note two distinct timbres.

Let us now apply these remarks to sounds produced by the voice-apparatus

21 VOWELS.—A vowel is the sound produced by a current of air driven from the lungs through the larynx, and causing the vocal chords to vibrate[1], as it comes unimpeded from the open mouth it can be prolonged as long as the lungs continue to expel air

The air expelled by the lungs produces a note, called the fundamental note, and at the same time a series of harmonics, the number and relative intensity of which vary with the change of the form assumed by the mouth-

[1] The *vocal chords* are two ligaments attached to the walls of the larynx on either side, and extending horizontally across this passage They can be brought near one another in such a way as to close the space which normally separates them, called the *glottis* When the glottis is closed to begin with, and air is expelled from the lungs, it separates the vocal chords with a series of little shocks, thus making them vibrate

cavity Hence this other definition of vowels **Vowels are the different timbres of any fundamental note issuing from the mouth** An *a posteriori* proof of this definition is that various vowels can all be sung on the same note with the same force and duration Since they are of the same intensity, pitch, and duration, they can only differ in timbre It follows that, the variations of the form of the mouth-cavity being infinite, the variations of the timbre must also be infinite, and that the number of vowels is therefore unlimited

In Indo-European languages vowels have been grouped round five dominant points, **a, e, i, o,** and **u**, but between these points there is room for an infinite number of intermediate sounds separated from each other by more or less perceptible shades of difference Hence the infinite variety of vowels presented by different languages and the different dialects of a given language Let us now come to French

22 FRENCH VOWELS PURE OR MOUTH-VOWELS —Let us first notice that if the vowels of a language are constituted by a difference of timbre they can also present differences of pitch, intensity, and duration We shall deal later with pitch and intensity For the moment we have only to consider duration

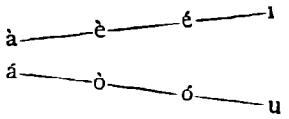
French possesses long vowels, vowels of medium duration and short vowels The notion of duration in the case of a particular vowel is often obscured by the change of **quantity** produced by the change of place of a given word in a sentence Thus **ou** in **douze** is long in **ils sont douze**, it is medium in **j'ai vu douze hommes** The **ou** is in the same way medium in **c'est un homme doux** and short in **c'est une douce chose** But we shall only deal here with the quantity of words pronounced separately, or at the end of a sentence The distinction between the medium duration and short duration is in some cases too fleeting to

be established with certainty and so to be recognized by every ear, we shall only distinguish, in what follows, between vowels of long and short duration

The imperfection of the French alphabet and of the French system of orthography compels us to denote different sounds by the same sign, and to express the same sound by different signs In the following analysis we shall only consider sounds

23 THE SERIES OF VOWELS IN FRENCH —We first distinguish an open à which imperceptibly leads to an open è this open è passes to a close é, and the latter in its turn to an ı[1]

On the other hand there is a close á which leads to an open ò, this passes to a close ó, and finally leads up to the u[2].

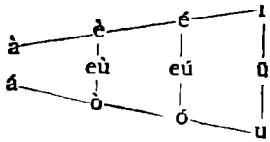


Between the open è and the open ò there is the intermediate vowel, open eù, between the close é and close ó there is the intermediate vowel, close eú Between ı and

[1] From what precedes, it will be clearly understood that the expressions *open* and *close* represent differences of timbre, and consequently of vowel sound The open *a* is a different vowel from the close, the open *e* and *o* are different vowels from the close *e* and *o* The open *eu* is as different from the close *eu* as the *ı* is from *u* or *ü* We represent the open sound by the sign ` and the close sound by the sign ´ placed over the vowel

[2] The letter *u* represents in most Indo-European languages the simple sound denoted in French by the two letters *ou* Exceptionally, in certain languages such as French, *u* represents another sound similar to that of the German *u* In this and the following chapters the French sound *ou* (as in *nous, roux*) is denoted by the letter *u*, and the French *u* (as in *tu, salut*) is denoted by *u* This notation by *u* and *u* is the only correct one from the standpoint of phonetics and historical tradition

u the intermediate vowel u finds its place. The preceding scheme must therefore be modified as follows.



NOTE.—In pronunciation we can discriminate at least three kinds of e: open è (as in **perte**), half-open e (as in **maison**), and close é (as in **bonté**). But this discrimination is too delicate to be established in all cases with certainty, it is better to follow general custom and distinguish only the open è and close é.

24 THE DURATION OR QUANTITY OF VOWELS.—As we have seen, these eleven French vowels may be either long or short. Thus we have

a open (à)	long (à)	**la vague**, pronounced	**vàg'**
	short (ă)	**acteur**, „	**ăkteur**
a close (a)	long (á)	**pâtre**, „	**pátr'**
	short (ắ)	**pas** (in negation), „	**pắ**
e open (è)	long (è)	**tête**, „	**tèt'**
		aime, peine „	**èm', pèn'**
	short (ĕ)	**secte, laisse** „	**sĕkt', lĕs'**
e close (é)	long (é)	is unknown in French	
	short (ĕ́)	**bonté** pronounced	**bontĕ́**
ı	long (ī)	**dire, lyre** „	**dīr, līr**
	short (ĭ)	**dite** „	**dĭt'**
o open (ò)	long (ò)	**mort** „	**mòr**
	short (ŏ)	**objet** „	**ŏbjet**
o close (ó)	long (ó)	**hôte, pauvre** „	**hót', póvr'**
	short (ŏ́)	**nos livres** „	**nŏ́ lıvr'**
u	long (ū)	**douze** „	**dūz'**
	short (ŭ)	**douce** „	**dŭs'**

u	long (ū)	**dur**	pronounced	**dūr**
	short (ŭ)	**duc**	„	**dŭc**
eu open (eù)	long (eŭ)	**neuve**	„	**neŭv**
	short (eŭ)	**neuf**	„	**neŭf**
	very short (e mute)	**me, te, se, je, le, re , de**		
eu close (eú)	long (eú)	**creuse**	pronounced	**creúz'**
	short (eŭ)	**creux**	„	**creŭ**

French has, then, at least eleven vowels, which, by means of differences of quantity, are increased in number to twenty-three

25 NOTATION OF THE PURE VOWELS.—The notation of these sounds in writing is far from being rigorous and precise, as we have shown already by some of the above examples In fact,

a open (short or long) may be noted by **a, à, em,** or **en** as in **ma, à, femme, solennel** , sometimes by **ao** (**paonne**)

a close (short or long), by **a,** or **â** as in **pas, crâne**

e open (short or long), by **e, è, ai, ay, ei,** or **ey** as in **perte, mer, succès, collège, pair, payement, peine, bey**

e close (short or long), by **e, é, ai, ei, ey, ay,** or **œ** as in **passer, bonté, chantai, peiner, dey, Fontenay, Œdipe**

i (short or long), by **i, î,** or **y** as in **dire, lisse, île, îlot, lyre**

o open (short or long), by **o, ô, eau, au,** or **u** as in **mort, hôpital, tableautin, taureau, pensum**

o close (short or long), by **o, ô, eau,** or **au** as in **pot, côte, beaux, chevaux** , sometimes by **aô,** as in **Saône**

u (short or long), by **ou,** or **aoû** as in **doux, août.**

u (short or long), by **u, û, eu, eû** as in **duc, fût, j'eus, eûtes.**

eu open (short or long), by **eu, œ, œu, ue,** or **e** as in **neuf, œil, bœuf, cueillir, le, se**

eu close (short or long), by **eu, eû,** or **œu** as in **peut, jeûne, œufs**

The vowels we have just analysed are called **pure** or

mouth-vowels[1] in opposition to other vowels called **nasal** vowels.

26 NASAL VOWELS.—The nasal vowels, which are peculiar to French, are due to a division of the current of air from the larynx producing these sounds, one part passes through the mouth, and produces the pure vowel, whilst the other part passes behind the dependent soft-palate into the nose, where it vibrates with a peculiar resonance The combination of these two **simultaneous resonances** constitutes the French nasal vowels

These vowels, like the pure vowels, remain identical from the beginning to the end of the utterance, because the two currents of air act at the same time

The nasal vowels **existing at present** in French are four in number

(1) The nasal of open **à**, that is the sound **an**, which we shall denote phonetically by **ã** When the nasal resonance disappears the open **à** reappears as in **paysan, paysanne = paysã, paysàn'** This sound is represented orthographically by **an, am, em, en, aen (Caen)**, and sometimes by **aon (paon)**

(2) The nasal of open **è** (**ẽ**) This is the nasal heard at the end of the words **moyen, bien, mien** When the nasal resonance disappears the open **è** reappears as in **mien, mienne = myẽ, myèn'** This nasal vowel is represented **by en (mien, pensum)**, by **in** and **im (injuste, impure)**, by **ain (pain), aim (faim), ein (rein)**, and **eim (Reims)**

(3) The third nasal vowel is that produced by open **ò**, i e **on**, represented phonetically by **õ** Compare as above the masculine **bon**, that is to say **bõ**, with the feminine **bonne**, that is **bòn'** This nasal is represented in orthography by **on** or **om**, and sometimes by **un** or **um (punch, umble**[2])

(4) The last nasal vowel is that which is produced by

[1] I e pronounced by means of the mouth

[2] [Or *ombre*, a fish allied to the ch ir]

the open **eù** It gives the sound **e͡ŭ**, which is written **un** (**commun**) and **eun** (**jeun**)

Modern French has no nasals derived from close vowels, nor has it the nasals of **u**, **u**, or **ı** Thus the vowels of the second part of the vowel-triangle have no nasalization, nor has the close **á**

French nasal vowels are long when followed by a consonant that is pronounced without a following vowel They are medium in the contrary case

Long nasal vowels **anse** (**ās'**), **feınte** (**fēt'**), **monde** (**mōd'**), **junte** (**jē͡ŭt'**)

Medium nasal vowels· **enfant** (**ā-fā**), **paın** (**pō**), **bon** (**bō**), **commun** (**come͡ŭ**).

27 PURE AND NASAL DIPHTHONGS — I **Pure Diphthongs** The rapid emission of two vowels, of **different intensity** combined, is called a **diphthong** Sometimes the first vowel is the more intense, and sometimes the second Both vowels are pronounced with one emission of the voice, the less intense vowel being articulated as quickly as possible Let us take two vowels, **a** and **o**, and pronounce them with the same intensity, however quickly we may pronounce them we shall have two separate vowels, **a**, **o** But if we pronounce **ao**, laying a stress either on the **a** or the **o**, we shall have a diphthong Old French possessed a considerable number of diphthongs some **falling**, that is with the stress on the first of the vowels (**Ao**), others **rising**, that is with the stress on the second vowel (**aO**)

The falling diphthongs were all transformed into pure vowels, except when the first vowel was an **ı**, **u**, or **u**, when they became rising diphthongs Hence all the diphthongs which remained were rising—that is to say, formed of a first vowel pronounced very quickly and very weakly, and of a second vowel pronounced with stress Then, as pronunciation became still more rapid, the first

vowel (**ı**, **u**, or **u**) became transformed into a consonant, so *that* ***now there are no longer any diphthongs*** *in French* The so called diphthongs of the grammarians (**ıa**, **ıe**, **ıo**, **ıeu**, **ıou**, **ua**, **ue**, **uı**, **uo**, **oua**, and **ouı**) are really combinations of new consonants **consonantal ı**, **consonantal u**, and **consonantal u**) with vowels

II **Nasal Diphthongs** What we have said of the pure diphthongs applies equally to the so-called nasal diphthongs These groups of sounds are diphthongs in appearance only The second element in them is indeed a nasal vowel, **ã**, **ẽ**, or **õ**, but the first is a consonant (sprung from a vowel), either **consonantal ı**, **consonantal u**, or **consonantal u**

Examples **vıande**, **bıen**, **loın**, **coın**, **suın**, **natıon**

28 SUMMARY —To sum up, French has eleven vowels, most of which may be long, medium, or short, and four nasal vowels, which are either long or medium It has no longer any diphthongs

Now Latin had five vowels, **a**, **e**, **ı**, **o**, **u**, which might be short or long, and three diphthongs, **ae**, **oe**, **au**

The French system, although so different from the Latin system, is yet the outcome of that system By what series of changes the transformation has been accomplished we shall learn when we come to study the history of the Latin vowels separately

CHAPTER II

THEORY OF THE FRENCH CONSONANTS

29 Consonants in general — 30 General classification of consonants — 31 Differences between vowels and consonants — 32 French consonants Labio labials — 33 Labio dentals — 34 Linguo-dentals — 35 Linguo-palatals — 36 Linguo dento-palatals — 37 H aspirate — 38 Table of consonants

29. CONSONANTS IN GENERAL — A **consonant** is a sound produced by a current of air expelled from the lungs, which **either may or may not cause the vocal chords to vibrate**, and passes through the mouth, after being entirely stopped, or partially obstructed, by the obstacle formed by the lips or the tongue pressing against the lips, teeth, or palate

When the vocal chords vibrate, the soft consonants **b**, **g**, **d**, **v**, and **z** are produced, these are called **sonant**, or **voiced, consonants**, because they are determined by the sounding of the vocal chords

When there is no vibration of the vocal chords we have the hard consonants (**p**, **k**, **t**, **f**, and **ç**), called **surd** or **voiceless**, in opposition to the sonants

When the sound is completely stopped (as in **p**, **b**, **t**, **d**, **k**, **g**) we have the **mute** or **explosive** consonants they are called **mute**, because they cannot be pronounced without the help of a vowel, **explosive**, because the closing and sudden opening of the mouth causes a kind of explosion of air

When the sound is partially obstructed, but is capable of being prolonged, as in **f**, **v**, **ç**, **z**, **ch**, and **j**, we have the so called **continuous**, **fricative**, or **spirant** consonants They are called **continuous** because the sound may be prolonged for some time, **fricative** because it comes from

friction of the air, **spirant** because they recall the sound of natural breathing

In the following pages we shall use, on the one hand, the correlative terms **surd** and **sonant**, on the other hand, the terms **explosive** and **continuous.**

30 GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS.—French consonants are due to the action of an obstruction to the expired air in the mouth[1] there are as many different groups of consonants as there are kinds of obstacles

If the lower lip presses against the upper lip, or just grazes it, we have **labials** (from the Latin **labium,** lip), or more properly **labio-labials**, produced

If the lower lip presses against the extremity of the teeth of the upper jaw, **labio-dentals** are produced

When the tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth, contact takes place at either the extremity, the middle, or the root of the teeth, and in this way the three groups of **dentals** are produced

When other parts of the tongue touch the upper teeth, various kinds of **linguals** are produced, according to the action of the tongue

When the tongue presses against the palate, the contact may take place either near the root of the teeth, or the middle of the palate, or the soft palate (near the velum), and in this way we get three different groups of **palatals** (from the Latin **palatum,** palate)

Finally the nasal resonances, which, by combination with pure vowels, change them into nasal vowels, also combine with the consonants and change these into **nasal consonants**

31 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VOWELS AND CONSONANTS.—The explanations just given, although not detailed, show

[1] [In other languages, e g German, the obstruction may be lower down in the respiratory passage]

the characteristic relations and distinctions between consonants and vowels

A vowel is always **sonant**; a consonant is sometimes **sonant**, sometimes **surd**. A vowel is produced by an **unimpeded** current of air; a consonant requires for its production an **obstacle**, it is a sound that has been stopped or impeded. From these two statements it follows that there is no absolute and radical distinction between consonants and vowels.

If in the emission of continuous sonant consonants, produced by the narrowing of the air-passage, this passage gets wider, the consonant approaches a vowel in sound, and conversely, if in the emission of certain vowels the air-passage be gradually narrowed, the vowel may pass into a consonant. As a matter of fact, certain sonant consonants, **l, m, n, r**, are transformed in many languages into vowels, and certain vowels, **i, u**, and **u**, may become consonants.

We repeat it, the distinction is not absolute. But both vowels and consonants have this in common, that their number is unlimited, it is evident therefore that no language possesses all the vowels and consonants possible. In this matter each language has made its choice. We have already seen what are the present French vowels, and shall now enumerate the consonants. We commence with the consonants produced by the outermost organs of speech[1].

32. FRENCH CONSONANTS. LABIO-LABIALS.—In these the lower lip presses against the upper lip.

1. **Complete closure**: (1) without vibration of the vocal chords, gives **p**,

(2) with vibration, gives **b**.

[1] For the sake of precision, we describe the various groups of consonants by means of names composed of two or three terms, the first mentioned being the name of the organ which is moved against the other organs mentioned.

When **b** is accompanied by a nasal resonance it becomes an **m** The **m** is thus phonetically b̃

2 **Incomplete closure** gives, according to the greater or lesser protrusion of the lips, one of two consonants which are generally sonant (or accompanied by vibration of the vocal chords), but which become surd when they are closely combined with a preceding surd consonant namely, **consonantal u** or **consonantal u**

Consonantal u is what we first hear in **oui** It would be wrong to decompose this word into the vowels **u** and **i** the first constituent is not a vowel but a consonant identical with the English **w**, it is the same consonant that we find in French, disguised by orthography, in the group **oi**[1]

Consonantal u is what we hear first in **puis, lui,** &c It would again be wrong to suppose that we have here the combination of the vowels **u** and **i** **U** is here in reality a consonant, which is to the vowel **u** what the consonantal **u** (w) is to the vowel **u**. As we represent the vowel **u** phonetically by the letter **u**, and the corresponding consonant by the letter **w**, and the vowel **u** by the letter **u**, so the consonant corresponding to **u** may be phonetically represented by the sign **ẅ** Thus the word **lui** will be phonetically noted by **lẅi**, just as the word **loi** will be written **lwa**

The **w** and the **ẅ** are, as we have said, generally sonant, and only become surd after a surd consonant Thus in **moi, loi, doigt,** phonetically noted by **mwa, lwa, dwa, w** represents a sonant consonant In **poids, toi, foi,** phonetically written **pwa, twa, fwa,** the same sign represents a surd consonant In **buis** (bẅi) **ẅ** is sonant, and in **puis** (pẅi) surd[2]

[1] *Moi toi, soi,* &c , are really pronounced *mwa, twa, swa,* &c

[2] In the pronunciation of *w* and *ẅ* the back of the tongue approaches the soft palate, and this renders these consonants both *labio labials* and *velars* (see page 76, note 1)

33 LABIO-DENTALS —In these the lower lip presses against the extremity of the upper teeth

1. **Complete closure** gives no French consonant, and perhaps no consonant is possible

2 **Incomplete closure** (1) without vibration of the vocal chords, gives **f**,

(2) with vibration of the vocal chords, gives **v**.

34 LINGUO-DENTALS — In these the tip and a small portion of the upper surface of the tongue touch the extremity of the upper teeth

1 **Complete closure** (1) without vibration of the vocal chords, gives **t**,

(2) with vibration of the vocal chords, gives **d**

D accompanied by a nasal resonance becomes **n** This consonant may be phonetically denoted by **d̃**[1]

2 **Incomplete closure** (1) without vibration, gives **surd s**, noted in French orthography by **s**, **ss**, **ç**, **c**, and **ti**, (2) with vibration, gives **sonant s**, noted by **s** and **z**[2]

Another linguo-dental, which is continuous and sonant is produced by the contact of the tongue with the alveolar margin of the palate at the centre, the air escaping on either side between the tongue and side teeth this is the **l**

Finally, our last linguo-dental is the rolled or alveolar **r**, which is pronounced in certain provinces, and is still used on the stage both by actors and singers, who find it more harmonious and sonorous This consonant is produced by the vibration of the tongue, while the tip presses against the alveolar margin of the palate

The rolled **r** which is the **r** of the Italians, the Scotch

[1] Thus, what we write *mon ami*, and pronounce *mõ-nami*, would be rendered phonetically *bõ-d̃a-bi* People who have a bad cold in the head cannot produce the nasal resonance, and in fact pronounce *bo-da-bi*

[2] Here the position of the tongue is slightly modified The upper surface of the extremity is raised against the upper teeth and alveolar margin of the palate, and the tip is pressed against the lower teeth

and Irish, and of the Scandinavians, has been replaced in Paris by the palatal **r**.

35 LINGUO-PALATALS.—In these consonants the hinder, middle, or fore portion of the tongue touches various parts of the palate, from the soft palate near the velum[1], to the hard portion of the palate near the alveolar margin. The positions of the tongue are varied and give rise to all kinds of consonants, some of which are so similar that they are hardly distinguished in ordinary usage.

1 **Complete closure.** The upper part of the tongue touches the roof of the palate,

(*a*) Towards the front and near the teeth.

(1) Without vibration of the vocal chords, this gives **k** (generally denoted by **qu**) before **e** and **i**, as in **qui, quel**.

(2) With vibration of the vocal chords, this gives **g** (generally denoted by **gu**) before **i** and **e** (in **gué, gui**).

(*b*) A little further back, near the soft palate.

(1) Without vibration of the vocal chords, this gives **k** (generally denoted by **c**) before **a**.

(2) With vibration of the vocal chords, this gives **g** before **a**.

(*c*) Still further back, near the soft palate, or the velum of the palate (the posterior portion of the tongue now producing the contact).

(1) Without vibration, this gives **k** (generally denoted by **c**) before **o, u, u**, before a consonant, or at the end of a syllable, as in **corps, coup, curé, croire, coq**.

(2) With vibration; this gives **g** before either **o, u, u**, or a consonant, or at the end of a syllable, as in **gorge, goût, gutte, grand, bague** = **bag**.

Thus French spelling renders by identical signs different consonants, whose existence could only have been recognized at the present day by physiological study, or demon-

[1] Hence the word *velar* (from the Latin *velum*, veil) given to consonants produced by the pressing of the tongue against the region of the palate near the velum.

strated by the history of the Romance languages; for the Latin palatals have either not changed in phonetic value, or have become **ch** and **j**, or **ç** and **z**, according as they were followed by **o**, **u**, or **u**, &c., or by **a**, **e**, or **i**[1]

2. **Incomplete closure** The tongue touches the palate, but leaves a passage for the air

We have (*a*) if the contact takes place between the tip and part of the upper surface of the tongue and the hard palate, above the alveolar margin

(1) Without vibration of the vocal chords, the surd *chuintante*[2], represented in spelling by the group **ch**, as in **chemin**, **château**

(2) With vibration of the vocal chords, the sonant *chuintante*, represented in spelling by **j** or by **g** or **ge**, as in **je**, **déjà**, **givre**, **gel**, **mangea**, **Georges**

If the contact takes place between the upper part of the tongue pressed against the hard palate at a point further back, we get (*b*) another consonant, generally sonant, but sometimes surd, which plays, and has played, an important part in the history of French pronunciation This is the **consonantal i** or **yod**, a consonant analogous to the German **j**, and to the English consonantal **i** and **y** This consonant is not recognized by French spelling, which generally notes it by the letter **i**, because it is wrongly taken for a vowel, e g **piano**, **bien**, **Dieu**, **pied**, **fier** At the beginning of words, or after a vowel in the middle of words, it is represented by **y** **yacht**,

[1] On the other hand French orthography delights in multiplying at random the graphic notations of these sounds, and represents without any distinction and indiscriminately these palatals by **c**, **k**, **q**, **cq**, **qu**, **cqu**, **ck**, **ch**,—**g**, **gu**, and **gh**

[2] [The sounds called respectively hard and soft *chuintantes* are named by Dr Sweet (New English Grammar, § 702) 'blade-point breath' and 'blade-point voice' consonants, by P Toynbee, 'voiceless, and voiced, spirant palatals']

[3] It is surd after another surd consonant, as in *pierre*, *tiers*, it is here almost like the German *ch* in *mich*, *dich*

yole, yeux, payer (ɪ e **pè-yé**), **moyen** (ɪ e **mwa-yẽ**) It is often forgotten altogether in the spelling, as in **ouvrier, février, hier, lier** (**ouvri-yé, févri-yé, hi-yer, li-yé**) We shall represent it by **y**

Another linguo palatal, formed by the contact of the back of the tongue with the back of the hard palate and with the soft palate, is the Parisian **r**, which has replaced the alveolar **r**

96 LINGUO DENTO PALATALS — To produce these consonants the tongue touches both teeth and palate, the closure being incomplete, and the vocal chords vibrating We have two different consonants of this kind, the l **mouillée** and the n **mouillée**[1]

1 The l **mouillée**, which we shall denote by **l̇**, is produced by the combination of the l and the consonantal ɪ, or **yod** In order to pronounce the l, the tongue touches the alveolar margin of the palate; to pronounce the **yod**, it bends so as to produce incomplete contact between the apex of the bend and the roof of the hard palate By combining these two sounds, so that the tongue touches at the same time both the teeth and the roof of the palate, we get **l̇**

This sound is represented in spelling by lh in Portuguese and Provençal, by ll in Spanish, by **gl** or **gli** in Italian In French it is represented in four different ways by -ill before a vowel (**bata-ill-on**), by -il at the end of a word (**trava-il**), by -ll- when preceded by a sounded ɪ and followed by any vowel (**fi-ll e**)[2], and by a single l (**péril**) at the end of words, when it is preceded by an ɪ

The **l̇** is disappearing from French This complex sound is becoming too difficult to pronounce, as it requires

[1] [P Toynbee calls these sounds 'liquefied l and liquefied n']

[2] Sometimes even when the preceding vowel is not an ɪ *Sully* was formerly pronounced *Suly* Owing to the effect of the spelling, the word is now generally pronounced *Sul-ly*, in forgetfulness of the tradition

for its production positions of different parts of the tongue not easy to combine The elements compounded together have a tendency to disjoin instead of pronouncing an **l** and a **yod** combined, some pronounce first an **l** and then a **yod** and say, for example, **batal-yon**, while the majority of people suppress the **l** and only pronounce the **yod** (**bata-yon**) The latter pronunciation is generally used in Paris and the north of France, and will soon prevail. The true **l** is still pronounced south of the Loire and in French Switzerland

2 The **n mouillée** is the combination of the **n** with the **yod** It is denoted, in writing, by the group **gn** in French and Italian, by the group **nh** in Provençal and Portuguese, by **ñ** in Spanish We shall use the Spanish notation. This consonant has not suffered the same vicissitudes as the **l**, and has kept its vitality [1]

37 THE H ASPIRATE —We have not previously mentioned the **h aspirate**, which is not really a consonant It is a breath sound produced by the greater or lesser friction of the air coming freely from the throat, when the vocal chords are separated, and, leaving the glottis open, do not vibrate

This **h** aspirate is still heard in the spoken language in some provinces, and in the pronunciation of oratory In Paris, in familiar conversation, it is only equivalent to a sign preventing any *liaison* or elision thus **les haricots** is pronounced **lé-ariko** [2].

38 TABLE OF CONSONANTS —The system of French

[1] Many persons, however, disjoin the constituent elements, and pronounce first the *n* and then *y*, not making any difference between *re-gn er* and *Re-ni-er*

[2] The pronunciation in familiar conversation, which is quick and careless, with its elision of the *e* mute and the formation of new groups of consonants resulting from this elision, offers for examination other varieties of sounds, but these sounds would require a study too subtle and minute to come within the scope of this elementary course

consonants in the present state of the language, which we have just examined, may be summarized in the following table

	Explosive		Continuous		Liquid and Nasal	
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant		
Labio-labials	p	b	w ẅ	w ẅ		m
Labio-dentals			f	v		
Linguo dentals	t	d	surd s	son- ant s or z	l, r	n
Linguo-palatals	k { e, i / a / o, u }	g { e, i / a / o, u }	ch y	j y r		
Linguo-dento-palatals					ł	ñ
Laryngo-laryngeals			h aspir			

Of this system the French alphabet gives but a very incomplete idea Thus, of the labials, the consonants w and ẅ are not represented by any letters Of the dentals,

surd **s** is represented by **s**, **ss**, **ç**, **c**, and **ti**, sonant **s** by **s** and **z** Of the palatals, the **yod** is mostly not represented at all, or else indifferently by **y** or **i**, **j** is represented by **j** or **g** (before **e** or **i**), the surd explosive palatal is represented by the signs **c**, **k**, **q**, **qu**, **ck**, **cqu**, and **ch** The **l** *mouillee* has four different signs, **ill**, **il**, **ll**, **l**, the **n** *mouillee* is strangely represented by **gn**

On the other hand, certain letters have a double value **C** represents the sound **k** and the sound **s**, **t** before **i** is sometimes the explosive, t, sometimes the sibilant, **s**, **m** and **n** are either signs of the nasal consonants as in **ma**, **ni**, or of the nasal vowels as in **ton** = **tõ**, **lampe** = **lãpe** (Thus in **non** the second **n** has not the same value as the first) Finally, there is a single sign, **x**, which stands for either **ks**, **gz**, or **s** Inconsistency could no further go

A comparison of this system with that of the Latin consonants shows that they possess in common **b**, **p**, **m**, **f**, **d**, **t**, surd **s**, **n**, **l**, the lingual **r**, **k**, **g**, and **i** (**yod**)

To the Latin **v** corresponds the French consonantal **u** (**w**)

Modern French has lost the Latin aspirate **h**

French has in addition to the Latin sounds the **v**, consonantal **u**, sonant **s**, **l**, **ñ**, **ch**, **j**, and the guttural **r**

The French system has sprung by imperceptible steps from the Latin system We have now to trace the history of this development.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUNDS OF POPULAR LATIN

39 Accent of pitch and accent of intensity in Latin — 40 Rules relating to accent in Latin — 41 The secondary accent — 42 The Latin vowels — 43 Position of vowels in the syllables — 44 The Latin consonants

39 ACCENT OF PITCH AND ACCENT OF INTENSITY IN LATIN — We have first of all to determine the state of the Latin pronunciation at the time of the formation of the Romance languages, and we shall examine in turn both vowels and consonants But before approaching this study we must know what is meant by the **tonic accent**

We have seen above (§ 20) that a sound is constituted by four elements pitch, intensity, duration, and timbre, that differences in timbre produce the various vowels, and that these, taken by themselves, can only offer differences of duration, pitch, and intensity The differences of duration determine the length or shortness of vowels, the differences of pitch and intensity determine two kinds of **accent** the accent of **pitch** and the accent of **intensity**

The **accent of pitch** is obvious in Modern French, for example in the four following sentences 'Pierre a fait **cela** — Pierre a fait **cela**?—Oui, Pierre a fait **cela** — Eh bien, puisqu'il a fait **cela**, il sera puni[1]' In these phrases the syllable **la** in the word **cela** is pronounced alternately **higher** and **lower** The voice is lowered or raised

[1] [Corresponding, though not identical, differences of accent in English are evident in the case of the word *that* in the phrases Peter did *that* Peter did *that*? Yes, Peter did *that* Well, since Peter did *that*, he must be punished]

according to the significance of **cela** in the phrase[1] Thus we see that the accent of pitch plays a part in modern syntax · it is a **syntactic** accent

Now let us take this line of Racine —

Le jour n'est pas plus pur que le fond de mon cœur

All the syllables of this line may be pronounced on the same note and at the same pitch, but a stronger stress will be laid on the words **jour, pur, fond, cœur**, these words are marked by an **accent of intensity**

Latin and Greek possessed an accent of pitch and an accent of intensity The history of the accent of intensity is but little known, and it does not seem to have played a great part in these languages The accent of pitch, on the contrary, was very important in the word, it was this that gave both languages their characteristic singing quality, and made each sentence a melody This constituted indeed, properly speaking, the true **accent**

The Greeks called their accentuation **prosodia** (from **pros**, near, and **ōdē**, song—that is, the song which accompanies the word), the Latin grammarians translated this word **prosodia** literally by **accentus** (from **ad**, near, and **cantus**, song) The **tonic accent** was either **acute** or **grave** or **successively acute** and **grave**, that is to say, it indicated differences of sharpness or pitch in the sound, and was thus essentially a **melodic** accent

Towards the second or third century a revolution took place in popular pronunciation This melodic accent characteristic of Greek and Latin words imperceptibly changed in nature (owing to the action of what circumstances we do not know), the accent remained still on the same vowel, but became an accent of intensity, and

[1] In the simple statement the *a* of *cela* is not emphasized In the interrogative sentence (*Pierre a fait cela ?*) and in the incidental proposition (*puisqu'il a fait cela*) the *a* takes the accent because in both cases the phrase is unfinished, and should be completed either by the answer or by the absolute affirmation (*Pierre a fait cela*)

the accent of intensity previously existing merged with it Hence the modern Greek accent, and that of Romance languages, is an accent of stress and corresponds to a stronger production of vocal sound [1]

We have not here to deal with Greek, in Latin even the most complicated of the rules by which the place of the accent was fixed have been successfully determined

40 RULES RELATING TO ACCENT IN LATIN —Of these rules we need only know those that affected the later destinies of the Latin language Save for a small number of words which bore no accent, because they rested either on the preceding word (**enclitics**) or on the following word (**proclitics**) [2], all Latin words bore an accent of intensity, or *tempus forte*

[1] It is unfortunate that various meanings should have been attributed to the word *accent* by customary usage which obscure the notion properly belonging to it At first it signified a modification of pitch in this sense we say the *tonic accent*, a quite correct expression, since the word *tonic* (from the Greek *tonikos* denotes precisely the differences in the scale The name of *tonic accent* has also been improperly and absurdly given to the accent of intensity or stress For this accent of intensity we should use another word, such as *tempus forte* or *blow* Some use the Latin word *ictus* which also signifies *blow* We shall use by preference, the expression *tempus forte*

The Greeks, as we know, invented various small signs to denote their accents of pitch ´ and ˆ indicated acute sounds (*oxyton*), grave sounds (*baryton*), or sounds both acute and grave (*perispomenon*, rendered in Latin by *circumflexus*) These signs, representing melodic differences, received the name of *accents* In France the grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries borrowed these musical signs and gave them fresh uses, without, unfortunately, changing their names They put the grave accent on the open *e*, the acute on the close *e*, the circumflex accent on certain long vowels In some cases they used these signs merely to distinguish homonyms (*a*, *a* *du*, *dû*, *la*, *là*) Thus it happened that both signs and words which originally indicated differences in pitch were used to indicate differences in timbre, duration, and sense the acme of confusion

[2] The following examples, drawn from French, illustrate the use of *enclitics* and *proclitics* *je* is *enclitic* in *que vois-je ?* and *proclitic* in *je vois* (which is even pronounced *j vois*)

1. In monosyllables the vowel bore the accent **tu̯, no̯s**

2 In dissyllables the first vowel, whether short or long, bore the accent. **fu̯ga, ro̯sa, ve̯rum, he̯rba, fo̯rma, pa̯trem, ma̯trem.**

3 In polysyllables the accent was on the vowel before the last, or penultimate, if the syllable which contained it was long The syllable was long when the vowel was long, as in **virtu̯tem, aedificā̯re**, or when it was followed by two consonants, as in **tempe̯stas, lege̯ntem**

4. If the penultimate syllable of polysyllables was short the accent was borne by the antepenultimate vowel **dŏ́mĭnus, credi̯bĭlis, a̯rbŏrem, fe̯mĭna**

Words accented on the penultimate are called **paroxytons**, and words accented on the antepenultimate are called **proparoxytons**[1] Such were the rules for determining the place of the Latin tonic accent, which was originally an accent of pitch, but became during the Romance period an accent of intensity, or, to speak more correctly, a *tempus forte*

41 THE SECONDARY ACCENT —In the popular Latin of Gaul (we do not affirm what follows with regard to that of Italy or Spain), besides the tonic accent we have just dealt with, there was a secondary and weaker accent, borne by every second of the other syllables (when this was possible), going back from the tonic accent Thus **bonita̯tem** was pronounced by laying a stress on **bo**, and a stronger one on **ta**, **ni** and tem were pronounced weakly In the same way were pronounced words like **aedi-fica̯-re, niti-dita̯-tem, calam-ita̯-tibus**, &c , the pronunciation being governed by a **binary** rhythm

The principal accent is called the **primary accent**, the other the **secondary accent**

[1] These terms come from Greek grammar Greek polysyllables had the acute or tonic accent either on the antepenultimate (*proparoxytons*), on the penultimate (*paroxytons*), or (what is almost unknown in Latin) on the last syllable (*oxytons*)

Vowels which did not bear the **primary accent** are called **atonic** or **unaccented**, but of these some were only **atonic** relatively to the first accent, the others were absolutely atonic, taking neither the first nor the second accent

42 THE LATIN VOWELS.—Classical Latin had five vowels, which were either long or short **ā, ă, ē, ĕ, ī, ĭ, ō, ŏ, ū, ŭ** It had also a vowel derived from Greek, called Greek **u**, noted by the letter **y**, it was pronounced like the French **u**, that is to say **u** Lastly there were (in the first century of the Christian era) three diphthongs **ae, oe, au**

During the Empire the Latin vowel system was disturbed and underwent change Distinctions of **quantity** gave way to distinctions of **timbre**, and the **ten** vowels of Classical Latin were reduced to **seven** vowels of a new character

The ā, ă	of Classical Latin	became open	**à**
ĕ	,,	,,	became open **è**
ē, ĭ	,,	,,	became close **é**
ī	,,	,,	remained **i**
ŏ	,,	,,	became open **ò**
ō, ŭ	,,	,,	became close **ó**
ū	,,	,,	remained **u**

Moreover the Greek **u** (**y**), with the sound of **u** intermediate between the **u** and **i**, was unable to maintain itself in popular usage, which assigned to it the sound either of **u** or of **i** And, according as it was long or short, it was transformed as follows

ȳ was transformed into **ū**, or **ī**, and hence into **u**, or **i**
y̆ ,, ,, **ŭ**, or **ĭ**, ,, **ó**, or **é**

Lastly, the diphthong **ae** became open **è**, and the diph-

thong **oe** became in different cases either close or open **e**. There only remained the diphthong **au**, which in certain words was reduced to **ó**, but was preserved unaltered in most

Thus the different Latin vowels and diphthongs were reduced to the vowel sounds **à, è, é, ı, ò, ó, u**, and the diphthong **au** Popular Latin in Gaul produced a new modification of the **u** (which corresponded to the **ū** long of Classical Latin), it changed it into **u**, thus restoring the sound of the **y**, which Latin had borrowed from Greek, and had hastened to change into **u** or **ı** This sound of **u**, changed from **u**, no doubt under Gaulish influence, prevailed throughout the territory of the Celtic populations (Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul) Hence the sound of **ú**, which in French, Provençal, Piedmontese, &c , is heard where in the same words the Italians, Portuguese, and Roumanians pronounce **u** Cf **vırtūtem** Ital *virtù*, Span *virtud*, Fr *vertu* (pronounced *vertü*)

43. POSITION OF THE VOWELS IN THE SYLLABLES —The fate of vowels differed according to their position in the syllable, being originally either **free** or **stopped**

Vowels are called **free** when they are not followed by any consonant, or followed by one only , e g **ū** in **tū, ō** in **nōs** They are called **stopped**[1] when followed by two con sonants , e g **ĕ** in **sĕlla, ŏ** in **dŏrmit, ā** in **āctum, ū** in **fūstem**

If the second consonant in Latin was an **r**, the vowel was not stopped, unless the first was also an **r** thus **mātrem** was pronounced not **mat-rem**, but **ma-trem**, and the **ā** was free , but **fĕrrum** was pronounced **fer-rum**, and the **ĕ** was stopped

44 THE LATIN CONSONANTS —Classical Latin had six teen consonants **B, P , D, T , G, C (K, Q), I , V , F ,**

[1] [The French expression is *voyelles entravées* , Professor Max Müller uses the term *stopped*, employed here , P Toynbee prefers the term *blocked vowels*]

s, **z**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, **h** To these must be added the groups of Greek origin, **ph**, **th**, **ch**

The consonants **b**, **p**, **d**, **t**, **f**, **l**, and **m**, are equivalent to those in French, and **c** and **g** are equivalent to the **c** in **corps** and the **g** in **gloire**

v had the sound of **w** (= consonantal **u**)

s was always surd, **z** was equivalent to **ds** (with the **s** sonant), the **i** was the **yod**, or **y** in the English *yes* There were two **n**'s, one identical with that in French (nasal **d**, i e **d̃**), the other guttural, produced at the back of the palate, and heard before **c** or **g** **ancora**, **angor** The **r** was the rolled **r**

During the Empire the **h** aspirate disappeared, and during the Romanic period was no longer used in popular pronunciation, hence **ch** was reduced to **c**, **th** to **t** The **ph** was similarly reduced to **p**, except in some words where it had acquired a special sound which led up to **f** in the Romanic period

The guttural **n** also merged into the dental **n** Such was the starting-point of the new system of consonants

CHAPTER IV

PRONUNCIATION OF POPULAR LATIN IN GAUL

(FROM THE FIFTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY)

45 General characteristics —46 Loss of the penultimate atonic between consonants —47 Loss of the final atonic vowels except *a* —48 The counter final atonic vowel — 49 Accented vowels —50 Stopped accented vowels —51 Free accented vowels —52 The diphthong *au* —53 Disturbing consonants —54 Disturbing action of the palatals — 55 Disturbing action of the nasals —56 Disturbing action of *l* —57 Atonic vowels either in counter-tonic or

initial syllables or in monosyllabic words —58 Action of the palatals on these atonics —59 Alternate incidence and non-incidence of the *tempus forte* on a given vowel, in conjugation, &c —60 Hiatus —61 The Latin consonants —62 Simple initial consonants —63 Simple medial consonants —64 Simple final consonants —65 Gallo-Romanic consonant-groups —66 Double consonants —67 Initial consonant-groups —68 Medial groups —69 Final groups —70 Palatals —71 Initial *c* before *l*, *r*, *o*, or *u* —72 Initial *c* before *e* or *i* —73 Initial *c* before *a* —74 Medial simple *c* —75 Final simple *c* —76 Double *c* and *c* in a consonant-group —77 *Ti* in hiatus —78 *C* before *e* or *i* in hiatus —79 *Q* —80 *G* —81 Consonantal *i* or *yod* —82 *H* aspirate —83 Euphonic modifications of consonants —84 Historical summary, state of the pronunciation in the tenth century —85 The vowels —86 The diphthongs and triphthongs —87 The consonants

45 General characteristics —The period in question was the most prolific of all in changes Sounds, both vowel-sounds and consonant-sounds, changed so rapidly that at the end of four or five centuries the words had totally changed in appearance, and we find ourselves in the presence of a new language It was during this period that the most important features of French pronunciation were established, and the changes that Latin then sustained give the key to most of the later changes

Atonic vowels either disappeared altogether or became weaker, accented vowels, under the action of the *tempus forte*, lengthened if they were short, and in most cases became diphthongs or were transformed Consonant-groups were simplified, simple consonants became weaker when they were placed between two vowels, the urgent need felt for euphony led to the suppression of any harshness that might have existed in the Latin system of consonants, and to that of the new jarring produced by the disappearance of certain vowels

We shall commence our study with the vowels, beginning with final vowels, and going back to accented and pre tonic vowels

Section I —*History of the Vowels*

I Final Atonic Vowels

46 Loss of the penultimate atonic vowel between two consonants —In **proparoxytons** (words accentuated on the antepenultimate vowel) the penultimate atonic when it was placed between two consonants began to disappear as early as the first centuries of the Empire

mo̩bĭlem	became	*moblem*
ta̩bŭla	,,	*tabla*
sta̩bŭlum	,,	*stablum*
mira̩cŭlum	,,	*miraclum*
ba̩cŭlum	,,	*baclum*
do̩mĭnum	,,	*domnum*

Certain Latin grammarians condemn the vulgar pronunciations **tabla, stablum, tri̩bla** (for **tri̩bŭla**), **speclum** (for **spe̩cŭlum**), **masclus** (for **ma̩scŭlus**), **artıclus** (for **arti̩cŭlus**), **anglus** (for **a̩ngŭlus**), **calda** (for **ca̩lĭda**), **vırdıs** (for **vi̩rĭdis**), &c We find in inscriptions, manuscripts, and here and there in classical texts, a great number of examples of this loss of the penultimate atonic vowel placed between two consonants [1]

In no other Romance country was this loss so general and complete as in northern Gaul [2] This important consequence was the result that sooner or later **all words of northern Gallo-Romanic that were not monosyllabic had the accent on the penultimate,** since some were already paroxytons in Latin (**ro̩sa, mu̩rum, labō̩rem, ari̩sta, canta̩re**), and that the others, from being proparoxy-

[1] M Hugo Schuchardt has collected many of them in his *Vokalismus des Vulgarlatein*s, II pp 402 416

[2] The exceptions to this rule are too few and unimportant, so far as French is concerned, to call for further attention in an elementary work

tons, became paroxytons (**tạbŭla, tabla , vịrĭdem, vérdem , mĭrạculum, miraclum , concrẹdĕre, concredre**) [1]

47 Loss of atonic finals, except **A** —Towards the seventh or the eighth century a new reduction took place

All atonic finals dropped, except A, which survived in the form of the E feminine If the resulting word ended with a group of consonants which was too difficult to pronounce, an E feminine was added as a 'supporting vowel' (*voyelle d'appui*)

Thus	cantạtum	became	*chantet, chanté*
	cantạtos	,,	*chantez* (pron *chantet-s*)
	grạndem	,,	*grant*
	grạndes	,,	*granz* (pron *grant-s*)
	vọnit	,,	*vien-t*
	bọnos	,,	*bon-s*
	mạnum	,,	*main*
	mạnus	,,	*main-s*
But	rọsa	,,	*rose*
	rọsas	,,	*roses*
	cạntat	,,	*chantet, chante*
	cạntant	,,	*chantent*
	pạtrem	,,	*pedre, pere*
	tẹnĕrum	,,	*tendre*
	sŏmnum	,,	*somme*
	ịntro	,,	[*j'*]*entre*

This loss or weakening of the final vowel appears to have been completed in the ninth century, as we see by the text of the *Oaths of Strasburg* There we find, firstly, the words *amur, christian, commun, salvament, ist, di, avant, quant, savir, podir, cist, om, dreit, salvar, dift, nul, part, plaid,* &c —all words having lost their atonic final vowels, secondly, the words *audha, cadhuna, cosa,*

[1] If the penultimate comes into contact either with the accented vowel (*lạĭcus*) or with the final atonic (*rọseus*) there is a *hiatus* see § 60)

nulla, conservat, contra, in which the Latin final **a** has survived in the form of **a**, thirdly, and finally, *poblo, nostro, fradre, altre, sendra, Karle, Karlus, Karlo,* in which the letters **o, u, a, e,** are indiscriminately used in the final syllable to represent this **e** feminine, which supports a group of preceding consonants

From this loss there resulted another consequence of capital importance **The accented syllable of the Latin word** (whether paroxyton or proparoxyton) **became the last sounded syllable in French words**[1] All words of popular formation ended thus with a *tempus forte,* or with a syllable containing the **e** feminine and preceded by the *tempus forte,* e g *douloureux, douloureuse*

This characteristic was so marked that it impressed itself on all later words, whether of popular or learned formation, or borrowed from other languages These were all made to bear the accent on the last syllable Thus the trait became indelibly stamped on the French language

The other Romance languages did not drop the atonic syllable, final or penultimate, so constantly, but in all we find that the same syllable bears the *tempus forte*

Latin	par-ĭ-cŭlum	f-ē-mĭna	a-rbŏrem	ŏ-cŭlum
Italian	*par-e cchio,*	*f e mmina,*	*a-lbero*	*o-cchio*
Spanish	*par e-jo*	*h-e-mbra*	*a rbol*	*o-jo*
French	*par-e-il*	*f e-mme*	*a rbre*	*œ il*

[1] The following form apparent exceptions

(*a*) Paroxyton words in which the accented vowel formed a hiatus with a final atonic vowel and this, instead of being dropped out, combined with it to form a diphthong, e g *Dĕ um* gave *Deu* or *Dieu,* which forms one syllable, and *Hebrĕe-um* gave *ebreu* or *ebrieu,* which forms two syllables

(*b*) Paroxyton words in which a consonant separating the accented vowel from the final atonic had dropped out in earlier times, so that this case is reduced to the preceding one Thus we have *vădo,* Pop Lat *vao,* hence *vo,* which is found in the O F *vois* (je vais), *gĭgĕum, grieu, jŭgum, jou, lĭpum, lou, pauĕum pou,* &c – For *lŏcum fŏcum, jŏcum,* Pop Lat *lo u, fo u, jo u,* see p 96, Note 2

It is only in words of learned formation that it is possible to find the Latin accent and the later accent falling differently

48 COUNTER FINAL ATONIC VOWEL.—The syllable which bears the secondary accent is called the **counter-tonic**, and the atonic which follows is called the **counter-final**, because one corresponds to the tonic and the other to the final

The laws which regulated the destiny of the final apply in the same way to the counter-final, that is to say, all counter-final atonics were regularly dropped, except **a**, short or long, which became **e** feminine, when the counter-final supported a group of consonants difficult to pronounce, the **e** feminine served as a 'supporting vowel' (*voyelle d'appui*[1])

Examples of the loss of the counter-final atonics **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**

ĕ	**cerĕ-vĭsia**	*cer voise*
ē	***vervē-cārium**	*ber-gier, berger*
ĭ	**bonĭ-tātem**	*bon-tet, bonte*
ī	**dormī-tōrium**	*dor-toir*
ŏ	**collŏ cāre**	*col-chier, couchier, coucher*
ō	**Victō-riācum**	*Vit-ry*
ŭ	***miscŭ-lāre**	*mes-ler, mêler*
ū	**adjū-tāre**	*ai dier, aider*

But **a** remains in the form of **e** in

***sina-pātum**	*sene ve*
Ala-mannia	*Ale-magne*
***tropa-tōrem**	*trove-or* (*trouveur*)
canta-tōrem	*chante or* (*chanteur*)
sacra-mentum	*saire-ment, serement* (later *serment*)

Other vowels than **a** remain for the support of a group of consonants in

[1] [This is known to Romance scholars as Darmesteter's law.]

pere-grı̣num	*pele-rin*[1]
quadrı-fu̇rcum	*carre-four*
petrŏ-selı̣num	*perre-sil* (*persil*)
latrō-cı̣nium	*larre-cin* (*larcin*)

Thus the secondary accent and primary accent had each the same effect on the following atonic.

The weakening of the final and counter-final vowels led to the rise of a new vowel, the **e** feminine, destined to play so important a part in the history of French pronunciation. This vowel was pronounced as it is still pronounced in the monosyllables *me, te, se, je, te, que*, or after a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel, as in *quatr-e personnes*.

The loss of the final or of the counter-final vowel involved a reduction and a fresh contraction of the words, by which new groups of consonants were formed, and these the language hastened to reduce.

II. Accented Vowels

48. ACCENTED VOWELS.—The fate of accented vowels was different according as they were **free** or **stopped** (§ 43).

Free vowels under the action of the *tempus forte* were lengthened (if they were originally short) and became, with two exceptions, diphthongs, which in certain cases were further transformed into new vowels. Stopped vowels, on the contrary, were preserved by the stop, and remained, as a rule, unchanged.

In most cases the stop already existed in Classical Latin. In some cases it was of more recent origin, and was caused by the loss of the penultimate atonic in proparoxytons, e. g. **vı̣ridem vér-dem, sa̤p-idum sap dum**. In this case the stop prevented the transformation of the vowel, if

[1] On account of the group *l gr*.

[2] See A. Darmesteter, *La prononique, non initiale, non en position*, in the *Reliques Scientifiques*, II. p. 95 et seq.

this had not yet commenced, but was unable to check it if it had once begun Thus **mẹ̆rulum** gave **mèr-lum**, *merle*, but **tẹ̆pidum** gave **tiẹ̀p dum**, *tiede*

50 STOPPED ACCENTED VOWELS —During the period in question these were preserved exactly as they had existed in Latin Thus we have

à :	**ạrbŏrem**	*arbre*
	pạrtem	*part*
	mạsculum	*masle, mâle*
	cantạt (for **cantāvit**)	*chantat, chanta*
	ạt (for **hạbet**)	*at, a*
è	**hẹ̆rba**	*erbe* (*herbe*)
	tẹ̆rra	*terre*
	pẹ̆rtica	*perche*
	pẹ̆rdita	*perte*
é ·	**dẹ̣bita, déb-ta**	*dete* (*dette*)
	mẹ̣ssa	*messe*
	epẹ̣scopum	*evesque*[1]
ı .	**mı̣lle**	*mil*
	quı̣ntum	*quint*
o :	**pọ̆rta**	*porte*
	mọ̆rtem	*mort*
ó .	**ọ̄rdinem**	*orne*
	fọ̄rma	*forme*
	tọ̆rrem	*tor* (*tour*)
	diọ̆rnum	*jorn* (*jour*)
u :	**fụ̄stem**	*fust, fût*
	nụ̆llum	*nul*
	***de-ụ̄sque**	*jusque*

51 FREE ACCENTED VOWELS —I The ī and ū of Clas-

[1] The close *e* (Lat *ē* or *ĭ*) became *ı* under the influence of a long final atonic *ı* *illī*, il (sing and plural , cf § 197) , *fē̆ī*, fis , *fecı̄stī*, fesist

sical Latin, which were the ĭ and ŭ of Gallo-Romanic, suffered no change

fi̯lĭa	*fille*
di̯cere	*dire*
ri̯dĕre (for **rīde̯re**)	*rire*
virtu̯tem	*vertut, vertu*
tu̯	*tu*
pu̯rum	*pur*

2. The ē and the o (the ĕ, æ, ŏ of Classical Latin) were the first vowels to undergo change; even before the seventh century they had become ie and uò[1]

mĕ̯l	*miel*
bĕ̯ne	*bien*
vĕ̯nit	*vient*
que̯rit	*quiert*
nŏ̯vum	*nuof* (neuf)
nŏ̯vem	*nuof* (neuf)
bŏ̯vem	*buof* (bœuf)
sŏ̯ror	*suor* (sœur)
o̯vum (for **ŏvum**)	*uof* (œuf)

When followed by a nasal, o in some cases was not changed into a diphthong and remained o, but became a little later ó, and then ō e g **bŏ̯num**, *bon*, **hŏ̯mo**, *om*[2]

3. Between the seventh and the ninth century the é and ó (the Latin ē and ĭ, ō, and ŭ) were modified in

[1] We have the following exceptions *re̯sa, rosa—rose, sco̯la, scola—escole*, and some other facts still unexplained

[2] Note the words *fo̯cum, jo̯cum locum* now *feu, jeu, lieu* in the *Sequence de Ste Eulalie* we find *fou* We can explain these forms as follows the *c* dropped very early, and through *o* becoming a diphthong the words became *fuou, juou, luou* The triphthongs were then reduced, by the loss or change of the first vowel, to *fou* (here the labial *u* dropped because it followed the labial *f*), *jou*, and *lou*, from which resulted *feu, jeu* (afterwards *jeu*, see § 95 1 and *lieu* In mediaeval texts the reduced forms *fu, ju, lu*, are also to be found

their turn and became diphthongs **é** became **éi**, and **ó** became **óu** Later on, **éi** developed into **òi** (§ 93), and **óu** into the vowel **eu** passing through the intermediate **ó** (§ 94)

mẹ, tẹ, sẹ	*mei, tei, sei, moi, toi, soi*
stẹ́la (for **stella**)	*esteile, estoile, etoile*
crẹdĕre	*creidre, creire, croire*
pọena, péna	*peine*
fịdem	*feit, foi*
pịlum	*peil, poil*
pịsum	*peis, pois*
frég-dum (for **frịgịdum**)	*freit, froid*
flọ̄rem	*flour, fleur*
gụ̈la	*goule, gueule*
Suffix **-ọ̄sum**	*-ous* (e g *corroçous*, in the fragment of Valenciennes, tenth century)
Suffix **-ọ̄rem**	*-our* (e g *bellezour*, in the *Sequence de Ste Eulalie*, tenth century)

4 About the same time, or perhaps a little later, free **à** became **e**.

spặtha	*spede* [Eulalie], *espee*
praesentạ̄ta	*presentede* (ib), *presentee*
mặre	*mer*
pặtrem	*pedre, pere*
sặtis	(*as*)*sez*
fāba	*feve*
altạ̄re	*altet, autel*

It was then that the termination of the infinitives in **-āre** became **-er**, and that of the participles in **-ạ̄tum, -ạ̄ta, ạ̄tos, -ạ̄tās**, became *-et, -ede -ez* (later *e, -ee, es, -ees*).

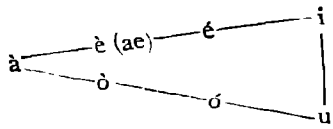
If we ask what was the pronunciation of this **e** in the ninth, tenth, and even in the following centuries, it is difficult to reply It seems to have been open, but it was different from the open **è** which is the outcome of stopped **ĕ** or **ae** We never find in the Middle Ages a word such as **ostel** (from the adjective **hospĭtālem**) rhyming with such a word as **chastèl** (from **castĕllum**) And yet under the action of a preceding palatal the free **a** developed into the diphthong **ie** (§ 54), just as did the free **è** spontaneously The classical forms **Dĕum, Hebrāeum, ĕrat, ĕrit**, which in Popular Latin were **Dèu, Ebrèu, èrat, èrit**, had the **e** transformed in the Central French dialects into the diphthong **iè**, in the others, not, and the **e** when not so transformed, which was evidently an open **è**, was assonant, or rhymed, with the **e** derived from the **a** **chantez** and **Deu, èrt**, form perfect assonances The two diphthongs **iè**, derived respectively from **à** and from **è**, can also form assonances in the most correct and regular way

52 THE DIPHTHONG **AU** —In certain Latin words **au** had become close **ó**, thus the proper names **Clāudius, Plāutius**, had already become **Clŏdius, Plŏtius**, under the Republic Similarly we find, instead of **cauda**, the form **cŏda**, which before the tenth century became *coude*, later on *cue*, then *keue* or *queue* But in most words the **au** was preserved It was only towards the seventh or eighth century that in Northern Gallo-Romanic it was changed into open **ò**[1]

aurum	*or*
taurum	O F *tor* (taureau)
laurum	O F *lor* (laurier)
pauperem, pauperum	*povre* (now *pauvre*)

[1] *Au* to become *ò* must have passed through the intermediate sound *ao* This suggested the derivation of the adverbs *ore, ores* (now *or*), either (1) from a Latin form *ad hōram* (meaning 'at this hour,' 'now'), through the intermediate forms *adora, aora*, or else (2) from *ha(c) hŏra*, while the substantive *hŏra* became *ore, oure, eure* (heure)

53 DISTURBING CONSONANTS.—These modifications of free accented vowels are, as we see, of remarkable regularity. Let us now refer to the vowel triangle of § 23, and let us arrange the Latin vowels on this model.



We have seen that free accented **è** and **ò** developed into diphthongs formed by placing the two final vowels of the series (**i** and **u**) before the original vowel, so that **è** became **iè**, **ò** became **uò**. **É** and **ó** also, we saw, developed into diphthongs, formed by placing the vowels **i** and **u** after these vowels, **é** becoming **éi**, and **ó** becoming **óu**. In the second period we shall see that **éi** developed into **òi**, while on the other hand **óu** shared the fate of the diphthong **èu** (§ 94).

But this regularity in the transformations of the Gallo-Romanic vowel system was disturbed from the first period by the proximity of certain consonants, viz. the palatals, the nasals, and the liquid, **l**. The palatals and nasals exerted an action from earliest times of the period, the **l** only towards its end.

54 DISTURBING ACTION OF THE PALATALS.—By the term *palatals* we mean consonants or consonant-groups capable of evolving a **y**, which combined with a preceding or following vowel to form a diphthong. These are:

(i) consonantal **i** (**jacet**, **januarium**),

(ii) **ĕ** and **ĭ**, atonic, in hiatus (**-arium**, **palea**, **vinea**, **prĕtium**), which became **y** according to § 60, and

(iii) the consonants **c** (**q**, **x** = **cs**) and **g** (**facere**, **equa**, **laxare**, **legere**).

I. Action of the palatals on A —The **a** might be either preceded or followed, or preceded and followed, by a palatal

(*a*) Preceded by a palatal, free **a** became not e (cf § 51, 4) but iè, and that from the earliest period in its transformation

cạpum (for **caput**)	*chief* (*chef*)
mercạtum	*marchiet* (*marche*)
collocạre	*colchier, couchier*
cochleare	*cuillier*
manducạre	*mangier*
calcĕạre	*chalcier, chaucier* (*chausser*)
plĭcạre	*pleier* (now *plier*)
nĕgạre	*neier* (now *nier*)
christiạnum	*chrestien* [Eulalie]
pretiare	*preisier* (now *prisier*)
consĭlĭạre	*conseillier*
***balneạre**	*baignier*
***araneạta**	*araignie*
laxạre	*laissier*
cogitạre	*cuidier*
adjutạre	*aidier*
***impejorạre**	*empirier*

(*b*) Followed by a palatal, **a**, whether free or stopped, became **ai** **fạcère**, *faire*, **tạcet**, *taist*, **plạcet**, *plaist*, **factum**, *fait*, **mạcrum**, *maigre*, **ạcrem**, **ạcrum**, *aigre*, **ạquila**, *aigle*, **vạrium**, *vair*, **pạria**, *paire*

(*c*) When both preceded and followed by a palatal, **a** should have given the triphthong iai or ièi, but this was immediately reduced by the loss of the medial vowel, and the two i's combined into one **jacet** (*jeist*) *gist*, **jạctat** (*jeite*) *gite* The suffix of place-names **-iạcum** developed into *-iei*, *-i* (spelt *y*) **Latiniạcum** (*Latniei*) *Lagny*, **Victoriạcum** (*Victriei*) *Vitry*

(*d*) No satisfactory explanation has been given of the fact that in polysyllables the suffixes **-arium**, **-aria**, whether

preceded or not by a palatal, became *-ier, -iere*, instead of **-air, -aire**, according to (*b*) above, or **-ir, -ire**, according to (*c*) Thus **primarium, primaria**, gave *premier, premiere*, **viridiarium**, *vergier* (*verger*)

II Action of the palatals on **È** and **Ò** —These vowels when followed by a palatal, whether free or stopped, through the transformation of the vowel (which always behaved as if free) into a diphthong, and the change of the palatal into **yod**, led to the triphthongs **ièi** and **uòi**, and then by the loss of the medial vowel these were immediately reduced, the one to the diphthong **ii**, and hence to the simple vowel **i**, the other to the diphthong **ui**

lĕgĕre	(*lieire*)	*lire*
lĕctum	(*lieit*)	*lit*
dĕcem	(*dieis*)	*dis*
ĕqua	(*ieive*)	O F *ive*
pŏdium	(*puoy*)	*pui* (puy)
mŏdium	(*muoy*)	*mui* (muid)
ŏcto	(*uoit*)	*uit* (huit)
nŏctem	(*nuoit*)	*nuit*

III Action of the palatals on AU —When followed by a palatal, **au** developed into **òi**

audio	*oi*
nausea	*nòise*

IV Action of the palatals on É —When preceded by a palatal, **é** developed into **i** (and not into **éi**), doubtless by way of an intermediate triphthong **iéi**

pagēnsem, pagésem	*pais* (pays)
mercēdem	*merci*
racēmum	*raisin*
placēre	*plaisir*

When followed by a palatal, it developed, like the free **é**, though no doubt at an earlier date, into **éi**

tẹctum	*teit, tout*
d(ı)rẹctum	*dreit, drout*

V Action of the palatals on I —When followed by a palatal the ı remained an ı e g. **dịcere**, *dire*, **amịca**, *amie*, perhaps there was a short time when the pronunciation of these words was *diyre, amiye*

VI Action of the palatals on Ó and U —These should yield, according to the rule, the former **óuı**, and from this **óı**, the second **uı** and these changes actually occurred

vṍcem	*voiz* (voix)
crṵcem	*croiz* (croix)
frṵctum	*fruit*[1]

55 Disturbing action of the nasals —From the first period the nasals **m** and **n** began to act on the **ò**, so as to prevent its transformation into the diphthong **uo** (§ 51, 2), and changed it into closed **ó** It also acted on the free **a**, which, instead of becoming **e**, according to the general rule (§ 51, 4), led to **ae** or **aı**

mạnet	*maent* [Eulalie], *maint*
fạmem	*faim*
exạmen	*essaim*
mạnum	*main*
romạnum	*romain*
romạna	*romaine*

The nasals exerted no action when the **e** was preceded by a palatal

christianum	*chrestuen* [Eulalie]
pagạnum	*paiien, pagiien* (1b)
cạnem	*chien*

56 Disturbing action of **L** —From the earliest times

[1] The *ŭ* followed immediately by an *ı* in Latin developed into *u* or *ui*, e g *cụı*, O F *cuı*, *fụı*, *fụısh*, *fụıt*, &c , O F *fu*, *fus*, *fut*, or *fui*, *fuis fuit*, &c

the language hesitated to change the free **a** before an **l** into **e**. On the one hand we find

mortạlem	*mortel*
tạlem	*tel*

but on the other

mạlum	*mal*
cạlet	*chalt, chaut*
vạlet	*valt, vaut*

In the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie* the two opposed forms, *mals*, from **mạlos**, and *regïels*, from **regạles**, occur

From this hesitation resulted the twofold suffix *-al* and *el*, e g *accident-el* and *phenomen-al*

III Atonic Vowels either in Counter-tonic or Initial Syllables, or in Monosyllabic Words

57 ATONIC VOWELS EITHER IN COUNTER-TONIC OR INITIAL SYLLABLES, OR IN MONOSYLLABIC WORDS.—These atonic vowels were preserved, they escaped the elision which was the fate of the finals and counter-finals In some cases they retained their original sound, in others, and more frequently, they were weakened the vowels **a**, **è**, **é**, **ı** were in that case converted into **e** feminine, the vowels **ò**, **ó**, **u** into close **ó** (later **u**, written **ou**)

A was preserved in some cases unchanged:

matutı̣num	*matin*
amạrum	*amer*
partı̣re (for **partı̣rı**)	*partir*
jam	*ja* (*dcja*)
ad	*ad, a*
illạc (**il**)**lac**	*la*
illa, (il)la	*la*
mea, ma	*ma*
tua, ta	*ta*
sua, sa	*sa*

A was in some cases changed into **e** feminine

cabạllum	*cheval*
canạlem	*chenal*
camịnum	*chemin*
granạrium	*grenier*
capịstrum	*chevestre*

È (the Latin **ĕ**) and **é** (the Latin **ē**, **ī**), when stopped, remained unchanged

vĕrbẹna	*verveine*
fĕstụcum (for **fĕstụca**)	*festu* (now *fetu*)
póscạre (for **pĭscạri**)	*peschier, pêcher*
lĭtteratum	*letret, lettre*

When free, **e** (the Latin **ĕ**) and **é** (the Latin **ē** or **ī**) weakened into the **e** feminine

fĕnẹstra	*fenestre, fenêtre*
sĕdẹre	*sedeir, seoir*
vĕnịre	*venir*
pĕrịculum	*peril* (now *peril*)
dēbẹre	*devoir*
démorạre (for **dēmorạri**)	*demeurer*
fēcịstis	O F *fesistes*
vidẹre	*vedeir, veoir* (*voir*)

Sometimes this **e** feminine passed into an **a**, but possibly this was at a later period[1]

pĕr	*par*
***fĕrọsticum**	*farosche, farouche*
pigrịtia	*perece, paresse*

I (the Latin **ī**), whether atonic or accented, was preserved

mīrạri, mirạre	*mirer*
mīllịarium	*milher*

[1] *Mercatum* had already become *marcatum* (*marchiet, marche*) in Merovingian texts

But ĭ became **e** before a labial, or when followed by another **i**

prīmą̆rium	*premier*
di-mę̆dium (for **dīmi̯dium**)	*demi*
fīni̯re	*fenir* (now *finir*)
dīvi̯num	*devin*
vīci̯num	*ve-isin, voisin*
miribi̯lia (for **mīrabi̯lia**)	*merveille*

Ò and **ó** when stopped remained unchanged

mŏrtą̆lem	*mortel*
hŏspitą̆lem	*òstel* (*hôtel*)
tórnąre	*torner, tourner*
***fōrmą̆ticum**	*fórmage* (now *fromage*)

When free **ó** remained unchanged, **ò** developed, perhaps in the earliest times, into close **o**

mŏvę̆re	*moveir, mouvoir*
cŏrǫna	*corone, couronne*
dŏlǫrem	*dolor, douleur*
cōlą̆re	*coler, couler*
sōlą̆cium	*solaz, soulas*

Ū (the Latin **ū**) either remained **u**, or was, in certain cases, treated like the close **ó**

***fūstę̆ta**	*fusteide, futaie*
***ad-lūminą̆re**	*allumer*
frūmę̆ntum	*froment*

AU became as a general rule close **ó**, but it had been reduced at an early period to **a** when it preceded an accented **u**

audi̯re	*oir, ouir*
laudą̆re	*loer, louer*
augŭrium, agŭrium	*aur* or *eur* (now heur)
augŭstum, agóstum	*aost, aoust, août*

58 ACTION OF THE PALATALS ON THESE ATONICS.—We have just given the most general rules which govern the preserved atonic vowels[1] We have now to consider the disturbing action of the palatals on vowels of this class In the cases under consideration the palatal only exerts an action when placed after the vowel, in which case it forms with it a diphthong whose second constituent is a yod or consonantal i[2]

tractatum	*traitiet, traite*
laxare	*laissier*
sĕnĭorem	*seigneur*
vectura	*veiture, voiture*
cinctura	*ceinture*
cocina (for **cŏquĭna**)	*cuisine*
pōtĭonem	*poison*
ŭxorem	O.F *oissor*
fūsĭonem	*foison*
mūcēre	*moisir*

The nasals, during the period under consideration, exerted no obvious action on atonic vowels

IV Law of Alternate Incidence and Non-incidence of the *tempus forte* on a given vowel

59 ALTERNATE INCIDENCE AND NON INCIDENCE OF THE TEMPUS FORTE ON A GIVEN VOWEL, IN CONJUGATION, &c.—The particular transformation of the vowels depended on whether they were accented or not Now, it often happens that we find the same vowel bearing the *tempus forte* in

[1] With regard to details we should have many observations to make we can only give here the most general facts

[2] When the palatal was a *c* it was sometimes lost without changing into *yod* (§ 76), in this case no diphthong was formed Thus we find *fluctuare*, *fluttare*, flotter, *directiare*, *d(i)rectiare*, drecier, dresser (§ 77)

[3] The combinations of *e, e, o, o, u*, when atonic, with the palatal *yod*, are not as regular as those of the same vowels accented We can only state the facts in this case without trying to explain them

one of two allied forms, and atonic in the other This alternation between the accented form and the atonic form is frequent in French conjugation and derivation

The further we go back in the history of the language the more clearly we perceive the occurrence of this regular phonetic alternation, of which the present French conjugation still retains some traces

We have in the Old French conjugation

a	ą̣mas	(*tu*) *aimes*
	amą̣ntem	*amant*
è	tę̣nes	(*tu*) *tiens*
	tĕnętis	(*vos*) *teneiz, tenoiz*
é (ē)	dę̣bes	(*tu*) *deis, dois*
	dēbę̣tis	(*vos*) *deveiz, devoiz*
é (ĭ)	mị̆nas	(*tu*) *meines*
	mĭnątis	(*vos*) *menez*
ò	prọ̆bas	(*tu*) *pruoves* (*preuves*)
	prŏbą̣tis	(*vos*) *provez, prouvez*
ó	plọ̆ras	(*tu*) *ploures, pleures*
	plōrą̣tis	(*vos*) *plorez, plourez*

Comparing original forms with their derivatives, we find

a	mą̆re	*mer*
	marị̆num	*marin*
è	pę̆tra	*pierre*
	pĕtrǫnem	*perron*
é (ē)	sę̄rum	*seir, soir*
	*sérata	*seree* (now *soiree*)
é (ĭ)	mị̆nus	*meins, moins*
	mĭnụtum	*menu*
ò	nǫ̆vum	*nuof* (*neuf*)
	nŏvęlla	*novelle, nouvelle*
ó	dolǭrem	*dolour, douleur*
	dolōrǫsum	*dolorous, douloureux*

Or take the suffix -ą̣rium, which became ier (§ 54, I *d*),

if we combine this with the accented suffix **-ia**, the French **ie**, the **a** of **arium** becomes atonic and changes into **e** feminine:

$$\begin{cases} \textbf{caball ạrium} & \textit{cheval ier} \\ \textbf{'caballar-ịa} & \textit{cheval-er ie} \end{cases}$$

Most of the words formed by derivation illustrate the application of these laws Words of primitive formation conform regularly to them Words of subsequent formation sometimes offer exceptions The Latin **tēla** gave *teile*, later *toile*, and the French word *toile* in its turn gave *toilette* If *toilette* had belonged to the primitive formation, it would have had the form **telette** *Chaleureux* and *valeureux* are modern if they had been of ancient formation they would have had the forms **chaloureux, valoureux** *Piece* has recently given rise to *rapiecer*, whilst **dépecer** belongs to an earlier epoch of the language.

V Hiatus

60 Hiatus — The meeting of two consecutive vowels in a word is called a **Hiatus** Latin had a great number of hiatuses

ea	**eo**	**ei**	**eo**	**eu**
ia	**ie**	**ii**	**io**	**iu**
ua	**ue**	**ui**	**uo**	**uu**

Northern Gallo-Romanic was unable to preserve these vowel-contacts, and they were transformed in various ways

In Popular Latin, towards the end of the Empire, these hiatuses had already been simplified by the regular transformation of the atonic **ĕ** and **ĭ** into consonantal **i** or **yod** Thus

[1] [The addition of the accented suffix *-ia* to the form *caballarium* involved the loss of the element *ium*, according to the usual rule in Latin derivation]

vi̯nĕa	had become	*vinya*
pa̯lĕa	,,	*palya*
***balnĕa̯re**	,,	*balnyare*
fi̯lĭum	,,	*filyum*
prĕ̯tĭum	,,	*prelyum*

This **yod** combined with the preceding vowel or consonant and modified it, and **ŭ** was similarly changed into a consonant, either **w** or **v**, which in some cases affected the preceding sounds

1 In some cases the consonantal **i** and **u** were converted into *chuintantes*, the preceding consonant being often either transformed or dropped

li̯neum	*linge*
la̯neum	*lange*
dilu̯vium	*deluge*
servie̯ntem	*sergent*
pibio̯nem (for **pipio̯nem**)	*pigeon*
***sa̯bium**	*sage*
sa̯piat	*sache*
a̯pia (plural of **apium**)	*ache*
januа̯rium	*janvier*
annua̯lem	O F *anvel*
aquа̯rium	*aivier, évier*
ŏ̯qua	O F *ive*

2 When the consonant which preceded the **y** was **l** or **n**, the **yod** combined with it to form **l** *mouillee* or **n** *mouillee*

fi̯lia	*fille*
pa̯lea	*paille*
mura̯lia (neut pl of the adj)	*muraille*
mirabi̯lia, miribi̯lia (*id.*)	*merveille*
vi̯nea	*vigne*
li̯nea	*ligne*
Campa̯nia	*Champagne*
Avenio̯nem	*Avignon*

In certain cases, however, the **yod** did not affect the preceding l or n, but this was only in words of learned formation, although very early ones

pa̧llium	*palie, paile*
mo̧nachum, mo̧nicum, mo̧ni-um	*monie, moine*
cano̧nicum, cano̧ni-um	*chanonie, chanoine*
apostolicum, apostoli-um	*apostolie, apostoile*

In the forms **palie, monie, chanonie, apostolie,** found in the eleventh century, the i is not a vowel but a consonant, a **yod**, a little later, it changed places with the preceding consonant and united with the accented vowel to form a diphthong

3 When the consonant preceding the **yod** was **t** (§ 77), **c** (§ 78), or **d**, the **yod** combined with **t** and **c** to form either **ç** (**ss**) or **is**, and with **d** to form the group **dj**, spelt **j**

pala̧tium	*palais*
ratio̧nem	*raison*
cantio̧nem	*chançon, chanson*
lectio̧nem	*leçon*
factio̧nem	*façon*
sola̧cium	*solaz, soulas*
gla̧cia (for **gla̧ciem**)	*glace*
facia̧mus	*faciens* (now *fassions*)
***de-u̯sque**	*jusque*
diu̯rnum	*jorn, jour*
ho̧rdea (plur of **ho̧rdeum**)	*orge*

4 The **yod** might also skip the preceding consonant to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel

na̧usea	*noise*
cerȩsia (for **cerasium**)	*cerise*
ba̧siat	*baise*
co̧rium	*cuir*
a̧rea	*aire*
va̧rium	*vair*
pa̧ria (neuter pl of **par**)	*paire*

5 Lastly, the hiatus was sometimes eliminated by the loss or change of the first vowel

mea, tua, sua ; ma, ta, sa	*ma, ta, sa*
quiętum	*coi*
mǫrtuum, mortum	*mort*
battŭere, bąttere	*batre* (battre)
quąttuor, quąttor	*quatre*
leǫnem	*lion*
creąre	O F *crier*

Section II —*History of the Consonants.*

61 The latin consonants —We have seen that the Latin consonants were **b, p, d, t, g, c** (or **k** or **q**), **v, f, z, s, l, h, l, m, n, r,** and the groups **ch, ph, th** They appear in a word either as **simple consonants** (*pa*ter), **double consonants** (cu*rr*it), or in **groups** (*st*atua, *scr*ibere, mo*nstr*are), and, according to their position, as **initials** (*p*ater, *fl*amma), **medials** (pa*t*er, i*nf*ernum, as*tr*um), or **finals** (pate*r*, ama*nt*) The changes which they underwent depended both on their condition and position in a word.

I Simple Consonants

62 Simple initial consonants —The initial consonants remained unchanged in this first period, and, in fact, they have all been preserved down to the present day, except the palatals, which we shall consider separately

bǫnum	*bon*
pątrem	*pedre, pere*
dęntem	*dent*
tenęre	*tenir*
voląre	*voler*
fęrrum	*fer*
sąnum	*sain*
lavąre	*laver*
morŗe (for **morı**)	*morir, mourir*

nȗcem	*nois* (noix)
rǫ́sa	*rose*

We shall speak further on of **c** (**k**, **q**), **g**, **i**, and **h**, and of the combinations **ch**, **ph**, **th** As for **z**, it was not a Latin sound, but a borrowed sound which was only met with in certain Greek words. It has become **j** ***zelǫsum**, *jalous, jalos* (jaloux), **zi̯zyphum**, *jujube*

While most of the facts come under these general laws, we find a few anomalies Thus,

(*a*) In **vẹrvex, verve̯cem**, the medial *v* had become *b*, as in **curva̯re**, *courber*, **corvum**, *corb-eau*, and the initial consonant was then assimilated to the medial

***vervi̯cem** (for **verve̯cem**)	*berbis, brebis*

In **Vesuntiǫnem**, now *Besançon*, the change of **v** into **b** is perhaps due to a Gaulish pronunciation of the name

Under the influence of various causes the **v** changed into **f** in.

vi̯cem	*feiz, fois*
va̯pi̯dum	*fade*

(*b*) In certain cases German influence caused the change of **v** into **gu** in the following way In certain German words, introduced by the Frankish and Burgundian invasions, an initial **w** had regularly changed into **gu**

we̯rra	**gue̯rra**	*guerre*
wa̯rjan	**guari̯re**	*guarir, guerir*
wa̯rdan	**guarda̯re**	*guarder, garder*

And we find this pronunciation of German origin substituted for the initial **v** in certain Latin words, either because they were allied in form or sense to German words, or for reasons unknown

ve̯spa	**we̯spa**	*guespe, guêpe*
vagi̯na	**wagi̯na**	*guaine, gaine*
va̯dum	**wa̯dum**	*guet, gue*
Vasco̯nia	**Wasco̯nia**	*Guascogne, Gascogne*
vasta̯re	**wasta̯re**	*guaster, gâter*

Before **a** the constituent **u** of the group **gu** was probably sounded as **w**, before **e** or **i** as **ẅ**, it gradually ceased to be sounded at all in the second period

(*c*) In a few words the initial **m** was converted into **n** (to avoid the occurrence of two consecutive labials).

mạppa	*nape* (nappe)
męspilum	*nesfle, nefle*

63 SIMPLE MEDIAL CONSONANTS.—Most of the medial consonants, especially the explosive and continuous consonants, became weakened in the period we are dealing with, and some of these were entirely lost during the period following

Thus from the fifth to the tenth century the following state of things was established

Labials	**p**	became *b*, then	*v*
	b	became	*v*
	v	remained	*v*
Dentals	**t**	became	*d*
	d	remained	*d*

In the same way the **surd s** became *sonant s*

Thus in the *Oaths of Strasburg* we find *savir* (i e *saveir*), from ***sapęre** (Class Lat sapĕre), *podir* (i e *podeir*), from ***potęre** (Class Lat posse), *fradre* from **frạtrem**[1], *aiudha* and *cadhuna* from ***adjụta** (the verbal substantive from **adjūtạre**), and from ***cata-ụna**

Consequently in the tenth century the following pronunciations were used *saveir*, *receveir* (from a form ***recipęre**, instead of the classic **recipĕre**), *prover* (**probạre**), *aveir* (**habēre**), *laver* (**lavare**), *lever* (**levạre**), *muder* (**mutạre**), *creidre* (**crędĕre**), and *rose* (**rọsa**)[2].

We must note certain anomalies In several nouns and participles, under the action of various causes, either phonetic or analogical, the medial labial was lost

[1] The *r* does not in this case form part of a group (§ 68, 1)

[2] Of the *f* there is no other certain example in French, except in the word **scrofellas escroeles, ecrouelles*, where the medial was lost

tabǫnem (for **tabạnum**)	*taon*
pavǫnem	*paon*
pavǫrem	*peor, peur*
ovịcula	*oeille* (ouaille)
***ad-percep ụtum**	*aperceü, aperçu*
***hab ụtum**	*eu, eu*

A medial **z** is only found in the verbal termination **-ızạre** In the learned language it became *ıser* with a sonant **s** In the common language it served to form the verbs in *-oyer* (in earlier times *-ıer, -oier*), such as *poudroyer, verdoyer, ondoyer*, &c *Baptıser* was in the earlier language *batoier* (**baptızạre**)

This weakening of the medials was one of the most characteristic features of the new consonantal system We find it almost as strongly marked in Provencal, somewhat less marked in Spanish and Portuguese, still less in Italian and Roumanian Nevertheless, it is a fact of general occurrence, and its origin dates from the Popular Latin of the Empire

64 SIMPLI FINAL CONSONANTS —1 The consonants used as finals in Latin were **c, d, l, m, n, r, s, t** The finals **c, d,** and **l** are only found in a few words, the others are very frequent They were all preserved until the tenth century, with the exception of **c** (§ 76), **m**, and, in certain words, **n** In later times others were lost

The loss of the final **m** took place as early as the beginning of the Roman Empire, except in the case of certain monosyllables Written forms such as **rǫsam, mụrum, hǫminem, frụctum, dịem**, &c, were pronounced **rǫsa, mụru, ǫmine, frụctu, dịe**, &c But in the monosyllables **rem, meum, tuum, suum**, in which the pronunciation of the final **m** had doubtless already begun to change before it had been lost in polysyllables, we infer a peculiar pronunciation, possibly a beginning of nasalization, which, in the second period, led to the nasal vowels **ẽ** and **õ**

The final **n**, like the final **m**, dropped in all words ending in **-men**. In the Popular Latin of Gaul the forms used were **nọme, exạme, levạme**, &c The word **non** kept its final **n** it remained *non* when accented, and became *nen* when atonic

2 The loss of final consonants, and especially that of the **m**, converted atonic vowels that were medial in Latin into finals, and, as these atonic vowels (except **a**) towards the seventh century were lost, medial consonants in their turn became final consonants We may instance the **r** in **mụrum**, which became **mụru** and afterwards **mur**, and the **l** in **tạlem**, which became **tạle** and then **tel**.

These new finals [1] might be **d, v, l, m, n, r**, or **s**. Final **s** was always surd, **d** and **v** became **t** and **f**, **l** and **r** were preserved, **m** and **n** were also preserved, but perhaps even before the tenth century began to nasalize the preceding vowels Thus we find the following pronunciations successively

fịdem, fẹde	*feit* (*foi*)
virtụtem, vertụte, vertụde	*vertut* (*vertu*)
amạtum, amạdu or **amạdo**	*amet* (*ame*)
clạvem, clạve	*clef*

II Double Consonants and Consonant Groups

65 GALLO-ROMANIC CONSONANT-GROUPS — Latin possessed a great number of double consonants and groups of consonants Gallo-Romanic, by the loss of the final, penultimate, and counter-final atonics, produced many fresh ones, but only to reduce them all immediately, both old and new, for the sake of euphony Double consonants were

[1] These consonants can only really be considered as finals at a pause in speech When the word to which they belong is closely linked with the word following, they are in some cases treated as medials This is why, at the present day, the French say *neuf*, but *neuv-heures*, *ils sont dix*, but *diz-hommes* (cf § 121)

reduced to simple ones, and all groups of two or more consonants disappeared, except those of which the first or last was **n, l, r,** or **s,** i e a consonant of easy and flowing pronunciation

66 DOUBLE CONSONANTS —Double consonants, which were in all cases medial, lost their first constituents **pp** was reduced to **p**, **bb** to **b**, **tt** to **t**, **dd** to **d**, &c In later times these were restored in the spelling, owing to considerations of etymology, but the modern pronunciation in most cases remained unaltered We may quote **abbątem, abbąte, abate,** *abet, abe* (abbé), **abątas,** i e. **abbątuas** (que tu *abattes*), in the *Glossary of Reichenau* of the eighth century

Perhaps the group **rr** was the only one to remain unaltered **tęrra,** *terre*, germ **węrra,** *guerre*

67 INITIAL CONSONANT-GROUPS —1 These groups were generally formed of an explosive or continuous consonant and of an **l** or an **r** e g. **bl, pl, fl, cl, br, pr, fr, cr, tr,** &c These were preserved unchanged because the liquids, **l** and **r,** were not liable to alteration, and the first consonant, being initial, did not change The only exception is in the case of the verb **trĕmere,** which became *criembre* (later *craindre*)

2 We must consider separately the initial groups formed by an **s** followed by the consonants **c, p, t,** or **m,** as in **scrįbere, sperąre, stąre, smarągdum** In Popular Latin these groups were found intolerable, and they were resolved by prefixing to them a euphonic **i** (which became later **é**), so that the initial group became medial. Thus we have in Popular Latin

iscrįbere, isperąre, istąre, ismarągdum ;

in Gallo-Romanic

éscrįbere, ésperąre, éstąre, ésmarągdu

But this é was only added when the preceding word

ended with a consonant If it ended with a vowel the group was supported by the vowel [which played the part of the euphonic **é**] and did not change This is why in the *Sequence de Sainte-Eulalie* we find *une spede*, i e **u̯na spa̯tha** (*une epee*)

The same thing took place in the following century, but in the twelfth century the euphonic **e** became of general use, whether the preceding word ended with a consonant or a vowel

68. MEDIAL GROUPS —These groups are either of Latin or Romanic origin. Those of Romanic formation were in some cases formed when one of the consonants concerned had already suffered change Thus **cŭbĭtum** became **cǫ́bédum** by losing its penultimate atonic, and yielded the form **cǫ́b-dum** Hence the group in this case was not **bt** but **bd** **cǫ́bdum** produced later *code, coude*

1 In groups consisting of **two** consonants the second persisted unchanged, like the initials of words, because it is really the **initial** of a syllable [1] The first consonant was dropped unless it was an **r, m, n,** or **s** [2].

The following contain groups of Latin formation:

serv̥re	*servir* [Eulalie]
merc̥̄dem	*mercit* [ib], *merci*
auscult̥re	*escolter* [ib], *ecouter*
cu̯lpas	*colpes* [ib]
tǫsta	*teste, tête*
***lu̯mpa**	*lampe*
u̯ntra	*entre*
infa̯ntem	*enfant*

[1] We find as anomalies *verbẹna verveine* and not *verbeine*, *verla verve* and not *verbe*, *presbȳtĕrum*, *presbẹterium* (*presveidre, proveidre*) *prouvoire*, and inversely *curva̯re corber, courber* Cf the treatment of the initial *v* and *b* (§ 62)

[2] We know that the group *ns* dropped out of spoken Latin and was reduced to *s* at a very early date, thus we have *mẹnsem mẹsem* meis, mois, *Constạntias, Costạntias* Costances, Coutances

sŭbtus	*soz, sous*
***ad-captare**	*acheter*
capsa	*châsse*

The following contain groups of Romanic formation

bonitatem, bon-tatem	*bontet, bonte*
semitarium, sem-tarium	*senther*
***carricare, carregare, car-gare**	*chargier, charger*
capitalem, cap-talem	*chetel* (cheptel)

When the second consonant was an **r**, and the first was either an explosive or a continuous consonant, this first consonant was treated as a simple medial consonant (§ 43) This is why **matrem**, for instance, becomes **madre**, *medre* (*mere*) the **d** was only lost, after being weakened, in the eleventh century

When the second consonant was an **l** the language hesitated, the **l** was sometimes preserved and sometimes weakened **Pŏpulum** is *peuple* in French, but the *Oaths of Strasburg* have the form *poblo* **Cŏpula** yielded *cople, couple*, but **dŭplare, doplare,** yielded *dobler, doubler*

The Latin group **mn** was reduced to **m**, or under certain circumstances (especially in words of learned formation) to **n** Thus we have **somnum**, *somme*, **scamnum**, O F *eschame*, **damnare**, *daner* (damner), **columna**, *colone* (colonne)

B became **v**, and then **u**, in **parabola, parabla, paravla, paraula**, *parole*, **fabrica, favrega, faurga**, *forge*

2 When the group was formed of **three** or more consonants, the first or last was always one of the liquids **l, r, m,** or **n,** or else **s** These complex groups were treated on the same principles as groups of two consonants Thus **presbyter, piesbter,** gave *prestre*, **hospitalem** became *ostel*

In general the fate of the medial consonant was determined by the euphony of the group **pŭlverem** gave **polvre, pol-re**, *pol-dre, poudre*, the group **lvr** was too

difficult to pronounce Similarly **tŏrquĕre** (for **torquēre**) gave **tŏrvĕre, tŏrv-re,** *tor-d-re*

3 We must consider separately the groups formed by the liquids **l, r, m, n,** among themselves or with **s**

Group L–R

mŏlĕre, mŏl-re	gave	*mol-d-re, moudre*
valēre, văl-re habet	„	*val-d ra, vaudra*
fallĕre, făl-re habet	„	*fal-d ra, faudra*

Thus this group evolved a **d,** interpolated between the **l** and **r**

Group N–R

tĕnerum, tĕn-rum	*ten-d-re*
gĕnerum, gĕn-rum	*gen-d-re*
Vĕneris, Vĕn-res dĭem	*ven-d-resdi, vendredi* [1]

The 3rd persons singular of the future of *tenir* and *venir* were *ten-ra, ven ra, ten-d-ra, ven d-ra* (now *tiendra, viendra*)

jŭngĕre, jóyn-re (§ 80)	*join d-re*
tĭngere, téyn re (§ 80)	*tein-d-re*
vĭncere, veyn-re (§ 76)	*vein-t-re* [Eulalie]

In the first two examples the sonant dental **d** is interpolated between the **n** and the **r** In *ventre,* we have the surd dental **t,** instead of **d,** on account of the surd **c** (= **k**) which follows the **n**

Groups M–R and M–L:

cămera	*cham-b-re*
memorare	*remem-b-rer*
cŭmulum	*com b-le*
cumulare	*com b-ler*
tremulare	*trem-b-ler*
sĭmulare	*sem-b-ler*

[1] Cf *Port Vendres* (Portum Veneris).

Thus the groups **mr** and **ml** evolved a **b**, interpolated between the two liquids

Group M–N.

lạmina	*lame* and *lambris*
fẹ̈mina	*fame* (femme)
***dominicẹlla**	*dameiselle, demoiselle*
họminem	*ome* (homme)
***ad-luminạre**	*allumer*

We see that the Romanic group **mn** is resolved either into a simple **m**, or in some cases into **mbr**

Group S–R

***ẹssẽre** (for **esse**)	*es-t-re*
mịsẽrunt	*mis-d-rent* (mirent)
fẹcẽrat	*fis d-ret* [Saint Léger]

We see that, according as the **s** is surd or sonant, the consonant euphonically interpolated is a **t**, or a **d**.

69 FINAL GROUPS — Final groups, or such as had become final, followed the same rules as the medial groups, with this special trait, that the last consonant became surd if it was originally sonant [1]

lạrdum	*lart* (lard)
grạndem	*grant* (grand)
lọngum	*lonc* (long)
sạnguem	*sanc* (sang)
frịgidum	*freit* (froid)
quạntum	*quant* (in the *Oaths of Strasburg*)

In later spelling, owing to considerations of etymology, the final was reconverted into a sonant, as it had been in Latin, but in pronunciation French has remained faithful

[1] The final group *sts* developed into *ts*, denoted in spelling by *z*, e g *hostis*, *osts* oz, *Christus Christs* Criz

to the primitive tradition of the language The French say *un froit-hiver, un grant-homme, un lonk-espoir* (un froid hiver, un grand homme, un long espoir).

III Palatals

70. PALATALS —Under this heading we class together the consonants c (**k** and **q**) and **g**, **t** followed by an **e** or an **i** in hiatus, **yod** or consonantal **i**, and finally **h**, together with the combinations **ch, ph, th**

The **c** and **g** in Latin were always pronounced hard, whatever the following vowel might be **Cicero** was pronounced **Kikero**, and in **gelo** and **gigno** the **g** had sensibly the same value as in the French words *guère* and *gui* But these consonants underwent various changes during the period under consideration

71. INITIAL **C** BEFORE **L, R, O,** OR **U** —At the beginning of words, or after a consonant, **c** before **l, r, o,** or **u̯,** has preserved down to our own times the Latin pronunciation

cl̥arum	*cler* (clair)
cr̥̆dere	*creidre, creire, croire*
cǫrpus	*cors* (corps)
cŭ̯neum	*coin*
cŭ̯ra	*cure*
percŭ̯rsum	*parcours*
***incl̥ausum**	*enclos*

72. INITIAL **C** BEFORE **E** OR **I** —In this position the **c** began, towards the end of the Empire, or in the first centuries of the Middle Ages, to assume a sibilant sound, which at last developed into the compound sibilant **ts** For this sound the orthographic notation **c** was preserved except at the end of the words, in which **ts** was written **z**, until the thirteenth century

cl̥elum (pron **kaelum**)	*ciel* (pron *tsiel*) [Eulalie]
cr̥̆ra (pron **kér̥a**)	*cire* (pron *tsire*)

***cĭrculum**/pron **kĭrkulum**)	*cercle* (pron *tsercle*)
kĭnque (for **quĭnque**)	*cinq* (pron *tsinq*)
mercēdem (pron **merkēdem**)	*merci* (pron *mertsi*)
dŭlcem (pron **dŭlkem**)	*dolz, douz* (pron *dolts, douts*, now *doux*)

73 INITIAL **C** BEFORE **A**.—The initial group **ca** changed into **tch** (**a, e, ie**) after passing, doubtless, through the forms **cya** and **tya**. The new pronunciation was noted by **ch**.

căput, căpum	*chief* [Eulalie], *chef*
cărum	*chier, cher*
cămpum	*champ*
caballum	*cheval*
circăre	*cerchier* (later *chercher*)
pĭscăre	*peschier, pecher*

This change, which probably began in the eighth century[1], was completed in the tenth. Thus at that period the simple initial **c**, or initial palatal forming the last constituent of a group, had (i) remained **k** before **r, l, o, u**, (ii) become a sibilant (**ts**) before **e, i**, and (iii) had become a '*chuintante*' (**ch**) before **a**.

74 MEDIAL SIMPLE **C**.—**C**, when medial, like all other explosives, was weakened.

1. Before **o** and **u** it softened into **ig** or **g**, according to the nature of the preceding vowel. At a later period the simple **g** was no longer pronounced.

acūtum	*aigu*
***acūcŭla** (from **acus**)	*aiguille*
secūrum	(*segur*) *seur, sûr*
Sauocŏnna, Sacŏnna	(*Sagone*) *Saône*

Aigre (**ăcrum, ăcrum**), *maigre* (**măcrum**), and *aigle* (**ăquila**) were treated like **acūtum**.

[1] It also took place before *e* and *i* in new words introduced after the seventh century by derivation (*sac, sach et, duc, duch esse*), or borrowed from the German (*ehime*, from *skina*, *eschiver dechirer*, from *skerran*).

2 When followed by **a**, and preceded by **a**, **e**, or **i**, the medial **c** became **yod**, followed by **a** and preceded by other vowels, it changed into **g**, and at a later period ceased to be pronounced

bạca	*baie*
pacạre	*pai-ier, payer*
nĕcạre	*nei-ier, noyer*
prẹ̆cat	(*prieie*) *prie*
carrụca	(*charrugue*) *charrue*
lactụca	(*laitugue*) *laitue*

3 Before **e** or **i**, **c** changed into **-is-**, the **i** forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel The **s** here is sonant when medial, surd when final, according to the rule given in § 64, 2 This final **s** is often replaced by **z** (pron **ts**) for some unknown reason

racẹ̄mum	*raisin*
placẹ̄re	*plaisir*
dẹ̆cem	(*dieis*) *dis* (dix)
dẹ̆cima	*disme, dime*
pạ̄cem	*pais* (paix)
vọ̄cem	*vois* (voix)
nụ̆cem	*nois* (noix)

75. Final simple **C** — **C** when final and simple, either of Latin or Romanic origin, became a **yod**, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel When the latter was an **i** it naturally combined with it

fac	*fai*
sic	*si*
amịcum	*ami*

76 Double **C** and **C** in a consonant-group — **C** when double became **ch** before **a**, and **ts** (written **c**) before **e** or **i**, it was reduced to a simple **k** before the other

vowels e g **sɪcca**, *seche*, **vạcca**, *vache*, ***baccɪnum**, *bacin* (bassin), **sɪccum**, *sec*, **succụssa**, *secousse*

2 When **c** formed the last consonant of a group, it was treated as an initial (§ 68, 1), and in different cases either remained **c** or became **ts** or **tch** (§§ 71, 72, 73, 78)

3 When it was not the last consonant of the group, it became **yod**, and combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong, unless it preceded the accented syllable, in which latter case it was entirely dropped, without leaving any trace of its presence

c = ɪ	**nǫ̆ctem**	(*nuòit*) *nuit*
	fạctum	*fait*
	fạcere, fạc-re	*faire*
	dụcere, dục-re	*duire*
	ạxem	*ais*
	laxạre	*laissier*
	cǫ̆xɪt	*còist* [Eulalie]
nc = ɪn	**sạnctu**	*saint*
	jụnctum	*joint*
	vɪ̣ncere	*veintre* [Eulalie]
c dropped	**fluctuạre**	*floter* (flotter)
	ructạre	*roter*
	exẹmplum	*essemple*
	Alexạndrɪa	*Alessandre*

4 The groups **cl**, **tl**, and **pl**[1], when medial, produced a **yod**, which rendered the **l** *mouillee* instead of forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel

ǫ̆culum, ǫ̀clum	*ue-il, œil*
vǫ̆tulum, vẹ̀clum	*vue-il*
sɪ̣tula, sẹ́cla	*se-ille*
scǫ̆pulum, scǫ̀clum	*escue il, ecueil*

77 TI IN HIATUS —The group **tɪ** or **ty**, of which there

[1] The group *tl* was changed in Latin into *cl*, *pl* in the single word *scopulum* underwent a similar change

are no examples in Gallo-Romanic, except in the middle of words, was treated as **c** before **e** or **i** (§ 74, 3) When preceded by a vowel it was transformed into **is**, the **s** being generally sonant, but surd at the end of words[1].

palạtium	*palais*
ratiọnem	*raison*
Sarmạtia	*Sermaise*
prĕtium	(*prieis*) *pris*
Suffix **-atiọnem**	*-aison*

When preceded by a consonant, **ty** became converted into **ts**, which was originally represented in spelling by **c**

cantiọnem	*chançon* (pronounced *chantson*, later *chanson*)
lintĕọlum, Pop Lat **lintĕọlum, léntyọlum**	*linçuel* (pronounced *lintsuel*), *linceul*

The group **cti** when between vowels was also represented by **c** (pronounced **ts**).

factiọnem	*façon* (pronounced *fatson*)
lectiọnem	*leçon* (pronounced *letson*)

78 C BEFORE **E** OR **I** IN HIATUS —**Cy**, which resulted from **ce** or **ci** followed by a vowel, and, like **ty**, only occurred in the middle of words, also became **ts**, not only after consonants but also after vowels

lạncea	*lance* (pron *lantse*)
glạcia (for **glạciem**)	*glace* (pron *glatse*)
fạcia (for **fạciem**)	*face* (pron *fatse*, &c)
pellịcia (vestis)	*pelice* (*pelisse*)
brạchia, brạcia (§ 82)	*brace* (*brasse*)
plạceat	*place* (now *plaise*)

[1] *Sti* followed by a vowel was transformed into *is* with the *s* surd

angụstia	*angoisse*
frustiare	*fruissier, froissier, froisser*

fạcıat	*face* (*fasse*)
brạchıum, brạcıum (§ 82)	*braz* (pron *brats*, now *bras*)
solạcıum	*solaz* (*soulas*)
acı ạrıum	*ac ier* (pron *als-ier*)

79 **Q**.—The letter **q** was used in Latin in combination with **u** before a vowel. Thus the Romans wrote **qu** + vowel instead of **cu** + vowel. Consequently the group **qu** is comprised in the category of **c** before **l**, **r**, **o**, and **u** (§ 71 and § 74, 1).

The **u** was dropped in the pronunciation of different words at different times. The loss began in the Latin period, thus we have

quınque, qınque, kınque	*cinq*
cọquĕre, cọkĕre, cọk-re	*cuire*
querquẹdula, kerkẹdula	*sercele, sarcelle*
coquına, cokına	*cuisine*

But in most cases the **u** was only lost during the period under consideration. Until the thirteenth century it was still pronounced, as a **w**, before **a**, in *quant, quar*, &c. (now *quand, car*).

80 **G**.—Initial **g** was, like **c**, preserved before **l**, **r**, **o**, and **u**.

grạndem	*grant*
glọrıa	*glorie, gloire*
gọmphum	*gont, gond*
gŭla	*gueule*

Initial **g** before **a**, **e**, and **ı**, became **dj**, noted generally by **j**, or before **e** and **ı** by **g**.

gạudıa	*joie*
gẹlum	*giel, gel*
gẹntem	*gent*
gıgạntem	*jayant, geant*

Simple medial **g** was lost from the earliest times, with the evolution of a **yod** when an **a** followed.

regi̯na	*reine, reine*
vigi̯nti	*vint* (vingt)
trīgi̯nta	*trente*
ligā̯men	*li-ien*
nŏ̯gat	(*nieie*) *nie*
augu̯rium, agu̯rium	*aur, eur* (*heur*)

G was also dropped before **r**

ni̯grum	*neir, noir*
pigri̯tia	*perece, paresse*
peregri̯num	*pelerin*

G as the last consonant of a group was treated like initial **g**

zi̯ngiber	*gingembre*[1]
vendicā̯re, vendegā̯re, vend-gā̯re	*vengier, venger*

In other cases the **g** was changed into a **yod**, which combined in various ways with the nearest consonants

fri̯gidum, frŏ̯g-dum	*freit, froit* (froid)
di̯gitum, dŏ̯g-tum	*deit, doit* (doigt)
jŭ̯ngere, jŏ̯yn-re	*joindre*

We must note the change of **gi** or **ge**, when followed by a vowel, into **is** (with the **s** soft)

***fra̯gea** or ***fra̯gia** (from **fra̯gum**)	*fraise*
phrygium, frĕ̯gium	*freis, frois* in *orfrois*

81 CONSONANTAL **I** OR **YOD.**—It is a great error to pronounce and write a **j**, the sonant *chuintante*[2], for the Latin consonantal **i** or **yod** The French read, for instance, **jam** the Romans wrote and pronounced **iam** They pronounced and wrote, in the same manner, **Iu̯lius, ie̯cur, ie̯cus**, &c

In the initial position, the Latin consonantal **i** became

[1] A word of learned formation (cf *cingulis* = vous *ceignez*) *Gingiva*, which by dissimilation became *genava*, gave *genive*

[2] [In English the **j** = d + the sonant *chuintante*]

in France **dj**: **iam**, *ja*, **Iacobus**, *Jaques* (pronounced *dja*, *Djaques*).

As a medial, it was, like **g**, dropped before **e** or **i**. **maiestatem**, O F *maeste*, *majeste* is of learned formation Before the other consonants it was preserved as **i**: e g **maiorem**, *maiour*, *maior*, *maieur*, ***triia**, *true*

With regard to the **yod** resulting from **e** or **i** in hiatus, see § 60

82 H ASPIRATE.—The **h** was aspirate in primitive Latin From the end of the Republic the aspiration had a tendency to drop out of popular usage, and gradually this letter came to have a merely orthographic significance Italian, continuing Latin traditions, does not possess an aspirate **h** in pronunciation, and scarcely uses the letter **h** at all In French, both the aspiration and the letter that represents it reappeared under the influence of the language of the Franks and Burgundians A number of Germanic words, when they became French, kept the aspiration they had possessed in their original language, and even some Latin words, such as **altus**, Fr *haut*, took this aspiration

The loss of the Latin **h** reduced, in Latin, **ch** and **th** to **c** and **t**. **chorda**, **brachium**, **cathedra**, &c, became **corda**, **bracium**, **catedra**, &c

In the same way **ph** was reduced to **p** (e g **colaphum**, **colapum**, *colp*, *coup*), except in certain words introduced into Latin at a period when **ph** was changing the double sound proper to it into a kind of **f** (e. g **sulphur**, *solfre*, *soufre*).

IV Euphonic Modifications of Consonants

83. EUPHONIC MODIFICATIONS OF CONSONANTS.—Besides the general laws that we have just studied, we must point out a certain number of peculiar changes which do not belong only to the early period of the language, but which

we find appearing in subsequent periods and even at the present day They particularly affect the liquids **l, r, m,** and **n,** and are mostly caused by the action of assimilation or the opposite need for dissimilation

When a word originally contained two **r's,** two l's, or two labials, we may find dissimilation, either in Popular Latin or in French

peregrĭnum, pelegrĭnum	*pelerin*	pèlerin
***acr-ărborem**	*erable*	érable
măppa	*nape*	nappe
***luscinĭolum**	*lossignol*	rossignol
***lĭbĕllum** (from **lībra**)	*livel, liveau*	niveau
***orphanĭnum**	*orfenin*	orphelin

In the same way, at the present day, uneducated French people say *colidor* for *corridor,* and *porichinelle* for *polichinelle*

In some other cases a consonant drops

quĭnque, kĭnque	*cinq*	
querquĕdula, kerkĕdula	*cercele*	sarcelle
vervăctum, verăctum	*guerait*	gueret
vivĕnda	*viande*	
flămmula	*flamble*	flambe
tĕmpora	*tempre, temple*	tempe

Or else by unconscious analogy a sound or word has been remodelled so as to resemble more closely a similar sound or word Since the sixteenth century

chamberlenc	has become	*chambellan*
cercher	,,	*chercher* (at the end of the sixteenth century)
essanger (exsaniare)	,,	*echanger*[1]

In other cases again we have a metathesis, particularly between the **r** and the **l** At different periods—

[1] [The first process in washing linen]

tǫrculum, tǫrelum,	became	*treuil*
formage	,,	*fromage*
berbis	,,	*brebis*
tourbler	,,	*troubler*
temprer	,,	*tremper*
beuvrage	,,	*breuvage*
buleter	,,	*beluter, bluter*

Similarly in our own time *grenouille* and *Grenelle*, in popular speech, have become *guernouille* and *Guernelle*

Section III —*Historical Summary State of the Pronunciation in the Tenth Century*

84 Historical summary —I *Vowels* The penultimate short atonics were the first to drop, and began to do so as early as the time of the Empire, leaving finally in Northern Gallo-Romanic only paroxytons (§ 46) Some centuries later the final atonic vowels were also dropped, or were reduced to a new sound, the e feminine, so that all words either (1) were accented on the last syllable, or (2) ended with an e feminine immediately preceded by the accent (§ 47). The counter-finals dropped or were weakened at the same time, and thus brought about the formation of new consonant-groups (§ 48)

Both counter-tonic and initial or monosyllabic atonic vowels were either preserved or weakened into e feminine or close ǫ (§ 57)

Of the free accented vowels (§ 51), è and ò at an early stage became iè and uò, later on, é and ó became in their turn éi and óu, and a became e. When followed by nasal consonants a and o developed in a slightly different way (§ 55)

Stopped vowels were preserved unchanged (§ 50) Hiatuses disappeared (§ 60)

The palatals (§§ 54, 58) affected both free and stopped vowels, whether accented or atonic, by the introduction of

a new element, the **yod**, which formed with them either diphthongs or triphthongs The triphthongs were reduced by the loss of their medial vowel either into diphthongs (**e g uòi = ui**) or single vowels (**e g iei = i**)

II *Consonants* — Initial consonants were generally preserved (§§ 62, 67), medial consonants were weakened (§ 63), consonant-groups, whether of Latin or Romanic origin, were modified, the last consonant of the group being treated as if it were an initial, and the first, except in the case of **l, r, m, n,** or **s,** being dropped (§ 68) The nasals and liquids began to act on the vowels (§§ 55, 56) The palatals were transformed into either a **yod,** a sibilant, or a *chuintante* (§§ 72-81)

III There resulted from these changes, which revolutionized the Latin phonetic system, a series of new sounds, both vowels and consonants, of which it will be useful to draw up a list and investigate the origin

In Popular Latin there were *seven* vowels **à, è, é, i, ò, ó,** and **u,** and *one* diphthong **au** In the French of the tenth century there were *nine* vowels **à, e, é, e, i, ò, ó, u,** and **e** feminine, *ten* diphthongs · **ài, éi, òi, ói, ui, èu, òu, óu, iè, uò** , and *two* triphthongs **ièu, uòu**

In Popular Latin there were *fifteen* simple consonants, of which *six* were explosives **b, p, d, t, g,** and **c** , *five* continuous **f, v** (= **w**), surd **s,** consonantal **i,** and **h** aspirate, and *four* liquids **l, r, m,** and **n** There was *one* double consonant, the **z**[1] We must also add the **ph,** which was equivalent to either **p** or **f** In the French of the tenth century there were *twenty three* consonants **b, p, d, t, g** (hard), **c** (hard), **v, f, w, ẅ,** surd **s,** sonant **s, tch, ts** (or **z**), **dj, y** (consonantal **i**), **h, l, r, m, n, ł,** and **ñ**

Let us now see what was the origin of each of these French sounds

85. Vowels — The vowels were either accented or

[1] The *x* was only an orthographic sign to represent the sequence of the consonants *c* and *s*

atonic, the same differentiation must be made with regard to several diphthongs

A The **a** was open **à**

When accented it was derived from the stopped accented **a** (§ 50)[1], and also from a free **a** before **l** in certain words (§ 56)

When atonic it was derived from the pretonic **a**, free or stopped in many cases from the **a** of certain atonic monosyllables (§ 57)

È, accented or atonic, came from an è (Lat ĕ or æ), either originally stopped (§§ 50, 57) or which had become stopped (§ 49)

É, accented or atonic, came from a stopped é (Lat ē or ī) (§§ 50 and 57) In words of Learned formation, such as *tenebros, penitence,* or foreign words such as *Gerart* (the German *Gerhardt*), é came from either è or é

E A third **e**, which seems to have been open, came from an accented free **a**, or from the è (Lat ĕ, æ) of **Deu, erat, Hebreu,** &c (§ 51, 4) It resulted also from an atonic **a**, in *les* (**illas**), *mes, tes, ses* (**meas, tuas, suas**), from an atonic **ó** in *les, mes, tes, ses* (**illos, meos, tuos, suos**)

I Accented **i** came either from a free or stopped ī (§ 51, I and § 50), from an è combined with a palatal (§ 54, II), from an **a** both preceded and followed by a palatal (§ 54, I *c*), from an é (ē, i) preceded by a palatal (§ 54, IV), or from an **é**, modified by a following long atonic ī (p 95, note)

Atonic **i** came from atonic ī (§ 57)

Ó Accented close **ó** came either from a stopped close **ó** (§ 50), or from an open ò or close **ó** free before a nasal (§§ 51, 2 and 55)

[1] On account of a series of modifications too long to be given here in detail, the **a** of **habes** and **habet**, the **a** occurring in the future tense (formed by the combination of infinitives with the verb **habere**, § 218) and that of the 3rd person singular in the preterite of the first conjugation were treated as if they had been stopped vowels in Latin

Atonic close **ó** came from a free **ò, au**, or **ó**, or from a stopped close **ó** (§ 57)

Ò Accented open **ò** came from a stopped open **ò** (§ 50), in some cases from a free open **ò** (p 96, note 1), from the Latin **au** (§ 52), or from the sequence **a**+**b** becoming **au** before a consonant (§ 68, 1), or, finally, in certain cases from a stopped close **ó** (p 96, note 1)

Atonic open **ò** came from a stopped open **ò** (§ 57)

U The accented and atonic **u** both came from the Latin **ū**, either free or stopped (§§ 50, 51, 1, and 57)

E feminine This new vowel is always atonic

The post-tonic **e** feminine came from a final **a**, or from any other vowels following a group of consonants which needed a supporting vowel (§ 47)

The pretonic **e** feminine (§ 57) came from **a, è**, or **é**, and even **o**, especially in atonic monosyllables *me, te, se, je, que*, &c

86 DIPHTHONGS AND TRIPHTHONGS —**Ai** came from an **a**, accented or atonic, followed (mediately or immediately) by a palatal (§§ 54, I *b*, and 58), or from a free accented **a**, followed by a nasal (§ 55) It was pronounced approximately like the diphthong in the interjection *haie!*

Éi, accented, came either from **é** (Lat **ē** or **ĭ**), free and accented (§ 51, 3), or from **é**, either free or stopped, when accented and followed by a palatal (§ 54, IV)

Atonic **éi** came either from **é** or **è**, followed by a palatal (§ 58)

Òi came from **au** followed by a palatal (§ 54, III)

Ói, both accented and atonic, came either from **ó** (Lat **ō, ŭ**) or in some cases from **ū** followed by a palatal (§§ 54, VI and 58)

Üi, accented, came either from **ū**, from open **ò** (Lat **ŏ**), or in some cases from close **ó** (Lat **ō** or **ŭ**), followed by a palatal (§ 54, VI and II)

Èu is found in the words *Deu, ebreu,* &c (p 92, note 1 *a*, and § 51, 4), cf **ièu**

At a later date than the period under consideration a new diphthong **èu** was formed from **òu** (see § 94)

Óu came from free **ó** (Lat **ō, ŭ**), whether followed immediately or not by **u** (§ 51, 3, and p 92, note 1 *b*)

Òu came from **ò** free followed by **u**, especially in the group **ocu** (p 96, note 2), and also from **au** followed by **u**, as in **paucum,** *pou* (p 92, note 1 *b*)

Iè, pronounced with a stress on the **i**, came either from **è** (Lat **ĕ, æ**), free and accented (§ 51, 2), or from **a**, free and accented, preceded by a palatal (§§ 54, I *a*, and 51, 4), and is found in the suffix **-arium** of polysyllables (§ 54, I *d*)

Uo (with the stress on the **u**) came (§ 51, 2) from **ò** (Lat **ŏ**) free and accented

Ièu came from **è** (**ĕ, æ**), immediately followed by **u** (p 92, note 1 *b*), cf **èu** At a later period this diphthong was sometimes formed from **uòu** (p 96, note 2)

Uòu came from **ò** in the group **ŏcu** (p 96, note 2), cf **òu**

87 The consonants - **B** came either from **b**, as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), or from a double medial **b** (§ 66) It was intercalated between **m** and **l**, and **m** and **r** (§ 68, 3)

P came either from **p**, as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), or from a double medial **p** (§ 66)

D came either from **d**, as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from a simple or double medial **d** (§§ 63, 66), or from a simple medial **t** (§ 63) It was intercalated between the consonants **l, n,** and **s,** and the consonant **r** (§ 68, 3)

T came either from **t**, as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from a double medial **t** (§ 66), or from **a t** or **d**, originally final, or which had become final (§§ 64 and 69) It was intercalated between **s** and **r** (§ 68, 3)

G The hard **g**, which is only found before **o**, **u**, **l**, or **r**, came either from **g** as an initial of words or syllables preceding these sounds (§ 80), or from **c** (or **q**), medial and simple, before **o** and **u** (§ 74, 1) The group **gw**, written **gu**, is of Germanic origin (§ 62, *b*)

C The hard **c**, which only exists in French before **o**, **u**, **l**, and **r**, came from **c** as an initial of words or syllables and preceding the same sounds (§ 71), or from **a** medial **g**, forming part of a group which had become final (§ 69) It was this first element of the initial group **qu**, preceding any vowel, which always persisted (§ 79)

V came either from **v** as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from **p**, **b**, or **v**, simple and medial (§ 63), or from **u** in hiatus (§ 60, 1)

W and **W**, represented graphically by **u**, are only to be found after **g**, and after **q** (§§ 62, *b* and 79)

F came either from **f** as an initial of a word or syllable (§§ 62 and 68, 1), or from a **v** (Lat **p**, **b**, or **v**), originally medial, and that had become final (§ 64, 2)

S sonant, represented generally by **s**, and rarely by **z**, came either from a simple medial **s** (§ 63), from **ti** or **gi** in hiatus (§§ 77, 80), or from **c** before **e** or **i** (§ 74, 3)

S surd was written **s** before or after a consonant, and at the beginning or end of words, between two vowels it was denoted by **ss** It came either from **s**, as an initial of words or syllables (§ 62), from a double **s** (§ 66), or an **s** forming part of a group (§ 68), from **x** (§ 76, 2), or from **sti** + vowel (p 125, note) **S** surd as a final (§ 64, 2) was derived from an originally medial sonant **s**

Consonantal **I** (**yod**) This consonant is represented by an **i** it is found in the diphthongs **ai**, **éi**, **òi**, **ói**, **ùi** It resulted from the natural diphthongation of **é** into **éi**, or that of **a** into **ai** before nasals In other cases it was evolved from a palatal following a vowel (§§ 54, 58, 74)

H. On this consonant, which is seldom found except at the beginning of words, see § 82

Tch, represented by **ch**, was derived either from **c** as an initial of words or syllables, followed by **a** (§§ 73 and 76, 1), or from **i** in hiatus after **p** (§ 60, 1)

Ts, represented by **c** or **z**, was derived either from **c** as an initial of words or syllables before **e** and **i** (§§ 72 and 76, 1), from **ty** after a consonant (§ 77), from **cy** (§ 78), or from the combination of **t** or **d** with **s**, in consequence of the loss of a vowel (§ 47)

After **n**, when it was the second consonant of a medial or final consonant-group, and after **l** *mouillée* and **n** *mouillée*, the flexional **s** was changed into **z**, and the **l** or **n** was no longer *mouillée* Thus **ạnnus** became *anz*, **fịlius**, *filz*, and **pụgnus**, *poinz*

Dj, generally represented by **j** before **a**, **o**, and **u**, and by **g** before **e** and **i**, was derived either from consonantal **i**, as an initial of words (§ 81), from **g** as an initial of words or syllables before **a**, **e**, or **i**[1] (§ 80), or from **i**, in hiatus, after various consonants (§ 60, 1), and in the suffix **-ạticum** (**-ạdium**), *-age*

L was derived either from **l** as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from **l** as the final of syllables (§ 68, 2), from a simple medial **l** (**palạtium**, *palais*), or from double **l** (§ 66)

R was derived either from **r** as an initial or final of words (**per**, *par*) or syllables (§§ 62, 68), or from a simple medial **r** (**murạlia**, *murailles*)

L *mouillée* was derived from **l**, preceded or followed by a palatal, with which it combined (§ 60, 2)

M was derived either from **m** as an initial of words or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from a medial, simple, or double (§ 66) **m**, that had either remained medial or become

[1] In some cases *g* came from an earlier *c* (§ 68)

final (fąmem, *faim*, sųmma, *some*, now *somme*), from **m**, or **n**, next to a labial consonant, or lastly from the group **mn** (§ 68, 1 and 3)

N was derived either from **n** as an initial or final of words (**non**, *non*) or syllables (§§ 62 and 68, 1), from simple medial **n** (regįna, *reine*, reine), from double **n** (§ 66), possibly from final **m** (§ 64, 1) in monosyllables, such as *rien* (**rem**), *mon*, *ton*, *son* (**meum**, **tuum**, **suum**), whose vowel was later nasalized by the consonant (§ 64, 1), or from **m** which had come into contiguity with a dental (**semitąrium**, *sentier*)

N *mouillee*, represented by **gn** or **ign**, and at the end of words by **ng** or **ing**, was derived from an **n** combined with a contiguous palatal (§ 60, 2)

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FRENCH PRONUNCIATION

(FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

88 General characteristics — 89 Mouth-vowels — 90 Nasal vowels — 91 Nasalized *a* and *e* — 92 Nasalized *o* — 93 The diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *oi* *ui* — 94 The diphthongs *eu*, *ou* *ou* and *uo*, the triphthongs *ieu*, *uou* — 95 The diphthong *u* — 96 Nasal diphthongs — 97 New hiatuses — 98 Reduction of the hiatuses — 99 Medial consonants — 100 Final consonants — 101 *Ch*, *j*, and *ts* or *z* — 102 *S* — 103 *R* — 104 Nasalization of vowels by *n mouillee* — 105 Change of *l* into *u* — 106 *Al* — 107 *El* and *el* — 108 Other vowels or diphthongs preceding *l* — 109 With *l mouillee* — 110 State of the pronunciation at the end of the fifteenth century.

88 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS — During this period the vowels underwent modifications and were affected by the action of certain consonants in contact with them Of the diphthongs, some were transformed into vowels and thus

disappeared Certain new diphthongs were formed, owing to the transformation of consonants into vowels New hiatuses were formed by the dropping out of medial consonants Certain new vowels, the nasal vowels, which had begun to appear in the first period, were considerably developed

Such in its main features is the character of French pronunciation during this second period We shall pursue the study of French sounds, the vowels, pure and nasal, diphthongs, and consonants, as we found them in the tenth century

Section I —*History of the Vowels*

1 Mouth-Vowels and Nasal Vowels

89 Mouth-vowels —The pure vowels **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**, and **e** feminine, were preserved without any change during nearly the whole of this period

The close **é** (Lat **e** or **i**), when stopped, became open **è** during the twelfth century **mésse**, **met** (Lat **mittit**), **sec**, **séche**, **evesque**, became *messe*, *met*, *sec*, *seche*, *evesque* On the other hand, the **e** derived from free **a**, e g that of **mer** (Lat **mare**), and of **tel** (Lat **talem**) (§ 51, 4), appears to have become a close **è** whether followed or not by a sounded consonant, about the same time that the stopped close **é** became open **è** The **e** also became close in the diphthong **ié**, derived from a free **a** following a palatal, or from a free open **e**

The history of the close **ó** will be more conveniently considered with that of the diphthong **óu** (§ 94)

The vowels underwent changes when followed by certain consonants, such as **s**, **r**, and **l** (§§ 102, 103, and 107)

90 Nasal vowels —In the eleventh century two nasal vowels were formed **ã** and **ẽ**, and a third was in process of formation, namely **õ**

The nasal vowels did not yet absorb, as they did later,

the whole sound of the **m** or **n** following On the contrary, these consonants still preserved their full and entire value, although they rendered the preceding vowel nasal For instance, **chanter** was not pronounced *chã-te* as it is now, but *chãn' ter'* The pronunciation was thus intermediate between the original pronunciation **càn'-tạre** and the modern *chã-te*

91 NASALIZED **A** AND **E** — The nasal **a** was formed from **a** stopped **a** followed by **m** or **n** as in the words *an* and *champ* which are derived from forms successively pronounced **ạnnum, an'n,** *ãn'*, **cạmpum, cham'p,** *chãm'p*

The nasal **e** was derived from **è** or **é** followed by **m** or **n** preceding a consonant it was pronounced like the modern **in, ain, ein** But towards the end of the eleventh century it began to approach nasal **ã**, and finally developed into this latter sound **fịndit, fẹ́ndét**, successively became *fen't, fẽn't*, and then *fân't* (now *fend*) The change was complete in the twelfth century, so that the nasal sound **ẽ** existed no longer save in the diphthong **ien** (= **iẽ**)

The change was so radical that it was sometimes followed in the spelling In the course of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries arose the custom of writing *an*, instead of the etymologically correct **en**, in certain words *dedans, leans, ceans* (intus), *langue* (lingua), *sangle* for *çangle*, **cengle** (cingula), and this spelling has been preserved down to our own times

The nasal **ẽ** was also produced in the atonic monosyllable **in, én**, even when the preposition was followed by a vowel and the close **é** was free The nasal consonant is sounded before a vowel down to the present day, as in the compound word **in-ọ̀dio**, *ennui*, pronounced *ãnui*, and formerly **ẽnui**, or when the preposition *en* is followed by a word beginning with a vowel Thus *en Espagne* is pronounced *ãn Españ*

92 NASALIZED **O** — In the eleventh century we find the

syllable on, in the *Chanson de Roland*, assonant with a pure ó, but oftener with itself, which points to a beginning of nasalization In the twelfth century the formation of the new sound õ was complete It was derived

(i) From ò and ó stopped, before m or n

rǫ̆mpıt	*ront*	pronounced	*rõn't* (rompt)
cǫ̆mıtem	*conte*	,,	*cõn'te* (comte)
lǫ̆ngum	*lonc*	,,	*lõn'c* (long)
bǒnıtątem	*bonte*	,,	*bõn'te*

(ii) From ò and o free, before an m or n that had become final

bǫ̆num	*bon*	pronounced	*bõn'*
nōn	*non*	,,	*nõn'*
nǫ̆men, nǫ́me	*nom*	,,	*nõm'*

We do not know with certainty whether during this period the vowel was nasalized before a medial m or n **Roma** was at one time pronounced *Rõme*, **poma** was pronounced *põ-me*, but apparently only in Middle French

It must be noted that the m and the n directly affected stopped a and e, but not free a or e[1], whilst they acted alike on free o and stopped o, transforming both vowels into õ

We may notice at the same time that the stopped open è was changed into close é, and thence into ẽ, and that the open ò was not only not regularly transformed into a diphthong, but even became a closed ó, *bon*, for instance, was assonant with *dolor*, and *sone* (Lat sǫnat, in the *Chanson de Roland sune*) with *boche, bouche*

These facts are the more strange and contradictory as now õ is the nasal of open ò, and not that of close o, and ẽ that of open è, and not that of close é.

[1] The free *e* regularly became *ie* before *m* or *n* e g *bęne*, bien , the *a* became *ai* e g *pąnem*, pain

II Diphthongs and Triphthongs

93 THE DIPHTHONGS **AI, ÉI, ÒI** and **ÓI, ŭI.—AI** tended, from the end of the eleventh century, to become open **è** In the twelfth century the change was complete *faite* was assonant with **pèrte** Nevertheless the language preserved the use of the former orthography **ai.** There was but a small number of words in which the diphthong was replaced by a vowel, as in *frêle* for **fraisle**, *grêle* for **graisle**

ÉI In the fragment of Valenciennes, **neiiez** (Lat **nĕcątos**) is written *noieds*, while the accented **éi** remains unchanged in **haveir** (Lat **habẹre**), **penteiet** (Lat **poenitẹbat**), &c It has therefore been concluded with reason that in Northern French the change of the diphthong éi into òi took place first in atonic syllables Then éi became òi in accented syllables, but only two centuries later From the North the new pronunciation reached the East (Burgundy and Champagne), and then the Centre (the Ile de France, Orléanais, &c) In the latter district éi was changed into òi in all words, except before **n** *mouillee* and **l** *mouillee* Thus **mei, tei, sei,** became *moi, toi, soi*, **rei, lei,** became *roi, loi*, but **sein** (sịnum) remained **sein**, **plein** (plẹnum) remained **plein**, **fein** (fọenum) remained **fein** The pronunciation of **aveine** (avẹna), **meins** (mịnus)[1], **pareil** (*parịculum), **conseil** (consịlium), **oeille** (ovịcula)[2], &c, remained unchanged Later éi, in words in which this diphthong had been preserved, developed, like **ai,** into open **è**

ÒI and **ÓI** There were originally two diphthongs **oi,** the one, **òi,** derived from **au + y** (**nạusea**, *noise*), the other, **ói,** derived from **ó + y** (**vọ̄cem**, *voiz*) These two diph-

[1] No sure explanation has yet been given of the forms *avoine, foin, moins*, which made their appearance at the end of the fifteenth century, and finally triumphed in Parisian and literary French

[2] In *pareil, conseil*, &c , the *i* serves both as part of the diphthong *ei* and to indicate that the *l* is *mouillee* The pronunciation was not *pare ĭ*, but *parei ĭ*

thongs were both written **oi**, the number of instances of the diphthong **òi** was increased at the end of the twelfth century, owing to the evolution of this diphthong, as we have just seen, from **éi** In the thirteenth century the two diphthongs were assimilated, both being pronounced **ói**, which at the end of the Middle Ages was changed into **óè** and then into **we**

UI During the first period of the language this was pronounced with a stress on the **u** and the **i** as a **yod**, but there was a tendency to reverse the importance of the two constituents of the diphthong At the end of the second period the **i** became a vowel, and the **u** a consonant, the pronunciation being **ẅi** Before, *lui* had been assonant with **u**, thenceforth it was assonant with **i**

94 THE DIPHTHONGS **EU, ÓU, ÒU, UO**, THE TRIPHTHONGS **IÈU, UÒU** —**EU**, towards the thirteenth or fourteenth century, must have developed into the sound we now give it, but this new sound was also derived from **óu, òu,** and **uo**

ÓU is the diphthong derived from **ó** free and accented, thus *bellezour* in the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie* is an irregular comparative in -o̤rem of *bel, belle* Later, but still at an early period, the ancient close **o**, whether free or stopped, was (like the open **ò**) represented by the letter **o** in most of the Continental texts, and (like the **u** from **ū**) by the letter **u** in the Norman and Anglo Norman texts From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, in France the sound derived from the original free **ó** was assonant with the stopped **ó** and the **ó** before a nasal, so that it seems to have ceased to be sounded as a diphthong Then a new distinction was made accented **ó**, when free, passed into the vowel **eu**, when stopped, into the vowel **u**[1] This latter vowel was represented in spelling by the combination

[1] The atonic *o*, free or stopped, gave rise, though we are unable to formulate any certain rule in the matter, to either *u* or *o*

of the **o** and the **u**, and not, as in other Romance languages, by the Latin **u**, which had become in French **u** Thus we have **dolǫ́rem**, *dolor, douleur*, **tŭrrem**, *tor, tour*

ÒU in *pòu* (**pạucum**), *fou, liòu, jiòu* (**fǫcum**, **lǫcum**, **jǫcum**), became about the same period **èu**, which was reduced to the vowel **eu** like the preceding diphthongs Cf p 96, note 2

UO (i e uo) was derived from the open ò accented, and free, and changed in the eleventh century into **ue**, in the twelfth or thirteenth into **oe** (both diphthongs), and was finally transformed in the fourteenth century into the vowel **eu** [1]

Thus **nǫ̆vem**, **nòve**, became successively **nuof**, **nuef**, **noef**, **neuf** In the Middle Ages, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, there was constant hesitation between the two notations **ue** and **oe** Modern usage has preserved traces of the old notation side by side with the spelling **eu** which has come into general use **Ue** is still to be found in **cueillir**, where the **u** has been preserved before the **e** owing to the necessity of indicating in writing the guttural sound of the **c** **Oe** is preserved in **œ-il**, and, in a strange fashion, in **œuf**, **sœur**, **bœuf**, which thus combine the two groups **œ** and **eu**

Thus in the fourteenth century the group **eu** represents a primitive **uo** (ò = Lat ŏ free and accented), primitive **óu** (ó = Lat ō or ŭ free and accented), a primitive **òu** (Lat **au**, and ò followed by **u**)

IÈU the triphthong **iòu** was reduced in the same way to the diphthong **ieu** (**i** + the vowel **eu**)

UÒU the triphthong **uòu** was lost (p 96, note 2).

95 THE DIPHTHONG **IÉ**—**IÉ**, which was originally a falling diphthong (**ié**), became gradually in the second period a rising diphthong (**ię́**), the first element of which was soon changed into a consonantal **i** or **yod**

[1] In *avuec, illucc* the *u* dropped *avec, illec*

This diphthong was preserved until the fourteenth century From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century it underwent reduction in two special cases

(i) In all categories of words (substantives, adjectives, verbs, and invariable words) containing the groups **chié** and **gié**, these were reduced to *che* and *ge* **vachier, bergier, legier,** became *vacher, berger, leger*, **giel, degiel, jieu,** became *gel, degel, jeu* This phonetic reduction only left untouched certain forms of proper names, as **Bergier** (coexistent with *Berger*), **Fléchier**, &c , of which the old pronunciation was maintained owing to the influence of the spelling

(ii) According to the above rule, (i) verbs like **mangier, marchier, laschier**, and similar verbs in **-chier** and **gier**, with their participles and participial substantives, became *manger, marcher, lâcher*, &c In all other verbs, participles, and participial substantives of the first conjugation, the Latin **a** of which had been transformed into the diphthong **ié** by the action of a preceding palatal (§ 54, I *a*), analogy with the regular conjugation in **-er**, from **-are**, caused the entire loss of the diphthong and its replacement by the **e** Verbal forms such as **aidiez, aidié, aidier, laissier, veillier, chacier, preiier, chalcier, croisier,** became *aidez, aide, aider, laisser, chasser*, &c Participial substantives such as **croisiée, chalciée,** became *croisee, chaussee*, &c

Consequently the only words which escaped this reduction were *substantives* and *adjectives* in which the diphthong **ié** was not preceded by **ch** or **g** Thus we have **fier** from fĕrum, but *cher* from cărum , **fiel** from fĕl, but *gel* from gĕlum , **premier, chevalier**, and a great number of other substantives in **-ier** from **-ārium** , also **moitié, amitié, inimitié, pitié**, from **mediĕtātem, *amicitātem, pietātem**

This general transformation took two centuries to accomplish , it was complete at the end of the sixteenth century, although we still find some traces of it in pro

vincial texts of the beginning of the seventeenth century The details of the transformation are still but little known

96 NASAL DIPHTHONGS —Those in use were **ain**, **ein**, **ion** In the eleventh century **ain** and **ein** were pronounced *ãin'*, *ẽin'*[1], then, when **ai** and **ei** before **n** *mouillee* and **l** *mouillee* were both transformed into open **è** (§ 93), the corresponding nasal diphthongs were reduced to **ẽ** **pain**, **aime**, **plein**, were pronounced *pẽn'*, *ẽm'*, *plẽn'*

The diphthong **ion** is of relatively recent formation, dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century Coming after the changing of **ẽ** into **ã**, this diphthong has preserved until now its proper sound of **ẽ** **rien**, **mien**, **chien**, **moïen** (moyen), **crestïen**, &c

For the combinations of **ñ** with **a**, **o**, and **e**, see § 104.

III Hiatus

97 NEW HIATUSES —At the beginning of the century a considerable number of hiatuses appeared Most medial explosives that had become weakened during the preceding period were finally dropped, and left in contact with each other the preceding and following vowels.

mutare	**muder**	*muer*
salutare	**saluder**	*saluer*
videre	**vedeir**	*veeir*, *veoir* (*voir*)
sedere	**sedeir**	*seeir*, *seoir*
audire	**odir**	*oir*, *ouir*
securum	(**segur**)	*seur* (*sũr*)
carruca	(**charrugue**)	*charrue*

98 REDUCTION OF THE HIATUSES — These hiatuses came

[1] These diphthongs, which are analogous to the nasal diphthongs in Portuguese, were formed by a nasal vowel *ã* or *ẽ*, combined with the mouth vowel *i*, and pronounced with a single emission of the voice before the nasal consonant

as an addition to the number preserved by the language during the preceding period the process of the reduction of hiatuses extended over from three to four centuries, and even then remained incomplete A great number of hiatuses have been preserved in Modern French or re-established for reasons either of euphony or analogy Poetical diction numbers many more than those in ordinary or familiar use Thus the suffix **-ion** is now usually pronounced with a single emission of the voice, but in verse it has still two syllables

As a general rule, when these vowels were in hiatus with an accented vowel, i became **y** (yod), o and u became **w**, and ü became **ẅ** From the end of the Middle Ages the earlier terminations **i-ons**, **i-ez**, in the imperfect and conditional moods had become monosyllabic The pronunciation was then, as it is now, *dyable*, *vyande*, and no longer **di-able**, **vi-ande**, *ecwelle* instead of **écu-elle** (scutella), *wi* (oui) instead of **ou-i**, **o-il** (hoc illi, cf § 260 iv) Similarly people said *mwele* (moelle) instead of **mo-elle** (earlier **meolle**, medulla), *pwele* (poele) instead of **po-ele** (patella)

When the vowel in hiatus was an **e** feminine, or an **a** or an **o**, before **o, u,** or **u,** it ceased to be pronounced, as in **ve-oir**, *voir*, **se-ur**, *sûr*[1], **a-oust**, *août*, **ro-ond**, *rond* In other cases it was combined with the following vowel to form a diphthong or a new vowel, as in **re-ine**, *reine*, **ha-ine**, *haine*, **cha-eine**, *chaîne*

The date of the reduction of hiatuses appears to have differed in the different provinces At the end of the fourteenth century it seems to have been completed in Central French, but it appears to have been only completed later on in the Northern dialects

The reduction of the hiatus was in certain cases effected by the intercalation of a consonant

[1] In *heur* and its compounds, *bonheur*, *malheur*, earlier *eur* (augurium), *e-u* has become *eu* The Gascon pronunciation *bonur*, *malur*, is more regular than that of literary French

grair (from **grądir**, **gradɩre* for **grądi**)	*gra-v-ir*
pareis (from **paredis**, **paradɩsum**)	*pare-v-is, parvis*
poeir, pooir, pou-oir (from **podeir**, ***potęre**)	*pou-v-oir*
plioir (derived from **plier**)	*pli-v-oir*

Section II —*History of the Consonants*

I Loss of the Medial and Final Consonants

99 Medial consonants —At the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century many of the medial consonants disappeared namely, the dental, **d**, whether primitive or substituted for an earlier **t**, and the palatal, **g**, substituted for **c**

audɩre	**odir**	*oir, ouir*
mutąre	**muder**	*muer*
pątrem	**pedre**	*pere*
frątrem	**fredre**	*frere*
secųrum	**(segur)**	*seur* (*sûr*)
carrųca	**(charrugue)**	*charrue*

100 Final consonants —Final dental consonants, if they had never been in contact with other consonants[1], experienced the same fate as the medial dental consonants

virtųtem	**vertut**	*vertu*
fɩdem	**feit**	*fet*
cąntat	**chantet**	*chante*

All other final consonants, whether preceded by a consonant or a vowel, tended to disappear when they were followed by words commencing with a consonant The same cause operated with regard to the plural of substantives and adjectives, which lost the final consonant of the radical, when this was a palatal or labial, before the

[1] See § 66 (on double consonants) and § 68 (on medial consonant groups) e g *tąntum*, tant *cąttum* chat, *hąbuit*, ot

flexional **s**, as in le **coc**, les *cos*, le **drap**, les *dras* In the fourteenth century the consonant of the singular was usually written in the plural (les **cocs**, les **draps**), but was not pronounced This difference between the singular and plural explains the form shown by a certain number of substantives in modern times The words la **cléf**, les *cles*, le **baillif**, les *baillis*, were pronounced as they are here written the modern singular forms *cle*, *baili*, were derived from the old plurals[1]

II Sibilant and 'Chuintant' Consonants

101 CH, J, AND TS OR Z —In the thirteenth century the group teh was reduced to the simple consonant **sh**, which is still written **ch** In the same way the **ç**, originally a **ts**, was changed into a surd **s** The final **z** was similarly reduced to the sound of a simple surd **s**, although it was mostly preserved in writing Thus **bontez**, pronounced **bontéts** until the thirteenth century, became *bontes*, but the word was still written **bontez** The **z** is now only preserved in the spelling of the second person plural of verbs

The **j** (or **g**, before **e** or **i**) also lost the dental sound with which it commenced **ja** (previously pronounced **dja**) was pronounced from the thirteenth century on as it is now pronounced in *de ja*

102 S —Before a consonant in the middle of words **s** gradually disappeared from pronunciation, although it was long preserved in orthography

This change seems to have commenced from the eleventh century before sonant consonants, and to have been continued in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before surd consonants Then the revolution was com-

[1] See in Book II the chapter on the formation of the plural of substantives, §§ 167, 168 169

pleted, and the **s** (in this position) was lost from *all* words in popular French The learned language sometimes gave way to the action of the spoken language, but mostly opposed it, and both preserved artificially, and later introduced into common usage, words containing the group **s** + consonant In the sixteenth century we see Spanish, and still more Italian, helping to spread the use of this group, which had been previously destroyed in popular French

The loss of the **s** sometimes modified the preceding vowel If the latter was accented it was lengthened, and the timbres of open **à** and **o** were changed to those of close **á** and **ó** This was the origin of the long **á** in *pâque*, previously pronounced **păsk**, of the long **ó** in *côte*, *hôte*, which were originally **cŏste**, **hŏste**, and of the long **è** of *tête*, *fête*, formerly **tĕste**, **fĕste** Atonic vowels before medial **s** were not changed (as we can see from the words **escrire**, *ecrire*, **esté**, *été*, **costel**, *coteau*, **posterne**, *poterne*), unless they were affected by words in which the same vowels were accented Thus *hôte* led to the particular pronunciation of *hôtel* (pron ōtel), whilst in *cote* (pron **kŏt'**) and **coteau** (pron **kŏtó**) the vowels remained dissimilar

III Action of *R* and of Nasal Consonants on Preceding Vowels

103. R —At the end of the period under consideration this consonant exerted an action on a preceding **a** or **e**, whether the vowel was accented or atonic, and whether the **r** was followed or not by a consonant We have in Old French the forms **lerme** (now *larme*, from lairme, lacrima), **merquer** (now *marquer*), **perruche**, **perche**, **asparge** (now *asperge*), **char** (now *chair*), **esparvier** (now *epervier*) In Middle French *lerme* and *larme*, *merche* and *marche*, *merquer* and *marquer*, *cercher* and *çarcher*, *haubert* and *haubart*, *ferme* and *farme*, *perche* and *parche*, &c, were

used indifferently The confusion continued well into the seventeenth century At that epoch the present forms, which, generally speaking, are in agreement with the etymology of the words, were established

104 NASALIZATION OF VOWELS BY **N** MOUILLÉE —We have seen above (§§ 90, 91, 92) how the vowels **a**, **e**, **o**, were changed into nasals under the action of a following **n**, whether medial, final, or forming part of a group The modifications of vowels by the action of the **ñ** are similar to those produced by the simple **n** The pure vowel became nasal the **a**, for instance, in **Hispania**, *Espagne*, which was pronounced *Espãñe* But in some cases from the **n** *mouillée* a **yod** was evolved which became incorporated with the vowel It was thus possible for **Hispania** to become *Espaigne*, which occurs in the *Chanson de Roland*, and is to be pronounced *Espãiñe*

The **n** *mouillée* occurred at the end of words, but never before a consonant People said **je plaign** (or **plaing**), pronounced *plãñ* or *plãiñ* , but **il plaint**, pronounced *plãint* At the end of the Middle Ages the final **ñ** became simple **n** lõiñ, **besõiñ**, written **loing**, **besoing**, became *loin*, *besoin*[1] This is why we write *bain* (pronounced *bẽ*) in spite of the form **baigner** (*beñe*)

IV Replacement of *L* by a Vowel

105 CHANGE OF **L** INTO **U** —The most notable trait in the history of French pronunciation from the eleventh to the fifteenth century was the replacement of l by a vowel, i e its transformation into **u** before a consonant, in the middle of words, or at the end of a word closely united by the sense to the following word

There is a close connexion between the sound l and the sound **u**, as there is also between l and i In the

[1] As the mouth diphthong *oi* passed into *oe*, then into *we* (§ 93), so the nasal diphthong *oin* (*õiñ*) passed to *wẽn* (*lwẽn*, *beswẽn*)

pronunciation of the ordinary l the tongue vibrates about a horizontal position, but while vibrating it may instead be either arched or hollowed In the first case it touches the roof of the palate with the summit of the arch, and produces at the same time as the l a **yod** which combines with that consonant to form an l *mouillee* (§ 36) In the second case, as the tongue hollows, the mouth is given the shape necessary for the production of the vowel **u** Hence there results an intermediate sound, half l, half **u**, that may still be heard in Slavonic languages [1]

The transformation of l into **u** only occurred in a few words in Italian, Spanish, and Provençal it was the rule in French As the change in some cases affected the preceding vowel, we must distinguish between the various groups formed by vowels or diphthongs with the l **al, el, él, iél, il, òl, ól, ul, eul**

A change was produced in the same way with the l *mouillee* As far as this matter is concerned the latter cannot be separated from simple l

106 AL —At the end of the twelfth century **al** was changed into **au talpe** became *taupe*, **albe**, *aube*, **altre**, *autre*, **malsade**, *maussade*, **malgré**, *maugre* and *maugreer*, **cheval-leger**, *chevau-leger*, **al roi**, *au roi* [2] The liquid remained unchanged when it was not followed by a consonant **al homme, al enfant** (spelt later *a l'homme, a l'enfant*)

It is for this reason that in Modern French nouns ending in **al** have *aux* in the plural (**cheval**, *chevaux*), and also that in the conjugation we have such forms as *je vaux, tu vaux, il vaut*, side by side with **nous valons, vous valez**, &c

[1] The Slav languages possess all the intermediate sounds between simple *l* and *u*

[2] Between *al* and *au* there existed an intermediate pronunciation, in which the *l* was halfway between the pure liquid and the vowel and it was sometimes noted approximatively by *ul aulbe, paulme*, &c

Notes —1 In the modern language *chevaux, vaux,* are written with an **x** instead of **s** Why do we have this **x**?

In the Middle Ages the **x** was used as an abbreviation for the group **-us** What was pronounced **Deus** was written **Dex**, what was pronounced **nous, vous**, might be written **nox, vox** It was quite natural that *chevax, vax,* should be made to represent the words pronounced *chevaus, vaus* (Lat **valles**) Towards the end of the Middle Ages, when the use of abbreviations tended to disappear, the meaning of this sign **x** was forgotten, and the sign **x** was confused with the letter **x**, which was thenceforward taken as a substitute for the **s** As the vowel **u** was heard in the diphthong **au**, this vowel was reinstated and the words were written *chevaux, vaux*

Some, who did not understand that the **l** of the singular was already represented in the plural by the **u**, even went so far as to write *chevaulx* and *vaulx* From the seventeenth century onwards this parasitic **l** was generally suppressed, save in the two words *aulx* (plur of **ail**) and *faulx* (**falcem**) Nouns ending in **al** henceforward had their plural in *aux*

It is to this succession of errors that is due the unfortunate custom in modern spelling of noting almost every **s** following **u** by an **x**, not only in words where the **u** represents a former **l** (*chaux,* **calcem**, *faux,* **falsum**, *doux,* **dulcem**), but in many cases where the **u** does not come from the liquid (**glorieux, neveux, je peux**) It is high time that a more simple and more correct spelling should prevail, and that this barbarous **x** should be everywhere replaced by a final **s**

2 In some words **al** has become **au**, even in the singular e g *etau, chenau, noyau, hoyau,* &c The explanation of this fact will be found in Book II of this work, in the chapter on Plurals (§ 169)

3 What was the pronunciation of the group **au**? It is certain that the **u** was like the Latin **u** and not the French

u **au** was pronounced **ęou** and formed a falling diphthong In the eighth century the Latin diphthong **au** had been reduced in French to open **ò** four centuries later by another process the language restored what it had destroyed In the sixteenth century we see the disappearance of the new diphthong which was reduced to close **ó**

107 ÈL AND **ÉL** —The change of **l** into **u** in the group **èl** led to the intercalation of an **a** after the **è** and the consequent formation of the triphthong **ęau**, with the stress on the **è** This triphthong **ęau** very soon came to be **èęu** and **eęu** (with an **e** feminine), and its destiny followed that of the group **al** Thus, to give a typical example, the adjective **bels** became successively from the twelfth to the thirteenth century **bęaus**, **bèęus**, *beaus* In the following centuries and until the fifteenth the triphthong *eau* was sounded, commencing with a feminine **e**, continuing with an accented **a**, and terminating with a **u** In the dialects the feminine **e** was often changed into **ı**, so that the triphthong became **ıau** We shall see in the next chapter the fate of the triphthong *eau* in Modern French

Thus in Old and Middle French the declension ran le **mantèl**, les *manteaus*, le **chapel**, les *chapeaus*, un **bel** enfant, de **beaus** enfants In substantives a reaction of the plural on the singular caused the universal disappearance of the forms in **el** hence the forms *manteau*, *chapeau*, &c [1] Such forms as **martel en tête**, **listel**, **cartel**, are Italianisms The termination of adjectives was also converted into *eau* (*beau*, *nouveau*, *jumeau*), except before a vowel un **bel** enfant, **bel** et bon

The connexion between *eau* and **el** tends at the present time to disappear Although the language possesses numerous derivatives dating from the period when **el** had not yet changed into *eau* (**chapel**, *chapeau*, **chapelet**,

[1] See Book II § 169 already referred to

mantel, *manteau*, **mantelet**, **nouvel**, *nouveau*, **nouvelle**), which should still preserve the memory of the affiliation, French has begun to form derivatives such as *tableautin*, from *tableau*, *pinceauter*, from *pinceau* (instead of the forms which, according to tradition, one would expect, viz **tablellin**, **pinceler**)

ÉL, accented, only existed in the plural pronoun **éls** (illos) and in the substantive **chevéls** (capillos), which became *eus* and *cheveus* (Mod F *eux*, *cheveux*) The **l** was changed into **u**, the diphthong **éu**, produced by the change, became identical in sound with the older **ó**, and followed the same fate (§ 94) At the end of the Middle Ages what was formerly pronounced **él** had certainly the sound of the modern vowel **eu** When atonic, **él** was not reduced to **eu**, but to **u** (ou) e g *filicaria, **felgiere**, *fougiere*, *fougere*, **del** (contracted article, atonic), *dou*, later *du* (pron **du**)[1]

IÉL was changed into the triphthong **iéu** e g **ciel**, *cieus* This was soon pronounced **yeu**, the **eu** being a vowel, as it is now (§§ 95 and 98)

108 OTHER VOWELS OR DIPHTHONGS PRECEDING **L**

IL.—The language seems to have hesitated in this case In Old French we have **soutil**, *soutius*, **vil**, *vius*, **vilté**, *viute*, but these forms did not survive Either the consonant reappeared, as in *subtils*, *vils*, or dropped out without leaving any trace **filcelle**, *ficelle*

ÒL and **ÓL** became **ou** and **ou**, which were very soon reduced to the simple vowel **u** (ou) e g **dóls**, *dous*, *doux*, **còls**, *cous*, **fòls**, *fous*, **mòls**, *mous*

UL In this case the **l** appears to have combined with the **u** without leaving any traces **pulpitre** became *pupitre*, **pulcelle** became *pucelle*

[1] We have not mentioned the transformation of the *l* into a vowel in the group *el* corresponding to *al* in Latin (*mortel*, *pel*) The point is still obscure

UEL or **EUL** In this group the l simultaneously with its transformation into a vowel was fused with the vowel **eu**: **aieul**, *aieus*, **linceul**, *linceus*

109 With **L** mouillée —Vowels and diphthongs followed by the l *mouillee* underwent similar changes.

Aĭ (written **ail**) **travails**, *travaux*

Èĭ (written **eil**) **meils** (Lat **mĕlius**), *mieux*

Éĭ (written **eil**) **conseil**, *conseus* Under the influence of the singular the modern language has returned to the form **conseils**

Ĭĭ (written **il**) Here the l *mouillee* dropped out **fils** came to be pronounced *fis* In dialects the forms *fius*, *fieus*, have been used

Uĭ (written **ouil**) Here the **ĭ** simultaneously with its transformation into a vowel fused with the **u** **genouils**, *genoux*, **verrouils**, *verroux* The singulars *genou* and *verrou* are derived from the plurals

Thus the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the development of a whole new series of diphthongs and triphthongs **au**, **eu**, **eau**, **ieu** But the diphthong **au** and the triphthong **eau** alone lasted until the sixteenth century.

Section III —*Summary*

110. State of the pronunciation at the end of the fifteenth century

The pure vowels were **à**, **á**, **è**, **é**, **ı**, **ò**, **ó**, **u** (ou), **u** (u), **eu**, and **e** feminine The close **a** and close **o** were derived from open **à** and open **ò** followed by a consonant which had been lost, notably **s** (§ 102) It will be remembered that the **u** is a continuation of an older close o, either stopped or atonic (§ 94), and that the vowel **eu**[1] represents

[1] An open vowel *eu* and a close vowel *eu* were already distinguished in pronunciation But, the facts on which this distinction is founded not

the old diphthongs **èu, òu, óu, uo** (§ 94), and the groups **él, uel, èl** (§§ 107, 108, 109)

There was but a single pure diphthong, **au**, and a single pure triphthong **eau**

The nasal vowels were **ã, ẽ** (**ain, ein, oin, ien**), **õ.**

There were no longer any nasal diphthongs

The consonants were the same as those of the present day **b, p, v, f,** —**d, t,** sonant **s** (or **z**), surd **s,** —**g, c** (**k, q**), —**j, ch,** —**y, w, ẇ**[1], —**h,** —**l, r, m, n, l, ñ** So far as these are concerned there is no essential difference between the pronunciation of the period in question and our own, except that the **r** was not yet guttural, that **ñ** might occur at the end of words (§ 104), and that the **l** had not yet begun to disappear.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF FRENCH PRONUNCIATION

(FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY)

111 Close *e* —112 Open *o*, and *eu* —113 History of the *e* feminine —114 *L* —115 *Oi* —116 *Ui* —117 *Au* and *eau* —118 New nasal vowels 119 Change of nasal vowels into pure vowels —120 *R*, and *l mouillé* —121 Final consonants —122 Conclusion

SECTION I —*History of the Vowels.*

1 Pure or Mouth Vowels

111 CLOSE **É** — Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries close accented **é**[2] became open **e** whenever it was followed by a surviving consonant The older pronunciation was **échéc, chéf, féve, ele, pére, mére, fréie,**

having yet been studied, we shall provisionally consider these two sounds, both of which had the same origin as one

[1] The groups formed by these consonants with various following vowels are improperly called diphthongs by grammarians (cf § 27 1

[2] Close *e*, when accented, is derived from a Latin *a*, free and accented

amér, amére, clér, fiér, &c Gradually these words began to be pronounced as they are now *echec, chef, feve, ele* (aile), *pere, amer, cler* (clair), *fier,* &c The **é** remained close when it was not followed by any consonant, or when the following consonant (especially final **r**) had ceased to be pronounced, as we shall see in § 121 This is why the participles and infinitives of the first conjugations, and polysyllables in **-er** and **-ier,** have preserved the close **é,** whilst the feminines in *ere* and *-iere* have the open **è**

bergé (berger)	*bergere*
messagé (messager)	*messagere*
printamié (printanier)	*printaniere*
ouvrié (ouvrier)	*ouvriere*[1]

112 OPEN **O,** AND **EU**—In the sixteenth century and even earlier (p 155, note), the Old French ò (§§ 85, 110) and the vowel **eu** when they immediately preceded a final consonant were, so it appears, either open or close as the consonant was sounded or silent (§ 121) The difference is still apparent in one or two words of the language at the present day

le **bœuf** gras (pron **beú**)	un *bœuf* (pron *beuf*)
des **œufs** (pron **eu**)	un *œuf* (pron *euf*)

On the stage actors have sometimes said, 'vous êtes un **sòt',**' but it is mostly pronounced *so* with the **o** close and without the **t** At present the vowels in question are always open before final consonants which have persisted since

(§ 51, 4 and § 89 , *ie* is derived from the same Latin *a*, preceded by a palatal consonant (§ 54, 1 *a*) or a Gallo-Romanic *e*, free and accented (§ 51, 2)

[1] The *yod* or consonantal *i*, preceding either close or open *e* (the former diphthong *ie*), was changed into the vowel *i* after a group of consonants sounded in the same syllable

ou-vrier	*ou-vri-er*
ta-blier	*ta-bli-er*

The word *hier*, formerly a monosyllable, is also pronounced with two emissions of the voice *hi-er*

the sixteenth century, they are close whenever they end the word[1] The following words are pronounced **keùr** (cœur), **seùr** (sœur), **tòrt** (tort), **essòr**, **dòt**, but *peu* (peux), *jeu*, *lieu*, *heureu* (heureux), *do* (dos), *palto* (paletot), *flo* (flot), &c

We find, at least from the sixteenth century onwards that the open ò has been changed into close ó before a sibilant consonant in such words as *fosse*, *rose*, *chose*, *arrose*, which have even been pronounced *rouse*, *chouse*, *arrouse* The vowel **eu**, of which the original timbre is uncertain, has also a close sound before a **z** *heureuse*, *Meuse*, *Creuse*, &c [2]

113 HISTORY OF THE **E** FEMININE.—From the fourteenth century the **e** feminine began to be no longer pronounced after diphthongs and vowels whether atonic or accented

vraiemont	*vraiment*
uniement	*uniment*
journée	*journe(e)*
folie	*foli(e)*
eaue (aqua)	*eau*

When the **e** feminine preceded the accented vowel the spelling generally conformed to the new pronunciation, and the letter **e** by which it was represented was dropped When it formed the last syllable of a word it was preserved in writing, except in the substantive *eau* (whose first syllable was formerly a triphthong) and in the termination of the 1st persons singular of the imperfect indicative and conditional tenses, formerly *oie*, which later became *-ois* (§ 244, II)

At the same time the **e** feminine became weakened between two medial consonants, first of all no doubt when it was in proximity with a liquid or a nasal

[1] [i e in pronunciation]

[2] [The accents indicating the quality of the *single* vowel-sounds written *eu* have been placed over the second letter of their graphical representation, as on p 67]

acheter	*ach'ter*
savetier	*sav'tier*
charretier	*charter* [La Fontaine]
larrecin	*larcin*
serement	*serment*

When it followed an initial consonant the **e** feminine survived and still persists, except when it was followed by **l** or **r**, as in

belouse	*blouse*
beluter	*bluter*
berouette	*brouette*

In the sixteenth century the **e** feminine was still pronounced at the end of words when it followed a consonant But since the seventeenth century it is only sounded in conversation after groups of consonants which require a 'supporting' vowel for instance, in *quatre, table, peuple, souple*, or, in the middle of words, in *appartement, exactement, testement*, &c

In this respect, moreover, local and individual habits vary sensibly In the language of oratory or poetry the **e** feminine, or **e** mute as it is called, is better preserved than in ordinary conversation In verse it counts as a syllable, and constitutes the feminine rhyme No other fact has contributed more to give modern French poetry a fictitious and artificial character and to make the lines sound halting to an unwarned ear

In many cases although we cannot formulate precise rules in this matter, we find that the pretonic **e** feminine was changed from the sixteenth century onwards into close **é** It is thus that **desir, peril, sejour, lepreux, benin, gemir, querir, guerir**, have become *desir, peril, sejour, lepreux, benin, gemir, querir, guerir*

114 U—In proximity to certain consonants, particularly **l** and the labials, the **e** feminine was sometimes

changed into **u**. The same change took place with the vowel **eu**

gemeau	*jumeau*
bevons	*buvons*
letrin	*lutrin*
meure	*mūre*
feur	*fur* (in 'au *fur* et à mesure')
preudome	*prudhomme*

115 OI.—The old diphthong **oi** was pronounced **wè** (§ 94) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In a number of words, such as the substantives **croie** (crēta), **monnoie**, the adjectives **foible**, **roide**, the verbs **connoître** and **paroître**, in several names of people, such as **François**, **Anglois**, **Polonois**, **Japonois**, and lastly in the imperfect and conditional of all verbs, the **w** has ceased to be pronounced, and the vowel **è** only has remained. This pronunciation began in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Berain, the lawyer, thought of representing it by **ai**, but this spelling, recommended by Voltaire and officially recognized at the time of the Revolution, only definitely supplanted the old notation in **oi** in the nineteenth century.

However, the greater number of the words which had formerly contained the diphthong **oi** remained faithful to the pronunciation **we**. To these must be added some words in which the phonetic group **we** had its immediate origin in an open **è** preceded by a vowel in hiatus (§ 98), such as **poele**, **moelle**, **fouet**, &c. From the sixteenth century onwards, in the pronunciation of the Parisian populace, the **e** preceded by **w** had a tendency to change into **a**. At the time of the Revolution this popular pronunciation gradually gained ground among the Parisian *bourgeoisie*, and owing to the triumph of democracy it spread over the whole of France. In the patois and in provincial French the pronunciation **wè** is still to be found, but in the common

speech the old diphthong **oi**, still persisting in the spelling, has, since the end of the last century, possessed the phonetic value **wa** We also say **mwale**, **pwale** (*moelle*, *poele*), and *fouet* would be generally pronounced **fwa** if the spelling had not kept alive the memory of the old pronunciation **fwè**

116 UI —At the end of the Middle Ages this was pronounced **ẇi** (§ 93) The **ẇ** has ceased to be pronounced after a labial consonant in *vider* for **vuider** and in *tremie* for **tremuie.**

117 AU AND EAU —The diphthong **au** and the triphthong **eau** were pronounced in the sixteenth century **ao** and **eao** Towards the end of this century the diphthong **ao** was transformed into close **ó** In the seventeenth century the **e** feminine of the new diphthong **eo**, evolved from the triphthong **eao**, ceased to be pronounced and the modern pronunciation **ó** was established.

II Nasal Vowels

118 NEW NASAL VOWELS —Until the sixteenth century French only possessed three nasal vowels, **ã**, **ẽ**, **õ**, produced by the nasalization of the **a**, the **e**, and the **o**, and of the old diphthongs **ai**, **oi**, **oi**, and **io** At the end of the sixteenth century **i** and **u** were in their turn nasalized before **n** and **m** when these consonants were followed by a consonant, or at the end of a word In the course of the seventeenth century the sounds **ĩ** and **ũ**, of which it is impossible to indicate the exact pronunciation, became **ẽ** and **eũ** (cf § 26).

119 CHANGE OF NASAL VOWELS INTO PURE VOWELS — Until the seventeenth century the vowels **a**, **e**, and **o** were nasalized before **m** or **n** (§§ 91, 92). the words *femme*, *chienne*, *pomme*, *couronne*, were pronounced **fãme**, **chiẽne**, **põme**, **courõne.** But from that period onwards the people

began to substitute for these the mouth-vowels corresponding to the former nasals

ãnée	*a(n)née*
constãment	*consta(m)ment*
fãme	*fame* (femme)
dõner	*do(n)ner*
hõneur	*ho(n)neur*

The old pronunciation has been preserved in the West and South of France The custom of writing the nasal twice has been retained, although this spelling has no longer any basis in the present pronunciation

Section II —*History of the Consonants*

120 R, and L mouillé—In the seventeenth century the double **r** (§ 66) was reduced to a single **r** In the eighteenth century the palatal **r** (*grasseyer*) was substituted for the older alveolar **r** (§ 34), which is still in use in singing and declamation, and is also returned in certain of the provinces

The present pronunciation of the old l *mouillee* as a **yod** (§ 36, 1) was noted from the end of the seventeenth century onward as vulgar, and has but recently triumphed over the opposition of the purists

121 Final consonants—The final consonants pronounced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (§ 100) were still distinct in the sixteenth, whenever they were not *immediately* followed by a word beginning with a consonant They were pronounced, not only before vowels (with the change of surd **s** and **f** into **z** (sonant **s**) and **v**), but also before every pause in speech This is the rule still observed with regard to the adjective-pronoun *tous* and the numerals *cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix*

tou(s) deux	*touz*-ensemble	venez *tou-s*
les *neu*(f) preux	*neuv* heures	*hui-t, neu-f, di-x*

In the sixteenth century the pronunciation was *tou deu-s*, *le neu preu-s*, *neuv eure-s*, *Clemã Maro-t* (Clement Marot), *Charle Quĩ-t* (Charles Quint), &c The **r** was always sounded, even before a consonant In the seventeenth century almost all isolated words, and words preceding a mark of punctuation, began to be pronounced like words preceding initial consonants, the final consonants being dropped Most of the final consonants were only preserved before vowels in the well-known cases of *liaison* The final **r** had a similar fate this consonant even ceased for a time to be sounded in many cases where it is now pronounced, for instance in the infinitives ending in *-ir* of the second conjugation

At the present day the tradition with regard to the *liaison* is hardly observed with rigour except in verse Hiatuses are distinctly in favour in familiar and popular speech, and in this it is becoming more and more rare for the consonants that have become silent before a pause to be sounded when they precede vowels On the other hand, under the influence of reading and spelling, or of certain analogies, final consonants have sometimes been reinstated which had ceased to be pronounced We have an example in the name *États-Unis* (United States), which in the last century was pronounced *Éta-Uni*, but is now pronounced *Étaz Uni* The frequency of occurrence of a word either in common usage or the literary language as the case might be, its occurrence before vowels or consonants or before a pause, the date of its frequent use, and various associations of ideas in connexion with it, have during the course of time in some instances caused the vowel termination to prevail, in others the consonant termination, so that it is impossible in this matter to formulate any rules holding universally, or even rules leaving room but for very few exceptions

CONCLUSION.

122 Conclusion.—We have traced in outline the profound changes which the language has undergone from its Latin origin down to the present day. In these changes, which have taken place with astonishing regularity, we observe especially a tendency to contraction, to a more and more rapid pronunciation of the words. The atonic vowels disappeared, giving rise to inharmonious groups of consonants of which the language soon rid itself. Medial consonants were lost, in the same fashion, bringing together groups of vowels which in their turn were reduced to simple vowels. Final consonants died out, diphthongs disappeared. The e feminine is, as a rule, no longer pronounced in the middle and at the end of words. Thus the language would tend to become monosyllabic, did it not repair its losses by means of the processes of composition and derivation.

An example will render obvious to the reader this twofold character in the evolution of the Latin speech in Gaul from the Roman conquest down to the present day. Let us take the sentence *Voici le soleil qui disparaît derrière ces nuages*. This is now pronounced *Vwasi soley ki disparè deryer se nuaj*. If we decompose it into its etymological elements we find that it contains the following Latin words and suffixes: *Vide ecce hic illum sol-iculum, qui dis par-escit de retro ecce istos nub aticos*. In Classical Latin the same thing might have been said more briefly: *Vide solem post has nubes abeuntem*.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I

THE differences between the three copies of the text given below, which were made successively at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, offer a reflex to some extent of the changes undergone by the language during this period We must, however, beware of believing that any one of the readings of the three manuscripts, 23117, 411, and 413, of the *fonds français* at the Bibliotheque Nationale *exactly* represents the language at the time when it was written Each one contains an inconsistent admixture of the more modern forms, contemporary with the scribe, with older forms copied from an earlier manuscript It is only by a minute comparison of the three versions that we can determine the innovations successively introduced into the text The texts were formerly copied for A Darmesteter by M Joseph Bedier, now Lecturer at the *École Normale Superieure* in Paris I have carefully collated them with the manuscripts myself According to custom, letters and words which require to be deleted have been enclosed in parentheses, and letters or words added to the texts, in brackets As the manuscripts are fairly correct, the number of these corrections has been small The mediaeval spelling, which follows no fixed rule, has been respected, but use has been made of modern punctuation, and of the modern distinctions between i and j, and u and v, and of the diaeresis and apostrophe The diaeresis has only been used where the hiatus indicated still subsists The grave and acute accents are only employed where they are necessary to distinguish between an accented e, open or close, and the atonic e feminine, occurring either at the end of words or before a final s or z The Latin quotation on page 172 is from Psalm xviii 6 of the Vulgate (xix 4 of the English Authorized Version)

E M

Bibl Nat fr 23117, folio 3, recto.

Copied at the end of the 13th century

13th cent Veritez est que Nostre Sires Jesuciz fu nez an la cite de Belleam, que l'estoille qui est demontremant de sa neissance s'aparut aus III rois paiens devers souleil levant Astronomien estoient bon li III roi, et par cele estoile qui la fu nee, laquele il ne souloient pas veoir, connurent il que ce estoit roial estoile

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Bibl Nat fr 411, folio 3, recto, col. 1.

Copied in the 14th century

14th cent [V]eritez est que Nostre Seignour Jhesuciz fu nez en la cité de Bethleem de madame sainte Marie, que l'estoille qui est demoustremenz de sa nessance aparut as III rois paiens par devers souleil levant Astronomien estoient bon li troi roi, et par cele estoile qui la fu nee, qu'il ne souloient mie veoir, cognurent il que ce estoit roial estoile et aparue estoit ancontre

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Bibl. Nat fr. 413, folio 3, recto, col 1.

Copied in the 15th century

15th cent Verite est que Nostre Seigneur Jhesuerist fu nez en la cite de Bethleem, que l'estoille qui est demonstrement de sa naissance s'apparut aus trois roys paiens devers soulcil levant Astronomiens estoient bons li trois roys, et par celle estoille qui la fu nee, laquelle ilz ne souloient pas veoir, congnurent ilz que ce estoit royal estoille qui apparue s'estoit encontre naissance de

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TRANSLATION

N B —In this literal translation those words which occur in one or other of the French originals, but not in all, are placed between square brackets Words inserted to complete the sense are placed in parenthesis

Trans lation SOOTH is it that Our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the city of Bethlehem, that the star which is the witness of his birth appeared to the three Pagan kings towards the rising sun Good astronomers were the three kings, and by that star which was born there, which they were not wont to see, knew they that it was a star royal [which] [and] had appeared against

qui aparue s'estoit ancontre neissance de roi Si pristrent con- 13th
seil antr'eus qu'il [l']iroient veoir, et si n'iroient mie vuide main, cent
ainz i porteroit chaucuns d'aus s'offrande Dist li uns 'Ge
porteré or' Dit li autres 'Et ge ancens' Dit li tiers 'Et ge
mirre' Et quant il se furent mis a la voie, tuit apareillié de cel
roi querre, si pristrent garde a l'estoile et virent que l'estoile
s'an aloit devant eus, et ne finna jusqu'ens an Jerusalem Li
roi ne vostrent pas passer par mi la cite Herode qu'il n'eussent
a li parle, por la hautesce de lui et por la seingnorie d'aus

---

nessance de roy Si printrent conseil entre aus que il [l']iroient 14th
veoir, et si l'aoureroient, et si n'iroient mie vuide mein, ainz cent
porteroient chascun d'elz s offrende Dist li uns 'G'i porteré
or' Dist li autres 'Et je ancens' Et dist li tiers 'Et je
mirre' Et quant il se furent mis a la voie, tuit appareillié de
cel roi querre, si printrent garde de l estoile et virent que
l'estoile s en aloit devant eulz, et ne fina jusqu'en Jherusalem
Ne ne vodrent passer par mi la cité Herode qu'il n'eussent a lui
parlé Pour la hautesce de lui et pour la seingnorie d'els

---

roy Si pristrent conseil entr'eulz qu'ilz l'iroient veoir et ne le 15th
suiveroient mie vuide main, ains y porteroit chascun d'eulz cent.
s'offrande Dist li uns 'Je porteré or' Dist li autres 'Et je
encens' Dist li tiers 'Et je mirre' Et quant ilz se furent mis
a la voie, tuit appareillie de cel roy querre, si pristrent garde
a l'estoille et virent que l'estoille s'en aloit devant eulz, et si ne
fina jusques en Jherusalem Li roy ne vouloient pas passer
parmi la cite Herode qu'ilz n'eussent a lui parle, pour la haul-

---

the birth of a king They took counsel together to go see it, Trans-
and that they would not [go] [follow it] [and worship it] empty- lation
handed, but each of them should take his offering Said the one,
'I will take gold', said the other, 'And I incense', said the third,
'And I myrrh' And when they were set on their way, all ready
to seek this king, they took heed of this star, and saw that the
star went forth before them and did not stop till in Jerusalem
[The kings] [They] would not pass through the midst of the city
of Herod without that they spake with him, because of his high-

13th cent. meismes Il vindrent a Herode et parlerent a lui, et si li demanderent ou li rois estoit des Juis, qui nez estoit et bones anseingnes an avoi[en]t eues Qant Herodes oï qu'il i avoit I roi des Juis autre de lui, mout an fu an maleise, car il cremoit perdre le reaume de Jerusalem, et il et touz ses lingnages apres lui Dont manda il touz ses bons clers, qui les escriptures avoient leues, si lor demanda se ce pooit estre voirs que tiex rois nestroit, et il respondirent que voirs estoit, que il nestroit an Belleam, et tesmoingnage an avoient des enciens prophetes.

14th cent. meismes, vindrent a Herode et parlerent a lui et demanderent la ou li rois estoit des Juis, qui nez estoit et bonnes ensegnes en avoient eues [Q]uant Herodez oi qu'il i avoit *ne* (lisez *un*) roi des Juis autre que lui, molt an fu en malle aise, et il et toute sa gent, car il cremoit perdre le roiaume de Jherusalem, et tuit ses lignages apres lui Donc manda il touz ses bons clers, qui les [es]criptures avoient leues, si lor demanda si ce pooit estre vous que tex rois nestroit, et il respondirent que voirs estoit, que il nestroit en Bethleem, et tesmongnage en avoient des

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15th cent. tesse de lui et pour la seignеurie d'eulz meismes Ilz vindrent a Herode et parlerent a lui, et si lui demanderent ou li roys estoit des Juifs, qui nez estoit et bonnes ensegnes en avoi[en]t eues Quant Herodes oy qu'il y avoit un roy des Juifs autre de lui, moult en fu em malaise, car il cremoit perdre le royaume de Jherusalem, et il et tous ses lignages apres lui Dont manda il tous ses bons clers, qui les escriptures avoient leues, si leur demanda se ce pouoit estre voirs que tel roy naistroit, et ilz respondirent que voirs estoit, que il naistroit en Bethleem, et

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Translation ness, and of their own lordship They came to Herod and spake with him, and asked of him where was the King of the Jews who was born, and sure signs thereof had they had When Herod heard that there was a King of the Jews other than himself he was much troubled thereat [both he and all his people], for he feared to lose the kingdom of Jerusalem, [both he] and all his lineage after him Then he summoned all his good clerks who had read the scriptures, he asked them if it could be true that such a king would be born, and they said that it was true, that he

'Seingneurs, dit Herodes aus rois, aléz an Belleam, sí le queréz et si l'aouréz, et quant vos l'avroiz trové, si revenéz par moi, et je l'irai donc aorer' Ce ne dist pas Herodes por ce q'il le voussist aourer, ainz le voloit occirre, se trover le peust Les rois s'an alerent et troverent l'estoile et la virent devant eus, si la suivirent jusques la ou ele s'aresta, et ele s'aresta sus la meson ou cil estoit que il queroient Il antrerent an la meson et troverent Nostre Seingneur, si l'aourerent, et chaucuns li offri s'offrande, li uns or, li autres ancens et li tiers mirre La — 13th cent

anciens prophetes 'Seingneurs, dist Herodes aus rois, alez en Bethleem, si le querez et si l'aourez, et si revenes par moi ge l'irai donc aourer' Ce ne dist pas Herodes pour ce qu'il le voussist aorer, einz le voloit occire, si trouver le peust Li roi s en alerent et trouverent et si virent l'estoile (*the text is here corrupt*), desque la ou ele arestut, et ele arestut seur la maison ou cil estoit que il queroient Il antrerent en la meison et troverent Nostre Seingneur, si l aourerent, et si li offrirent chascuns s'offrande, li uns or et li autres ancens et li tiers mirre La — 14th cent

tesmoignage en avoient des anciens prophetes 'Seigneurs, dit Herodes aus roys, alez en Bethleem, si le queréz et si le aouréz, et quant vous l'avréz trouvé, si revenéz par moy, et je l'iray doncques aourer' Ce ne dist pas Herodes pour ce qu'i[l] le voulsist aourer, ains le vouloit occirre, se trouver le peust Les roys s'en alerent et trouverent l'estoille et la vinrent devant eulz, si la suivirent jusques la ou elle s'arresta, et elle s'arresta sur la maison ou cil estoit que ilz queroient Ilz entrerent en la maison et trouverent Nostre Seigneur, si l'aourerent, et chascun li offri s'offrande, li uns or, li autre encens et li tiers mirre La sejour- — 15th cent.

would be born in Bethlehem and they had witness thereof from the old prophets 'Lords,' said Herod to the kings, 'go you to Bethlehem, seek him and worship him, and [when you shall have found him] return by way of me, and I will then go and worship him' This said not Herod because he wished to worship him, nay he wished to slay him if he might find him The kings went forth and found the star, and saw it [before them, and they followed it to] where it stayed, and it stayed above the house where he was whom they sought They went into the house and found Our Lord, and they worshipped him, and each one offered him — Translation

13th cent sejornerent et dormirent une nuit Li anges Nostre Seingneur lor aparut an songe a touz trois, qui lor dist et conmanda qu'il ne s'an alassent mie par Herode, mes par autres voies s'an ralassent an lor païs

Seingneurs, li miracles est granz, et glorieus li demonstremanz de la neissance Nostre Seingneur, que li Esvangiles raconte Bien poez antendre par la parole de l'Evangile qu'il est hui jor de feire offrande plus qu'an un autre jor Bien le doivent feire li crestien, quant li paien le firent an aus, qui

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14th cent sejornerent et dormirent une nuit, et li anges Nostre Seigneur leur apparut an songes a touz trois, si leur dist et comanda que il ne s'an ralassent mie par Herode, mais por autre voie s'en alassent en leur païs

[S]eingnours, li miracles est grainz, et glorious li demonstremenz de la nessance Nostre Seigneur, que li Evengiles nous raconte, et bien poéz entendre por la parole de l'Evengile qu'il est un jour de fere offrende a Dieu plus que en un autre jor Bien le doivent fere li cristien, quant li paien le firent en els,

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15th cent nerent et dormirent une nuit Li anges Nostre Seigneur leur apparut en songe a tous trois, qui leur dist et commanda qu'ilz ne s'en alaissent mie par Herode, mais par autre voie s'en ralassent en leur païs

Seigneurs, li miracles est grans, et glorieux li demonstremens de la naissance Nostre Seigneur, que li Euvangilles racompte Bien pouéz entendre par la parole de l'Euvangille qu'il est huy jour de faire offrande plus qu'en un autre jour Bien le doivent fere li crestiens, quant li paiens le firent en eulz, qui exemple

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Translation his offering, the one gold, the other incense, and the third myrrh There they sojourned and slept one night [And] The angel of Our Lord appeared in a dream to all three of them, and told and commanded them that they should not go back by way of Herod, but that by another way they should go back to their own country

Sirs, the miracle is great, and glorious is the witness of the birth of Our Lord which the Gospel relateth [And] Well may you understand by the word of the Gospel that [to-day] [it is] is a day to make offering more than on any other day Well should Christians do it, since the pagans did it in (the person of) these,

essemple nos donnent, qui de loing vindrent Deu requerre et offrande li firent La premiere offrande, ce fu ors, et ce afiert bien a doner a roi, et ce fu demonstremanz qu'il estoit verais rois et vaillanz sus touz autres rois, si conme ors est plus vaillanz d'autres metaus Encens li offrirent il coutume estoit enciennemant que u sacrefice offroit on ancens et ardoit, dont la fumee aloit vers le ciel, et par cele offrande monstroient il qu'il estoit verais Dex, ce creoient il Mirre offrirent de mirre feisoit on enciennemant oingnemant, dont l'en oingnoit les cors — 13th cent.

qui exemple nous donnerent, qui de loing vindrent Dieu requerre et offrendes li firent La premiere offrande, ce fu ors ce affiert bien a doner a roy, ce fu demoustremenz que bien creoient que il estoit vrais rois et vaillanz seur touz autres rois, si comme ors est plus vaillanz de touz autres metaux Encens li offrirent costume estoit anciennement que es sacrifices offroit en encens et ardoit, dont la fumee aloit vers le ciel, par celle offrende monstroient il que il creoient que il estoit voirs Diex Mirre offrirent de mirre fasoit en un ongnement encienement, dont — 14th cent

nous donnent, qui de loing vindrent Dieu requerre et offrande li firent La premiere offrande, ce fut or, et ce affiert bien a donner a roy, et ce fu demonstrement qu'il estoit vray roy et vaillans sur tous autres roys, si comme or est plus vaillant d'autres mettaux Encens li offrirent ilz coustume estoit enciennement que ou sacrefice offroit on encens et ardoit, dont la fumee aloit vers le ciel, et par cele offrande monstroient ilz qu'il estoyt vrays Dieu, ce creoient ilz Mirre offrirent de mirre faisoit on anciennement oignement, dont l'on oingnoit les — 15th cent

who give [gave] us example, who came from afar to seek God, and made offerings unto him The first offering was gold, [and] this it well becomes to give unto a king, [and] this was a witness that [they beneved that] he was a very king and more worthy than all other kings, as gold is more worthy than all other metals Incense they offered him, use was it of old that in the sacrifice[s] they offered incense and burned it, whose smoke went up towards the heaven, and by this offering they showed that [they believed that] he was very God [this they believed] Myrrh they offered, of myrrh they made [an] ointment of old, — Translation

13th cent des morz, que venins ne les maumeist, ce senefioit que il creoient certainnemant que il estoit hons mortiex et mort recevroit Il offrirent or et encens et mirre il creoient qu'il estoit hauz rois et Dex et hons mortiex Ore offrez donc esperitelmant ce qu'il offrirent corporelmant Li ors resplandit an la clarte du souleil et reluit ce senefie la bone creance qui reluist et re[s]plandit u cuer du bon crestien devant Deu *Qui posuit suum in sole tabernaculum, et* etc Li ors resplandit

14th cent en ongnoit les cors des moiz, que veninz ne les maumeist, ce sengnefioit que il creoient que il estoit hom mortex et mort recevroit Il offrirent [or et] encens et mirre il creoient que il estoit hauz rois et Dex et mortex hom [O]i offrez donc esperitelment ce qu'il offrirent corporelment Li ors resplendist en la clarte du souleil et reluist ce sengnefie la bonne creance qui reluist et resplendist el cuer du crestien devant Dieu *En posuit in sole tabernaculum suum, et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo* [L]i ors resplendist en l'air la creance

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15th cent corps des mors, que venin ne les maumeist, ce segnefioit que ilz creoient certainnement que il estoit homs mortiex et mort recevroit Ilz offrirent or et encens et mirre ilz creoient qu il estoit hault roys et Dieu et homs mortel Ore offrez dont espiritelment ce qu'ilz offrirent corporelment Li or resplendit en la clarte du soleil et reluist ce segnefie la bonne creance qui reluist et resplendist ou cuer du bon crestien devant Dieu *Qui posuit suum in sole tabernaculum,* etc Li or resplendist en

Translation wherewithal they anointed the bodies of the dead, that poison might not harm them, this signified that they believed [assuredly] that he was mortal man and would suffer death They offered gold and incense and myrrh, they believed that he was high king and God and mortal man Now do ye offer therefore in the spirit what they offered in the substance The gold gleameth in the brightness of the sun and glistereth, this signifieth the good faith which glistereth and gleameth in the heart of the good Christian before God [*Qui*] [*En*] *posuit suum in sole tabernaculum* [*et*] [*ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo*] [etc] The gold gleameth in the air, faith enlighteneth

en l'air la creance anluminne le courage Offrons donc a Deu ce que nos creons Nos creons que li Peres et li Fiuz et li Seinz Esperiz soit uns Dex qui toudis fu et est, et nos creons que li Fiuz Deu, avec le Pere et le Saint Esperit, fist le ciel et la terre et toutes choses de noiant Nos creons que li beneoiz Fiuz Deu prist char et sanc an la beneoite Virge Marie et que il au tens Pilate souffri paission et mort, por home racheter des peinnes d'anfer, et qu'il fu mis u sepulcre et que au tiers jor resuscita de mort a vie et u ciel monta et siet a la destre son — 13th cent

enlumine le courage Ofirons donc a Damedieu ce que nos creons Nous creons que li Peres et li Fiulz et li Sainz Esperiz soit uns Dex qui tous jou[r]s fu et est et sera Nous creons que li Fiulz Dieu, avec le Pere et avec le Saint Esperit, fist le ciel et la terre et toutes choses de noiant Nous creons que li beneoiz Fiulz Dieu print char et sanc en la beneoite Virge Marie et que il au tens Pilate souffri mort et passion, pour [r]achater homes des peines d'enfer, et que il fu mis el sepulcre et que au tierz jour releva de mort a vie, et si monta es cielz et siet a la destre — 14th cent

l'air la creance enlumine le courage Offrons donc a Dieu ce que nous creons Nous creons que li Peres et li Filz et li Saint Esperit soit un Dieu qui toudis fut et est, et nous creons que li Fils Dieu, avecques le Pere et le Saint Esperit, fist le ciel et la terre et toutes choses de noient Nous creons que li benoit Filz Dieu prist char et sanc en la benoite Vierge Marie et que il au temps Pillate souffri passion et mort, pour home racheter des paines d'enfer, et que il fu mis ou sepulcre et que au tiers jour(s) resuscita de mort a vie et ou ciel monta et siet a la destre son — 15th cent

the heart Offer we then to [Lord] God that which we believe We believe that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God, who always was and is [and shall be], and we believe that the Son of God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, made the heavens and the earth and all things from nothing We believe that the blessed Son of God took flesh and blood in the blessed Virgin Mary, and that he in the time of Pilate suffered passion and death to ransom man from the pains of hell, and that he was placed in the sepulchre, and that on the third day he rose again from death to life, and went — Translation

13th cent Pere et vandra au jor du jugemant et randra a chaucun ce qu'il avra deservi Nos creons que li Peres est aouréz et glorefiéz avec le Fil et avec le Saint Esperit Nos creons sainte Yglise, saint bauptesme, la resurrection du cors au jor du jugemant et la vie parmenable veraiemant Qi ceste creance a an Deu, bon or offre a Deu Li encens senefie bones euvres et bone proiere, car, si conme li ancens est mis u feu de l'ancenssier, por monter la fumee lassus amont, au ciel, a Deu, ansemant monte u ciel,

14th cent son Pere et vendra au jor del jugement et randra a chascun ce que il avia desservi Nous creons que li Peres est aourez et glorifiéz (avec le Pere et) avec li Fiulz et avec li Sainz Esperiz Nous creons sainte Eglise, nous creons saint baptisme, la resurrection du cors au jour de jugement et la vie parmenable vraiement Qui ceste creance a en Dieu, bon or offre a Dieu Li encens sengnefie bonnes oevres et bonnes prieres, car, si comme li encens es[t] mis el feu del encensier, pour monter la fumee la sus amont, au ciel Dieu, ensement monte

15th cent Pere et vendra au jour du jugement et rendra a chascun ce qu'il avra deservi Nous creons que li Peres est aourez et glorefiéz avec le Fil et avecques le Saint Esperit Nous creons sainte Eglise, saint baptesme, la resurrection du cors au jour du jugement et la vie parmenable vraiement Qui ceste creance a en Dieu, bon or offre a Dieu Li encens senefie bonnes offres et bones œuvres et bonne priere, car, si come li encens est mis ou feu de l'encencier, pour monter la fumee amont lassus, au

Translation up into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and will come at the day of judgement and render unto each that which he shall have earned We believe that the Father is worshipped and glorified with [the Father and] the Son and with the Holy Ghost We believe in the holy Church, [we believe in] holy baptism, the resurrection of the body at the day of judgement, and the life everlasting, verily Whoso hath this faith in God, offereth good gold unto God The incense signifieth good works and good prayer, for just as the incense is put into the fire of the censer, so that its smoke may rise upwards to [the] heaven [unto] [of] God, so riseth [up into

a Deu, la priere du bon crestien, quant ele est feite por l'amor de Deu Ainsint poons nos dire que li ors senefie le cuer, et la fumee l amor de Deu, et li ancens la sainte proiere Li mirres, qui est espice amere, qui par s'amertume deffant le cors qui de lui est oinz des vers, qu'il ne le puissent maumestre, senefie l'amertume du cors et la mesaise, le jeuner, le veillier por Deu, aler am pelerinnage, visiter les povres malades, donner ausmosnes, revestir nuz, herbergier les povres et les pelerins qui 13th cent

sus la priere du bon crestien, quant ele est fete por amor Dieu Einsi poons nous dire que li ors senefie le cuer et la fume (pour) l'amor de Dieu, li ancens la sainte priere La mirre, qui est espice amere, qui par s'amertume deffant le cors qui de lui est oinz des verms, qu'il nel puissent maumetre, sengnefie(nt) l'amertume du cors et la mesaise, le geuner et le veillier pour Dieu, aler en pelerinage, visiter les povres maledes et ceulx qui sont en chartre, donner aumoines, vestir nus, hebergier les 14th cent

ciel, a Dieu, ensement monte ou ciel, a Dieu, la priere du bon crestien, quant elle est faite pour l'amour de Dieu Ainsi pouons nous dire que li or segnefie le cuer, et la fumee l'amour de Dieu, et li encens la sainte proiere Li mirre, qui est espice amere, qui par s'amertume deffault (*read* deffent) le corps qui de lui est oins des vers, qu'il ne le puissent maumettre, segnefie l'amertume du corps et la mesaise de jeuner, le veillier pour Dieu, aler en pelerinage, visiter les povres malades, donner aumosnes, revestir nuz, herbergier les povres et les pelerins qui sont sans 15th cent

heaven unto God] [upwards] the prayer of the good Christian when it is made for the love of God Thus may we say that the gold signifieth the heart, and the smoke the love of God, and the incense the holy prayer The myrrh, which is a bitter spice, which by its bitterness defendeth the body which is therewith anointed from the worms, that they may not harm it, signifieth the bitterness of the body, [and the] discomfort, [of] fasting, [and] watching for God, going on pilgrimage, visiting the poor sick [and them that are in prison], giving of alms, clothing the naked, harbouring the poor and the pilgrims who are with- Translation

13th cent sont sanz ostel Iceles choses sont ameres a la mauveise char, car, tout ansemant conme li mirres deffant le cors des vers, qu il nu puissent (mau)maumestre, ensemant nos deffandent tiex choses des vices et de l'amonnestemant au deable, que il ne nos puisse maufeire ne grever

Seingneurs, vos estes hui reperie a sainte Yglise Offréz a Damedeu autretel conme li roi firent, non mie tant soulemant hui, mes touz les jorz de vostre vie, esperitelmant, or et encens et mirre, si conme je vos ai monstre devant or par bonne creance, mirre par bonne creance et bones euvres, encens par

14th cent povres et les pelerins qui sont sanz hostel Iceles choses sont ameires a la mauvaise char, mes, ansement comme la mirre deffent le cors des vers, qu'il neu puissent maumetre, ensement nos deffendent iceles choses de vice et de pechie et de l'amonestement au deable, que il ne nos puisse maufeire

[S]eingneurs, vous estez hui repairies a sainte Eglise Offres Damedieu autretel con li troi roi firent, non mie seulement hui, mes touz les jours de vostre vie, esperitelment, or et ancens et mirre, si com je vos mousterai or par bonne creance, mirre

15th cent hostel Yceilles choses sont ameres a la mauvaise char, car, tout ensement comme li mirres deffent le corps des vers, qu'ilz n'y puissent maulz mettre, ensement nous deffendent telz choses des vices et de l'amonnestement au dyable que il ne nous puisse maufaire ne grever

Seigneurs, vous estes hui repairie a sainte Eglise Offrez a Damedieu autretel comme li roy firent, non mie tant seulement huy, mais tous les jours de vostre vie, esperituelment, or et encens et mirre, si comme je vous ay monstre devant or par bonne creance, mirre par bonne creance et bonnes œuvres,

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Translation out lodging These things are bitter to the evil flesh, for, just as the myrrh keepeth the body from worms that they may not harm it, so these things keep us from wickedness [and sin] and the prompting of the devil, that he may not harm [nor vex] us

Sirs, you have to day repaired to holy Church Offer to the Lord God in like manner as the kings did, not on this day only, but all the days of your life, in the spirit, gold and incense and myrrh just as I have shown you before gold by good faith, myrrh by [good faith and] good works, incense by good

bones oroisons Ce sont les offrandes que Deus requiert especiaumant toujors a son bon crestien Se li crestiens fet ces offrandes, il conquiert et desert la gloire parmenable Et Damedex Nostre Sires, qui por nos deingna nestre et estre aouréz des III rois paiens et onorez, il nos doint la grace du Seint Esperit a noz courages, que nos puissons hair iceles choses que il het et amer ce qu'il ainme et feire ce qu'il conmande et an lui croire et lui amer et proier et servir an terre, si que nos puissons deservir et avoir sa gloire Amen 13th cent

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par bonne ovre encens par bonne oroison Ce sont les offrendes que Diex requiert a touz jours a son bon crestien Se il crestienz fet ses offrendes, il conquiert et dessert la gloire parmenable Et Damedex Nostre Sires, qui pour nos dangna nestre en terre et estre aorés et honnorez des III paiens rois, il nous dont la grace du Saint Esperit en nos corages, que nous puisons hair ce que il het et amer ce qu'il aime et fere ce qu'il comende et an lui croire et lui proier et servir en terre, que nous avoir puisons sa gloire 14th cent

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encens par bonnes oroisons Ce sont les offrandes que Dieu requiert especiaument tous jours a son bon crestien Se li crestien fait ces offrandes, il conquiert et desert la joie parmenable Et Damedieu Nostre Sires, qui par nous gent daigna naistre et estre aouréz des trois roys paiens et honnourez, il nous doint la grace du Saint Esperit a nos courages, que nous puissions hair ycelles choses que il het et amer ce qu'il aime et faire ce qu'il commande et en lui croire et lui amer et prier et servir en terre, si que nous puissions deservir et avoir sa gloire Amen 15th cent

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prayers These are the offerings that God requireth [especially] always of his good Christian If the Christian maketh these offerings he conquereth and earneth glory everlasting And the Lord God our Sire, who for us deigned to be born and to be worshipped and honoured by the three pagan kings, may he give us the grace of the Holy Ghost [in] [to] our hearts, that we may hate those things which he hateth, and love that which he loveth, and do that which he commandeth, and believe on him, and love him and pray to him and serve him on earth, so that we may earn and have his glory. [Amen] Translation

BOOK II

MORPHOLOGY, OR THE STUDY OF THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS

(GENERAL THEORY OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH)

123 THE PARTS OF SPEECH.—The words which taken collectively constitute the vocabulary of the language are divided into classes called **the parts of speech** [1].

Most modern grammarians recognize ten the *noun* or *substantive*, *article*, *adjective*, *pronoun*, *verb*, *participle*, *adverb*, *preposition*, *conjunction*, and *interjection*. Some authors reduce these to eight or nine parts, classing the article with the adjective, and the participle with the verb.

The theory of the parts of speech comes to us direct from the grammarians of the 16th and 17th centuries. Its principles were handed down to them by the grammarians of the Middle Ages, as an inheritance from the Romans, who, in their turn, had derived these from Greek sources. In the course of time, and with the advance of grammatical science, the distinctions transmitted, which were originally vague, became more precise and rigorous. We need hardly say that in their establishment the peculiar genius

[1] [In French these are called *parties du discours* or *de l'oraison*.] *Oraison* is the Latin word *orationem*, and *discours* is its French rendering; these two expressions are used here in a somewhat remote sense.

of each language was necessarily taken into account thus the Latin grammarians had no use for the article

It is only in a general way that the modern classification corresponds to the facts dealt with In matters of detail corrections are necessary

We use language in order to exchange our thoughts with other men, it must therefore denote things (1) in themselves, that is to say *objectively*, and (2) in their relationship to us who speak, that is to say *subjectively*

I The *noun substantive* and *noun adjective* —The *objective* aspect of things yields us our first class, that of words by which we denote things in themselves, these are the **nouns** By nouns we indicate the things we see, and the appearances which strike us In some cases we designate these directly in their nature and substance, we then employ the **noun-substantive**, e g *une* **fleur.** In other cases we further denote them indirectly by their qualities or attributes, and we use the **noun adjective** *une fleur* **rouge**

The distinction between the noun substantive and the noun-adjective is not absolute Those substantives of which we know the etymological meaning may be traced back to adjectives, since we can only designate an object by means of its qualities, e g *une* **noire** (*crotchet*) means *une* **note noire** (*black note*), *une* **capitale** is *une* **ville capitale** Inversely, the substantive again becomes an adjective when we leave out of consideration everything else, and use it to designate a single one of its qualities, from the substantive **rose** we get the adjective **rose** in *un ruban* **rose** (*a pink ribbon*)

We must, then, distinguish as the first part of speech the **noun** Nouns are subdivided into **nouns-substantive, or substantives,** and **nouns-adjective, or adjectives**

The word 'noun' is often used absolutely to designate the noun-substantive

II The *pronoun* —Besides designating things and their qualities *objectively*, we designate them also *subjectively*, i e in their relation to ourselves, who are speaking The words used for this purpose are **pronouns** The function of every kind of pronoun is to locate things either in time or space, or else to determine their relation to the speaker, by means of some special character They all seem to presuppose a gesture, and, if the expression were not paradoxical, we might call them spoken gestures

The older grammarians, impressed by an accessory function sometimes assumed by words of this kind, namely the replacement of nouns, gave them the name of **pronomen**, i e **pro nomine**, 'in the place of the noun' This term, handed down by the schools of the Middle Ages, has been preserved to this day But, although it has the authority of age in its favour, it is none the less inaccurate We may, it is true, say that in the sentence **Jean court, il joue**, the word **il** replaces **Jean**, but in the sentence **Je travaille, et toi, Pierre, tu joues**, neither **je** nor **tu** is used merely to replace the name of the person who speaks or the name of Pierre These pronouns express something more they show that someone (say Jean) is speaking, and that he is addressing Pierre In the same way, if, in speaking of Jean and Pierre, I say **Celui-ci travaille, celui-là joue**, the words **celui-ci** and **celui-là** not only designate **Jean** and **Pierre**, they indicate also their relation to myself who am speaking Finally, in sentences like this '**voici mon livre, voilà le tien,**' **mon** and **tien** are not only used to replace or designate **livre**, but to convey an essential and characteristic idea of possession

The function of the pronoun is to express determinate relations existing between the person who is speaking and that which forms the subject of his speech The true name of the pronoun should be the **demonstrative**, but custom has so consecrated the limited use of this latter word in one special sense that we cannot change it, and,

faulty though it is, we keep the ordinary name of pronoun, remembering, however, that it is really incorrect

Pronouns as well as nouns are subdivided into **substantive** and **adjective**

Substantive pronouns designate either persons or things in themselves, **adjective-pronouns** designate them in the characteristic relations which we have just mentioned

The former have received from French grammarians the special name of **pronouns**, and the latter the name of **determinative** (or **pronominal**) **adjectives**

III The *verb*.—The world which surrounds us and which is the subject of our speech is not a mere collection of facts and ideas, it is full of life and activity, the phenomena which impress our senses appear and disappear, showing aspects of infinite variety Our languages have words to state the special modes of action presented to our mind by the persons or things of which we are speaking, these words are called **verbs**

Modes of action are conceived by us in their relation to ourselves as well as to others, and we further note that actions have relations in time To mark these distinctions, our verbs possess peculiar inflexions, of **mood**, **person**, and **tense**

The verb unites the two different points of view expressed respectively by the noun and pronoun, since it expresses either action or life, both objectively and also relatively to the speaker

The three classes of words which we have established above—viz, the **noun**, the **pronoun**, and the **verb**—include a larger number of classes employed by French grammarians, viz substantives, adjectives of quality (or attributive adjectives) and adjective pronouns, pronouns, and verbs

We omit from our classification the **article**, which is included in the adjective-pronoun, and the **participle**, which is only a tense of the verb We have now therefore dealt with all the **variable** or **inflected** words

IV. *Invariable or indeclinable words*.—Grammar also recognizes **invariable, indeclinable,** or **uninflected words,** which are divided into two groups on the one hand, **adverbs, prepositions,** and **conjunctions,** and, on the other, **interjections**

1 There is no absolute distinction between the adverb, the preposition, and the conjunction, all three serve to express the abstract relations uniting the other terms of the sentence, consisting of the nouns, pronouns, and verbs These relations are general and constant in character, the words serving to express them require, therefore, no inflexion

2 We must make a fifth class, a kind of appendix, for the **interjection** The **interjection** is not a word, and does not really belong to the parts of speech, it is a cry which vaguely expresses a feeling of more or less intensity

Such, then, is the general theory of the parts of speech in modern languages Questions of detail which arise will be considered in their proper place

CHAPTER I

ON THE NOUN-SUBSTANTIVE AND NOUN-ADJECTIVE

SECTION I.—*Of the various Kinds of Nouns.*

124 The various kinds of nouns

I 125 PROPER NOUNS.—126 Names of persons.—127 Names of things personified.—128 Names of nations, &c.—129 Geographical names

II COMMON NOUNS.—130 Common nouns, abstract and concrete, their extension and intension.—131 The sources of common nouns

III MATERIAL NOUNS.—132 Material nouns

IV NOUNS OF INDETERMINATE QUANTITY.—133 Collective nouns.—134 Adverbs which are true collectives

V NOUNS OF DETERMINATE QUANTITY —135 Nouns of number (numerals) —136 Nouns of number, or cardinal nouns —137 Nouns of order, or ordinal nouns —138 Old forms of numerals in *-ain*, *-ame* —139 General remarks on numerals

VI INDEFINITE NOUNS —140 Indefinite nouns —141 Indefinite substantives —142 Indefinite adjectives —143 Qualifying adjectives which may become indefinite adjectives

WE shall first consider the various kinds of words which constitute the nouns substantive We shall afterwards treat of their inflexions

124 THE VARIOUS KINDS OF NOUNS —Nouns are divided, according to the ideas they express, into six groups.

1 *Proper nouns*,

2 *Common nouns*,

3 *Material nouns*,

4 *Collective nouns* or *nouns of indeterminate quantity*,

5 *Nouns of number* (*numerals*) or *nouns of determinate quantity*,

6 *Indefinite nouns*

The substantives of the first four groups correspond to the adjectives termed *qualifying* adjectives The fifth group contains *numeral* substantives and adjectives, and the sixth, *indefinite* substantives and adjectives

I Proper Nouns

125 PROPER NOUNS —The **proper noun** serves to designate the individual in himself, it is proper or personal to him

It is applied (1) to persons **Pierre, Jeanne**, (2) to personified things **la Fortune, l'Amour**, (3) to nations. **la France, l'Angleterre**, to provinces **la Champagne, la Bourgogne**, to places **Paris, Sèvres**, (4) to geographical features **Pyrénées, Seine**, &c

Proper nouns begin with a capital letter

126 NAMES OF PERSONS —**Names of persons** in France

during the Middle Ages consisted at first solely of **first names**[1] (without surnames), as with the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Slavs, &c Originally restricted to the individual, the name was extended to all members of the same family **Pierre Simon** in Old French signified *Pierre (son of) Simon, Simon* being in the genitive

Towards the middle of the 12th century **family names** first made their appearance These names may be classified as follows

I **Christian names sanctioned by usage for several generations** These may be divided into—

(i) *Latin names, or names of Greek or Hebrew origin Latinized and handed down by the Church*

LATIN NAMES Antoine (Antonin, Toinon, &c [2]), Benoît (Benoîton, &c), Clement (Clémenceau, &c), Noel, Lenoel, Pascal (Pascalin), Paul (Paulin, Paulet, &c), Pierre (Pierrot, Perrot, Perrotin, Perrottet, Perrin, Pierret, Perret, &c)

GREEK NAMES Ambroise, Andre (Andrieux, Androuet), Baptiste (Baptistin), Denis (Deniset, Denisot, Denisard, Nisard, &c), Jerôme, Nicholas (Colas, Colin, Colinet, Collard, Collardeau, &c.)

HEBREW NAMES Adam (Adenet), Barthelemy (Bartholomé, Bartholomieux, &c), Daniel, Jacques or Jacob (Jacquet, Jacot, Jacquemin, Jacquart, &c), Jean (Jeannet, Jeannot, Jeannin, &c), Joseph (Josepet, Sepet, Jospin, &c), Lazare (Eléazar, Elzear), Matthieu or Macé, Simon or Simeon (Simonet, Simoneau, Simonin)

(ii) *Names of Teutonic origin, imported during the barbarian invasions*

[1] *First* or *Christian names* (*petits noms*), as opposed to *family names*, the latter expression, though clear in itself, is really inexact The Christian name is the real name, and was so especially in the Middle Ages, when family names did not exist The family name is a kind of common noun

[2] We have put derivatives from simple names into parentheses

Archambaut, Arnoult, Aubry (Aubriot), Audry, Audefroi, Audiffret, Audigier, Augier, Aycard, Aymart, Aubert (Aubertin, Aubertot, Albert), Baudouin, Baudry (Baudrillard), Bernard (Bernardin, Bernardot), Bertaud, Bertrand, Ferry or Frederic, Gaudefroy, Gaudry, Geoffroy (Jouffroy), Guichart, Guillaume (Guillemin, Guilleminot), Guiraut, Henri, Hubert, Lambert (Lambin), Leger, Louis, Manfred, Raynaud (Raynouard), Renauld (Renaudin, Renaudot, Naudet, Naudin), Renard, Regnier, Renier, Robert (Robertot), Sicard, Therriet, Therriot, Thierry, &c

II **Names derived from common nouns**, including—

(i) *Names taken from titles* Bailli, Baron, Chevalier, Comte, Lamiral, Leduc, Lemaître, Lemoine, Leprêtre, Lévêque, Marechal, Marquis, &c

(ii) *Names derived from occupations* Barbier, Berger, Boucher, Boulanger, Bouvier, Charpentier, Couvreur, Lefaucheux, Fèvre (= *smith*, also Lefevre, Lefebure), Flechier, Sueur (= *shoe-maker*, also Lesueur), Tisserand, Tuilier, Vacher (Vacherot), Leverrier, &c

III **Epithets or nick-names**

Beaufils, Lebègue, Blanc (Blanchet, Blanchard), Boileau, Bonfils, Bonhomme, Bonjean, Bossu, Brun, Lebrun (Brunet, Bruneau), Chassebœuf, Cornu, Grand, Legrand (Grandet, Grandin), Legris, Grison, Grossetête, Noir, Lenoir (Noirot), Panchaud, Panloup, Dupanloup, Petit, Lepetit, Rouge, Lerouge (Rouget, Rougeot), Roux, Leroux (Rousseau, Roussin), Taillebois, &c

IV **Names of animals**

L'Aigle, Lebœuf, Lebouc, Brochet, Lechat, Chevrillard, Chevriot, Letourneau, Lelievre, Merle, Loiseau, Poisson, Rossignol, &c

V **A great number of names signifying objects of daily and rustic life, various parts of a house, &c.**

Dubois, Bois, Boissier, Delaborde, Desbordes, Laborde, Dubreuil, Delabrousse, Brousse, Delabruyère, Bruyère, Duclos, Delacourt, Lacourt, Delessart, Desessart, Essart, Delafont, Lafont, Lafontaine, Fougere, Dufour, Delagrange, Desgranges, Lagrange, Delahaye, Deshaies, Lahaie, Desmarais, Marais, Maresc, Delamare, Desmares, Lamare, Delamarche, Lamarche, Dumaye, Dumesnil, Delamotte, Lamotte, Dumoulin, Moulin, Moulinier, Molinier, Duparc, Delaplace, Laplace, Duplessis, Poirier, De la Pommeraye, Pommier, Dupont, Duponcel, Delaporte, Desportes, Laporte, Prunier, Dupuis, Dupuy, Delarive, Larive, Lariviere, Riviere, Delaroche, Desroches, Laroche, Duru, Duruy, Duval, Delavallee, Delaville, Laville

VI. **A great number of names of places with or without the particle DE**

Originally this particle was not a sign of nobility thus we have **Jean d'Arras, Olivier de Magny** Later on, the proposition *de* having been adopted as a sign of nobility, the name of the place became the family name of the person **Bouillon, Mailly, Vitry, Wailly,** &c

VII **Names of nationality**

Allemand, Lallemant, Langlois, Berrichon (= of Berry), Bourguignon, Breton, Bretonneau, Hennuyer (= of Hainaut), Limousin, Lorrain, Normand, Picard, Poitevin, Poulain (= Polonais).

Family names passed from the head of the family to the children without change of gender **Jean Legrand, Jeanne Legrand,** because the name was no longer confined to one individual as it had been originally, but had become common to all the members of the same family Thus

family names resemble common nouns in having only one gender First names, being on the contrary proper nouns *par excellence,* and only used to denote individuals, still possess the inflexion of gender **Jean, Jeanne**

127 NAMES OF THINGS PERSONIFIED —Things personified are represented as male or female beings, not according to our ideas of them, but solely in accordance with the gender of the common noun used to designate them **La Renommée, La Fortune,** are represented as women, because *renommee* and *fortune* are feminine substantives, **le sort, le génie, le mal,** are represented as men, because *sort, genie, mal,* are masculine substantives, **l'Amour** is a goddess in Old French, a god in Modern French, because the word *amour* was formerly feminine but is now masculine

Note —To the class of *proper names of persons,* or *things personified,* we may add common nouns denoting objects which are *unique of their kind* **le soleil, la lune, la nature** In Old French they were treated as proper nouns (see Book IV, § 383, 1)

128 NAMES OF NATIONS, &c —**National names** denote countries **Angleterre, France,** towns **Londres, Paris,** and their inhabitants **les Anglais, les Français, les Parisiens**

The names of inhabitants, or *ethnological names,* are easily converted into adjectives **le peuple français, la langue anglaise, la vie parisienne** This kind of adjective, used in a particular sense, to denote the *language* of the corresponding country, is changed into a masculine noun, as in **l'anglais, le français, l'arabe, le chinois**[1]

129 GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES —Geographical names denote the features of the earth mountains, peninsulas, promontories, valleys, watercourses, islands, &c

[1] [The names of languages do not take the capital initial, which is strictly limited in French to proper nouns]

Sometimes, and indeed most frequently, the proper noun is preceded by a common noun denoting its species, which either stands in apposition to it **le mont Caucase, le cap Matapan**, or is united to it by means of the preposition **de**, with or without an article **la rivière du Loing, le val d'Andorre**

Sometimes the proper noun is used alone, either with or without the article **la Seine, la Loire, la Lozère, la Corse, les Vosges, Belle-Isle, Noirmoutiers**

French place-names have been formed either (1) during the French period, from French elements **Belleville, Châteauneuf, Montrouge, Noirmoutiers**, or (2), during the period of the Franks, from Romanic or Teutonic elements, or from both Romanic and Teutonic elements **Romainville, Fauquembergue, Haricourt**, or (3) during the Gallo-Roman period such are the names so frequently found in **-ac, -ai, ay, -ey, é**, and **-y**, derived from names ending in **-acum** or **-iacum** **Aurillac, Cambrai, Epernay, Cussey, Sévigné, Choisy**[1], or finally, (4) they may date from the Gaulish period, as is no doubt most frequently the case, or even from an epoch previous to the invasion of Gaul by the Gauls, and thus owe their origin to the aboriginal population found by the Gauls in the conquered land It is, perhaps, to these remote sources that we must ascribe a number of geographical names which have not yet been explained by means of any French, Latin, Teutonic, or Celtic root

II Common Nouns

130 COMMON NOUNS, ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE, THEIR EXTENSION AND INTENSION — The **common noun**, or, to be more exact, the **common substantive**, is a substantive which applies to all things of the same kind—**arbre, fleur, livre**—which do not denote any special tree, flower,

[1] See Book III, § 316, II

or book, but any one of all the existing trees, flowers, or books Every individual of the tree kind, of the flower kind, of the book kind, may be denoted by these words

The common noun, then, implies the classification into **genera** and **species** of all the things recognized in language, and expressed by substantives In most cases the substantive was first applied to a definite object in virtue of some particular quality, which struck the mind, then, by successive generalizations, it was extended to all similar or analogous objects, so as to include them all in a collection which became a **species** It was by an analogous process, as we have seen above, that family names were formed, for these were originally true proper nouns, or names of individuals, and were later extended to the collection of individuals constituting the species called **the family**

Common nouns are either **concrete** or **abstract**, according as they denote the material objects which strike our senses, e g **mur, table, pied, main**, or the ideas which exist in our mind, e g **bonté, sagesse, vertu**

A common noun, concrete or abstract, has greater or less **extension**, according as it applies to a larger or a smaller number of things, that is according as the species which it denotes is more or less numerous It has greater or less **intension** according as the objects denoted by it have a larger or smaller number of characteristic attributes Thus

végétal (vegetable)	has greater extension	than	*plante* (*plant*)
plante (plant)	,,	,,	,,	*arbre* (*tree*)
arbre (tree)	,,	,,	,,	*chêne* (*oak*)
chêne (oak)	,,	,,	,,	*yeuse* (*holm oak, ilex*)

On the other hand

yeuse	has greater intension	than	*chêne*
chêne	,,	,,	,,	*arbre*
arbre	,,	,,	,,	*plante*
plante	,,	,,	,,	*végétal*

The extension and intension of the common noun are then in inverse relation to one other

131 THE SOURCES OF COMMON NOUNS —A limited number of common nouns come from the corresponding substantives in Popular Latin, of which they are the *phonetic transformation*, e g **homme, femme, fils, fille, feuille, mer, table** (from **hominem, femina, filius, filia, folia, mare, tabulam**), &c

A great number have been formed by derivation from primitive words of this kind, either during the Gallo-Roman period or during the development of the French language, e g **pass-age, épouvant-ail, sol eil, cord-eau, herb-ette**

Other substantives have been formed from the same class of words by composition, e g **chou-fleur, pla(t)-fond, porte-plume**

A great number of others are due directly to the learned formation from Latin or Greek words, which were sometimes left in their original form, but more often gallicised, e g **apathie, aristocratie, squelette** (from ἀπαθεια, ἀριστοκρατία, σκελετός), **dévotion, sujet** (from **devotio, subjectus**), **ultimatum**

A few have been taken from foreign languages most of these have been gallicised, a few, however, retain more or less faithfully their original form e g **alambic** (Arabic), **douane** (Italian), **havre-sac** (German), **mandarin** (Portuguese), **pédant** (Greek), **sérail** (Persian), **truchement** (Arabic = *dragoman*), &c [1]

III Material Nouns

132 MATERIAL NOUNS —**Material nouns** denote things formed from the same substance, or of similar parts, of which each bears the same name as the whole **bois, eau, pierre, vin** These words denote alike the whole

[1] See Book III on *The Formation of Words*

quantity of wine, water, stone, or wood that exists in the world, and any portion, however small, of these materials or substances.

The objects thus named do not form a collection of units having each its own individuality, thus material nouns are names of things that are not estimated by number This is why they are only used in the singular But by a process of abstraction they may sometimes be supposed to include quantities that may be counted up In this case they become common nouns and are used in the plural **les blés ont réussi cette année, les eaux**[1]— referring to the sum of the various masses of water or of corn in a given district

IV Nouns of Indeterminate Quantity

133 COLLECTIVE NOUNS — **Nouns of indeterminate quantity**, or **collective nouns**, denote assemblages or collections of persons, or of things **foule, multitude, troupe**

They are divided into **general collective** and **partitive collective nouns** according as they denote the totality, or part of the collection, as in (1) **le troupeau des humains** (*the human flock*), and (2) **un troupeau d'ignorants** (*a flock of ignorant people*), i e not including all ignorant people

The study of these words belongs to syntax

134 ADVERBS WHICH ARE TRUE COLLECTIVES — To the class of partitive collectives belong a certain number of words which grammarians place among adverbs, and which are, in reality, substantives or adjectives employed absolutely (see § 260, III) These are

Beaucoup, properly *beau coup* (*coup* in Old French was

[1] [In English the corresponding expression would be 'The corn has done well this year,' but we sometimes use 'the waters' in the same way as the French *les eaux*.]

used to signify *quantity*, *grand coup*, like *beau coup* = a large quantity)

Trop, the masculine form of *troupe*, used absolutely in Old French to denote a large, or excessive, quantity

Pas, point, mie, these are negative particles, which originally denoted indefinitely small quantities The expressions **il n'a pas, point, mie d'amis** mean 'he has not so much as a *pas* (step), *point* (dot), *miette* (crumb), of friends' The partitive value of these words is made obvious in Modern French by the preposition **de**, used after these words and before the objective case, as in *il a* **plus, moins, peu, tant, autant d'***argent*, **que d'***argent il a*![1]

By analogy other words which are true adverbs have been similarly formed **assez, bien, guère** (the synonym of **beaucoup** in negative sentences), they are used with the same grammatical construction as the neuter nouns just quoted

V Nouns of Determinate Quantity

135 NOUNS OF NUMBER (NUMERALS) —Nouns of number, or numerals, are divided into **cardinal** nouns, which denote *number*, and **ordinal** nouns, which denote *order* The word **ordinal** explains itself, it is borrowed from the Latin adjective **ordinalis**, derived from **ordinem** (*order*) The word **cardinal** means *fundamental* and comes from the Latin **cardinalis**, derived from **cardinem** signifying *door-hinge*, and, figuratively, *foundation*[2]

The nouns denoting number were called cardinals because they are the basis from which nouns of order are formed, for all the ordinal numerals, except the first, are derived from the corresponding cardinals by the addition of the suffix **-ième** (e g **deux, deuxième**)

[1] See Syntax, § 484

[2] It is in this sense of *fundamental* that *cardinal* is still used in the phrases *vertus cardinales* (*cardinal virtues*, *points cardinaux* (the *cardinal points of the compass*)

136 NOUNS OF NUMBER PROPER, OR CARDINAL NOUNS — These nouns are derived from the corresponding Latin nouns, which have been more or less modified by phonetic or analogical action

(1) The cardinals from 1 to 16

From 1 to 16 inclusively the French nouns of number have been derived from the Latin numerals by regular phonetic change

	Class Lat	Pop Lat	O F	Mod F
1	ū̆num	ụ́nu	*un, ung*	*un*
	ū̆nam	ụ́na	*une*	*une*
2	dŭos	dǫ́os	*dous, dos*	*deux*
	dŭas	dǫ́as	*does*	
3	trē̆s	tréṣ	*treis, trois*	*trois*
4	quaṭtŭor	quaṭtor	*quatre*	*quatre*
5	quĭnque	cịnque	*cinc*	*cinq*
6	sĕx	sèx	*sis*	*six*
7	sĕptem	sèpte	*set*	*sept*
8	ŏcto	ǫ̀cto	*uit*	*huit*
9	nŏvem	nǫ̀ve	*nuof, nuef*	*neuf*
10	dĕcem	dèce	*dis*	*dix*
11	ū̆ndĕcim	ụ́ndece	*onze*	*onze*
12	duŏdĕcim	dǫ́dece	*doze*	*douze*
13	trē̆dĕcim	trédece	*treze*	*treize*
14	quattuŏrdĕcim	quattǫ̀rdece	*quatorze*	*quatorze*
15	quĭndĕcim	quịndece	*quinze*	*quinze*
16	sĕxdĕcim	sèxdece	*seize*	*seize*

Notes —**Un** —In Latin **unus** was declined both in the singular and plural thus we find in the plural **uni Suevi, unae litterae**

In Old French **un** was used in the plural in the same manner **uns esperons, unes estoiles, unes lettres**[1]

[1] Note that in Latin the plural of *unus* is either (1) used in the sense of *alone* (in French, *seul*) uni Suevi, 'the Suevi alone', or (2) precedes a substantive which either, like *castra* (*a camp*), is only used in

In Modern French it is no longer used in the plural except as an indefinite adjective **les uns**[1]

In Middle French the masculine of **un** was written **ung** The final **g** is merely a sign introduced in orthography to avoid the confusion between **un**, written in manuscripts **vn**, and the figure **vii**

The question of the occasional absence of elision before **un** is discussed under **huit**, below

Deux —The feminine **dóes** belongs to the oldest French and disappeared during the 12th century The masculine, which during the 12th century was also used for the feminine, has regularly served for both genders from the 13th century onwards

Dóus, dos, was converted towards the 14th century into **deus** (§ 94), and then, by assimilation with the plurals in **-eux**, into **deux**

In Old French, along with the accusative forms **dóus, dos**, a nominative plural **doi** was formed, which disappeared with the declension at the end of the Middle Ages

Trois —In the same way a nominative **trei, troi**, was formed in Old French, which, like **doi**, has disappeared

Cinq —In Popular Latin **quinque** was changed at an early period into **cinque** (§ 79), hence the French **cinc**, or, with the spelling derived later from its etymology, **cinq**,

Six and **dix** —At the end of the Middle Ages the regular spelling **sis** was replaced by the spelling **six**,

the plural, or, like *litterae*, has a different sense in the plural (*epistle*) from that which it has in the singular (*letter of the alphabet*) Similarly, in Old French, *uns* denotes (1) a *pair* in *uns esperons, uns sollers, unes chauces* (*a pair of spurs, of shoes, of breeches*), or (2) the whole class of objects of the same kind in *unes estoiles, uns vers, unes paroles*, or (3), as in Latin, is used before a word having different meanings in the singular and plural, as *unes letres* (sing *letter of the alphabet*, plur *epistle*), *unes fourches* (sing *pitch-fork*, plur *gallows*), *uns ciseaus* (sing *chisel*, plur *pair of scissors*) [See a passage in *Aucassin et Nicolete*, ed Suchier, 3rd edit p 28]

[1] See below, p 196

written so as to recall the Latin **sex**, and this form, by a false analogy, led to the change of **dis** into **dix**

Sept —The **p** in **sept** is similarly due to considerations of etymology, the old pronunciation **sèt'** has been hitherto maintained in spite of the new spelling

Huit (and **un**) and **onze** —The old French spelling was **uit** or sometimes **huit** with a silent **h**[1] The **h** has remained down to the present day silent in **dix-huit, vingt-huit,** &c, which are pronounced **di-z-uit, vin-t-uit** But as all the nouns of number commence with a consonant, except **un, huit,** and **onze,** after a time, owing to analogy, the final **e** of a preceding word was pronounced, and not elided, before these three numerals also Just as people said **le deux, le trois,** &c, they said, similarly, **le un, le huit, le onze** This is why before **un** in certain cases, and before **huit** and **onze** as a general rule, we now have a hiatus The change naturally applied also to the derivatives **unième, huitième, onzième, huitain, onzain** The new pronunciation originated in the 14th century[2], but only triumphed finally at the end of the 18th century

Corneille [1606–1684] still uses the form **l'onzieme** The edition of the *Dictionary of the French Academy* of 1718 states that **le onze du mois** and **l'onze du mois** are used equally, that of 1762 gives as examples **l'onzieme page** and **la onzième page**

(ii) From 17 to 19

In Classical Latin 17, 18, and 19 are represented by **septẹmdĕcim, octọdĕcim, novẹmdĕcim** If these compounds

[1] Like the *g* in *ung* see p 195, the *h* in *huit* is due to an artifice of caligraphy It served to indicate that the following letter was a *u* and not a *v*, and to prevent the word from being read *vit*, cf *uile* (from *ŏlea*), *uis* (from *ŏstium*), written *huile, huis,* so as to distinguish them from *vile, vis.*

[2] Richars li Restores la *onsime* mena (Mod F *Richard le Restore mena la onzieme*) (*Li Bastars de Buillon*, edit Scheler, l 3002)

had been preserved in Popular Latin they would have given in French **setenze, uitoze, novenze** In Popular Latin they were replaced by analytical forms which were adopted by Old, and are now used in Modern French.

Pop Lat	O F	Mod F
decem et septem	*dix et sept*	*dix-sept*
decem et octo	*dix et huit*	*dix huit*
decem et novem	*dix et neuf*	*dix-neuf*

(iii) From 20 to 100

	Class Lat	Pop Lat	O F	Mod F
20	**Vigĭnti**	**veinti**	*vint*	*vingt*
30	**Trigĭnta**	**treénta**	*trente*	*trente*
40	**Quadragĭnta**	**quadraénta**	*quarante*	*quarante*
50	**Quinquagĭnta**	**cinquaénta**	*cinquante*	*cinquante*
60	**Sexagĭnta**	**sexaénta**	*seissante*	*soixante*
70	**Septuagĭnta**	**septaénta**	*setante* / *seissante et dis*	*septante* / *soixante dix*
80	**Octuagĭnta**	**octaénta**	*huitante* / *quatre vins*	*octante* / *quatre vingts*
90	**Nonagĭnta**	**nonaénta**	*nonante* / *quatre vins et dis*	*nonante* / *quatre-vingt-dix*
100	**Cĕntum**	**cèntu**	*cent*	*cent*

Notes —The spelling in Modern French of **vingt** with a **g**, **soixante** with an **x**, **septante** with a **p**, and the use of **octante** (from **octo**) for **huitante**, are due to the desire of the men of letters of the Renaissance to bring etymological derivations into evidence

Septante is still used in the expression **la Version des Septante**, the *Septuagint*, or Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible made by seventy-two Jewish doctors under the Lagidae

The forms for 70, 80, 90 commonly used in French are

soixante-dix, quatre-vingts, quatre-vingt-dix, in certain provinces of Northern and Eastern France the forms **septante, octante** (rare), **nonante**, are used We must now consider this double series of names

Septante, octante, and **nonante** are formed on the model of the preceding tens and are founded on the Latin decimal system In **soixante-dix, quatre-vingts, quatre-vingt-dix**, the traces of the *vigesimal* system which was in use among the Gauls are evident[1] The Gauls forgot their own language and learnt that of their conquerors, but they were unable to entirely discard their own system of numeration, and introduced this into the new language The two systems remained side by side during the Middle Ages, when we find, coexisting, the forms **trente et deux** and **vingt et douze, quarante et trois** and **deux-vingts et trois, cent cinquante et huit** and **sept-vingts et dix-huit**[2]

[1] [Corresponding to the English counting by *scores*]

[2] *Deus vins* chevaliers ot o sei (Mod F *Il eut avec soi* (*lui*) *quarante chevaliers*) (*Bel inconnu*, ed Hippeau, l 5374)

En ocist Deus des maistres de la terre *treis vinz et dis* (Mod F *Dieu tua des maitres de la terre soixante-dix*) (*Livres des Rois*, ed Leroux de Lincy, p 23)

Quatre vins laisse de chevaliers de pris (Mod F *Il laisse quatre vingts chevaliers de valeur*) (*Garin le Loherain*, ed P Paris, i p 170)

De toz les *sis vins* chevaliers (Mod F *De tous les cent vingts chevaliers*) (Villehardouin, § 213)

Set vint mil armes ont promis (Mod F *Ils ont promis cent quarante mille hommes armés*) (Wace, *Brut*, ed Leroux de Lincy, ii p 136, l 11412)

Huit vint en ot a sa baniere (Mod F *Il en eut sous sa bannière cent-soixante*) (*Bel inconnu*, l 5464)

Nuef vinz et set en i ot ars (Mod F *Il y en eut cent quatre vingt sept de brûlés* (*Philippe Mouskit*, ed de Reiffenberg, l 30529)

Neuf vinz en sont a soi issu (Mod F *Cent quatre vingt sont sortis avec lui*) (*Bel inconnu*, l 5385)

Onze vinz i poissiez choisir (Mod F *Vous pouviez y voir deux cent vingt*) (*Garin le Loherain*, ii p 143)

Il ne me fu demourei de remenant que *douze vins* livres de tournois

Old manuscripts are paged in general according to the vigesimal system to mark p 138, the scribes wrote C XX XVIII Modern usage has caused the Roman system to prevail. But the triumph of this system is not absolute, since **septante**, **huitante**, and **nonante** have been replaced by **soixante-dix**, **quatre-vingts**, **quatre-vingt-dix** During the 17th century **six-vingts** for **cent-vingt** was used currently, and **quinze-vingts** for **trois cents** is so used still, and preserved in the expression **les Quinze-Vingts**[1]

(iv) From 100 to 1000

In these numbers, French abandoned the Latin use of the compounds **ducenti**, **trecenti**, &c, and had recourse to combinations that were new, though analogous in formation **deux cents**, **trois cents**, &c

The Latin singular **mille** has become the French **mil**, the Latin plural **millia**, the French **mille** In Old French, people said *un* **mil**, **mil hommes**, but **deux mille** However, confusion soon arose in this matter From the 11th century we see **mil** used in the plural as well as **mille**, and from the 12th century **mille** was used in the singular, the two forms being employed indifferently However, the form **mille** became dominant and finally prevailed

Since the 17th century **mil** has been dropped, except for a special purpose sanctioned by the use of many hundred years, viz the numeration of years later than the first thousand of the Christian era **l'an mil huit cent**

(Mod F *Il ne me demeura en reste que deux cent quarante livres tournois*) (Joinville, § 136)

Quatorze vins en ont copez les chies (Mod F *Ils ont coupé la tête a deux cent quatre-vingts*) (*Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed Hofmann, l 125)

Quinze vins nes *et quatre* furent (Mod F *Il y eut trois cent quatre nefs* (= vaisseaux)) (*Brut*, i p 30, l 615)

Some de cen *dis set vins* livres et soissante huit (Mod F *Le tout est quatre cent huit livres*) (*Romania*, i p 346, l 27)

[1] A blind asylum in Paris.

quatre-vingt treize[1]. The substantive **millier**[2] has been derived from **mille.**

(v) From 1001 to 1,000,000

For the numbers higher than 1000 and lower than 1,000,000, French makes use of multipliers preceding **mille,** and of additional numbers following it **trois mille quarante six,** that is *three times a thousand, plus forty, plus six*, **deux cent vingt-cinq mille huit cent cinquante quatre,** that is *two hundred and twenty-five times one thousand, plus eight hundred, plus fifty, plus four*[3]

To express *a million,* in Old French, periphrases such as **mil milie, milante mil, dis fois cent mile** were used The word **million** was borrowed in the 15th century from the Italian **milione,** which is the Latin **mille** with the suffix **-ione**

(vi) 1,000,000,000, &c

In the 16th and 17th centuries **milliasse** was sometimes used for **milliard**, in the 18th and 19th, the suffix was changed, and the word now used for a thousand million is **milliard**

(vii) **Billion, trillion,** &c , are nouns of learned forma-

[1] Cel join i out *cent mil larmes* ploiedes (Mod F *Ce jour la on versa cent mille larmes*) (*Vie de Saint Alexis*, ed G Paris, 119)

De *dis mil* homes i oi en ma compaignie,
N'en remaint pas, mon escient *un mille*
(Mod F *De dix mille hommes que j'eus en ma compagnie,*
Il n'en reste pas, que je sache, un mille)
(*Ogier le Danois*, ed Scheler, l 5453)

Plus de *mille mercis* en di Mod F *Je vous en dis plus de mille mercis*) (*Theatre français au moyen âge*, p 229)

De *trente mil* que nous fumes, nous sommes que *dis mil* (Mod F *De trente mille que nous fumes, nous ne sommes que dix mille*) (*Aiol*, ed Normand and Raynaud, l 9394)

And again in Clement Marot *cent mil* grands philosophes (Mod F *cent mille grands philosophes*) ed Jannet, i p 113), *cent mille* esprits (ibid p 59)

[2] [*Millier* corresponds to *mille*, just as *dozen* corresponds to *twelve*]

[3] [English usage is, of course, precisely similar]

tion, on the model of **million**, and are abbreviated forms for **bi-million, tri-million**, &c, and in fact, both in the 16th and 17th centuries, meant two, three, &c., *millions of millions* Since the 18th century the words have been used as follows **billion** = *a thousand million* (and is hence equivalent to **milliard**); **trillion** = *a thousand thousand million*, &c

General remarks—In the numerals formed by addition the component elements were originally connected by the conjunction **et** **Vingt-six** was in Old French **vingt et six, cent trente sept** was **cent trente et sept** Villehardouin begins his *Histoire de la quatrume Croisade* with these words 'Sachiez que l'an **mil et cent et quatre-vint et dis-set** ans apres l'Incarnation,' &c The conjunction was not written down when numbers were denoted by figures, and in mediaeval texts written in verse it is often necessary to re-establish the **et** in reading, in order to preserve the metre

But the habit of reading numbers as they were written, and the haste of speech, gradually led to the suppression of the **et**. In the 16th and 17th centuries **et** was used to connect units with tens, and tens with units *six vints* **et** *dix huit charretees* (Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, II, 33) *Folz a vingt* **et** *cinq quarraz* [Mod F *Fou a vingt cinq carats*], *dont les vingt* **et** *quatre font le tout* (Des Periers, *Nouvelles Recreations*, II, 17) *Ignorante a vingt* **et** *trois carats* (La Fontaine, *Fables*, VII, 15) Corneille [1606–1684] usually says *les vingt* **et** *quatre heures*, Richelet in his Dictionary (1680) noted the new usage, but it was not completely accepted in the Dictionary of the Academy of 1694

At the present day the conjunction **et** is only placed before **un** and before **onze** in *vingt* **et** *un, trente* **et** *un, quarante* **et** *un, cinquante* **et** *un, soixante* **et** *un, soixante* **et** *onze*, in *quatre vingt-un, quatre-vingt-onze, cent-un*, the **et** is omitted Similarly we have *les mille* **et** *un jours, les mille* **et** *une nuits* These are the last remnants of the old construction.

137 NOUNS OF ORDER, OR ORDINAL NOUNS

(i) The Popular Latin masculine and feminine forms for *first* were **primus, prima**, in Old French these became **prin** (preserved in *printemps*) and **prime** Later on, the feminine form *prime* was also used in the masculine, it still exists in *prime-abord, primesaut* (*O F prinsaut*), *prime-vere, a prime* (= in mathematics, *a* dash, *a'*)

The Latin **primus** had given a derivative **primarius, primaria**, which became **premier, première** **Premier** in its turn gave a derivative *premerain, premerame*, which was not preserved

Premier is the only ordinal noun which does not come from the corresponding ordinal number The ordinal **un** only gives an ordinal noun, **unième**, in the compounds **vingt-et-unième**, &c

(ii) For *second*, in Classical Latin, the words **secundus, secunda**, and **alter** were used, in Popular Latin **secundus** was rejected and **alter** was preserved The latter became the Old French *altre, autre*, which until the 16th century kept the meaning of **second**[1] In the 12th century, however, the learned formation had taken **second** (with the fem **seconde**) from Classical Latin, while the popular formation had derived from **deux** a new ordinal adjective by means of a new suffix This suffix, which we shall find again in all other nouns of order, was in the 12th century **-isme** or **-ime**, and sometimes **-iesme**, in the 13th century **-iesme**, and later **-ième**, it probably represents a Latin termination **-ęsimus**[2] This suffix, applied to **dous, dos**, gave **dousisme, dousime, dosisme, dosime**, and then, when **dous, dos**, became **deus, deux**, these forms gave **deusiesme, deuxiesme, deuxième** Hence the two modern forms for second, *second* and *deuxieme*

(iii) The Latin forms **tertius, tertia**, gave in French

[1] *L un , l'autre , le tiers* Saint Gelais, ed Blanchemain, ii 104

[2] The formation of this suffix is still obscure We do not know why *esimus* did not give *esme, -enie*

tiers, tierce These are still used both as adjectives and substantives *parler du tiers et du quart* (*to speak of everybody*), *le tiers d'un nombre, le tiers etat, une fievre tierce* (*tertian fever*), *une tierce* (a thrust in fencing).

In the 12th and 13th centuries the language formed from the cardinal **treis, trois,** the ordinal **treisisme, troisisme,** and hence **troisième**

(iv) The Latin forms **quartus, quarta,** remained in French as **quart, quarte,** until the 17th century *un quart voleur survient* (La Fontaine, *Fables*, I, 13), they exist even at the present day in the time-honoured expressions *parler du tiers et du quart, le quart d'un nombre, une fievre quarte, une quarte* In the 12th and 13th centuries **quatre** gave rise to **quatrisme, quatrime,** which gave **quatriesme,** and hence **quatrième**

(v) The Latin forms **quintus, quinta,** gave in Old French **quint** and **quinte,** which is still used as a feminine substantive *une quinte*[1] From **quinque,** Gallo-Romanic had derived, by analogy with **septimus** and **decimus,** the ordinal **cinquimus,** in O F *cinceme,* which disappeared in the 12th century before the new derivative taken from *cinq* **cinquisme, cinquime, cinquiesme,** and hence **cinquieme**

(vi) The Popular Latin **sextus, sexta,** had given the O F **siste,** which disappeared, in the earliest period of the language, before a new derivative **sisme,** from the Popular Latin **seximus**, and this, in its turn, disappeared towards the 12th century before the derivative **sisisme, sisime, sisiesme,** whence **sixième** **Sextus,** through the Italian *sexto,* has given rise to the proper noun **Sixte,** as in *Sixte-Quint* (Sixtus V), and, through the Spanish *siesta,* to the feminine substantive **sieste** (the sixth hour's rest)

(vii) **Septimus** gave the O F **sedme,** which disappeared in the 12th century before the new derivative **setisme, setiesme, septiesme,** whence **septième**

[1] An attack of coughing, supposed to recur every fifth hour

(viii) **Octavus** had disappeared from popular use in Northern Gallo-Romanic before a derivative **octimus**, which gave the primitive French **uidme**, this disappeared in the 12th century before **uitisme, uitiesme**, from which came **huitiesme**, and the modern **huitième** [see **huit** above] **Octavus** was taken up again by the learned formation in the term *une octave*

(ix) The Latin forms **nonus, nona**, disappeared in the same way before the Gallo-Romanic **novimus, novima**, in primitive French **nofme**, which in its turn disappeared in the 12th and 13th centuries before **novisme, noviesme**, whence **neuvième**

(x) The Latin forms **decimus, decima**, gave the O F **disme**, preserved in the feminine substantive *la dime* (*tithe*), in the 12th and 13th centuries appeared **disisme, disiesme**, whence **dixième**

From the 12th century all ordinal numbers were formed or re formed from the corresponding cardinal numbers by addition of the suffix **-isme, -ime, -iesme, -ième** Thus were formed first **onzime, dozime, trezime, quatorzime, quintisme, sezime, disetisme, diseuitisme, disenuevime, vintisme**, and, later on, **onzième**, &c, **vingtième**, &c, **centième, millième, millionième**, &c In the same manner the ordinal numbers taken from compound cardinal numbers have been formed by the addition of the suffix to the last component of the cardinal number **vingt-quatre** does not give *vingtième et quatrime*, but **vingt-et-quatrième** or **vingt-quatrième**, in fact **la vingt-et-quatrième** part of a thing is not equivalent to *la vingtieme* et *la quatrieme*[1]

138 Old forms of numerals in **-ain, aine** —Old French possessed a suffix **ain, -aine**, used in the formation of (1) ordinal nouns *la terzaine partie, une fievre quartaine* (now

[1] [English usage is exactly parallel from the cardinal twenty-four we get the ordinal twenty-fourth]

obsolete), and of (2) cardinal numbers denoting a collection of objects *une huitaine, une neuvaine, une dizaine, une douzaine, un terzain, un quatrain, un sixain, un huitain, un douzain* In modern usage these nouns have acquired special significations, in the masculine they denote stanzas of a corresponding number of lines, in the feminine, in ordinary language an approximate quantity **une douzaine de personnes** (some twelve people, more or less [1]), in arithmetic, units of a certain order [2].

139 GENERAL REMARKS ON NUMERALS —Cardinals and ordinals are either adjectives, as in **cinq personnes, la cinquième partie**, or substantives, as in **le cinq** (*the fifth of the month*), **le cinquième** (*the fifth*) Cardinals are also substantives when they are used in an absolute construction *cinq fois* **cinq** *font* **vingt cinq**, or in apposition to a substantive **le nombre cinq** They do not take the sign of the plural (see Syntax, § 377, II).

VI Indefinite Nouns

140 INDEFINITE NOUNS —Indefinite nouns denote persons and things in a general and indefinite manner

Some are essentially *substantives*, others essentially *adjectives* These latter, however, may be used substantively

Some are derived from demonstrative or relative pronouns, and have been influenced by their origin.

141 INDEFINITE SUBSTANTIVES —The **indefinite** substantives are **on, personne, chose,** and **rien**

On (or, with the article, l'on) is in the Old French declension the subject case of a substantive of which the object case is *homme* In Popular Latin the singular **homo**

[1] [Cf *dozen* in English *a round dozen, a baker's dozen*, &c., *huitaine* and *neuvaine* have also the special meanings of 'about a week' and 'a nine days' (religious) retreat']

[2] [*Les dizaines, les centaines* = in English, the *tens*, the *hundreds*]

was used as a substantive where in Classical Latin the plural was generally used, as in **homo dicit**, in the sense of the Classical Latin *homines dicunt* This use of **on** appears already in the *Oaths of Strasburg* *Si cum* om *son fradra salvar dift* (in Mod F *ainsi comme on son frere sauver doit*) But in this sentence we find **on** capable of being separated from the verb, and receiving the *tempus forte* Later on, it became an *atonic proclitic*, and can now only be separated from the verb by other atonic words thus we may say **on dit, on me le dit**, and **on dit vrai, on ne me dit pas tout**, but not *on vrai dit, on me ne pas tout dit*

Personne and **chose**, originally only feminine substantives, may be used absolutely in an indeterminate sense, and then become masculine **Personne** is used in negative sentences **Personne n'est venu** (*nobody has come*), and elliptically **Est-il venu quelqu'un ?** **Personne** (i e, *Personne n'est venu*) (see § 483) **Chose** is used similarly in the expressions **autre chose, quelque chose quelque chose de bon, autre chose de neuf**

Rien, from the Latin **rem**, *thing*, was in Old French a feminine substantive **les riens que j'aime** (*the things which I like*) It is now an indefinite masculine substantive **ce n'est rien, je n'ai rien de bon** (see § 483)

142 INDEFINITE ADJECTIVES —**The indefinite adjectives are aucun, autre, chacun and chaque, maint, même, nul, plusieurs, quant, quel, quelque, tout, tel, and un**

These adjectives may be used as substantives, some of them absolutely **tous prétendent** (that is, *tous les hommes pretendent*), **plusieurs affirment** (that is, *plusieurs hommes affirment*), others only when accompanied by a determinative word **l'un dit, quelqu'un dit**, and not *un dit*

Aucun, from the O F **aique** (Lat **aliquem**) and **un**, was at first equivalent to the modern **quelqu'un** (*some one*) It has still this sense in **aucuns prétendent, d'aucuns**

disent (*some say*) The habit of using **aucun** in negative phrases transformed it into a negative term, like *personne, rien*, &c, as in **aucun** (= *no-one*) **n'en veut** The negative use is obvious in elliptical sentences, such as **y a-t-il des absents ?—Aucun** (that is, *Il n'y a aucun absent, There is no one absent*) **Aucun** has thus become synonymous with **nul** (see Syntax, § 483)

Autre, formerly **altre** (Lat *alter*) In Old French **altre, autre**, was declined and had an oblique case **altrui, autrui**, which was then, and is still, used only as an object case **nuire à autrui, le bien d'autrui** Consequently **autrui** can never be a nominative, just as **on** can never be an accusative

Autre may be combined with the article **l'autre, un autre.** It is opposed to **un**, as in **l'un, l'autre, l'un et l'autre, l'un ou l'autre**[1]

Chacun, formerly **chascun**, from the Latin **quisque unum**, which became **cascunum** under the influence of another compound, **cat(a)-unum**, was both an adjective and a substantive **chascun homme, un chascun, tout un chascun**[2] The two last constructions are still to be found in the 17th century, and have survived in some of the provinces

Chaque, formerly **chesque**, from the Latin **quisque**, little used in Old French, became more frequent especially in the 16th century, and now tends to replace *chacun* It has replaced *chacun* as an adjective, and is beginning even to replace it as a substantive, the common people say **ces livres coûtent cinq francs chaque**, and not *chacun*

Maint, a word of Celtic origin, is tending to become obsolete its loss would be regrettable It was at one time both an adjective and a substantive *maintes gens prétendent, maints prétendent* (*not a few affirm*) It is now only an adjective

[1] [As in English the words *one* and *other*]

[2] [These expressions are more emphatic synonyms of *chacun*]

Même is derived from the Popular Latin **metipsimum**, a word composed of the pronominal particle **met** and a popular superlative of the pronoun **ipse** (*himself*) It signifies, then, by a perfectly natural pleonasm, *his very self* (*tout a fait lui même*) This word passed through the forms *medesme* (11th century), *meesme* (12th century), and *mesme* (15th century) before it assumed its present form It is used as an adjective *le même homme* (*the same man*), *l'homme même* (*the man himself*), and as a substantive with a determinative *le même* (*the same*)

Nul, from the Latin **nullus** (*no one*), had in Old French an oblique case **nului**, which has disappeared, although *nul* has in itself a negative sense, it cannot be used without a negative statement (see Syntax, § 483) It is either an adjective *nul homme ne croit*, or a substantive *nul ne croit*

Plusieurs, from the Popular Latin **plusiores**[1], is either an adjective *plusieurs personnes pretendent*, or a substantive *plusieurs pretendent*

Quant, an old adjective derived from the Latin **quantus**[2], is only used in the expression, itself obsolete, *quantes et quantes fois* (*time and again*), in *toutes fois et quantes* (*each and every time*) It had a correlative **tant**, which disappeared from use as an adjective at an early date, and is now only used as an adverb

Quel, from the Latin **qualis**, indicates generally the manner in which anything exists (in English, *how*, *what*, in '*whatever*'). It has preserved its primitive signification in *quel qu'il soit* (*whatever it may be*) It enters into the locution *tel quel* (*just as it is*), the relative pronoun *lequel*, and the interrogative pronoun *quel, lequel* It is thus either an adjective or a substantive

[1] *Plusiores* was preceded by the form *pluriores*, which became *plusiores* under the influence of *plus* *Plusiores* gave, in Old French, *pluissors*, *plusseurs*, which the men of letters of the 16th century changed into *plusieurs*

[2] [Distinguish from the adverb *quant*]

Quelque is formed from *quel* and *que.* This adjective may be converted into a substantive by combining it with *un* *quelqu'un* It also combines with the old adverb *onques* and forms the indeterminate adjective *quelconque*

Tel comes from the Latin **talis**, the correlative of **qualis**, which gave **quel** Besides indicating the manner of existing, *tel* expresses more especially an idea of identity *tel que vous le voyez* (*such as you see him*) When preceded by *un*, it is used as an indeterminate substantive *un tel* (*a certain person*)

Tout, from the Latin **totus**, is used not only as an adjective, but also as an adverb, and is then invariable

Un is the cardinal noun, of which the primitive sense has weakened, it has thus become an indefinite adjective. *un homme, une femme* It is used substantively when preceded by the article *l'un*, in which case it is often opposed to *autre* (see above) It is combined with *chaque* in *chacun*, with *quelque* in *quelqu'un*, with *aque* in *aucun*

143 QUALIFYING ADJECTIVES WHICH MAY BECOME INDEFINITE ADJECTIVES —Certain adjectives, which are usually placed after substantives, and are then qualifying adjectives, when placed before substantives become indefinite *Des personnes differentes, differentes personnes, des choses certaines, certaines choses*[1]

SECTION II —*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Substantive*

144 General remarks on case, gender, and number in Latin

I CASES —145 Reduction of the Latin declension in Popular Latin —146 Formation of the declension in Old French Masculine substantives —147 Declension of the feminine substantives —148 Indeclinable substantives —149 Loss of the Old French declension —150 Remnants of the old declension

II GENDERS —151 Loss of the Latin neuter in the Gallo-Roman period —152 Latin neuters which have become masculine in French —153 Latin neuters which have become feminine in French —154 Changes in the gender of feminine substantives derived from

[1] [The English use of *different* and *certain* is almost exactly parallel.]

Latin neuters —155 Reasons which determined the choice of genders in French words —156 Changes in gender of common nouns —157 Substantives with a double etymological origin —158 Disturbing action of terminations —159 Analogical action of suffixes —160 Action of analogous words, or closely related terms —161 Syntactic actions —162 Reversion to the Latin gender —163 Inexplicable change of gender in certain substantives —164 The feminine of nouns denoting persons —165 The feminine of nouns denoting animals

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144 GENERAL REMARKS ON CASE, GENDER, AND NUMBER IN LATIN —The various kinds of nouns that have just been considered are, or have been, subject in French to modifications of **case**, **gender**, and **number**

Latin nouns were divided, according to their terminations, into classes, called **declensions**, the substantives into five, and the adjectives into two In each declension the forms corresponding to a given case were different, in general, for different genders and numbers

(1) *Cases* —**Cases** were constituted in Latin by final inflexions, the form of the noun being thus modified in different ways according to its syntactic relations with the other terms of the sentence in which it was used

Latin during the Classical period had six cases, the form of which varied, in general, with the declensions

The **nominative** showed that the noun was the subject of the verb. **Paul-US** venit, *Paul comes*

The **vocative** denoted the person addressed **Paul-E**, veni, *Paul, come!*

The **genitive** in general expressed the possessor liber **Paul-I**, *Paul's book*

The **dative** expressed the indirect object **do librum Paul-O**, (*I*) *give* (*a or the*) *book to Paul*

The **accusative** denoted the direct object of verbs and the indirect object of certain prepositions **video Paul-UM**, *I see Paul*, **eo ad Paul-UM**, *I go to Paul*

The **ablative** expressed the starting-point of an action, and was the indirect *object* of certain prepositions **amatur a Paul-O**, *he is loved by Paul*

(2) *Gender* —There were three genders in Latin **masculine**, **feminine**, and **neuter**, and substantives were of one of these three genders The gender of a word was in most cases determined by its form, it was owing to purely grammatical reasons that substantives were masculine, feminine, or neuter Sometimes, with substantives denoting living beings, either persons or animals, the masculine or feminine gender corresponded to the idea of sex

When adjectives were used with substantives they took their gender If they were used absolutely they were either masculine or feminine when referring to persons or living things, but took the neuter gender when they denoted general ideas, such as *the true, the good, the useful* In other words, the *logical* neuter was expressed in Latin by the *grammatical* neuter

In substantives the gender was sometimes shown by the termination, especially in neuter substantives, which kept the same inflexion in the nominative, vocative, and accusative of both singular and plural numbers

In some cases the gender of a substantive was shown only by the special inflexion which it necessitated in an adjective qualifying it

(3) *Number* — The Latin numbers were the **singular** and **plural**

The substantives and adjectives had, in the different declensions and cases, special inflexions for the two numbers

We give the paradigms of the five declensions of substantives (We shall give in Section III, § 175, the paradigms of the two classes of adjectives)

1st DECLENSION

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	ros **ă** (*rose*)	ros **ae**
Voc	ros **ă**	ros **ae**
Gen	ros **ae**	ros **arum**
Dat	ros **ae**	ros **is**
Acc	ros **am**	ros **as**
Abl	ros **ā**	ros **is**

2nd DECLENSION

Parisyllabics

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	mur **us** (*wall*)	mur **i**
Voc	mur **e**	mur **i**
Gen	mur **i**	mur **orum**
Dat	mur **o**	mur **is**
Acc	mur **um**	mur **os**
Abl	mur **o**	mur **is**

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	templ **um** (*temple*)	templ **a**
Voc	templ **um**	templ **a**
Gen	templ **i**	templ **orum**
Dat	templ **o**	templ **is**
Acc	templ **um**	templ **a**
Abl	templ **o**	templ **is**

Imparisyllabics

MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	puer (*boy*)	puer **i**, &c
Voc	puer	(like mur **i**)
Gen	puer **i**	
Dat	puer **o**	
Acc	puer **um**	
Abl	puer **o**	

3rd DECLENSION.

Parisyllabics

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	pan is (*bread*)	pan es
Voc	pan is	pan es
Gen	pan is	pan ium
Dat	pan i	pan ibus
Acc	pan em	pan es or pan is
Abl	pan e	pan ibus

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	mar e (*sea*)	mar ia
Voc	mar e	mar ia
Gen	mar is	mar ium
Dat	mar i	mar ibus
Acc	mar e	mar ia
Abl	mar i	mar ibus

Imparisyllabics

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	leo (*lion*)	leon es
Voc	leo	(like pan es)
Gen	leon is	
Dat	leon i	
Acc	leon em	
Abl	leon e	

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom	fulgur (*lightning*)	fulgur a
Voc.	fulgur	fulgur a
Gen	fulgur is	fulgur um
Dat	fulgur i	fulgur ibus
Acc	fulgur	fulgur a
Abl	fulgur e	fulgur ibus

4th Declension

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	man **us** (*hand*)	man **us**
Voc	man **us**	man **us**
Gen	man **ūs**	man **uum**
Dat	man **ui**	man **ibus**
Acc	man **um**	man **us**
Abl	man **u**	man **ibus**

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	corn **u** (*horn*)	corn **ua**
Voc	corn **u**	corn **ua**
Gen	corn **ūs**	corn **uum**
Dat	corn **ui**	corn **ibus**
Acc	corn **u**	corn **ua**
Abl	corn **u**	corn **ibus**

5th Declension

FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES

	Singular	Plural
Nom	di **es** (*day*)	di **es**
Voc	di **es**	di **es**
Gen	di **ei**	di **erum**
Dat	di **ei**	di **ebus**
Acc	di **em**	di **es**
Abl	di **e**	di **ebus**

In this table we must distinguish, in the 2nd and 3rd declensions, the **parisyllabics** from the **imparisyllabics**, i. e those substantives which have the same number of syllables in the six cases of the singular (**murus, templum, panis, mare**) from the substantives which, in the singular, have one syllable less in the nominative and vocative (**puer, leo, fulgur**) This difference in the number of syllables produced in some cases differences

in the position of the *tempus forte*, and consequently of phonetic treatment in the passage from Latin into French

Moreover, if we examine these paradigms closely we see how defective the system of Latin declensions was The dative and ablative plural had the same form in all the declensions (1st and 2nd, **-is**, **-is**, 3rd and 4th, **-ibus**, **-ibus**, 5th, **-ebus**, **-ebus**) Sometimes, even in the 3rd declension, the singular of these two cases had the same termination (**mari**, **mari**) In other cases the forms of the genitive and dative singular were identical (1st, **-ae**, **-ae**, 5th, **-ei**, **-ei**) The nominative and vocative were identical throughout, except in the singular of the 2nd declension (**murus mure**). Lastly, in neuter nouns there was nothing to distinguish, in either the singular or plural, the nominative from the vocative or the accusative (**templum**, **templa**, **fulgur**, **fulgura**, **mare**, **maria**, **cornu**, **cornua**) On the other hand, in several declensions, particularly in the 3rd, we find a great variety of forms, owing to the great variety of radicals included in them

This system of declensions shows signs of being an already degraded stage of an earlier and more complete system In the 3rd century B C the development of the literary language had arrested the progress of the system towards simplification, and gave it fixity for some centuries But the revolution was only delayed, and when the literary language sank with the wreck of the empire the work of destruction was completed The six cases were reduced first to two, and towards the end of the Middle Ages to one only The neuter declension disappeared, and the inflexions of number alone were preserved The simplification might have been yet more complete, for one can easily conceive of the language in a state having neither number nor gender

It already occasionally happens in the *spoken* French of the present day that both gender and number are only

made evident by the determinants which accompany either the noun or verb These grammatical distinctions are no longer expressed by distinctive inflections Thus the **s** of the plural is no longer heard in pronunciation, except in cases of sound-connection (*liaison*), and it is the article alone which shows whether a noun is singular or plural the nouns in *le pere* and *les peres* are indistinguishable in pronunciation

It is also the sense alone which distinguishes *il chante* from *ils chantent* The phrase *quelle jolie petite fille qui joue dans le jardin*, is identical in pronunciation with the phrase *quelles jolies petites filles qui jouent dans le jardin* The sound of the exclamation *enfant hardi* does not show us if the noun is (1) a masculine singular (as written above), (2) a feminine singular *enfant hardie*, or (3) a masculine, or (4) a feminine plural *enfants hardis* or *hardies*

I Cases

145 REDUCTION OF THE LATIN DECLENSION IN POPULAR LATIN —The six cases of Classical Latin merged in Popular Latin into a single case, the accusative, except in the 2nd declension, in which the nominative was preserved

The genitive was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *de* with the accusative *liber Pauli* became *liber de Paulu(m)*, and in French, *le livre de Paul* (*Paul's book*)

The dative was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *ad* with the accusative *Do Paulo* became *do ad Paulu(m)*, and in French, *je donne a Paul* (*I give to Paul*)

The ablative was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *de*, or some other preposition, with the accusative *venire e campo* became *venire de illu(m) campu(m)*, and in French, *venir del champ*, *venir du champ* (*to come from the field*)

It was thus the accusative which became the case

governed by prepositions, keeping also its function as the case governed by the transitive verbs[1]

The nominative, and the vocative, which had already become identical with it in form, were in their turn absorbed by the accusative, except in the 2nd declension In fact, in this general breaking-up of the system of the Latin declensions only a fragment remained, but a fragment sufficient to serve for the construction thereon of a new edifice in Gallo-Romanic, for the French declension, incomplete though it was, was an original construction, and not a weakened survival of the Latin system

146 FORMATION OF THE DECLENSION IN OLD FRENCH MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES — The fragment referred to above was the 2nd declension of *masculine* substantives in **-us** and **-er** A nominative fulfilling the function of both subject case and vocative case, and the accusative serving as the object of verbs and of prepositions, were preserved, and formed a declension with two cases.

(1) Substantives in **-us**

	Singular	Plural
Nom	**murus**	**muri**
Acc.	**murum**	**muros**

The continuation of this declension in Old French was:

	Singular	Plural
Nom	*murs*	*mur*
Acc	*mur*	*murs*

Thus two forms, the one without an **s**, and the other with an **s**, served to constitute the two cases in the singular and plural.

[1] The prepositions which in Classical Latin governed the ablative in Popular Latin governed the accusative There are numerous examples of this in the earliest Low Latin texts

(11) Substantives in **-er**:

	Singular	Plural
Nom	**l͟iber**	**l͟ibri**
Acc	**l͟ibrum**	**l͟ibros**

This declension became in Old French (11th and 12th centuries)

	Singular	Plural
Nom	*livre*	*livre*
Acc	*livre*	*livres*

Thus in these substantives a form without an **s** served for the nominative and accusative singular and for the nominative plural, a form with an **s**, for the accusative plural

This declension, with its two types, was the starting-point of the Gallo-Romanic declension It was imposed on *all* masculine substantives, no matter from what source they came, whether they were Latin, of the 3rd, 4th, or 5th declensions—e g *pain*, from **panem**, *fruit*, from **fructum**, *di*, from **diem** or whether they were of Romanic formation, such as *cri*, from *crier*, *apel*, from *apeler* or whether they were of foreign origin, such as *beant*, *esperon* (*speron*), or even if they were infinitives used substantively All masculine substantives ending otherwise than with **e** mute followed the paradigm of **murs**, all those ending with an **e** mute followed the paradigm of **livre** e g *pere*, from **patrem**, *frere*, from **fratrem**

In the declension on the type of **murs** the language started from the forms of the accusative singular and plural yielded by etymology, and created the cases for the subject by simply changing the accusative singular into the nominative plural, and the accusative plural into the nominative singular The nominatives plural of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Latin declensions ended in **s** **panes, fructus, dies** This **s** was thus dropped in the earliest period of the language, and the corresponding French nominatives plural were *pain*, *fruit*, *di*, like the accusatives singular

pain (from **pạnem**), *fruit* (from **frụctum**), *di* (from **dịem**) A great number of imparisyllabic substantives, particularly in the 3rd declension, had one syllable less in the nominative singular than in the oblique cases **lẹo, leọnem, cạrbo, carbọnem, sẹrpens, serpẹntem** Had the nominatives singular in French been derived phonetically from the Latin forms they would have been. *lie, charp, serps* But the forms found, derived from the accusative plural, are *leons, charbons, serpenz* (= *serpents*)

In the declension on the type of **livre** the nominatives plural of the 3rd declension, such as **patres,** became in the same manner, contrary to etymological rule *pedre, pere*—on the model of the accusative singular *pedre, pere* (= **pạtrem**) As for the nominative singular, it followed the paradigm of **liber** and had no **s**

Such, then, was the primitive declension of masculine substantives in French It consisted of two types (1) **murs, mur, mur, murs,** and (2) **livre, livre, livre, livres**

In the second third of the 12th century the distinction between the type **livre** and the type **mur-s** was lost, and for the nominative singular the forms **livre-s, pere-s,** were used, exactly on the model of **mur-s** Thenceforward only a single declension of masculine substantives remained, and (with a few exceptions, noted immediately below) all masculine substantives of whatever origin, and to whatever Latin declension they had belonged, were included under the type of **murs**

The important exceptions we refer to occurred from the earliest period of the language, they concern a restricted number of imparisyllabic substantives denoting persons only, which were chiefly used in the vocative, a case, as we know, identical in form with the nominative This use of the vocative, and particularly of the vocative singular, preserved the nominative singular, lost by other substantives The other cases of these words followed the general rule, i e the form of the accusative singular

was used for the nominative plural, and, with the addition of an **s**, for the accusative plural Thus we find

Nom sing **cŏmes**, *cuens, cons,* co-existing with the accusative **cŏmitem**, *comte,* whence the plural *comte, comtes*

Nom sing **hŏmo**, *on,* co existing with the accusative **hŏminem**, *ome* (*homme*), whence the plural *ome, omes* (*hommes*)

Nom sing **prĕsbyter**, *prestre,* co-existing with the accusative **presbyterum**, *presveire, proveire, prouvaire,* whence the plural *prouvaire, prouvaires*

Nom sing **lătro**, *ledre, lerre,* co-existing with the accusative **latrŏnem**, *ladron, larron,* whence the plural *larron, larrons*

Nom sing **bărо**, *ber,* co existing with the accusative **barŏnem**, *baron,* whence the plural *baron, barons*

Nom sing **sĕnior**, *sire,* co existing with the accusative **senĭorem**, *seigneur,* whence the plural *seigneur, seigneurs*

Nom sing **imperător**, *emperedre, emperere,* co-existing with the accusative **imperatŏrem**, *emperedor, empereor, empereeur, empereur,* whence the plural *emperedor, emperor, emperedors, empereors, empereeurs, empereurs*

Similar forms existed in the case of all names of agents.

Nom Sing	Acc Sing	Nom Plur	Acc Plur
buvere	*buveor*	*buveor*	*buveors*
faisere	*faiseor*	*faiseor*	*faiseors*
menere	*menteor*	*menteor*	*menteors*
trouvere	*trouveor*	*trouveor*	*trouveors*
vantere	*vanteor*	*vanteor*	*vanteors*, &c [1]

To these substantives must be added a feminine substantive, with a nominative singular **suer, sœur,** from **sŏror,** co existing with the accusative singular **serour** from **sorŏrem**, whence the nom and acc plural *sereur, serours*

Among these substantives, those which had no etymo-

[1] In Modern French *buveur, faiseur, menteur, trouvere, vantard,* &c

logical **s** in the nominative singular received one in the last third of the 12th century, thenceforward the forms used were *(h)ons, prestre-s, lerre-s, ber-s, sire-s, emperere s*, exactly similar to the earlier *livre s, pere-s*, modelled on **mur-s** However, here the **s** appeared less necessary than for the substantives of the type of **livre**, because the nominative singular was rendered sufficiently distinct from other cases by the special form it assumed[1]

Such were in Old French the exceptions to the rule with regard to the declension of masculine substantives Had it not been for the special use of the vocative which characterized these imparisyllabics, still obvious at the present day, as we shall see, in several of these words (§ 150), the declension on the type of **murs** would have extended to all masculine nouns of either Latin or Gallo-Romanic origin, irrespectively of the declension to which they had originally belonged

117 Declension of the feminine substantives —The declension of feminine substantives was more simple than that of masculine substantives Whether they came from the first declension, e g *rose* from **rosa**, or from the third, e g *medre, mere*, from **matrem**, *mort* from **mortem**, or from the fourth, e g *main* from **manum**, or, finally, from the fifth, e g *feit, fei, foi*, from **fidem**, they were only inflected with regard to number, because they existed only in the form of the accusative In Popular Latin the nominatives singular corresponding to the Classical Latin **rosa, mater,** were already **rosam** and **matrem**, and the nominatives plural, **rosas** and **matres**[2]. Hence the French feminine

[1] The addition of the *s* to the substantives in question was not made at the same time in all instances, and seems only to have become universal in the 13th century

[2] We have just pointed out the exception *sœur* We may quote together with this word a whole series of women's names which are also exceptional and possess two forms, the nominative and the

declension, which has been preserved down to the present day

Nom Sing	*rose, mere*		Plur.	*roses, meres*
Acc „	*rose, mere*		„	*roses, meres*

However, in the 12th century, those feminine substantives which did not end with an **e** mute took an **s** in the nominative singular Thus the substantive *bontet* was declined in the singular *bontez* (pronounced *bontets*), *bontet*, in the plural, only the accusative form *bontez* was known. Similarly *amor* was declined in the singular *amors*, *amor*, but had only a single form for the nominative and accusative plural, *amors*

148. INDECLINABLE SUBSTANTIVES — The following classes of words had no declension in Old French, having no inflection either of case or number

1 Substantives derived from Latin substantives, masculine, feminine, or neuter, of which the radical ended either (i) with an **s** **curS-us**, *cours*, **urS-us**, *ours*, or (ii) with a **c**, which before the **e** of the accusative became phonetically **-is** (§ 74, 3) **paC em**, *pais* (paix), **voC-em**, *vois* (voix), **nuC em**, *nois* (noix), or (iii) with one of the groups **cy** and **ty**, which, placed in hiatus before the termination **-um**, developed, the former into **ts**, and the latter into **-is** (at first **-iz**) (§§ 77 and 78) **braCI-um**, *braz* (*bras*), **solaCI um**, *solaz* (*soulas*), **pala-TI-um**, *palais*, **preTI-um**, *prieis*, *pris* (*prix*)

2 Substantives derived from Latin neuter substantives terminating in **s** **corpuS**, **cors** (*corps*), **funduS** (gen. **funderis**), *fonds*, **latuS**, *lez*, **tempuS**, *tems* (*temps*).

149 LOSS OF THE OLD FRENCH DECLENSION —Such were

accusative *nonne—nonain* (now *nonnain*), *Aude—Audain*, *Eve—Evain*, *Yde—Ydain* the accusatives *nonam*, *Audam*, &c, are traceable to Germanic accusatives in *an* As in *suer*, *seror*, the nominative form has alone survived

the three classes comprised in the Old French declension of substantives The system was really only applied to masculine substantives, which shows how imperfect it was But, with all its incompleteness, it was an independent development of the Latin system

Having attained its full growth in the second half of the 12th century, this new system began to undergo change at the end of the following century, and disappeared entirely at the end of the 14th century Of the two cases, the nominative and accusative, the nominative was definitively ousted from the language, because the relations expressed by this case occurred much less frequently than those expressed by the accusative.

At the present time the substantive has only one form, that of the accusative, which the language uses indiscriminately to represent the subject as well as the object governed by a verb or a preposition

The expression of the numerous relations for which the Latin inflection sufficed is now accomplished by means of the use of a determinate order of the words employed, and of prepositions

150 REMNANTS OF THE OLD DECLENSION -Nevertheless, in spite of the general loss of the declension the nominatives of certain substantives have been preserved, in some cases exclusively, in others together with the corresponding accusatives

1. Substantives of which the nominative form only has been preserved .

fils (from **fīlius**), together with *fil* (pron *fi*, from **fīlium**), preserved in the speech of country folk

sœur (from **sŏror**), *serour* (from **sorŏrem**) was lost towards the end of the Middle Ages.

prêtre (from **prĕsbyter**), this at one time co-existed with *prouvaire*, earlier *provetre*, *provoire* (from **presbyterum**), which is no longer in general use.

pâtre (from **pastor**), *pâteur* (from **pastorem**) has been lost *Pasteur* is a learned form

vierge (from **virgo**), *virgne* (from **virginem**) has been lost

chantre (from **cantor**), *chanteur* (from **cantorem**) has been lost The modern word *chanteur*, O F *chanteeur*, *chanteor*, is the Latin **cantatorem**, its nominative case was *chanteere*

ancêtre (from **antecessor**) and **traître** (from **traditor**) must also be mentioned

2 Substantives of which both the nominative form and accusative form have been preserved

sire (from **senior**) and **seigneur** (from **seniorem**)

gars (from ***warcio**) and **garçon** (from **warcionem**)

copain (from **companio**) and **compagnon** (from **companionem**)

We must also notice the forms of certain proper nouns, **Georges, Gilles, Jacques, Jules**, &c, in which the presence of the final **s** indicates a former nominative

In all these substantives it is really the form of the vocative, identical with that of the nominative, which has been preserved (see p 219, § 146), the function of the vocative is still obvious in **sire**

Thus only substantives denoting persons were able to keep this nominative form Traces of the **s** of the nominative have been supposed to exist in certain names of things, such as *puits, rets, legs, fonds, lis, appas*, &c But this is a mistake

Puits, O F *puiz*, is the Popular Latin **putеu, putiu**, the accusative of **puteus** The **-iz** of *puiz*, later **-is**, represents the combination **ti** (§ 77), the **t** in *puits* is due to the scholars of the Renaissance who unfortunately wished to reintroduce the Latin **t** before the **s** by which the **z** had been replaced

Rets (Pop Lat. **retium**) has a history similar to that of *puits*

Legs (= *legacy*) is a mis spelling for *les*, *lais*, the verbal substantive from *laisser*, erroneously connected with **léguer** [Cf the *g* in the English *sovereign*, from the French *souverain*, erroneously connected with *reign*]

Fonds is the Latin neuter **fundus**, gen **funderis**, whilst *fond* is the masculine **fundum**

Lis and *appas* are the original plurals of the singulars *lit* and *appât*, the latter being still in use (see § 167, III)[1] The form *lis* (formerly *liz*) with the **s** comes from the expression *fleurs de lis*, where the plural indicates the *three fleurs de lis* which figured on the royal armorial bearings

To sum up, the nominative has given way everywhere before the accusative, except in certain nouns denoting persons, where the use of the vocative during the Middle Ages has preserved the subject case down to the present day Of these nouns only one has kept, not alone the form, but also the syntactic use of the subject case exclusively This is the indefinite noun *on*, *l'on*, a nominative corresponding to the Latin nominative **homo**, the accusative of which is *homme* *On* and *l'on* can only be used as the subjects of a verb

II Genders

151 Loss of the Latin neuter in the Gallo-Roman period —Latin had, as we have seen (§ 144), three genders, the masculine, feminine, and neuter The masculine and feminine were preserved, the neuter was lost during the Gallo-Roman period, and was replaced by either the masculine or feminine

[1] [*Appas*, the plural of *appât*, is similar to *gens* and *tous*, from *gent* and *tout* The singular, *appât*, and the plural, *appas* are used in the sense of *bait* Through the idea of attractiveness, the plural has become an independent word equivalent to the English *charms*, in speaking of a woman]

152 LATIN NEUTERS WHICH HAVE BECOME MASCULINE IN FRENCH.—Latin neuters mostly became masculine in French

		O F	Mod F
2nd decl	cǽlum	*li ciels*	*le ciel*
	dǫnum	*li dons*	*le don*
	granum	*li grains*	*le grain*
	fǫlium	*li feuil*	*(chievre)-feuil* (obsolete except in this compound)
	vīnum	*li vins*	*le vin*
3rd decl	cǫrpus	*li cors*	*le cor(p)s*
	pęctus	*li pis*	*le pis*
	tęmpus	*li tens*	*le tem(p)s*
	lātus	*li lez*	(Plessis) *les* (Tours)[1]
4th decl	cǫrnu	*li corn*	*le cor*

(On the final s of *cors*, *pis*, *tems*, *lez*, see § 148, 2.)

153 LATIN NEUTERS WHICH HAVE BECOME FEMININE IN FRENCH.—1 The neuter singular has become a feminine singular in two words only **mărе**, *la mer*, **jumęntum**, *la jument*

2 The neuter plural has become a feminine singular in many words. The termination of the neuter substantives being invariably **-a** in the nominative, vocative, and accusative plural, it was confused with the termination **a** of the feminines singular of the first declension. Thus we find

2nd decl	**labrum**	pl	**lą̄bra**	*la levre*
	fęstum		**fęsta**	*la fête*
	fǫlium		**fǫlia**	*la feuille*
	pīrum		**pīra**	*la poire*
	grą̄num		**grą̄na**	*la graine*
	gą̄udium		**gą̄udia**	*la joie*
	fīlum		**fila**	*la file*

[1] = Plessis by the side of (i.e. near) Tours

3rd decl	fulgur	fulgura	*la foudre*
	insigne	insignia	*l(a)' enseigne*
	mirabile	mirabilia	*la merveille*
4th decl	cornu	cornua	*la corne*

As may have been observed by the words *grain, graine, feuil, feuille, fil, file, cor, corne,* the same Latin neuter has sometimes given rise to French *doublets*, the language having taken a masculine singular from the neuter singular, and a feminine singular from the neuter plural of the same word, and both of the doublets are capable of taking a plural form des *grains*, des *graines*, des *fils*, des *files*

This change of a plural into a singular, and of a neuter into a feminine, did not take place suddenly

With regard to the sense we must notice that the value of the plural was long kept in the *collective* signification which first belonged to these feminines thus *la feuille* had the meaning of the modern *feuillage* (*foliage*) before denoting each leaf in particular The collective sense is still discernible in *graine*, and in the substantives in *-aille*, which are derived from Latin neuter plurals in **-alia** *broussaille* (*brush-wood*), *ferraille* (*old iron*), *limaille* (*filings*), &c (See Book III, § 316, 14)

With regard to the form, we find in Old French certain substantives which form their plural by the addition, not of an **s**, but of an **e** *char, charre*[1], *doit, doie*[2], *sestier* (a certain measure), *sestiere*[3] These plurals represent the corresponding Latin neuter plurals Had the neuter **granum**, Fr *grain* (plural **grana**), passed into French, not as a feminine singular, but with its Latin

[1] Cinquante charre (Mod F *chars*) (Roland, l 131)

[2] Ot chascuns deus doie de lart (Mod F *Chacun eut deux doigts de lard*) (Raoul de Houdenc, *Les Trouveres belges*, nouv serie, published by Scheler, p 190)

Dous sestiere de blef (Mod F *Deux sestiers de ble*) (Lettre de Joinville, *Bibl de l Ecole des Chartes*, iv 6, 369)

plural signification, the French forms would have been *grain* in the singular and *graine* in the plural This is what has happened in Italian[1], in which a great number of masculine substantives form their plural by changing the **o** of the singular into **a** *il labbro* (*la levre, the lip*), *le labbra* (*les levres, the lips*) This formation of the plural, which would have been characterized by the addition of an **e** to the form of the singular, was not developed in French The few plurals of this kind in the old language have been lost, and in the modern language a single and scarcely recognizable relic is to be found in the numeral adjective *mille*, of which the form *mil* represents the Latin singular **mille**, and the form *mille* the Latin plural **millia** In Old French, as we have seen, the singular *un mil* was distinguished from the plural *deux mille* (§ 136 iv)

154. CHANGES IN THE GENDER OF FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES DERIVED FROM LATIN NEUTERS —In Middle French a certain number of the feminine substantives derived from Latin neuter plurals underwent, in the hands of literary men, changes of gender which have been of a more or less lasting character[2] These writers, having some, though very incomplete, notions of etymology, wished to restore such feminine substantives to their Latin genders, and, having no longer a neuter at their disposal, gave them the masculine gender

Espace, feminine in Old French, from the neuter plural **spatia**, again became masculine because of the singular **spatium** The feminine is only preserved in the language of printers, *une espace* means a 'space,' a small

[1] And also in Roumansch and Roumanian

[2] Notice that in Old French even words borrowed by the Learned formation from the Latin neuters were made neuter, as if the derivation of the feminines of the popular language from Latin plural neuters was consciously recognized Thus we have the feminine *miracle* from the neuter plur **miracula**

piece of metal which separates one word, or line, from another

Étude, feminine from the plural **studia**[1], became partly masculine in the 16th century Malherbe, in the 17th century, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine by attributing to each gender a special sense, *etude* as a feminine meaning a place in which one studies, and *etude* as a masculine, the action of studying This distinction and the masculine gender of *etude* disappeared together

Évangile, feminine until the 16th century, from the plural **evangelia**, again became masculine from the singular **evangelium**

Exemple, feminine until the end of the 16th century, from the plural **exempla**, became masculine from the singular **exemplum** The feminine was preserved in the sense of 'a copy' in caligraphy until the beginning of the present century The word is now masculine in all its senses

Foudre, feminine from the plural **fulgura**[2], was made masculine in the 16th century from the singular **fulgur** Both genders were used concurrently in a literal and figurative sense until well into the 18th century But the masculine of learned formation was only used in stately language 'Anastase mourut frappé *du foudre*' (Bossuet, *Histoire universelle*, I, 11) '*Un foudre* qu'il (Jupiter) n'envoie qu'après avoir délibéré avec quelques dieux et qui intimide les méchants' (Diderot, *Opinion des anciens philosophes*) The new gender has not yet entered deeply enough into the language to displace the original and truly popular gender At the present day *foudre* is feminine when used literally, when used figuratively it may

[1] The word *étude*, as a feminine substantive, was a word already formed on the Latin model, the truly popular form was *estuie* *Estuie* became *estuide*, and then *estude*

[2] The old etymological form was *fuldre* [*Roland*, l 1426] - *fulgura*, then in the 13th century the *l* became *u*, and the group *uu* being too harsh the word became *foudre*

also be masculine, especially when it designates a man *un foudre de guerre* (*a mighty warrior*), or the *bolt of Jupiter* *l'aigle de Jupiter avec son foudre*

Idole, feminine, from the Latin plural **idōla**[1] (Greek, εἴδωλα), was sometimes masculine in the 16th and 17th centuries, from the singular **idolum** *Jamais idole, quel qu'il fut* (La Fontaine, *Fab* iv, 8)

Œuvre, feminine, from the plural **opera** The scholars of the 16th century endeavoured to make it masculine, an attempt which has left traces in certain technical expressions only in law, *le nouvel œuvre*[2], in alchemy, *le grand œuvre* (the *magnum opus*), in art, *l'œuvre d'un graveur, d'un musicien*

Office was first feminine from the plural **officia**, then masculine from the singular **officium** In Middle French both were used indiscriminately In the modern language a special use has been given to each gender (masc *duty*, &c, fem *pantry*, &c)

Orge, originally feminine, from the plural **hordea**, became masculine in Middle French from the singular **hordeum** The masculine has been preserved without any good reason in the expressions *orge monde* (*hulled barley*), *orge perle* (*pearl barley*), *orge carre* (a variety of barley)

Orgue, feminine in Old French, from the plural **organa**[3] The scholars of the 16th century school made it masculine The word was used chiefly in the plural because it denotes a collection of pipes, and the new gender insisted on by the grammarians was unable to displace the feminine in the plural, in which it had become strongly established by custom, but in the singular the masculine prevailed If we were to follow the true laws of language we should

[1] The popular form was *idle*, a feminine substantive *Tutes ses idles*, *Roland*, l 2019, the form *idole* is itself due to a learned re-formation of the word

[2] [*Denonciation de nouvel œuvre* – a summons to appear for infringement of pre-existing rights in the construction of a new building]

[3] *Orgue* is itself a word of a semi learned formation, but is very old

discard the gender of the grammarians and return to former usage The feminine gender alone is legitimate, the masculine is an intrusion

Délice To this list must be added the word *delice*, which grammarians make masculine in the singular, and feminine in the plural The fact is that we have here two different words The masculine singular *delice* is the neuter Latin **delicium**, which was used only in the singular and passed into French by the learned formation The feminine plural *delices* is the Latin feminine plural **deliciae**, which was used only in the plural, and which also passed into French by the learned formation

155 REASONS WHICH DETERMINED THE CHOICE OF GENDERS IN FRENCH WORDS —The neuter being lost, the language only possessed a masculine and a feminine This distinction of genders does not correspond to any logical idea In Romance languages generally the genders are, as a rule, only used as compartments into which the language distributes the mass of its substantives, under the more or less obscure guidance of outward analogies, terminations, suffixes, and sometimes of conflicting reasons In a small number of cases of nouns denoting *persons*, or *animals*, the gender is determined by the idea of sex, even occasionally when the choice is contrary to etymology

Keeping to French, we may state the following facts

Common nouns —The gender of common nouns denoting *persons* was in general determined in Latin by the sex, and consequently this rule has been followed in French

Common nouns denoting *animals* or *things*, when of popular formation, kept their etymological gender, Latin masculine nouns remained masculine **canem**, *le chien*, **campum**, *le champ*, **murum**, *le mur*, Latin feminine nouns remained feminine **rosam**, *la rose*, **mortem**, *la mort*, **tabulam**, *la table.*

New words of French formation, whether derivatives or compounds, take the gender indicated by their derivation or composition

lavage (masc) (Book III, § 316, 3) *ancienneté* (fem) (§ 316, 30)

entr'acte (masc) *contre-épreuve* (fem)

Words of learned formation or foreign origin take either the gender of the original word or the gender corresponding to their termination, considered as a suffix

Proper nouns In proper nouns denoting persons the gender is determined by the sex *le Tasse* (*Tasso*), *la Malibran* (*Mme Malibran*)

In names of objects personified the gender is determined by the grammatical gender of the corresponding common nouns *la Fortune*, *l'Amour*

With regard to *geographical* nouns it is impossible to give any rules The gender has been determined, either by the influence of the termination, or by etymology, and it is impossible to understand the apparently conflicting reasons which have caused one consideration or the other to prevail Generally speaking, the noun is feminine if it ends with an e mute *la Prusse*, *l'Angleterre*, *la France*, *les Vosges*, *les Alpes*, *les Corbières*, *la Seine*, &c Nevertheless we find *le Mexique*, *le Rhône*, *le Danube* Inversely, we have in the masculine *l'Oural*, *le Japon*, and in the feminine *la Neva*, *la Reuss*, &c *Le Péloponnèse*, which is feminine in Greek, is masculine in French, in spite of its feminine termination *Versailles* and *Londres* are masculine, *Jérusalem* and *Ilion* are feminine Etymology throws no light on the subject, and the gender of geographical nouns seems to be arbitrary

156 CHANGES IN GENDER OF COMMON NOUNS —Before we consider the special changes by means of which the language derives feminine substantives from the corresponding masculine substantives, we must examine certain

disturbing causes which have led to modifications of the general rules given above These causes may be classed as follows

Action of a double etymological form;
Disturbing action of the termination,
Analogical action of suffixes,
Influence of analogous or closely related words;
Syntactic actions,
Reversion to the Latin gender

Finally we must form a special class for certain substantives in which the change of gender is unexplained

157 SUBSTANTIVES WITH A DOUBLE ETYMOLOGICAL ORIGIN —Before we examine changes of gender properly so called, we must quote a certain number of substantives which seem to show, or to have shown, changes of gender, the two genders being, however, derived either from two different etymological forms, the one masculine, the other feminine, or else from the same noun, which was both masculine and feminine in Latin

Thus we have

Serpent (now masc), from the Lat **serpẹntem**, both masculine and feminine in Latin and in Old French, it is still feminine in certain dialects

Fin (now fem), from the Lat **fịnem**, of both genders in Old French as well as in Latin

Carême (now fem), of both genders in Old French, the feminine comes from the feminine **quadragẹsimam**, the masculine from the masculine **quadragẹsimum**

Fourmi (now fem) until the 16th century had the two forms *un fourmi*, from the Latin **formịcum**, and *une fourmie*, from the Latin **formịca** By a barbarous confusion the two words have been amalgamated, the masculine form *fourmi* has been adopted, but has received the feminine gender of *fourmie*

Dot (now fem), feminine from the Latin **dotem**, and

also masculine until the 17th century, from the Low Latin **dotum**

Platine[1] (the metal *platinum*) (now masc) was either feminine or masculine in the 18th century feminine, from the Spanish *platina*, masculine, from the Spanish *platino* The masculine has prevailed

We must particularly notice certain **verbal substantives** belonging to this category, i e substantives formed from a verb by *improper derivation* (Book III, §§ 304 and 308, v) They may be either masculine or feminine, and are sometimes of both genders

Aide (now fem), both masculine and feminine until the 16th century, has been feminine ever since

Aise (now fem), both masculine and feminine until the 17th century *a son bel aise* (La Fontaine, *Contes*, *Mazet*, l 155) The compound *malaise* has preserved the masculine gender

Doute (now masc), feminine in Old French, both masculine and feminine in Middle French and until the middle of the 17th century Vaugelas only allows the masculine

Rencontre (now masc) and **reproche** (now masc), of both genders in Middle French and until the middle of the 17th century Vaugelas still allows in the plural *a belles reproches, de sanglantes reproches*

Triomphe, from *triompher* (both masc and fem), of both genders in its literal sense in Middle French, is still feminine as a term in card-playing[2]

Échange (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries

158 DISTURBING ACTION OF TERMINATIONS —We now come to the real causes of change in gender

[1] [To be distinguished from the fem subst. *platine, a platen or plate,* used in various technical senses]

[2] [*Triomphe* (fem) (1) in certain card games the English trump (a corruption of *triumph*), and (2) is the name of a game of cards resembling *ecarte*]

These changes were in some cases determined by the nature of the termination

(1) As many feminine French nouns end with an **e** mute corresponding to the Latin final **a** of the first feminine declension, and as French adjectives form their feminine by the addition of an **e** mute to the masculine, words originally masculine, but ending with an **e** mute, have been regarded as feminine This has happened especially with words of this kind commencing with a vowel or an **h** mute, the final vowel of a preceding article, being in this case elided, could not serve to distinguish the gender[1] In many cases the feminine has been altogether lost

Abîme (now masc), both masculine and feminine in the 16th century

Âge (now masc), both masculine and feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries *cette age ferree* (Malherbe, *Les larmes de St Pierre*, l 14)

Amulette (now fem), masculine, according to the Academy, from the year 1762 to 1835, was accepted as feminine in 1878 D'Aubigne [1550–1630] and Chateaubriand [1768–1848] made it feminine

Anagramme (now fem), masculine in the 16th century (γραμμα is neuter in Greek), has been feminine ever since

Apostume[2], both masculine and feminine in the 16th century, is still of both genders Present usage makes it a feminine word, but the Academy persists in declaring it masculine

Armistice (now masc) is feminine in the Dictionary of the Academy of 1762

Automne, usually feminine in the 17th century, is still of uncertain gender

[1] [Thus *le* + *abime* and *la* + *abime* both contract in pronunciation to *labim'*, *un* + *abime* is also, by many French people though possibly not by the majority, pronounced in the same way as *une* + *abime*, i e *un abim*]

[2] [= English *apostem*, a deep seated abscess]

Ébène (now fem) was still of both genders in the 18th century

Effluve (now either masc or fem) is often now feminine

Énigme (now fem), masculine in the 16th century (neuter in the Greek αἴνιγμα), was still masculine in Massillon [1663–1742], but has been feminine ever since

Épacte (now fem), masculine (as in the Greek ἔπακτος) in the 16th century, has been feminine since

Épigramme (now fem), (neuter in the Greek ἐπίγραμμα), masculine in the 16th century, is still masculine in Corneille

Episode (neuter in the Greek ἐπεισοδιον), feminine in the 16th century, of both genders in the 17th century, has been masculine since

Epitaphe (neuter in the Greek ἐπιταφιοι, Low Lat **epitaphium**), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th, and has been feminine since

Epithete (neuter in the Greek ἐπιθετον), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th century, has been feminine since

Equivoque (neuter in the Latin **aequivocum**), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th century, has been feminine since

Érésipèle (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century

Euphorbe is masculine according to the Dictionary of the Academy, and feminine according to botanists

Horoscope (neuter in the Greek ὡροσκοπεῖον Lat **horoscopium**), of both genders till the 18th century, is now masculine

Hymne (of both genders), masculine in the Latin **hymnus**, was both masculine and feminine in the 16th century, has remained feminine as an ecclesiastical term, but in its general use is masculine

Intervalle (now masc), feminine in Middle French, its gender was still doubtful in the 17th century, it has been masculine since

Intrigue (now fem), mostly used in the masculine in the 16th century, from the Italian masculine *intrigo*, was of both genders in the 17th century , has been feminine since

Ivoire (now masc) became feminine in the 17th century

Offre (now fem) was masculine in Old French , both masculine and feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries , has been feminine since the 18th century

Opale is feminine, notwithstanding the Latin masculine **opalus**

Opuscule (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries

Orage (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century *cette diablesse d'orage* (Sev , *Lettre a Madame de Guitaut*, July 24, 1694)

Ordre (now masc), feminine until the 16th century (notwithstanding its derivation from the Latin masculine **ordinem**), was made masculine from the 17th century onwards by a reversion to the Latin gender, but in the sense of a sacrament of the Church it continued to be feminine at that period *les saintes ordres*

Organe, masculine according to its etymology (from the Latin neuter **orgănum**), is often used as a feminine

Orthographe (now fem), sometimes masculine in the 16th century, has been feminine since

Ovale (now masc), feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries, has been masculine since

Ulcère (now masc), both masculine and feminine in the 17th century

Ustensile (now masc), both masculine and feminine in the 17th century

We must observe that the common people now make all substantives beginning with a vowel feminine, whether they end with an e mute or not, they say *de la bonne ouvrage, de la belle argent, l'air est fraîche*, &c

The action of the termination has often been strong

enough to change the gender of a substantive, even when it began with a consonant

Cigare (now masc), from the Spanish masculine *cigarro*, is feminine in Chateaubriand [1768–1848], and is so still in the South of France

Cimeterre[1] (now masc) was feminine in Ronsard.

Comète (now fem), at first feminine, like the Latin **cometa**, was masculine in the 16th century, of a doubtful gender in the 17th century, and has been feminine since

Crabe (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries

Limite (now fem), masculine (like the Latin **limitem**) till the 17th century, still so in Corneille (*Imitation*, III, 10), has been feminine since

Malachite, though masculine in Greek, is feminine in French, like **chrysolite**, **pyrite**, and analogous terms

Mânes (now masc), feminine in the 16th century and sometimes in the 17th, notwithstanding the Latin masculine **manes**

Pagne[2] is often feminine, although derived from the Spanish masculine *paño*

Pastille is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pastillus**

Patenôtre (now fem) has been feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pater noster**, since the 13th century

Pétoncle[3], feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pectunculus**

Pieuvre is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **polypus**

Renoncule is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **ranunculus**

Rhume (now masc) was of both genders till the 16th century

[1] *Scimitar*, from the Ital feminine *scimitarra*
[2] [*Loin-cloth*] [3] [*Cockle shell*]

Rime is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **rhythmus**

Risque (now masc) became feminine in the 16th century, and the Dictionary of the Academy in 1762 still preserved the expression *a toute risque*

Salve (now fem) was still masculine in the 16th century, from the Latin imperative **salve** , has been feminine since

Squelette (now masc) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century

Steppe (now fem) was masculine at the beginning of the 19th century, but is now feminine, in agreement with its Russian derivation

The gender of compound nouns, which from their formation should have been masculine, has been affected by their termination

Affaire (= *ce qui est a faire*) (now fem) was masculine till the 16th century, was still of that gender in the 17th century in certain special phrases, such as *pour les expres affaires du roi*, and is so at the present day in the patois of the south of France

Alarme (= *a l'arme*) (now fem), a word of the 15th century, was first masculine, and of doubtful gender in the 16th and 17th centuries

Contre-approches [1] has become feminine

Contre-latte [2] has become feminine.

Entraves has become feminine

Entrecôte, still masculine according to the Academy, has become feminine in the ordinary language

Soucoupe has become feminine

Boute-roue, chasse-rage, garde-robe, and other compounds of the same kind formed with the imperative, were affected by their termination and have become feminine.

Après-dînée, après-soupée, etymologically masculine,

[1] [= Eng *counter approach*, a military term]
[2] [= Eng *counter-lath*]

have become feminine, and have caused *apres-dîner*, *apres-souper*, *apres midi*, to become feminine by analogy

(11) Conversely, a masculine termination has in some cases rendered masculine words that were originally feminine

Names of plants ending in **a**, a feminine termination in Latin, are masculine in French **acacia**, **camélia**, **hortensia**, **réseda**, &c

Similarly, **rémora**, **choléra**, **mica**, **ténia**, **tibia**, **opéra**, **phylloxera**, are masculine (*le phylloxera vastatrix* is said, although the Latin adjective is in the feminine)

Écho (feminine in Latin), **épitome** (feminine in Latin), **raifort** (in Old French, *rais fort*[1], Lat **radix fortis**, fem), are now masculine

The names of trees, which were all feminine in Latin, have all (with two exceptions, **vigne** and **yeuse**) become masculine in French in the same way, because the termination was masculine

159 ANALOGICAL ACTION OF SUFFIXES —The gender of a certain number of substantives derived from their etymology has been changed, because their termination resembled a suffix of the other gender

The Latin **cartilago**, feminine, has become in French **cartilage**, masculine, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-age** (Book III, § 159)

Appendix, feminine in Latin, has become **appendice**, masculine, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-ice**, occurring in *office*, *service* (Book III, § 159)

Artem, feminine in Latin, became *art*, feminine in Old French, but masculine since Middle French, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-art**, **-ard** (Book III, § 317)

Pleur, now a masculine substantive, was feminine in the

[1] [*fort* is here feminine, cf § 177]

works of Régnier, d'Urfé, Malherbe, Rotrou, under the influence of the feminine suffix **-eur**

This last suffix itself, derived from the Latin masculine suffix **-ǫrem**, yielded feminine nouns in French for a similar reason

Abstract Latin nouns in **-ǫrem** were all masculine **colǫrem, dolǫrem** In Gallo Romanic they all became feminine *la chaleur, la douleur*, and this new gender took such strong root that similar French words formed by derivation, or borrowed from Latin by the Learned formation at a later date, were made feminine Thus the adjectives *rouge, noir, vert, aigre, maigre*, have given the feminine substantives *la rougeur, la noirceur, la verdeur, l'aigreur, la maigreur*, and, similarly, the following words of learned formation are also feminine *la vapeur, la rigueur* (from the Latin masculine nouns **vapǫrem, rigǫrem**)

The other Romance languages have also tended more or less to make all their corresponding nouns feminine

The reason for this change lies in the influence on the suffix **-ǫrem** of a feminine suffix with the same abstract connotation, and of a very similar form, the suffix **-ūra**, *-ure*

160 ACTION OF ANALOGOUS WORDS OR CLOSELY RELATED TERMS.—We may regard as similar to this analogical action of suffixes the effect, on certain words, of words of analogous form, or of closely related terms used in certain expressions more or less sanctioned by custom

Minuit, still feminine in Corneille, has become masculine by analogy with **midi**

Après-midi, masculine according to its etymology, has also become feminine by analogy with *après dinee, après-soupee*

Sang, from the Latin masculine **sąnguinem**, has become feminine only in the expression *par la sang Dieu* (which by a corruption has yielded *par la sang bleu, palsambleu*), owing to the influence of *de par la mort Dieu*

La Toussaint (an abbreviation for *la [fête de] tous les saints*) has led to the feminine genders in *la Mi-Carême, la mi-janvier, la mi août*

Front, from the Latin feminine **frontem**, has become masculine by analogy with other words in *-ont*, e g *pont, mont*

Épiderme, feminine in Greek and Latin (**epidermis**), has become masculine owing to the influence of *derme*, derived from the Greek neuter (δέρμα)

Été, from the Latin feminine **aestatem**, became masculine in the earliest period of French owing to the genders of *printemps* and *hiver*

Val, feminine in the Latin **vallem**, and still feminine in proper nouns (*Froideval, Laval*), became masculine, either owing to the expression *par monts et par vaux* (*over hill and dale*), or by analogy with such words as *cheval, chevaux*

Épeautre, from the Latin feminine **spelta**, has become masculine like other names of plants *le blé, le froment, le seigle*

161 SYNTACTIC ACTIONS —(1) The gender of a substantive in certain phrases may depend on the gender of another substantive which has been **elided and is understood**. *la Toussaint, la Saint Jean* (*fête* being understood)

Noel is feminine in *la Noël*, owing to the ellipsis of *fête*, masculine in *Noel est arrivé*, owing to the ellipsis of *jour*

Pâques is a feminine substantive corresponding to a Latin neuter plural *La Pâque des Juifs, les Pâques chrétiennes, Pâques fleuries* (*Palm Sunday*), *Pâques closes* (*Low-Sunday*) But it appears as a masculine owing to the ellipsis of *jour* (*de*) in *Pâques prochain, Pâques est venu, Pâques est passé, Pâques est haut, est bas cette année*

Merci is a feminine substantive *la merci, une merci,*

dire une grand' merci (*grand* being here a feminine adjective (§§ 177, II and 180, IV), this last expression, in the 16th century, led, by mistake, to the phrase *dire un grand merci*, making *merci* masculine

To the same category belong all substantives which were originally adjectives and which now have a double gender, being either masculine or feminine, according to their meaning

le critique (*critic*)	and	*la critique* (*criticism*)
le fourbe (*male impostor*)	,,	*la fourbe* (*female impostor, imposture*)
le parallele (*a parallel, in comparison*)	,,	*la parallele* (*parallel line*)
le pendule (*pendulum*)	,,	*la pendule* (*clock*)
le physique (*physique*)	,,	*la physique* (*physics*)
le quadrille (*quadrille, &c*)	,,	*la quadrille* (*party of horsemen in a tournament*)
le vague (*vagueness*), &c	,,	*la vague* (*wave*), &c

Names of colours, even when they are formed from feminine substantives denoting coloured objects, are masculine, or rather neuter *un beau couleur de feu*, also *amarante, aurore, cerise, ecarlate, feuille-morte, gorge de pigeon, jonquille, mauve, noisette, orange, paille, pourpre, puce, rose*, &c

(II) The change of gender has been, in some cases, due to a **change in sense**

Brebis (*ewe*), now a feminine substantive, from the Latin masculine **vervecem** (*ram*)

Jument (*mare*), now a feminine substantive, from the Latin neuter **jumentum** (*beast of burden*)

Personne—(1) *In the plural, personnes*, used as an equivalent for *hommes*, was masculine in the 16th and 17th centuries *quatre personnes diversement* **vestus** (Rabelais, IV, 48), *peu de personnes sont* **morts** (Ambroise Pare, XXIII, 18), *J'ai veu des personnes* **reprins** (Mod F *repris*) *d'avoir obei* (Montaigne, ed Leclerc, I, 60).

In the 17th century the qualifying words and pronouns referring to the word *personnes* had to be separated by other words from this substantive, such qualifying words and pronouns were in that case masculine *Deux personnes s'y arretent pour parler et quelquefois il faut presumer qu'*ils *marchent* (Corneille, *Examen du Cid*), *Des personnes qui etaient* parfumés eux-*memes* (La Fontaine, *Psyche*, 2), *Jamais je n'ai vu deux personnes si* contents l'un *de l'autre* (Molière, *Don Juan*, 1, 2), *Les personnes d'esprit ont en* eux *les semences de toute les vertes* ils *admirent tout* (La Bruyere, ed Servois, p 127) In the 17th century, grammarians discussed with subtlety the cases in which the words referring to *personnes* should become masculine or remain feminine

The above use of *personnes* as a masculine disappeared in the 18th century

(2) *In the singular* —When *personne* is used in negative or interrogative sentences it becomes an indefinite substantive, and therefore in Modern French takes the masculine gender (see § 141) In the 16th century we still find the feminine (*Sans*) *que personne y soit* admise (Ambroise Pare, xxiv, 52) The modern usage was established in the 18th century *personne n'est* parfait

The grammarians of the 17th and 18th centuries discussed the question whether *personne* in an indeterminate sense should be feminine when it obviously denoted a woman Father Chifflet [1598–1658] in his Grammar condemns the phrase *je ne vois personne* si belle *que vous*, but wrongly, since *on n'est pas plus* belle is accepted as correct, although on is an essentially masculine substantive, *personne*, on the other hand, was originally feminine

On and l'on become feminine when they denote a woman *Il s'y passe* (a Paris) *tous les jours cent choses qu'on ignore dans les provinces, quelque* spirituelle *que l'on soit* (Molière, *Precieuses ridicules*, 10)

Enfant becomes feminine when it denotes a girl *Vous*

m'aimez, ma **chère** *enfant* (Mme de Sevigné to Mme de Grignan, Feb 9, 1671)

Ancêtre (now masc) the grammarian Maupas (1625) makes it of both genders

Couple, *originally feminine, from the Latin copulam*, became masculine in the beginning of the Middle Ages In the 16th century, by a reversion to the Latin gender, the word became also feminine, and both genders were used indiscriminately *une couple de beaux chevaux* (Marguerite de Navarre, *Nouvelles*, XXVI), *un bon couple de bœufs* (Rabelais, *Gargantua*, I, 39)

In the 17th and 18th centuries the grammarians determined the use of both genders with more or less precision *couple* is masculine when it denotes two creatures matched together **un** *couple d'amis*, **un beau** *couple*, **un** *couple de pigeons*, it is feminine when it denotes an accidental group of two things of the same kind **une** *couple d'œufs*

Gent, from the Lat feminine **gentem**, is feminine in the singular *L'enseigne a qui sa gent s'allient* (Mod F *L'enseigne sous laquelle sa troupe se rassemble*) (*Roland*, l 1641) **La** *Gent trotte-menu* (Mod F *la gent a petits pas*) (La Fontaine, Fab III, 18) **Gens** was formerly also feminine in the plural *Et maintes autres bones gens* (Villehardouin [1167–1213], 3), *de toutes gens louee* (Ch d'Orleans [1391–1465], Ballad 23), but when the adjective followed **gens** it might also be masculine Marot [1495–1544] gives us both the masculine and feminine in this case *Par gens brutaux passés a l'etamine* (= *examined*) (V, 353) *Les vieilles gens tu rens* (Mod F *rends*) *fortes et vives, les jeunes gens tu fais recreatives* (II, 268)

Thus *gens* could be made masculine when the adjective followed it It obviously took in this case the sense of *hommes*, a masculine plural substantive Thus was formed the modern usage When an adjective precedes the substantive, the two are regarded as a single unit, the adjective being so closely connected with the substantive

as to form a kind of compound word When, on the contrary, the adjective follows the substantive, even immediately, it is separated from it by a proposition understood *un homme honnête* is equivalent to *un homme* (*qui est*) *honnête*

The tendency of the language to consider *gens* as a term synonymous with *hommes*, and consequently to make it masculine, has been strong enough to impose this new gender on all words in agreement with *gens* except in the special case where *gens* was immediately preceded by a determinant possessing a feminine recognizable by its form In this case the union of the adjective with the substantive was too close to make the new usage prevail over the old, and thus was formed the modern rule according to which the determinants of *gens* are made masculine, whether they precede or follow it, except when *gens* is *immediately* preceded by an adjective with distinct genders and with which it is closely connected by the sense In this case only, the adjective and the other preceding determinants are put in the feminine thus we say **ces** *gens* *sont* **heureux**, **tous** *gens* **aimables**, **tous** *les gens*, *heureux* **ces** *gens* *les* **vieilles** *gens* *sont* **malheureux**

Rien, from **rem**, was feminine in Old French and until the 16th century, although from the 15th century the masculine appears already when the word is used in an indeterminate sense *Rien* was originally equivalent to the modern *chose* *la riens que j'aime* = in O F *the thing or the one* (i e *person*) *which I love*, then, having taken an indefinite sense (as *an insignificant thing*, and, hence, *nothing*), especially in negative sentences, *rien* received the gender of the logical neuter, that is the masculine *Ci-gist* **un** *rien*, *la ou tout triompha* (Marot, III, 262)

Chose has in the same way become masculine in *quelque chose* and *autre chose* This change is modern In the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, *chose* still keeps its proper gender in these expressions *Il faut donc*

trouver quelque chose plus **générale** (Malherbe, ed La lanne, II, p 475).

Je vous voulois tantôt proposer quelque chose,
Mais il n'est plus besoin que je vous **la** *propose,*
Car **elle** *est impossible* (Pierre Corneille, *Menteur*, III, 5)

Vaugelas, Thomas Corneille, and the Academy declared that these expressions, corresponding to Latin neuter nouns, ought to be made masculine

We may further quote the following examples of change of gender due to change of meaning -

Peste (*plague*), used figuratively *C'est une* **méchante** *peste*, **une** *peste de valet*, has led to the figurative use *cet enfant est* **un petit** *peste*

Aide, élève, garde, manœuvre, trompette, enseigne, cornette, paillasse, guide, are feminine in the literal sense, or in an *abstract* sense when denoting the actions of helping, raising, guarding, &c When used in the *concrete* sense, *trompette, enseigne,* &c , take either gender, according as they apply to men or women **un** *aide*, **une** *aide* , **un** *eleve*, **une** *eleve* , **un** *garde*, **une** *garde* , **un** *manœuvre*, **une** *manœuvre* , **un** *trompette*, **un** *enseigne*, **un** *cornette*, **un** *paillasse* (*clown*), **un** *guide*

In this way the Old French **nourrisson**, a verbal noun from **nourrir**, and originally a feminine substantive, has become the masculine **nourrisson** [1]

Lastly, a somewhat considerable number of substantives denoting persons or things differ in their gender according to their signification, such as **bulle, cartouche, claque, interligne, laque, lévite, manche, masque, mémoire, mode, monogramme, période, pique, pivoine,** &c

162 REVERSION TO THE LATIN GENDER —The reversion to the Latin gender, which we find in the case of some

[1] [The English equivalent *a suckling* is a diminutive in *ing* from the O E verbal noun *sokel* (Skeat), and is not therefore due to an exactly parallel transformation of the verbal *suckling*, as might seem at first sight]

words, is a purely artificial reversion and is the work of writers preoccupied with etymology

It was at the end of the Middle Ages that an endeavour was made to restore to certain substantives the gender of Latin substantives from which they were rightly or wrongly derived

Évêché, archevêché, duché, comté, vicomté, and **archidiaconé**, all nouns which were feminine in Old and Middle French, and well into the 17th century, have again become masculine, because they were derived from Latin substantives ending with the masculine suffix **atus** *Comte* has only remained feminine in *la Franche Comte*

Ongle, from the Latin **ungula**, was feminine, in conformity with its etymology, until the 17th century It was then erroneously supposed to be derived from the masculine substantive **unguis**, which has the same meaning, and thus became masculine

Some writers have considered the word *insulte*, a verbal substantive from *insulter*, as masculine, as if it were derived from the Latin masculine substantive **insultus**

Others have considered the substantives *porche* and *dialecte* as feminine, deriving them from Latin forms which are feminine

Changes of this kind have chiefly affected the nouns in **-eur** We have seen above (p 24) that these nouns were masculine in Classical Latin, and that they became feminine in the Popular Latin of the Gauls In the 15th and 16th centuries an attempt was made to restore to nouns in **-eur** the Classical Latin gender Calvin says **un** *ardeur* **impétueux** (*Institution Chrétienne*, Dedication) In the 15th and 16th centuries both genders are ascribed to *erreur, horreur, humeur, mœurs*, as well as to *honneur* and *deshonneur* The attempt made with regard to the first four substantives failed, but *honneur* and *deshonneur*, which were feminine in Old French, have become irrevocably masculine

Labeur (masc) does not belong to this class of words, as it does not come from the Latin **labǫrem**, which gave the O F *laor*, but is a verbal substantive from the verb *labourer* (*to work*[1]), like the substantive *labour*[2], derived in the same way, but later, from the same verb

Amour was feminine in Old French At the end of the Middle Ages it became masculine, as was **amor** in Latin Both genders have been preserved side by side down to the present day *Amour* in the plural is of both genders, except in the mythological sense, when it is masculine *les Amours* In the singular it is more usually masculine and is only used in the feminine in poetry

Aigle, feminine in the Classical Latin **aquilam**, became masculine both in Popular Latin and Old French In the 16th century it was of both genders At present it may still be used in the feminine in the literal sense in rhetorical language In the figurative sense it is masculine when it denotes a person of superior intellect, and feminine when it denotes the Roman standard

163 INEXPLICABLE CHANGE OF GENDER IN CERTAIN SUBSTANTIVES —We cannot account for the change of gender in a certain number of nouns

The following feminine nouns have become masculine *amalgame, chanvre, cloaque, diocese, grimoire* (a popular doublet of *grammaire*), *losange, melange, navire, risque, reproche, soupçon, sort, tige* (only in the 16th century), &c

The following masculine nouns have become feminine *font* (the radical of *fontaine*) and *dent* (which is still masculine in Lorraine)

164 THE FEMININE OF NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS —We must now consider the formation of the feminine *in nouns denoting persons* and *nouns denoting animals*

[1] [= to turn over the soil with a spade, plough, or other implement]

[2] [Now only used in technical expressions]

In nouns denoting persons there is in general an agreement between the grammatical gender and that which is indicated by the sex However, owing to the character of their terminations, the feminine gender may be assigned to nouns denoting men, such as *une estafette, une recrue, une sentinelle*, and the masculine gender to nouns denoting women *un laideron, un souillon* (*slut*), *un tendron*

On the other hand, as we have seen above (§ 161, 2), the language sometimes endeavours to establish an agreement between the form and sense, as in *un enseigne, un guide, une enfant*

Certain nouns denoting persons are exclusively either masculine or feminine, because they apply to states or professions exclusively, or more particularly, belonging to one or the other sex Thus we say *une femme auteur*[1], *cette femme est un parfait écrivain, un peintre de talent, un bon professeur* We understand, however, the freedom of writers who have given a feminine form to certain of these words Voltaire tried *professeuse*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau *peintresse*[2] and *amatrice*, and Mirabeau *brigande Douairière, lavandière*, no longer, in the modern language[3], possess

[1] It was ironically that Boileau wrote

Vais-je épouser ici quelque apprentie auteur?

Sat x l 464

[2] Certain grammarians would have us say *la peintre Les graveuses* and *les peintresses* are used at the present day in speaking of ladies who engrave on wood and paint on porcelain in professional schools We may add that the feminine nouns *peintresse amatrice*, and *brigande* were used in the language of the 16th century which was much freer than the French of the present day

[3] The masculine nouns *douairier, lavandier*, and *vivandier* have become archaic *douairier* in the phrase *enfant douairier* a child that inherits his mother's marriage portion and renounces his father's inheritance), is an obsolete legal term the *lavandier* was the officer whose duty it was to superintend the washing of the royal linen, *vivandier* in the sense of the Eng *sutler* has been generally replaced by the word *cantinier* As for *modiste* (now fem), it must not be forgotten that on its introduction in the language in the 18th century it was of both genders, was used in the sense of both *marchand* and *marchande de modes*, and not only in the restricted

corresponding masculine nouns In our own time the masculine noun *couturier* has been derived from *couturiere*

When a feminine substantive is used to correspond to a given masculine substantive, this feminine may be formed in various ways

(i) The masculine substantive may be made feminine without change of spelling, the simple indication given by the gender of the determinant sufficing *un eleve, une eleve, un garde, une garde*

(ii) The feminine may be expressed by a different word, or by the same word with a marked modification of the termination

homme, mari	*femme*
pere	*mere*
papa	*maman*
parrain	*marraine*
parâtre	*marâtre*
fils, garçon	*fille*
frere	*sœur*
gendre	*bru*
oncle	*tante*
neveu	*niece*
roi	*reine*
vieillard	*vieille*
compagnon	*compagne*
serviteur	*servante*
gouverneur	*gouvernante*

Vieille is the feminine corresponding to the alternative masculine forms *vieil* and *vieux*

Compagne is derived from the Latin **compania**, which contains the same radical as **companio** and **companionem**,

sense of milliner as at present [The change has resulted from the restriction in the sense of *modes*, which originally applied to the objects of clothing worn by women in general, but now only applies to millinery, which is almost exclusively sold by women]

which gave *copain*[1] (cf the O F *compaing*) and *compagnon*, but with a feminine suffix **ia** added[2].

Servante is the feminine of *servant*, the latter is only used (1) in archaic expressions *gentilshommes servants*[3], les *freres servants de l'ordre de Malte*, or (2) figuratively *un cavalier servant, un servant d'amour* (*lover*), and also in the special sense of *un servant d'artillerie*[4] (*gunner*) In the sense corresponding to *servante*, it has been replaced by a word of learned formation, *serviteur*, borrowed from the Low Latin **servitor**

Gouvernante is the feminine of *gouvernant*, which is no longer used in the singular except as an adjective, it is still used in the plural, but only in a special sense, *les gouvernants* (= *rulers*), it has been replaced in the singular, in the sense corresponding to *gouvernante* (*governess*), by *gouverneur*, a derivative from *gouverner*

(iii) The feminine may be formed as in adjectives, by the addition of an **e** mute, which sometimes causes the final consonant of the masculine to undergo change *cousin, cousine, marquis, marquise, paysan, paysanne, epoux, epouse, veuf, veuve, fou, folle*

(iv) As a rule the feminine is formed by the addition of the suffix **-esse** (from the Latin **-issa**, see Book III, § 317, 2) *borgne, borgnesse, chanoine, esse, comte, -esse, drole, -esse, druide, -esse, duc, duchesse, hôte, esse, ivrogne, esse, ladre, -esse, maitre, -esse, mulatre, -esse, moine, -esse, negre, esse, pair, esse, pape, esse, patron, -nesse, pauvre, esse, poete, esse, prêtre, -esse, prince, -esse, prophete, esse, sauvage, -esse, traître, -esse*, &c

Traître in Old French was declined, and gave in the

[1] [= the English *chum*]

[2] [And the elision of the **-ion** of the radical, according to the general rule in Latin derivation]

[3] The gentlemen who waited at the King's table

[4] [Cf the English 'to serve a gun']

[5] [With regard to the change of *c* into *ch* see § 185 *c*]

nominative singular *traitre*, and in the accusative *traitor* The nominative *traitre* has become *traître* in the masculine, and in the feminine *traîtresse* The accusative *traitor* became successively *traiteur* and *traiteur*, with a feminine *traiteuse*, which has survived only in the adverb *traîtreusement*

We may also add *deesse*, *diaconesse*, *doctoresse*, formed on the Latin model from the corresponding masculine nouns (**de us**, **diacon-us**, **doctor**)

(v) Nouns denoting agents, in **-eur**, form their feminine by a change of **-eur** into **-euse** *menteur*, *menteuse*.

In Old French these nouns first formed their feminines in **-eriz** *pecheor*, *pecheriz*, *empereor*, *empereriz* **-eor**, **-eur**, corresponded to the Latin **atorem**, **-eriz** to the Latin **-atricem** At a fairly early period **-eriz** was changed into **-eresse** under the influence of the suffix **-esse** above mentioned *menteur*, *menteresse*, *dans-eur*, *danseresse* Finally, from the 14th century onwards, a new confusion arose between the masculines in **-eur** and the masculines of adjectives in **-eux**, **-euse** (Latin **-osus**, **-osa**), because the final **r** in the former, and the **x** (that is, the final **s**, see Book I, p 152) in the latter, were gradually dropped in pronunciation The two endings were pronounced **eu**, and the **eu** of **-eur** was then confused with the **eu** of **-eux**, **-euse** *menteur*, being pronounced *menteu*, thus gave the feminine *menteuse*, just as *heureux*, pronounced *heureu*, gave the feminine *heureuse* Later on, the **r** reappeared in pronunciation, but the feminines in **-euse** survived nevertheless (see § 316, 23)

The termination **-eresse**, thus replaced by the termination **-euse**, has been preserved only (1) in certain technical terms, all somewhat archaic, and concerning law or special callings *bailleresse*, *defenderesse*, *demanderesse*[1], *guinderesse*[2], &c, and (2) in a few words adopted in poetical usage *chasseresse*, *devineresse*, *vengeresse*

[1] [= *lessor*, *defendant* *plaintiff*, respectively, in the feminine gender]
[2] [= *top rope* (nautical)]

(vi) Nouns denoting an agent, in **-teur, -trice,** mostly differ from the preceding ones in being of learned formation, and in having their feminines directly derived from the corresponding Latin feminines Thus the masculine **persecutorem** and the feminine **persecutricem** have passed from Latin into French in the forms *persecuteur, persecutrice*, similarly we have *conservateur, conservatrice, directeur, directrice, executeur, executrice, protecteur, protectrice, tentateur, tentatrice*

Cantatrice The feminine of *chanteur* was, and is still, **chanteuse** *les premieres et les secondes chanteuses a l'opera, les chanteuses des rues* Primadonnas, finding this feminine too simple, have assumed the finer sounding name **cantatrice**, taken from the Italian, and taken directly by Italian from Latin

Ambassadrice *Ambassadeur*, a foreign word borrowed from the Italian, which at the end of the 14th century replaced the old word *ambasseor*, has since the 17th century possessed a feminine *ambassadrice*, formed on the type of nouns in **-teur, -trice.**

165 THE FEMININE OF NOUNS DENOTING ANIMALS — Nouns denoting animals may apply either to **species** exclusively, or to **individuals**

When they denote **species** they are generally masculine or feminine according to their gender in the original language from which they have been derived *le chat, le chien, le serpent, le rat, la vipere, l'hyene* (fem.), &c

When they denote **individual** animals the words *mâle* or *femelle* are generally added to the name of the species in the case of wild animals *souris mâle, souris femelle, serpent mâle, serpent femelle*

In the case of domestic animals, and also of certain wild animals, there may be three distinct names, one for the species, one for the male, and one for the female

Species	Male	Female
cheval	*etalon*	*jument*
bœuf	*taureau*	*vache*
cochon	*porc*	*truie*
mouton	*belier*	*brebis*

Sometimes a feminine noun is used to denote both the female and the species, and a masculine noun is used to denote the male

Female and species	Male
chevre	*bouc*
poule	*coq*
oie	*jars*
abeille	*bourdon*

Sometimes, on the other hand, a masculine noun is used to denote both the male and species, and a feminine noun is used to denote the female

Male and species	Female
mulet	*mule*
chien	*chienne*
cerf	*biche*
singe	*guenon*
lievre	*hase*
chameau	*chamelle*
sanglier	*laie*
tigre	*tigresse*

The masculine and feminine may (1) be derived from two different radicals *coq, poule, cerf, biche*, or (2) be formed by modifying the same radical differently *mulet, mule, levrier, levrette, loup, louve* The feminine is derived directly from the masculine in *chat, chatte, lion, lionne*, and the masculine from the feminine in *mule, mulet, dinde, dindon* The language takes thus a free course in this matter, choosing such expressions as it finds at hand

III Numbers

166 ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH PLURAL — The French numbers are derived from the Latin numbers, i e the French singular is derived directly from the Latin singular, and the French plural from the Latin plural The forms of the Old French declension, *murs*, *mur* and *mur*, *murs*, are the direct representatives of the corresponding Latin forms, **murus**, **murum**, and **muri muros** It is then incorrect *historically* to say that the modern plural *mur-s* represents the modern singular plus **s** This is only true empirically of the language of to day, in which the consciousness of the etymology has been lost

167 CHANGES OF FORM CAUSED IN OLD FRENCH BY THE FLEXIONAL **S** The addition of the flexional **s**, when the radical ended with a consonant, gave rise to a consonant-group, which in the course of time underwent various changes

In Old French, when the substantive ended with a **labial** or a **palatal**, these consonants dropped before the **s** (§ 100) If the final was a **dental**, it combined with the **s** and became a **z** (§ 69, note) If it was an l, or an l *mouillée*, it changed into **u** (§§ 105, 106, 107) Lastly, if the word ended with the groups **rm** or **rn**, the **m** or **n** was dropped (§ 100)

In examining these facts, we shall, in what follows, omit all mention of the nominative, as this case has not survived in the modern language [1], and take into consideration only the accusatives singular and plural

Thus in Old French

(1) When the final consonant was a **labial**, it dropped before the **s** of the plural

b *le gab* (*joke*), *les gas*, *le radoub* (*refitting*, of a ship), *les radous*

[1] Except in a few instances quoted § 159

p *le colp* (Mod F. *coup*), *les cols*, *le drap*, *les dras*, *l'apprentif*, *les apprentis* ; *le baillif*, *les baillis*, *le cerf*, *les cers*, *la clef*, *les cles*, *la nef*, *les nes*, *l'œuf*, *les œus*

(ii) When the final consonant was a **palatal**, it dropped before the **s** of the plural *le coq*, *les cos*, *le Grec*, *les Gres*, *le lac*, *les las*, *le Turc*, *les Turs*

(iii) When the final consonant was a **dental**, the **s** combined with the dental to form a **z** *la bontet*, *les bontez*, *la dent*, *les denz*, *l'enfant*, *les enfanz*, *la gent*, *les genz*, *tout*, *touz* In the 13th century the **z**, that is the **ts**, was reduced to **s** in pronunciation, and later in writing also (§ 101), so that the case of the dentals became identical with that of the labials and palatals, and we find, corresponding to the singulars *dent*, *enfant*, *gent*, *tout*, the plurals *enfans*, *dens*, *gens*, *tous*

(iv) When the final consonant was an **l** or **l** *mouillee*, it was changed into **u** before the **s** of the plural, thus forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel We know (§ 107) that, if this vowel was an **è**, an **a** was intercalated after it, which produced the triphthong **ẹau**, then **èau**, then **eau**, *bels* had successively become *bęaus* and *bęaus*, *bęaus*, from which came *beaux* (pron **bò**) In the Middle Ages **x** was used as an abridged sign for the final group **-us**, and, the significance of this **x** having been forgotten, in the course of time it came to be regarded as a substitute for the **s**, and the **u** was reintroduced, thus we find first *les chevax* (pron *les chevaus*), and then *les chevaux* (§ 106)

l *Le cheval*, *les chevaux*, *le mal*, *les maux*, *le mantel*, *les manteaux*, *le chapel*, *les chapeaux*, *le chevel*, *les cheveux*, *le col*, *les cous*, *l'aieul*, *les aieux*, *le ciel*, *les cieux*

t *le travail*, *les travaux*, *le conseil*, *les conseux* (Mod F *conseils*), *le linceul*, *les linceux* (Mod F *linceuls*), *le genouil*, *les genoux*

(v) When the final consonants were **-rm** or **-rn**, the **m** or **n** was dropped before the **s** of the plural *le verm*, *les vers*,

le forn (Mod F *four*), *les fors*, *le jorn* (Mod F *jour*), *les jors*, *le torn* (Mod F *tour*), *les tors*

Thus in Old French the flexional **s**, in various cases, modified the form of the word considerably, and even led to a change in vowels capable of having either an open or a close modification In *coq* the **o** was open, in *cos* the **o** was close, in *Grec* the **e** was open, in *Gres* it was close

At the end of the Middle Ages, under the influence of analogy, the melodious variety of sound given by the use of the two forms was sacrificed to the desire to mark off the substantive more clearly from its inflexion To obtain this result it was necessary that the plural should be nothing else than the singular plus **s** The language in some words took the singular as the starting-point, and formed the plural by adding the **s**, in others it took the plural and formed the singular by suppressing the **s** In certain words, however, the usage of the Middle Ages, with its double forms, has survived

168 FORMATION OF THE PLURAL FROM THE SINGULAR —This is the most usual case, and has become the rule in Modern French *un Grec, des Grecs*, *un Turc, des Turcs*, *un coq, des coqs*, *une nef des nefs* However, in pronunciation, if not in orthography, traces of the old usage have been preserved *un bauf, des bœufs* (pron *bœu*), *un œuf, des œufs* (pron *œu*), *faire echec, jouer aux echecs* (pron *echu*)[1]

169 FORMATION OF THE SINGULAR FROM THE PLURAL EFFECT ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF FINAL CONSONANTS — The singular was formed from the plural by the suppression of the **s** From the plurals *apprentis, baillis, fors, jors, tors, vers*, were formed the singulars *apprenti, bailli, for, jor, tor* (Mod F *four, jour, tour*), *ver*, which replaced

[1] We may remark, however, that the present tendency is to pronounce *echek's* and not *eches*

the original singulars *apprentif, baillif, forn, jorn, torn, verm*

From the plurals *etaux, hoyaux, noyaux, genoux, cous, fous, cheveux, manteaux, chapeaux,* have been formed the singulars *etau, hoyau*[1], *noyau, genou, cou, fou, cheveu, manteau, chapeau,* which have replaced the original singulars *etal, hoiel, noiel, genoil, col, fol, chevel, mantel, chapel* In Old French we find the forms *un sold, des solz, sols, sous* the later singulars, *sol* and *sou,* are derived from these plurals

The general loss of final consonants in pronunciation, in cases where they have been preserved in spelling, must be ascribed to this action (see § 100) We write in the singular *clef, coup, drap, contrat, debit, effet, reput,* without pronouncing the f, p, or t[2], because these final consonants were dropped in the plural

170 REMAINS OF THE EARLY USAGE.—As it hardly ever happens that notable grammatical usages are lost without leaving any traces, we shall not be surprised to find in Modern French some remains of this particular usage

(1) Among words ending with a dental must be quoted *tout* and *gent,* with the plurals *tous* and *gens* The word *tout* was used very frequently, though in a very special sense In the plural *tous* the final s has remained audible in many cases when the word is accented[3], although in other words ending in the singular with a dental it dropped in pronunciation, this accounts for the preservation of the old spellings in both numbers As for *gent,* the singular has gradually become almost disused the old plural has thus necessarily been preserved

We may notice that in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the present day, by a mere, and somewhat pedantic,

[1] [= mattock]

[2] [The finals of these words are not pronounced even before a vowel]

[3] [The *s* is often pronounced even before a consonant *tous s' viendront*, though Littré condemns this pronunciation]

caprice of archaism, the old spelling of the plural of nouns in *ant, ent,* has been preserved, the t being omitted before the **s** *les parens, les enfans, les hommes prudens*

(11) It is in words ending in l or ll *mouillee* that the older usage has been most faithfully preserved

-Al All nouns in **-al** now form their plural in **-aux**, except *bal, cal* (*callosity*), *chacal, carnaval, nopal* (*prickly pear*), *pal* (*stake*, &c.), *regal, serval* Some of these words are of recent formation, the rest are old, but their use in the plural has been too rare for them to have acquired the termination in **-aux**

We must mention *univers'el* and *materiel,* the plurals of which, *universaux* and *materiaux,* are traceable to the old forms *universal, material* The plurals *universaux, materiaux,* have assumed special significations, which make of them words different from *univers'el* and *materiel*[1]

-El *Ciel,* plural *cieux* In Modern French a plural *ciels* has been formed with a special meaning (plural of *sky* in the literal sense, or in art, not of *heaven*)

-Eul *Aieul,* plural *aieux* In the 18th century a new plural *aieuls* was formed, which is used in the literal sense of *grandparents,* while *aieux* is still used for the figurative sense of *ancestors*

-Ail Certain words in -ail, *bail, corail, email, soupirail, travail, vantail*[2], *vitrail,* form their plural by a change of the ll (pronounced as l *mouillee*) into ux The other nouns in **-ail** take an **s** The language long hesitated with regard to this point We find until the 17th century, on the one hand, des *soupirails*, on the other des *epouvantaux,* des *eventaux,* des *plumaux,* des *portraux,* des *portaux* It was only about the second half of the 17th century that the modern usage was finally established

[1] [Both *universaux* and *materiaux* have become transformed, like the corresponding English terms, into substantives, *universaux* signifies the *universals* of the scholastic philosophy, *materiaux* = *materials*.]

[2] = the leaf of a folding door or shutter

The Dictionary of the Academy gives two uses for the plural *travails* from *travail* an instrument with which to shoe horses, and the report of an administrator to his chief But these definitions are contradicted by current usage, as the word *travails*, in the senses quoted, is hardly ever used

The word *ail* (*garlic*) has two plurals, *ails* (*alliaceous plants*) and *aulx* (*cloves of garlic*) In the latter form is preserved the superabundant spelling of the 15th and 16th centuries the *l* was inserted to avoid confusion with the plural article *aux*

Bestiaux (*beasts*) is not the plural of *betail* (*cattle*), but of an archaic substantive *bestial*, now only used as an adjective

-Eil To *appareil* now corresponds a plural *apparaux* in a technical sense (to denote certain engineering and gymnastic appliances), but in reality *apparaux* is the plural of an ancient dialectal form *apparail*

-Euil Amongst the words in -euil we must distinguish those in which this termination is due to their etymology, e g *œil* (O F *ueil*, pronounced as if it had been written *euil*), *seuil*, and verbal substantives like *accueil*, from those which only took this termination by analogy with words of the foregoing class *chevreuil* (formerly *chevruel*, *chevreul*), *linceul* (pron *linceuil*), and also *cercueil* (formerly *sarqueu*) The original plurals of both series of words ended in **-eux** *yeux*, *chevreux*, &c This explains why the latter series have taken in the singular a termination identical with that of the former Gradually both series of words came to form their plurals from their singulars *œils de chat* (*cat's-eyes*), *œils de perdrix* (*bunions*, &c), *seuils*, *chevreuils*, *linceuils* (pron *linceuils*), *cercueils* Of the old forms the plural *yeux*[1] alone has survived

[1] *Œil*, pronounced *euɨ*, formerly written *ueil*, should have given a plural form *ueus*, *ueux*, the triphthong being, however very difficult to pronounce, the initial u was changed into i, whence the form *ieus*, which is now written *yeux*

171. Plurals in x.—It is one of the rules of modern French grammar to replace the **s** of the plural by **x** in words ending (1) in **au** un *tuyau*, des *tuyaux*, (2) in **eau** un *manteau*, des *manteaux*, (3) in **-eu** un *cheveu*, des *cheveux*, un *jeu*, des *jeux*, and (4) in seven nouns ending in **ou** *bijou, caillou, chou, genou, hibou, joujou, pou* The other nouns in **-ou** take an **s** un *cou*, un *clou*, des *cous*, des *clous* The word *landau* gives *landaus* in the plural

This strange and worthless rule, which the French Academy would do well to suppress, is due to a vague reminiscence of the usage in Middle French, according to which the *-us* was replaced in writing by an *x* after an **l** or an **l** *mouillée* which had been transformed into the vowel **u** (§§ 106 and 167, IV)

Nouns in **-au** (except *landau*, from the German town of that name) and words in **-eau** are derived from primitive forms in **-al** and **-el**

The word *cheveu* comes from *chevel*, and the **x** of the plural *cheveux* has led to the use of the **x** in the plurals of all other words in **-eu**, although they do not come from nouns in **-el** *feux*, *jeux*, *vœux*, &c

Among the nouns in **-ou**, *genoux*, *poux*, come from *genoul*, *poul*, *choux* comes from *chol*, but *bijoux*, *cailloux*, *hiboux*, *joujoux*, do not come from nouns in either **-oul** or **-ol** On the other hand, the plurals of *col* (in the sense of *neck*[1]) and *fol* are *cous* and *fous*

It would be more simple, and more in conformity with the traditions of the language, to return to the old formation of the plural and replace the **x** in all cases by an **s**

172. Plural of foreign nouns.—The question arises, should the plurals of nouns of foreign origin be formed according to French, or to foreign usage? The French Academy follows French usage when the word has been finally naturalized Otherwise it follows the grammatical

[1] [In the sense of collar, the plural of *col* is *cols*, e g des *faux-cols*]

rules of the original language, at least in the case of such languages as are sufficiently well known in France, e g Latin, Italian, or English French grammarians are not, however, so strict in their logic as to take the original plural when it is a question, for instance, of German, Spanish, Greek, Hebrew, or notably of Arabic, which has given so many words to French In these cases they do not trouble themselves about the original plurals

Is not this really an acknowledgement that the discussions of the grammarians about this matter are mere pedantry? They give foreign nouns the plurals of the languages from which they are taken, when they are acquainted with these languages The principle is artificial, and a trifle uncertain The right thing to do would be to follow French traditions and to gallicize all foreign words, whether they are adopted or not in ordinary usage. French people should not be required to speak a mixture of Italian, English, and Latin Let their French be frankly French, and let words that have come from abroad be marked at once with the true French stamp If it is fitting that the decisions of the Academy should be obeyed in cases where a decision has been made, in the numerous cases where it has kept silent no hesitation should be felt in appropriating these foreign words and in gallicizing them

173 PLURAL OF COMPOUND NOUNS —See under Syntax, Book IV, § 363

174 PLURAL OF INVARIABLE WORDS TAKEN SUBSTANTIVELY —In Modern French, indeclinable words used as substantives remain *undeclined* des *a* (*some a's*, &c), des *b*, des *oui*, des *non*, des *car*, des *pourquoi*, trois *un* de suite font III (three one's in a row make III) In Old French they were declinable[1], and this was quite logical, since, as they

[1] [As they are in English *Cf* the translation given in the text, and 'But me no buts,' 'Talk'st thou to me of ifs?']

are considered as substantives, they should be submitted to the rules of substantives In Joinville, Saint Louis, speaking of the difficulty of making any one return stolen goods, says *Li rendres escorchoit la gorge pour les erres qui y sont*[1] (ed de Wailly, § 33)

Modern French grammar has made substantives of these words by placing an article before them, and yet, by a flagrant contradiction, continues to regard them as indeclinable words, since they are refused the sign of the plural.

Section III —*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Adjective*

175 Declension of Latin adjectives Two classes of adjectives

I Cases —176 Declension of the masculine adjective in Old French — 177 Declension of the feminine adjective in Old French — 178 Indeclinable adjectives in Old French —179 The old adjective declension has left scarcely any traces

II Genders —180 Loss of the second class of adjectives —181 Remnants of the second class of adjectives in Modern French —182 Influence of the feminine form of the adjective on the masculine —183 Adjectives ending in *e* mute in the masculine —184 Disturbing action of certain orthographic irregularities on the spelling of feminine forms —185 Differences in the disturbing action of phonetic laws, according as the adjective ends with a labial, dental palatal, nasal, or liquid or a vowel

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IV Degrees of Comparison —188 Degrees of comparison in Latin — 189 The Comparative in French —190 The Superlative in French

Introduction

175 Declension of Latin adjectives Two classes of adjectives Latin adjectives were divided into two classes

The first comprised those adjectives which followed in the masculine and neuter the inflexion of the masculine and neuter substantives of the 2nd declension (**murus**,

[1] Modern French *Le rendre escorchait la gorge a cause des r qui s'y trouvent.*

liber, templum), and in the feminine the inflexion of the feminine substantives of the 1st declension (rosa) They were declined in the nominative and the accusative as follows

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
(i) Sing	Nom	bonus	bona	bonum
	Acc	bonum	bonam	bonum
Plur	Nom	boni	bonae	bona
	Acc	bonos	bonas	bona
(ii) Sing	Nom	niger	nigra	nigrum
	Acc	nigrum	nigram	nigrum
Plur	Nom	nigri	nigrae	nigra
	Acc	nigros	nigras	nigra

The second class contained the adjectives which followed the inflexion of the substantives of the 3rd declension

They were declined according to the following three types.

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
(i) Sing	Nom	prudens	prudens	prudens
	Acc	prudentem	prudentem	prudens
Plur	Nom	prudentes	prudentes	prudentia
	Acc	prudentes	prudentes	prudentia
(ii) Sing	Nom	fortis	fortis	forte
	Acc	fortem	fortem	forte
Plur	Nom	fortes	fortes	fortia
	Acc	fortes	fortes	fortia
(iii) Sing	Nom	acer	acris	acre
	Acc	acrem	acrem	acre
Plur	Nom	acres	acres	acria
	Acc	acres	acres	acria

In the adjectives, as in the substantives, the neuter was lost We find, however, in Old French some traces of the neuter of the adjective Certain forms which have the flexional s in the nominative singular masculine are

regularly used without the **s** where the adjective represents a *logical* neuter and corresponds to a *grammatical* Latin neuter *il est escrit*[1] (*Roland*, lines 1443 and 3742) *Mout en fu liez, mout li est bel*[2] (Marie de France, *Lai de Bisclavret*, line 166)

Of the cases, the vocative, genitive, dative, and ablative were lost, and only the nominative and accusative masculine and the accusative feminine remained, just as with the substantives (§§ 146, 147).

At the end of the Middle Ages the nominative was lost even in the masculine, and the form of the accusative alone prevailed, as with the substantives (§ 149)

1 Cases

176 DECLENSION OF THE MASCULINE ADJECTIVE IN OLD FRENCH —The history of the declension of the adjective in Old French is the same as that of the substantive

(1) Among the masculines of the first class the masculine **bonus** gave in Old French

		Latin	French		Latin	French
Nom	Sing	**bǫnus**	*bons*	Plur	**bǫni**	*bon*
Acc	,,	**bǫnum**	*bon*	,,	**bǫnos**	*bons*

And just as the paradigm of **murs** was imposed on all substantives ending otherwise than with an **e** mute, so the paradigm of **bons** was applied to all adjectives ending otherwise than with an **e** mute We find, for instance, the following declension sing *neirs* (Lat **niger**, Mod F *noir*), *neir*, plur *neir, neirs*

All adjectives which ended with an **e** mute were declined according to the type of **livre** A great number of these adjectives correspond to Latin adjectives, which in Popular Latin, and in some instances already in Classical Latin, had passed from the second class to the first Thus in the

[1] Modern French *C'est écrit*

[2] Modern French *Il en fut très joyeux, et cela lui convient tout-à-fait*

accusative singular the form **pȩuperem** had been replaced by **pȩuperum**, **ȩcrem** by **ȩcrum**, &c Hence the Old French declension ·

Nom Sing.	*povre*	Plur	*povre*
Acc „	*povre*	„	*povres*

But at the end of the 12th century the nominative singular *povre*, like *livre* (p 219), took the flexional **s** Similarly we find *altre-s, nostre-s, vostre-s*

(ii) In the second class the language started from the accusatives singular and plural, and obtained the corresponding nominatives by the application of the 'rule of the **s**' (§ 146) The accusatives singular and plural—

fǫrtem, fǫrtes, *fort, forz*, gave a nom sing. *forz*, nom plur *fort*,

prudȩntem, prudȩntes, *prudent, prudenz*, gave a nom sing *prudenz*, nom plur *prudent*,

ȩcrem, ȩcres, *aigre, aigres*, gave first a single form for the nom sing and nom plur, *aigres*, and later on *aigres* (nom sing) and *aigre* (nom plur)

177 DECLENSION OF THE FEMININE ADJECTIVE IN OLD FRENCH — (i) In the first class **bǫnam, bǫnas**, became *bone, bones*, as **rǫsam, rǫsas**, had become *rose, roses*

(ii) In the second class **fǫrtem, fǫrtes**, gave *fort, forz*, **amȩbilem, amȩbiles**, *amable, amables*

In the 12th century the feminines which did not end with an **e** mute, like the corresponding feminine substantives (§ 147), took the **s** in the nominative sing *s'amors fu si forz*[1]

178 INDECLINABLE ADJECTIVES IN OLD FRENCH —Indeclinable adjectives were only to be met with in the masculine They were adjectives of which the radical ended with a sibilant

[1] Modern French *Son amour fut si fort*

Class I Adjectives in **-ǫsus**, O F *-os*, Mod F. *-eux* *vertuos, vertucux*, &c

Class II Adjectives in **-ǫnsis**, O F. *-eis, -ois*, Mod F *ois* *corteis, cortois, courtois*, &c These masculine adjectives kept the same termination in Old French in the nominatives and accusatives singular and plural

179 THE OLD ADJECTIVE DECLENSION HAS LEFT SCARCELY ANY TRACES —There are no remnants of the declension of the masculine adjective in the modern language, if we except some comparatives which will be considered later on (§ 189)

Certain adjectives, such as *preux* (O F *prot*, derived from a radical **prod** found in the I at prōdesse) *vieux* (from Pop Lat **vętulum, vęclum**), end with **an x** (= *s*) which is not justified by their etymology This sibilant is not the remains of a former nominative, but is due to the analogical influence of adjectives in *-eux* (Latin **osus**).

II Genders

180 LOSS OF THE SECOND CLASS OF ADJECTIVES — If the division of Latin adjectives into two classes had been continued in French, two great series of adjectives would have been formed one series corresponding to the first class in Latin, and having different forms in the masculine and the feminine—**bonum**, *bon*, **bonam**, *bone*, the other series corresponding to the second class, and having only one form for both masculine and feminine, so that **verdom** (in Classical Latin **viridem**) would have given *vert* for both genders

But the second class gradually disappeared more or less completely before the first Nearly all the adjectives of the second class were modelled in the masculine on the type of **bon**, and in the feminine on the type of **bone** This is the great fact which governs and explains the history of the gender of French adjectives

We have seen (§ 176, 1) that, in the Imperial period, **pąuper, pąuperis**, had already become **pąuperus, pąupera**,

pauperum This tendency of adjectives of the second class to take the form of those of the first became more and more emphasized. In the Romanic period the Latin of Gaul changed **communis** into **communus** (*commun, commune*), **dolens** into **dolentus** (*dolent, dolente*), **follis** into **follus** (*fol, fole*), **mollis** into **mollus** (*mol, molle*)

Further, those adjectives of this second class which were indeclinable in the masculine because they ended with a sibilant (§ 178), and which if they had remained in that class would have been equally indeclinable in the feminine, passed into the first class, and thus gave in French a feminine in **e**

dulCis *dolz*	Fem *dolce*	(Mod F *douce*)
curtensSis *cortеis*	„ *cortеise*	(Mod F *courtoise*)
francensSis *franceis*	„ *franceise*	(Mod F *française*)

181 REMNANTS OF THE SECOND CLASS OF ADJECTIVES IN MODERN FRENCH.—The change, however, in Old French was not complete: a certain number of adjectives of the second class still survived with a single termination both for the masculine and the feminine. We shall call these *uniform* adjectives.

(1) Certain Latin adjectives in **alem** had become in French uniform adjectives in *-al* or *-el*: *la Couronne royal, la vie mortel*. Thus until the 18th century we find *lettres* (fem.) *royaux, ordonnances* (fem.) *royaux*, and the term *fonts baptismaux* is still used. That *font* was really a feminine substantive is shown by the proper names *Lafont, Bonne font, Bellefont, Fonfrede, Chaudefont* (now written *Chaux de Font*). The uniformity of termination in the case of these adjectives is also seen in adverbs still used in the 16th century, *loyaument, royaument, specialment*, of which earlier forms are *loyalment, royalment, specialment*. These adverbs have been gradually reconstructed from the more modern feminine forms taken by the corresponding adjectives *loyalement, royalement, specialement.*

(ii) Latin adjectives in **ạntem** and **ẹntem** had similarly given in French uniform adjectives in *-ant* and *-ent* *une vertu constant, une femme prudent* From these are derived certain adverbs which, unlike the preceding ones, have been preserved in modern language *constamment, elegamment, eloquemment, prudemment* In spite of the efforts of writers who from the 14th century onwards endeavoured to create new forms of these adverbs from the feminine adjectives, the old forms have survived Forms such as *diligentement, eloquentement, patientement,* &c were unable to prevail *Présentement,* although dating from the 13th century, and *vehementement* were formed from the feminines *presente* and *vehemente*

(iii) **Fort,** in the expression *elle se fait fort* (*she undertakes*), is a relic of the old usage In Old French we have *elles se font forz,* which proves that *fort* in this instance was declined and considered as an adjective and not as an adverb The Academy, in the 17th century, not being able to understand the apparent indeclinability of the adjective as to gender, declared that *fort* was an adverb, and prescribed the orthography *elles se font fort* (instead of *forts*), a mistaken spelling which has been preserved, owing to its authority

Fort is still used as a feminine form in proper nouns *Pierrefort, Rochefort,* and *Villefort*

(iv) **Grand** has preserved its uniformity in *grand'chambre, grand'chose, grand'croix, grand'faim, grand'garde, grand'merci, grand'mère, grand'messe, grand'rue* The only *raison d'être* for the apostrophe which follows *grand* in these expressions lies in the mistaken notion of the grammarians of the 17th century, who thought that a final **e** had been dropped and wished to make the omission apparent to the reader.

Grand is still used as a feminine form in the proper nouns *Grand-Couronne, Grand-Fontaine, Grand'lande, Grandrive, Gran(d)ville, Grand'maison*

(v) **Vert** is feminine in the proper noun *Vauvert*, i e *Valvert* *Val* in Old French was feminine, as is shown by other proper nouns *Laval, Bonneval, Vaucluse*[1].

Such are the remnants left in the language of the second class of Old French adjectives The formation of the feminine of these adjectives from the masculine commenced as early as the 11th century, from a very early date, therefore, the following analogical feminines made their appearance—*brieve, grande, forte, mortelle, telle, verte* But although it adopted this formation of the feminine, and aimed at identity of treatment for all adjectives, the language did not suddenly abandon the system inherited from Latin It was only in the course of time, after a series of losses which commenced during the Latin period, which became more and more evident in the Romanic period, and which increased in the Middle Ages, that the ample Latin system gave way to the new system which finally included practically all adjectives, and, even after fifteen or eighteen centuries of simplification, isolated examples of the second class of adjectives have survived in customary expressions So difficult is it for languages to get entirely rid of their old grammatical systems

182 INFLUENCE OF THE FEMININE FORM OF THE ADJECTIVE ON THE MASCULINE —With the exception of the examples just quoted, it was, then, the type of **bonum**, *bon*, **bonam**, *bonne*, which prevailed, and its triumph was so complete that thenceforth all adjectives of later formation, and adjectives borrowed either from ancient or foreign languages, were destined to be modelled on this type Now, the atonic **a** in **bǫnam** being converted into an **e** mute, the feminine became *bone, bonne*, and, the atonic **u** of **bǫnum** being dropped, the masculine became *bon* (§ 47), the fact that the feminine was thus distinguished from the mascu-

[1] A parallel may be drawn between *grand* and *fort*, which are feminine in certain proper nouns, and *real*, later *real* (*royal*), in *Villereal*

line by a final e led to the belief, which history shows to be erroneous, that the feminine was formed from the masculine by the addition of an e mute

The formation of the feminine in this way was not made without a more or less considerable apparent change of the final consonant of the masculine form We say apparent, because in reality, in most cases, it is in the feminine that the form of the radical has been preserved, the masculine, on the contrary, by the loss of the Latin termination, was reduced to the simple radical, and thus ended with a consonant which underwent those phonetic changes which affected the final consonants generally in French (§§ 64 and 100) Thus, in the French feminine *neuve*, the v of the Latin feminine nǫvam is preserved intact, in the masculine nǫvum, on the contrary, the termination -um being lost, the v became final and was changed into f It is then a mistake to say that the masculine *neuf* makes its feminine irregularly by changing the final f of the masculine into v It is more correct to say that it is the final consonant of the masculine which has suffered change

This aspect of the question should never be forgotten in studying the theory of the formation of the feminine of adjectives In many cases it is the feminine which is regular, and the masculine which is irregular

183 ADJECTIVES ENDING IN E MUTE IN THE MASCULINE — Before discussing the gender of adjectives generally, it will be best to dispose of a certain number of adjectives of which, for various reasons, the masculine as well as the feminine ends in e mute

(i) Adjectives like *aigre, faible, pauvre, tendre*, &c, and all adjectives in -able, in which the final e served as a 'supporting vowel' (§ 60) for a preceding consonant-group,

(ii) Adjectives of which the masculine form was re-

modelled in Old French from the feminine, owing to the fact that the two forms presented too marked a difference

Thus the Latin masculine **firmum** originally gave the French masculine *ferm, fer,* whilst the Latin feminine **firmam** gave *ferme*, **largum** gave *larc,* and **largam,** *large* at an early period, *fer* and *larc* were replaced by *ferme* and *large* Similarly the feminine forms *chauve, juste, louche, molte, pâle, roide, triste, vide,* have replaced the masculine old forms *chauf, juz, lois, mout, pal, rout, trist,* and *vit*

(iii) The numerous adjectives in **-ile,** of learned formation, borrowed from Latin at various periods in the history of the language *fertile, sterile, utile,* &c In Middle French some hesitation was felt with regard to the terminations to be given to these adjectives we find the masculine forms *steril util,* &c A survival of these latter forms is to be found in the modern adjectives *puéril, -ile,* and *vil, -ile*

184 DISTURBING ACTION OF CERTAIN ORTHOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES ON THE SPELLING OF FEMININE FORMS — We now come to the general theory of the formation of the feminine

According to the general rule the **feminine adjective is formed from the masculine by adding an e mute to the masculine** *gris, grise, delical, delicate, poli, polie*

This general rule is subject to numerous exceptions due either to the **peculiarities of French orthography** or to **phonetic reasons**

The peculiarities of the present system of French orthography require in certain cases the modification in writing of the final consonant before the e of the feminine in order to keep the sound of this consonant identical with that in the masculine form, thus

The feminine of *ammoniac* is *ammoniaque*
" *caduc* " *caduque*
" *turc* " *turque*

If it were not for this change in spelling we should have *ammoniace, caduce, turce* (pron **ammonias', cadus', turs'**)

The feminines of *grec* and *public* were formed in Middle French by adding **que** to the masculine, the final **c** of the masculine being, however, sometimes preserved, sometimes omitted *grecque, publicque, greque, publique* The present feminines *grecque* and *publique* show both of these two modes of formation We find analogous changes in *franc, franque* (see note 3, p 277), *long, longue* (pron **frã, frãk', lõ, lõg'**), where the pronunciation and spelling of the feminine forms are due to the earlier pronunciation of the masculines, when the **c** and **g** were sounded

It is also for orthographic reasons that the feminines *exigue, contigue, aigue*, have a diaeresis over the **e**[1], that in the feminines of adjectives ending in **ol** (*bel, nouvel, reel*) the **l** is doubled, the double **l** keeping the sound of the **e** open, and that in the feminines of adjectives ending with an **l** *mouillee* the **l** is doubled in the feminine, because between two vowels the **l mouillee** is noted by **ll** *gentil, gentille, vermeil, vermeille*

The purely orthographical rules for the formation of the feminine, although they affect a great number of adjectives of various forms, are of small importance

185 DIFFERENCES IN THE DISTURBING ACTION OF PHONETIC LAWS ACCORDING AS THE ADJECTIVE ENDS WITH A LABIAL DENTAL, PALATAL, NASAL, OR LIQUID, OR A VOWEL The rules founded on the application of phonetic laws are more important than those just dealt with We shall classify adjectives according to the final sound of the masculine form

A Adjectives ending with a **labial**

The masculine ends with an **f** in *bref, neuf*, &c, in conformity with phonetic law, according to which the Latin **v** was changed into **f** when it became a final (§ 64, 2) The

[1] [To avoid the pronunciations *exig', contig', aig*]

etymological **v** remains intact in the feminine (§ 63) **nǫvam**, *neuve*, **vivam**, *vive*, but we have in the masculine **nǫvum**, *neuf*, **vivum**, *vif*, like **bǫvem**, *bœuf*, &c

In *bref*, *brieve*, *grief*, *grieve*, a grave accent is placed over the **e** so as to note by this orthographic device that the sound of the **e** remains open In Middle French these feminines were written *brefve*, *griefve*, *neufve*, *vifve*, to render the relation between the feminine and the masculine more visible

B Adjectives ending with a **dental.**

(1) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **d**

In Old French the **d** was changed into **t** when it became final (§ 64, 2), it was left unchanged before the **e** of the feminine

frigidum, **frigdum**, O F *froit* fem *froide*

Similarly **grandem** gave *grant*, which later gave rise to the feminine *grande*

The **t** has disappeared in pronunciation, except before a word beginning with a vowel *un grand homme*, *un froid hiver*, are pronounced *un grant homme*, *un froit hiver* In modern spelling the etymological **d** has been reintroduced to make an apparent, if not a real, agreement of form between the masculine and feminine In *vert*, *verte* (formerly *verde*), on the contrary, the feminine has been modelled on the masculine both in pronunciation and spelling

(11) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **t**

This **t** has become mute in the masculine in Modern French It is preserved in the feminine *delicate*, *mate*, *distraite*, *petite*, *bigote*, *devote*, *brute*, *toute*, *prete*

The greater number of adjectives in **-et**, *muet*, &c, and the two adjectives *sot*, *vieillot*, must be considered separately In the feminine the **t** of these adjectives is now doubled *muette*, &c, *sotte*, *vieillotte*, this is done to preserve the open sound of the **e** in the case of the adjectives in **-et**, in the case of *sotte*, *vieillotte*, the spelling is not justified. *Discret*, *indiscret*, *secret*, *concret*, *complet*,

incomplet, inquiet, replet, alone possess feminine forms in **ète**, in accordance with a rule possessing no weight and resulting from the wish to conform to the Latin spelling (**discrete, indiscrete, secrete**, &c.) Until the end of the last century the spellings *muette* and *discrette* were used as well as *muete, discrete*. It would be preferable to return to either one or the other of these formations, and to note the open sound of the **e** either by the accent, or else by the double **t**, in all cases alike.

(iii) Adjectives ending in **s** or **x**.

The final **s** or **x** is not now pronounced in the masculine. Originally the **s** or **x** had different phonetic values in different cases.

(*a*) It represented a single **s**, which in the feminine, being placed between two vowels, must have been a sonant **s** in French (§ 63).

ras, rase (Lat **rasus, rasa**)

courtois, courtoise (Lat **curtensis**)

français, française (Lat **francensis**).

gris, grise (Old High German **greis**)

douloureux, douloureuse (Lat **dolorosus, dolorosa**)

jaloux, jalouse (Lat **zelosus, zelosa**)

(*b*) It represented an **s** preceded by another **s**, and was therefore phonetically a surd **s** (§ 66).

bas, basse (Lat **bassus, bassa**)

las, lasse (Lat **lassus, lassa**)

épais, épaisse (O F. *espes* and *espois*, fem. *espesse* and *espoisse*, *Lat* **spissus, spissa**)

gros, grosse (Pop. Lat **grossus, grossa**, Old High German, **gross**)

roux, rousse (Lat **russus, russa**).

exprès, expresse (Lat **expressus, expressa**)

confès, confesse[1] (Lat **confessus, confessa**)

faux, fausse (O F. *fals, false*, Lat **falsus, falsa**).

[1] Obsolete, a person who has made confession.

(*c*) In some adjectives the surd sibilant now noted by **ss** or **ç**, or **c**, is the reduced form of an earlier sound **ts** (§ 73)

coulis, coulisse[1] (O. F *colediz, coleiz, coleice*, Lat **colatĭcius, colatĭcia**)

metis, metisse (*half breed*) (O. F *mestiz, mestice*, Lat **mixtĭcius, mixtĭcia**)

tiers, tierce (O F *tierz, tierce*; Lat **tertius, tertia**).

The participles *absous, dissous*, from *absoudre, dissoudre*, give the feminine forms *absoute, dissoute* The feminines represent the Pop Lat nominatives **absŏluta, absŏlta, dissŏluta, dissŏlta** The masculines represent the nominatives **absŏlutus, absŏltus, dissŏlutus, dissŏltus** (§ 146) The Latin masculine accusatives would have given according to phonetic rule[2] *absout, dissout* (See p 372)

Prefix, prefixe, is a word borrowed from the Latin **praefixus, praefixa**, according to the learned formation The **x** is pronounced in the masculine It is to be regretted that the analogy with the simple word *fixe* (also of learned formation), which represents the Latin **fixus, fixa**, has not been followed in the spelling of the word

C Adjectives ending with a **palatal** in the masculine

This palatal is now in some cases mute *franc, long*, if it was originally a **g** it became surd, i e **k**, in Old French, and the sound was noted by a **c** (§ 69) **lŏngum**, *lonc*, **lărgum**, *larc*

In the feminine the Latin **c** before **a** was changed into **che** (§ 73)

In the feminine the Latin **g** before **a** was changed into **ge** (§ 89)

Thus we have

francum, *franc*, **frăncam**, *franche*[3]

[1] *Coulis* is only used in the expression *vent-coulis* = *draught* *Coulisse* is only used as a substantive

[2] Nom *absolt s* = *absolz absols, absous*, Acc *absolt* = *absout*

[3] The feminine *franque* = *Frankish*) is of later formation and is taken

friscum, *fresc*, *fres*, Mod F *frais*, **friscam**, *fresche*, *fraische*, Mod F *fraîche*

siccum, *sec*, **siccam**, *seche*

largum, *larc*, Mod F *large*, **largam**, *large*

longum, *lonc*, Mod F *long*, **longam**, *longe*, Mod F *longue*

D Adjectives ending with a **nasal**

In adjectives of early formation the **n** was doubled in the feminine form, because the first of the two consecutive **n**'s only served to show the nasal pronunciation which the vowel had at the time

bon, *bonne*, were pronounced *bõ*, *bõ ne*

paysan, *paysanne*, were pronounced *paysã*, *paysã-ne*

ancien, *ancienne*, were pronounced *ancĩ*, *ancĩ ne*

In modern times the vowel has lost its nasalization and has become a pure vowel in the feminine *bonne*, *paysanne*, *ancienne*, are pronounced *bon'*, *paysan'*, *ancien'*, but the first of the two **n**'s has been preserved in spelling, although there is no longer any reason for it

In *persan*, *persane*, *anglican*, *anglicane* which are of modern formation, the spelling is, on the other hand, in better agreement with the pronunciation

The same agreement between the spelling and pronunciation exists in the case of adjectives in *-ain*, *-ein*, in *fin*, *fine*, *vain*, *vaine*, *plein*, *pleine*, &c The nasal of the masculine in these adjectives is of relatively recent date (§ 118)

When the final is an **n** *mouillé*, as in *benin*, *benigne* (**benignus**, **benigna**), *malin*, *maligne* (**malignus**, **maligna**), the **ñ** (represented by **gn**) which is preserved in the feminine, disappears in the masculine, because the final **n** *mouillée* has disappeared from French pronunciation since the end of the Middle Ages (§ 104)

from *Franc* the name of the people as in *la nation française*, *parler la langue franque*

Compare *je crains* and *craignant*
„ *besoin* „ *besoigneux*
„ *loin* „ *eloigne* [1]

E Adjectives ending with a liquid

(i) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **r**

The **r** is in most cases pronounced in the masculine Adjectives ending with an **r** therefore generally form their feminines regularly *claire, obscure, noire, majeure, mineure, anterieure, posterieure, ulterieure, inferieure, superieure*, &c, being formed from *clair, obscur*, &c

Certain names of agents, which may be used as adjectives, and which are of popular formation, form their feminines by changing **-eur** into **euse**, others, of learned formation, in **-teur**, give feminines in **-trice**, from the Latin feminine **-trĭcem** (§ 164, v and vi)

We must notice the adjectives in **-er, ier** The **e** was formerly pronounced as an open **è**, and the **r** as the final consonant The pronunciation of the masculine was thus only distinguished from that of the feminine because the latter still ended with an **e feminine**, which was then sounded

In these adjectives, between the 16th and 18th century, the **r** came to be no longer pronounced in the masculine, and the open **è** was reduced to a close **e** *etranger, leger, premier*, came to be pronounced *etrange, lege, premie*, in the feminine the e has remained open, and bears a grave accent in spelling *etrangère, legère, premiere* (Book I, §§ 111, 121)

There are only three adjectives, *amer, cher*, and *fier*, which have kept the old pronunciation

(ii) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **l**

This **l** was, in French, either *simple* or *mouillée*

In the case of the simple **l** the normal formation of the

[1] Observe that in the 16th century *igne* in the feminine, was reduced to *ine* *maline, benine* Cf *maline* in La Fontaine, and *signet*, pronounced *sinet*

feminine is found in most adjectives. *amicale, normale, civile, puérile, espagnole, seule, soûle* But in the adjectives *fol, mol, nul,* the l is doubled owing to the influence of the Latin spelling (fŏllam, mŏllem, nŭllam) Adjectives ending in **-el** have the l doubled in the feminine in order to keep the sound of the **e** open,—a mere rule of spelling *reelle, belle, nouvelle, jumelle* (pron *rel', bel', nouvel', jumel'*)

In the case of the l *mouillee,* this is always noted by **ll** before the **e** mute of the feminine *gentille, vermeille, vieille*

The above rules have nothing to do with phonetics, but the matter is different in the case of the change, in masculine adjectives, of **-el** into **-eau** in *bel, nouvel,* and the archaic *jumel beau, nouveau, jumeau,* and of **-ol** into **-ou** in *fol, mol fou, mou,* and of the changing of *viel* into *vieux* This change, analogous to that which we have noticed in the case of substantives (§ 167, iv), did not take place when the adjective was immediately followed by a masculine substantive beginning with a vowel and closely connected by the sense with the adjective *un bel enfant, un nouvel evenement, c'est bel et bon, un fol amour, un mol edredon, un viel avare*

The adjective *jumel* has been lost because it was placed after the substantive

Even in modern times there has been some hesitation in the use of *fol, fou,* and still more in the use of *viel, vieux* Owing to analogy with adjectives in **-eux, -euse,** there has been a special tendency to use the form *vieux* even before a vowel *un vieux avare, un vieux arbre*[1]

F Adjectives ending with a **vowel**

Among the adjectives ending with a vowel we must notice *favori* and *coi* with their feminines *favorite* and *coite*

[1] We are thus led to a use of the adjective which is the converse of that of Old French, in which *fol* and *viel* were used even when the word following commenced with a consonant *le fol jeune homme le viel chene* This practice was continued even down to the period of Middle French

Favorite is the Italian **favorita**, which has replaced the older *favorie*, the feminine of *favori*, a participle of the old verb *favorir* The masculine of this participle has alone survived

The old feminine *coie*, from *coi*, has been replaced by the Picard feminine *coite*, without any known reason

Certain adjectives have no feminine *châtain*, *dispos*, *fat*, *grognon*, *partisan*, *resous*

The adjective *hebreu*, when used with reference to things, has no feminine, and is replaced when necessary by *hebraique* *un livre hebreu*, *une traduction hebraique* As a noun denoting a person it has a feminine form *hebreue* *une jeune Hebreue*

The adjective *contumax* (sometimes written *contumace*), borrowed directly from the Latin *contumax*, is of both genders, and has a single form for the masculine and feminine

III Numbers

186 GENERAL RULE FOR THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL —The plural of adjectives is formed in the same way as that of substantives, and for similar reasons An **s** is added to the masculine and feminine singular to convert either into the plural

187 PECULIARITIES OF THE PLURAL OF CERTAIN ADJECTIVES —(i) When the masculine singular ends with a **sibilant** the masculine plural does not take an **s** *des hommes gras*, *de faux temoignages*

(ii) Adjectives in **-ant**, **-ent**, retain the final **t** in the masculine plural before the flexional **s** *constant*, *constants*, *prudent*, *prudents*

(iii) Adjectives in **-eau** take an **x** in the plural *beau*, *beaux*, *nouveau*, *nouveaux*, *jumeau*, *jumeaux* (§ 170, ii)

Adjectives in **-eu** take an **s** *des yeux bleus* *Hebreu*,

however, which is more akin to a substantive than an adjective, gives *hebreux* in the plural *les livres hebreux*

(iv) The masculine plural of adjectives in **-al** is formed, in general, by changing **-al** into **-aux**. *amical, amicaux, brutal, brutaux, legal, legaux, oriental, orientaux* (§ 170, 11)

But to this general rule there are a considerable number of exceptions

A certain number of adjectives in **al** are hardly ever used in the masculine, e g the adjectives in the following phrases *eglise collegiale, ligne diagonale, eau pluviale* Consequently the plural in **aux** is unknown A very few others, which are little used, form their plurals in **-als** *fatals, finals, glacials, penals*

Lastly, others, which are fairly numerous, are not used at all in the masculine plural *astral, doctoral, ideal, naval, pastoral, theatral, transversal, virginal,* &c

This irregular formation of the masculine plural of adjectives in **-al** is one of the difficulties of French grammar

The formation of the plural in **-aux** being the only one in conformity with the tendency of the language, it cannot be too much encouraged It is to be hoped that the custom of making the plural of adjectives in **al** end in **-aux** may be adopted in all cases

(v) The adjective *penitential* or *penitential,* not used in the singular, gives in the masculine plural *penitentiaux psaumes penitentiaux*, and in the feminine plural *penitentielles œuvres penitentielles*

IV Degrees of Comparison

188 DEGREES OF COMPARISON IN LATIN —Latin possessed special inflexions to mark the degrees of comparison, i e the comparative and superlative

The comparative was formed by adding to the radical **-ior, iorem,** for the nominative and accusative masculine

and feminine, **-ius** for the neuter **sanct-us**, *holy* **sanct-ior**, **sanct-iorem**, **sanct-ius**, *more holy*

The superlative was formed by adding to the radical of the adjective the termination **-issimus** (nom masc), **-issima** (nom fem), **-issimum** (nom neut), and this termination served to express both the superlative relative and the superlative absolute **sanct-issimus** = either *holiest* or *very holy*

A very small number of Latin adjectives had no comparative and superlative, and the deficiency was supplied by means of adverbs placed before the positive **magis** or **plus strenuus**, *more active*, **maxime** or **multum** or **valde strenuus**, *most active* or *very active*

Following the practice of Popular Latin, French and the other Romance languages have extended the use of this analytical construction involving the use of adverbs In French but very few Latin comparatives, and no Latin superlatives, have survived We may say that French no longer possesses any degrees of comparison expressed by modifications of the positive form of the adjective

189 The comparative in French —Of the two adverbs **magis** and **plus**, which were exceptionally used in Classical Latin to express the comparative, French has adopted **plus** for the same purpose *plus grand, plus mechant*

A certain number, however, of Latin comparatives passed into Old French, and some still exist in the language Thus we find in the Middle Ages *halçor* (**altiorem**, Mod F *plus haut*), *bellezour* (**bellatiorem**, Mod F *plus beau*), *forçor* (**fortiorem**, Mod F *plus fort*), *graindre* and *greignor* (**grandior**, **grandiorem**, Mod F *plus grand*), *nualz* (**nugalius**, Mod F *pire*), and *sordeis, sordois* (**sordidius**, Mod F *pire*) *Meilleur* (**meliorem**), *mieux* (**melius**), *moindre* (**minor**), *moins* (**minus**), *pire* (**pejor**), *pis* (**pejus**), have survived We must also add the substantives *maire* (**major**), *sire* (**senior**), and *seigneur* (**seni-**

ǫrem), the adjectives *majeur* (**majǫrem**, O F *maïeur*) and *mineur* (**minǫrem**, O F. *meneur*), and the indefinite substantive *plusieurs* (***plusiǫres**, § 142), which are derived from Latin comparatives.

Of the Latin forms the language has sometimes preserved the nominative, sometimes the accusative, these comparatives belonging to the imparisyllabic declension (§ 146) Thus *moindre*, *pire*, *maire*, and *sire* are former nominatives, *meilleur*, *mineur*, and *seigneur* are accusatives, *mieux* and *pis* correspond to Latin neuters. Old French possessed the complete declension

	Masc and Fem
męlior	*mieldre*
meliǫrem	*meillor* (*meilleur* since 13th cent.)
	Neuter
męlius	*miels* (*mieus*, *mieux*)

Similarly in Old French we find the corresponding forms *moindre*, *meneur*, *moins*, *pire*, *peieur*, *pis*

Thus the only adjectives and adverbs derived from Latin comparatives, and still used as comparatives, are *meilleur* and *mieux*, *moindre* and *moins*, *pire* and *pis* And even at the present day *moindre* is tending to give way to *plus petit*, *pire* to *plus mauvais*, and *pis* to *plus mal*

190 THE SUPERLATIVE IN FRENCH -The superlative absolute was marked in Old French by the adverbs *assez*, *beaucoup*, *durement*, *fort*, *grandement*, *mout*, *par*[1], and already in most cases by *tres* (Lat **trans**), which from the sense of 'beyond' which it has in *trepasser*[2] took that of 'beyond all limits' In Modern French *tres* is still used most often to mark the superlative absolute, though *bien*, *extrêmement*, *fort*, &c, are also employed

[1] *Par* (Lat *per*) was indeed used as an adverb in Old French, in the sense of the modern *beaucoup*, compare the Latin *per magnus* (*very great*) See also Book III § 294

[2] [*to pass beyond*, and hence *to die*]

tres beau, bien beau, extrêmement beau, fort beau Other adverbs are likewise used for this purpose in the popular speech. *rudement, joliment,* &c.

Of the superlative relative, which Latin treated as a superlative absolute, the Romance languages have made a kind of comparative, a determinate comparative (i e a comparative preceded by the definite article) The comparative was already used in Latin in the sense of the French superlative when referring to two objects **validior manuum**, *la plus forte des deux mains*[1] This conception of the superlative relative prevailed In French the superlative relative has been formed by placing the definite article before the comparative *plus fort*, le *plus fort*, *plus grand*, le *plus grand*, *meilleur*, le *meilleur*, *moindre*, le *moindre* It will be seen in the Syntax (§ 376, B) that, until the end of the 17th century, the relative superlative was not completely distinguished and separated from the comparative from which it was developed

Scarcely any traces of the Latin superlative have been preserved in French The termination **-issimum** would, according to phonetic rule, have given in French *-esme* (§ 50) In Old French we find only two forms which are derived phonetically from Latin superlatives These are *pesme* (Lat **pessimum**), which corresponds to the comparative *pire*, and *mesme, même* (from **metipsimum**, § 142) The forms *hautisme, grandisme, seintisme*, which are met with occasionally, are of learned formation[2].

[1] [In English we render the Latin comparative by a comparative *the stronger of the two hands*]

[2] In the 16th century, imitation of the Italian led to the introduction of certain adjectives in *-issime*, corresponding to the Italian *-issimo*, in the sense of the absolute superlative *generalissime, grandissime, serenissime* The words *rarissime, richissime*, &c , have been created in jest on this model We must also notice the abortive attempt of Pelletier at the same period to revive the Latin comparatives in *-ior*, and superlatives in *isme doctieur, hardieur, doctime, hardime* (see Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's *Seizieme Siecle en France*, p 229).

CHAPTER II

ON THE PRONOUN[1]

191 The different kinds of pronouns

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191 THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRONOUNS —Pronouns are words used either to denote or to qualify in special ways persons or things mentioned in speech, in their relation to the person speaking The French pronouns, like those of other Romance languages, are derived from corresponding Latin pronouns, of which the forms and functions have been more or less modified They are divided, according to their uses, into four classes.

(i) Personal pronouns

(ii) Possessive pronouns

(iii) Demonstrative pronouns

(iv) Relative, conjunctive, and interrogative pronouns

[1] See also p 181

They are *substantives* if they are used absolutely, and stand for the person or thing in question, *adjectives* if they only qualify or limit the meaning of a substantive

Whether substantives or adjectives, they may be either *accented* or *atonic*, and in the latter case *proclitic* or *enclitic* In Modern French, as a rule, substantive pronouns are accented and adjective pronouns are atonic

I Personal Pronouns

192 PERSONAL PRONOUNS DIVISION INTO TWO SERIES —Personal pronouns are divided into two series The first contains the pronouns of the first and second persons and the *reflexive* pronoun of the third these are the true *personal* pronouns The second series only includes the so-called pronoun of the third person, which is an old demonstrative that has been gradually transformed into a personal pronoun

The pronouns of the first series, like the nouns, had a complete declension in Latin

1st pers. Sing	Nom	**ego**	Plur	**nos**
	Gen	**mei**		**nostri**
	Dat	**mihi**		**nobis**
	Acc	**me**		**nos**
	Abl	**me**		**nobis**
2nd pers Sing	Nom	**tu**	Plur	**vos**
	Gen	**tui**		**vestri**
	Dat	**tibi**		**vobis**
	Acc	**te**		**vos**
	Abl	**te**		**vobis**
3rd pers reflexive Sing and Plur			Gen	**sui**
			Dat	**sibi**
			Acc	**se**
			Abl	**se**

In Gallo-Romanic the genitives **mei, tui, sui, nostri,**

vestri, the datives **mihi**, **tibi**, **sibi**, **nobis**, **vobis**, and the ablatives, which were identical in form either with the corresponding accusatives (**me**, **te**, **se**) or with the corresponding datives (**nobis**, **vobis**), were lost These pronouns had thus in the Middle Ages only a subject case and an object case, the latter serving to denote both the direct and indirect object

The pronouns of the second series, of which we shall give the Latin declension later (§ 197), had, besides the nominative case and the case for the direct object, a case for the indirect object (*lui*, *leur*)

193 RETENTION OF THE PRONOUN DECLENSION — The mediaeval declension of these pronouns has been preserved down to the present day Whilst the substantives and adjectives have lost their nominatives, and now possess only one form to denote both subject and object, the personal pronouns have preserved the form for the subject as well as that for the object We must examine the reason for this difference of treatment

In Latin, the persons concerned in speech were sufficiently indicated by verbal inflexions, and it was not necessary to use personal pronouns to distinguish them **Laboro** signified *I work*, **ludis**, *thou playest* If the personal pronouns were expressed, they served to render the idea of the subject emphatic **ego laboro, tu ludis**, signified '*I* work, *thou* playest' Nominatives of personal pronouns were thus accented in Latin and had an *emphatic* value

This emphatic value was preserved for some time in Old French, but from the end of the 12th century, when the verbal inflexions became disorganized and gradually obliterated, these inflexions became inadequate to distinguish the grammatical person, and consequently, in order to restore their precision of meaning to the verbal forms, the language had to make a more and more frequent use of the nominatives of personal pronouns.

But this increase in use led to a weakening of their emphasis, and pronouns which were originally accented gradually became atonic In the 12th century we see nominatives of personal pronouns for the first time used in this new way It required four centuries for this use to become finally established in the language. At the end of the 16th century the revolution was complete the three persons were then definitively marked in the verb by the use of atonic nominative personal pronouns, and it was this new grammatical formation which prevented the loss of these nominatives

If the distinction of the verbal forms by means of inflexion had subsisted down to the end of the 14th century, the nominative cases of pronouns would have shared the fate of the nominative cases of nouns, and disappeared

Owing to the changes described, the language lost the emphatic use of these subject pronouns This emphatic use was, however, so obviously advantageous, and so fully met a need of the language, that an effort was necessarily made to replace in some measure what had just been allowed to disappear. The pronouns possessed objective cases in two forms, the one atonic, the other accented (*me, moi, te, toi, le, lui,* &c) The former emphatic nominative was replaced by the accented form of the accusative From the 12th century we find such forms as *moi qui lis, toi qui dis,* &c [1]

Thus, on the one hand, the weakening of the verbal inflexions led to the change of the emphatic and accented nominative of the pronoun into an atonic nominative, of which the function was merely to mark the grammatical person of the verb, and this change saved it from oblivion [2]. On the other hand, the accented form of the accusative

[1] See Syntax, § 392

[2] These pronouns have, however, in general remained accented in interrogative sentences such as *Penses-tu? Aime t il? Irons nous? Voulez-vous? Que disent-ils?* (With regard to *aime je* see § 219, 2)

of the pronoun replaced the emphatic nominative, in the same way as the accusative of the noun had acquired the function of a nominative

194 TRUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS (see § 192) PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.—(1) *Nominative Singular*.—The pronoun of the first person, in Classical Latin **ĕgo**, became, in consequence of the dropping of the medial **g**, **eo**, which led to the early French *ieo*[1]. In the group *ieo* the vowel i became a consonant and was transformed into j: *jeo, jeo*, a form which from the 11th century was reduced to *jo* or *jou*. In the 12th century this pronoun, becoming atonic, was weakened into *je*, and before a vowel into *j'*, and these forms have subsisted down to the present day.

Nevertheless, until the middle of the 16th century *je* was capable of bearing a *tempus forte*, and might be separated from the verb by words placed in apposition to it, by adjectives, adverbs, or incidental statements: *Je qui avais* (Marot, II, 51); *Je de ma part* (id. 106); *Je tout malade et prive de soulas* (Mod. F. *consolation*) (id. III, 127); *Je, dist Picrochole, le prendray a mercy*[2] (Rab. I, 33); *Je pareillement quoy que sois hors d'effroy, ne suis toutes fois hors d'esmoy* (Rab. III, prol.). We find also in Scarron (*Virgile travesti*, I, 11): *Je qui chantai jadis Typhon*. Of this free use of the pronoun there has remained a trace in the formal expression *Je soussigne* (*I, the undersigned*). Except in the case of this archaism, *je* is now always an atonic pronoun which is joined with the verb following[3], and serves to denote the grammatical first person singular.

(II) *Accusative Singular*.—The Latin pronoun was **mē**

[1] In the *Oaths of Strasburg* we find the form *eo*, but it has been demonstrated that this should be pronounced *ieo*.

[2] In Mod. F. *Je me montrerai genereux envers lui, dit Picrochole*.

[3] It can only be separated from it by other atonic words: *Je* ne *sais, Je* ne te le *donne pas*.

as an atonic it became *me*, as an accented word, *mei*, *moi* In the Middle Ages the use of *me* and *moi*, respectively, depended chiefly on the exact emphasis to be laid on the pronoun *moi* had an emphatic signification that *me* did not possess *Il moi frappe* expressed more than *il me frappe* In Modern French the use of *moi* and *me* respectively has been reduced to precise rules, and will be treated in the Syntax (§ 393)

(iii) *Nominative and Accusative Plural* — In Popular Latin the atonic nominative nōs, and both the atonic and accented forms of the accusative nōs, were preserved In Old French there was an accented form *nos* (usually written *nus* in the oldest texts) for the nominative But towards the end of the 12th century this nominative *nos* became atonic, and then underwent the phonetic change of the Latin atonic o i e changed from ó into ou (§ 57, Book I, p 105) *nos* became *nous*, just as *voer* from vōtare became *vouer* In the accusative the atonic form nōs was according to rule also changed into *nous* at the end of the Middle Ages The accented form nṓs ought to have led up to *nous*, *nos*, and finally *neus* (§§ 51, 3 and 94) But, since of the three forms just given the two most in use were forms in ou (the form *nous* as nominative and as accusative), the form *neus* had no time to become established, and was replaced by the others Hence, *nous* was used (1) as an atonic pronoun, for the subject (nous *aimons*), and both for the direct and the indirect object (*il* nous *ecoute*, *il* nous *parle*), and (2) as an accented pronoun, both for the direct and the indirect object (*il nous aime*, nous, *il vient a* nous), for the object after an imperative (*ecoute*-nous), and, finally, for the emphatic subject (nous *qui disons*, nous, *nous voulons*)

195 Pronoun of the second person —(1) *Nominative Singular* —The Latin tū became the accented pronoun *tu*, which, in the 12th century, tended to become atonic, but

was still used as an accented pronoun until the 16th century *Tu, dist frere Jean, te damne comme un vieil diable*[1] (Rabelais, IV, 18), *O tu qui n'as lettres a ce duysantes*[2] (Marot, III, 111) It was only after that period that *tu* became definitively an atonic pronoun inseparable from the verb following (tu *parles*[3]), and serving simply to denote the grammatical second person singular[4]

(II) *Accusative Singular* —The Latin atonic tē became the French *te*, the accented tē became the French *tei, toi* The history of *te* and *toi* is exactly similar to that of *me* and *moi*

(III) *Nominative and Accusative Plural* —From the Latin vōs first came *vos*, and then *vous*, of which the history is exactly similar to that of *nos* and *nous*

196 REFLEXIVE PRONOUN OF THE THIRD PERSON —Just as mē gave the forms *me*, and *mei, moi* (§ 194, II), and as tē gave *te*, and *tei, toi* (§ 195, II), so sē gave *se* and *sei, soi*, of which the history is exactly similar to that of the pronouns of the first and second persons

197 DEMONSTRATIVE PERSONAL PRONOUN OF THE THIRD PERSON SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUN —In Latin there was no special personal pronoun for the third person, in order to express either a nominative of that person, or an objective referring to a word that was not the subject, some one or other of the demonstratives was used is, hic, iste, ille, ipse, or idem French, on the contrary, from its origin possessed a special form for the pronoun of the third person, namely *il*, derived from ille, which had been adopted in Gallo-Romanic to the exclusion of the other demonstratives

[1] Mod F *Toi, dit frere Jean je te damne, &c*

[2] Mod F *O toi qui n'as de lettres avant rapport* [*conduisantes*] *a ceci*

[3] *Tu*, like *je*, can only be separated from the verb by atonic particles: *Tu* ne *fais rien*, *tu* ne le lui *dis pas*.

[4] From the 13th century, in popular French, *tu* was reduced to *t'* before a vowel *Je ne sai qui t'as en pense* (*Romania*, XXII, p 56), *t'es de tel bien garnie* (Mod F *tu es de tel bien fourni*, ibid.

This change of function, which converted a demonstrative into a personal pronoun, has not been so complete as to banish all traces of the primitive signification from the language These appear in the article *le, la, les* (§ 199), which shows us the adjectival use of the demonstrative, and in the possessive *leur* (§ 202, II), which is really equivalent in Modern French to *de ceux, of those*

(1) *Masculine Singular* (*Origin of* il, lui, le, *and* O F. li). —In Classical Latin ille was declined as follows

Nom	ille
Gen	illīus
Dat	illi
Acc	illum
Abl	illo

Each of these forms might be either accented or atonic They were first reduced in number in the popular usage of Northern Gaul by the loss of the genitive and ablative Then the remaining cases were affected by the analogical action of the relative and interrogative pronoun **qui**, of which the declension in Popular Latin was.

Nom qui
Case of the indirect object, cui
Case of the direct object, accented, cui.
Case of the direct object, atonic, quem.

This pronoun, being used as an interrogative, caused the demonstrative, which usually served as an answer, to take the same terminations, so that the desire to make the connexion between the two terms evident led to the remodelling of the declension of ille Hence the following forms resulted

Nom illī
Case of the indirect object, accented, illi[1].

[1] The Latin dative illi remained as the atonic form of the indirect object case

Case of the direct object, accented, illu̯i
Case of the direct object, atonic, (il)**lum.**

The nominative illī became *il*[1].

The case of the indirect object illu̯i, losing its atonic syllable, according to the ordinary rule, became *lui* in the demonstrative use Similarly, the case of the direct object, accented, became *lui*, the case of the direct object, atonic, (il)**lum**, and then lu, became *lo*, and, later on, *le* In the Middle Ages *je lui frappe* (in the sense of 'I strike *that* man,' or '*that* is the man whom I strike') and *je le frappe* were both used (§ 194, II) Such was the usage in Old French

Now the subject case *il* gradually became atonic, and was reduced to being merely the mark of the third person of the verb When an emphatic subject-pronoun was needed, the accented direct object case *il* was replaced by *lui* *lui pretend*, *lui, il pretend* (*he* asserts) (Syntax, § 392)

For the indirect object, besides the accented form *lui* an atonic form *li* was used *il lui parle*, *il li parle* At the end of the Middle Ages the atonic pronoun *li* disappeared from general use, it was replaced by *lui*, which came to be used as an atonic form *il lui parle*

For the direct object, *lui* has been preserved as an accented form, but the construction *je le vois, lui*, has replaced the mediaeval *je lui vois*, *le* has remained as the atonic form *je le vois* We see thus how the modern usage was established

(II) *Masculine Plural* (*Origin of* **ils, leur, eux, les**).— The Classical Latin forms were

Nom illi
Gen illorum

[1] It is a law of French phonetics that when the accented vowel in Latin was a short stopped *i* it became in general an *e* Thus the plural *illos* gave the O F *els* But when the word ended with a long *i* as in *illi*, the accented vowel remained an *i* in French (Book I, § 50, note)

Dat	illis
Acc	illos
Abl	illis

In the Popular Latin of Gaul only ĭllī, illōrum, and ĭllōs were preserved

ĭllī became, in Old French, *il* The nominative plural was thus identical in form with the nominative singular In the 14th century, when the declension of the substantives was lost, and it became customary to denote the plural nouns by adding an **s**, the plural *il* became *ils* and was thus distinguished from the singular *il*

The genitive illōrum lost its initial atonic syllable **il** and became **loru**, then **lor**, and later **leur** This genitive, which has preserved its original meaning in the possessive use, *leur maison* (= the house *of them*), acquired the value of a dative as a personal pronoun *il leur parle* (= he speaks *to them*) It thus corresponds to the dative singular *lui* It was originally accented this is why *lor* was changed into *leur* (§§ 51, 3 and 94) But later on, like *lui*, when used as a dative it became atonic, as in *il leur parle* (Cp p 306)

The accented accusative ĭllos first gave *els*, and later on *eus*, *eux*, owing to the transformation of the l into a vowel (§ 107), the atonic accusative became (il)**los**, which gave *les* *Eux* was used to denote the emphatic object, whether direct or prepositional *je les vois, eux* (I see *them*), *c'est a eux que je parle* (it is to *them* that I speak), and, when the nominative plural *il* became atonic, *eux* also replaced *il* as the accented nominative

(iii) *Feminine Singular and Plural* (*Origin of* **elle, la, lei** (O F), **li** (O F), **elles, les**) —The Classical Latin forms were

Nom	Sing	illă	Plur	illae
Gen	,,	illīus	,,	illarum
Dat	,,	illi	,,	illis
Acc	,,	illam	,,	illas
Abl	,,	illā	,,	illis

In Popular Latin the ablative was lost, and the accusative, in addition to its own function, acquired that of the nominative The declension was then reduced to the following forms

Nom and Acc. Sing		illam	Pl	illas
Gen	,,	illīus	,,	illarum
Dat	,,	illi	,,	illis

In the singular, illam, accented, gave *elle* (earlier *ele*), used first as the accented nominative, then also as the atonic nominative. *Elle vient* at first meant '*she* comes', to express the same meaning in Modern French the word *elle* is repeated after the verb, with stress *elle vient, elle* *Elle* was also used to denote the emphatic object whether direct or prepositional *je la vois, elle* (I see *her*), *je parle a elle* (it is to *her* that I speak) When atonic, illam became (il)la(m), i e *la*, the atonic form of the direct object, used, for instance, in *je la vois*

The genitive illius was lost in Northern Gaul

The dative illi was replaced as an accented form by the accented form illae, illęi, which gave *lui*, whilst the original illi, which gave *li*, survived (like the masculine dative) as an atonic form Thus Old French possessed an accented form *lei* and an atonic form *li* for the indirect object *Lei* and *li* were both lost at the end of the Middle Ages They were both replaced, from the 14th century onwards, by the atonic form of the masculine, *lui*, which now became of both genders *je lui parle* may mean *I speak to him* or *to her*

In the plural, illas as an accented form became *elles*, and this was used first for the accented subject case, and later on also for the accented object case and for the indirect object case *elles viennent, elles viennent, elles* (nom accented), *je les vois, elles* (accusative accented), *je vais a elles* (prepositional accusative) As an atonic form it became (il)las, las, and then *les* (identical in form with the

masculine *les* from (ıl)los), which is used in French as the direct object: *je les vois* The indirect object is denoted by the masculine *leur* (from illorum), which, like *lui* in the singular, has become of both genders *je leur parle, à elles.*

(iv) To sum up, the accented subject cases of both genders and numbers of the demonstrative personal pronoun became atonic at the end of the period of Middle French and have since served merely to mark the verbal inflexions (*il, ils, elle, elles*) For the emphatic use of the subject and that of the direct or indirect object the accented forms of the accusative (*lui, eux, elle, elles*) are used The forms for the atonic direct object are, in conformity with their Latin etymology, *le, les, la, les* To represent the singular indirect object, *lui*, the accented masculine singular dative in Old French became atonic, and also replaced its corresponding feminine *lei*, which was lost at the end of the Middle Ages Finally *leur* came to serve as the indirect object for both genders in the plural

We must notice the loss of the syllable il- everywhere when either (i) the whole word containing this syllable, or (ii) this syllable alone, was atonic We see this in the following Latin and French forms (i) (ıl)lum, *le*, (ıl)lam, *la*, (ıl)los, *les*, (ıl)las, *les*, or (ii) (ıl)lui, *lui*, (ıl)lorum, *leur* As similar changes occurred in the other Romance languages, we must therefore conclude that their origin is to be found in Popular Latin

198 The impersonal pronoun il — The pronoun *il*, used before impersonal verbs *il pleut, il fait froid*, or before personal verbs to introduce a subject *il viendra un homme* (*a man will come*), is a logical neuter, but not a grammatical neuter It does not correspond in any way with illud, the neuter of ille, which would have given *el* in French This logical neuter was almost unknown in Old French, in which it was hardly ever used except with the forms of *avoir* and *être*, it only began to come

into real use from the middle of the 12th century, that is from the date when the custom was adopted of expressing personal pronouns before the verb From the time when *il vient, il debarque,* was used, it must have seemed hard to say *pleut, i a gens* (Mod F *il pleut, il y a des gens*) Yet as late as the 16th century the impersonal pronoun was frequently omitted, and the expressions *tant y a*[1], *tant s'en faut*[2], remind us of the old usage.

199 THE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN OR ARTICLE li (O F), lo (O F), le, la, les [masc and fem] — The adjective pronoun is what is called the definite article Latin had no article, whilst Greek had already derived one from one of its demonstratives in the earliest period of its history with which we are acquainted It was only during the Romanic period that Latin in its turn began to follow the same process as Greek It was by the gradual weakening of the signification of the demonstrative ille that a definite article was created As early as the 6th century the atonic forms of ille (see § 197, 1) were used as articles Hence the Old French articles

Masc Sing Nom	(il)li, *li*	Plur	(il)li, *li*
,, Acc	(il)lum, *lo, le*	,,	(il)los, *les*
Fem Sing Nom , Acc	(il)lam, *la*	,,	(il)las, *les*

The nominative was lost at the end of the Middle Ages, and there remained only the accusative forms *lo* (later on *le*), *les*, and *la, les*

Notes —1 In form the article is the atonic demonstrative Thus it is curious to find that the first syllable of the Popular Latin illi became the pronoun il, and the second the article li

2 In sense the article was used to show that the sub-

[1] [*Tant y a = il y a tant = there is so much*, and, hence, *consequently* A French equivalent is *par suite*]

[2] [= *il s en faut de tant = so much is wanting far from it*, and, hence, *by no means*]

stantive which follows it is taken in a determinate sense, and hence the article is itself a determinant This demonstrative sense is still to be seen in Modern French In the second stanza of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* we find—

Al tens Noe et al tens Abraham
Et al David

'In the time of Noah and in *that* of David' (*al* = *à* + *le*, see below) Now, at the present day we still have proper nouns denoting places, such as Villeneuve-**la**-Guyard, which is equivalent to 'Villeneuve, *that* of Guyard' (Book III, § 281, 2 *e*), **la** has here the full signification of the demonstrative **illam**

3 In the singular, the vowel of the article may be elided before a word commencing with a vowel or h mute From the earliest period of the language the elision was made in the case of the feminine singular article *l'amor* for *la amor*, and in the accusative masculine singular *l'ome* for *lo ome* In the 11th century the elision began to be used in the case of the nominative masculine singular, *l' arcevesques* and *l'arcevesques* were first used indiscriminately, and then *l'arcevesques* became the regular form The elision in the case of the form *l'* used as the nominative singular led to elision with *l'* as the nominative plural

4 The article was condensed with certain prepositions preceding it, *de*, *a*, *en*, i e it lost its vowel and combined with the preceding monosyllable The contraction only took place with the masculine singular form *le*, and the masculine and feminine plural *les* The feminine singular *la* never admitted of contraction in this way

De + le = du From the first, *de le* became *del*, which in the 12th century, owing to the transformation of the atonic *el* into a vowel, became *deu*, then *dou*, and, later, *du* (§ 107)

De + les = des. *De les* became *dels*, which as early as

the 10th century was reduced to *des* If the word had kept its l until the 12th century, as in the singular *del*, we should have had the successive forms *dous* and *dus*

A + le = au. *A le* became *al*, which at the end of the 12th century gave the form *au* (§ 106)

A + les = aux *A les* became *als*, which was reduced, in the same way as *dels*, in the 10th century to *as*, the only form existing from the 10th to the 13th century In the 13th century the effect of the extremely frequent termination *-als*, *-aux* (as in *chevals*, *chevaux*), led to the change of *as* into *aux*, which thus came to correspond in form with the singular *au* A like assimilation could not occur in the case of *du* and *des*, because there were no analogous terminations in the language to act on them

En + le = O F eu, ou En + les = es *En le* became in the 10th century *enl* (*enl fou* = Mod F. *dans le feu Sequence de Sainte Eulalie*, line 19), in the 11th century *el*, in the 13th century *eu* and *ou* *Ou* (= *in the*) became obsolete in the 16th century

En les became first *enls* and then passed at once, in the commencement of the 10th century, into the simpler forms *els*, *es* (as *dels* passed into the form *des*).

In the 16th century *es*, like *ou*, became obsolete *Es*[1] has only survived in certain formal expressions *bachelier*, *&c*, *es arts*, *es lettres*, *es sciences* (*bachelor*, &c, of *arts*, *letters*, *sciences*) In general usage *ou* and *es* have been replaced (1) in some cases by *au*, *aux* *au sien* in *en mon nom et au sien* is equivalent to *en le sien*, *mettre aux fers* (*to put in irons*) is equivalent to the O.F *mettre es fers* or *en les fers*, (2) in other cases by *dans le* or *dans les*[2]. See Book III, § 352, and Book IV, § 468

We must notice that, as *ou* was not placed before a

[1] [Often written in Modern French *ès*]

[2] [On *en*, *dans*, *dedans*, &c, see A Darmesteter, *Reliques Scientifiques*, II 177]

feminine singular (*en la circonstance*, not *ou circonstance*) or before a masculine noun commencing with a vowel (*en l'etat, en l'honneur, de quelqu'un*, not *ou etat*, &c), the use of *en* followed by the feminine article, and by the masculine article with the vowel elided, has survived in Modern French.

III Possessive Pronouns

200 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS —The French possessive pronoun shows two important peculiarities as compared with the Latin possessive the remodelling of the 2nd and 3rd persons on the type of the 1st , and the creation of a possessive referring to more than one possessor, for the 3rd person

The French possessives may be either atonic or accented

They are divided into **possessives referring to a single possessor** *un pere aime* **ses** *enfants* , and into **possessives referring to more than one possessor** *les peres aiment* **leurs** *enfants*

201 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS REFERRING TO A SINGLE POSSESSOR —The following were the Latin forms for the three persons

Masc	Nom	Sing	**meus, tuus, suus**[1]	Plur	**mei, tui, sui**	
,,	Acc	,,	**meum, tuum, suum**	,,	**meos, suos**	**tuos,**
Fem	Nom	Sing	**mea, tua, sua**	Plur	**meae, suae**	**tuae,**
,,	Acc	,,	**meam, tuam, suam**	,,	**meas, suas**	**tuas,**

[1] **Suus, sua,** &c , referred in Latin only to the subject, whereas *son, sa,* &c , refer also to the object in French, replacing **ejus,** &c , see Syntax, § 402, II

1 Atonic Forms

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of* **mon, ton, son, mes, tes, ses**) —The declension in Old French, derived from the Latin forms, was as follows

Nom Sing	*mes, tes, ses*		Plur	*mi, ti, si*
,, Acc	*mon, ton, son*		,,	*mes, tes, ses*

In the nominative singular, the atonic Latin forms **m(e)os, t(u)os, s(u)os**), gave *mes, tes, ses*, just as (il)**los** gave *les* (§ 197, ii) In the nominative plural, the atonic form **m(e)i** gave *mi*, and **tui, sui**, were soon remodelled on this type and gave *ti, si* So that the nominative forms became in the singular *mes, tes, ses*, in the plural *mi, ti, si*

The accusatives *mon, ton, son*—*mes, tes, ses*, have survived without any change to the present day, whilst the nominatives *mes, tes, ses*—*mi, ti, si*, were lost with all the other nominative forms at the end of the 14th century, they have left no trace in Modern French save the form *mes* in the word *messire*, a nominative of which the corresponding accusative was *monseigneur*

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of* **ma ta, sa mes, tes, ses**) —We need only consider the accusative forms (§ 147) **meam, tuam, suam**—**meas, tuas, suas**, which as atonic forms became **mam, ma , tam, ta , sam, sa , mas, tas, sas** whence the French forms, both old and modern, *ma, ta, sa* —*mes, tes, ses* (Cf *les* from (il)**las**, § 197, iii)

Thus *mes, tes, ses*, are general forms which were derived independently from the masculine **meos, tuos, suos** (through the forms **mos, tos, sos**), and from the feminine **meas, tuas, suas** (through the forms **mas, tas, sas**)

The **a** of the article *la* was elided, and is still elided, before a feminine word beginning with a vowel *l'âme* In Old French the **a** of the feminine possessive was similarly elided *m'ame, t'ame, s'ame*, were used for *ma âme*, &c From the second half of the 12th century the elided form began to be replaced by *mon mon âme,*

ton âme, son âme This use of *mon, ton, son,* became the rule in the 14th century The origin of this strange substitution is unknown A trace of the Old French usage has come down to us in *m'amie,* corrupted since the 17th century into *ma mie*, and in *mamour,* which was jestingly turned into a barbarous plural in the phrase *faire des mamours*[1]

2 Accented Forms

(1) *Accented masculine forms* (*Origin of* **mien, tien, sien, miens, tiens, siens**)—In Old French there existed a number of forms corresponding to the accented possessive forms in Latin We give a table of the forms in use in the 11th century

1st pers	Nom	Sing	*miens*	Plur	*mien*
,,	Acc	,,	*mien*	,,	*miens*
2nd pers	Nom	,,	*tiens*	,,	*tuen*
,,	Acc	,,	*tuen*	,,	*tiens*
3rd pers	Nom	,,	*siens*	,,	*suen*
,,	Acc	,,	*suen*	,,	*siens*

Since the 11th century, as we shall see, the language has tended to reduce these various forms in number, and to assimilate them In each person the form of the accusative singular has served as a type for the rest The nominatives singular and also the nominatives and accusatives plural[2] were formed on the type of *mien, tuen, suen,* which were regularly derived from **mĕum, tŭum, sŭum** The language then went further in the way of simplification, and *tuen, suen,* were changed into *tien, sien,* on the type of *mien* It is in this way that since the loss of the declension, i e of distinct forms for the nominative, the French accented masculine possessive pronouns have come to be *mien, tien, sien—miens, tiens, siens*

[1] = to make demonstrations of affection towards any one

[2] We find *meos* in the *Oaths of Strasburg,* and *suos* in the *Saint-Leger,* which correspond with the Latin nominatives singular **meus** and **suus**

(11) *Accented feminine forms* (*Origin of* **mienne, tienne, sienne**).—In Old French there were also a number of feminine forms corresponding phonetically to the Latin forms **mĕam** (Popular Latin **mĭam**) **tŭam, sŭam**

Sing. *meie*	Plur *meies*
,, *teue*	,, *teues*
,, *seue*	,, *seues*

Meie, meies, became *moie, moies*, just as *mei, tei, sei*, became *moi, toi, soi* (§ 93) Then *teue, seue, teues, seues*, were replaced by *toie, soie, toies, soies*, modelled on the forms *moie, moies* Finally, as early as the 14th century *moie, toie, soie—moies, toies, soies*, gave way before new forms, which are still those of Modern French, *mienne, tienne, sienne—miennes, tiennes, siennes*, and which were modelled on the masculine singular *mien*

202. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS REFERRING TO MORE THAN ONE POSSESSOR —In Classical Latin the possessives of this kind were **noster, vester, suus** In Popular Latin **vester** was changed into **voster**[1] Moreover, in the Popular Latin of Gaul and Italy **suus** was lost In Classical Latin the same form **suus** was used in the 3rd person, both for the possessive referring to a single, and for the possessive referring to more than one possessor *Pater amat* **suos** *liberos* (the father loves *his* children), and *Patres amant* **suos** *liberos* (the fathers love *their* children) In both Spanish and Portuguese this single form has survived In Italian and French, in which the two kinds of possessives are distinguished in the 1st and 2nd persons, a corresponding distinction has been made in the 3rd person, by taking from Latin the genitive of the demonstrative, (**i**)**loru**(**m**), for that referring to more than one possessor, and forming from it a new possessive, the Italian *loro*, the French *leur* (see § 197, 11) *Leur* serves for both genders in its possessive as well as in its dative use

[1] *Voster* also came to be used in Classical Latin

1 Atonic Forms

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of* **notre, votre, nos, vos**) —The following table shows the Latin forms and their derivatives in Old French

Nom Sing	**noster,** *nostres*	Plur	**nostri,** *no*
Acc ,,	**nostrum,** *nostre*	,,	**nostros,** *noz, nos*

The corresponding forms for **voster,** *vostre,* were similar

The singular forms *nostres, nostre,* present no difficulties In the plural, the accusative **nostros** changed into an abbreviated form differing from that of the singular, and was reduced to *nostrs, nosts, noz, nos* , and the nominative plural *no* was remodelled on the type of the accusative Modern French has only preserved the forms of the accusative, *nostre, nos , vostre, vos* , with a slight modification of *nostre* and *vostre* The **s** dropped before the **t** and gave *notre, votre* , and, the **o** not being accented, it became short *nŏtre, vŏtre* (§ 102)

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of* **notre, votre, nos, vos**) —The singular forms **nostram, vostram,** became similarly *nostre, vostre, notre, votre,* with a short **o**

The plurals **nostras, vostras,** being atonic, also gave *noz, voz,* and finally *nos, vos,* by a series of reductions analogous to those of the masculine

(iii) *Atonic forms of both genders* (*Origin of* **leur, leurs**) —On these forms, now exclusively atonic, see under the section on accented forms immediately below

2 Accented Forms

Accented masculine and feminine forms (*Origin of* **le nôtre, le vôtre, leur, mien, tien, sien,** &c) —We may pass over the lost nominative forms We find that the accusatives **nostrum, vostrum, nostram, vostram, nostros, vostros , nostras, vostras,** developed according to rule into *nostre, vostre, nostres, vostres,* which, with the loss of the final **s** and the lengthening of the accented **o**, became *notre,*

vôtre, nôtres, vôtres (§ 102), pronounced *nôtre, vôtre.* Thus we have *Voici vôtre livre Ce livre est le vôtre*

The use of the pronoun **suus, sua,** as a possessive referring to more than one possessor being lost, this was replaced for *both* genders by the masculine genitive **illōrum,** which signified *of those, of them* In conformity with its etymology it was originally not declined *leur amis Leur* was accented, and kept its significance as the genitive of a demonstrative pronoun, and consequently its emphasis, down to the time of Malherbe and even the early days of Racine, in whom we find *la leur chose,* which is equivalent to the Modern French *la chose à eux* On the other hand we should have expected to find an atonic, adjectival, form *lour,* from the atonic illorum, but this seems never to have appeared, owing to the influence of *leur,* which as early as the 14th century came to be used not only as an emphatic but also as an atonic form Since the 17th century *leur* has come to be an exclusively atonic form For the emphatic possessive, referring to more than one possessor, either *le leur,* or else the periphrase *à eux,* is used *ce livre est le leur,* or, *ce livre est à eux* In the 14th century *leur* received the inflexion of number *leur ami, leurs amis* But the influence of analogy has not gone so far as to give *leur* the inflexion of gender we say *leurs choses* and not *leures choses*

Thus the possessives, whether referring to a single or to more than one possessor, were in Old French either atonic or accented As atonics they have always had the function of adjectives and have remained adjectives

Masc Sing	*mon, ton, son*	Plur	*mes, tes, ses*
Fem ,,	*ma, ta, sa*	,,	*mes, tes, ses*
Masc and Fem	*notre, votre, leur*	,,	*nos, vos, leurs*

They are what modern French grammarians call the *possessive adjectives*

As accented pronouns they have become .

Masc Sing	*mien, tien, sien*	*nôtre, vôtre, leur*
Masc Plur	*miens, tiens, siens*	*nôtres, vôtres, leurs*
Fem Sing	*mienne, tienne, sienne*	*nôtre, vôtre, leur*
Fem Plur	*miennes, tiennes, siennes*	*nôtres, vôtres, leurs*

These accented forms were originally either adjectives or substantives They are in Modern French substantives only, except in certain customary expressions, which have become somewhat archaic *un mien ami, je suis tout vôtre*[1] Save in the case of these archaisms they are always construed with the article *le mien, le tien, le sien,* &c , *le nôtre, le vôtre,* &c

They form what modern French grammarians call the *possessive pronouns*

III Demonstrative Pronouns

203 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS —We have seen that the name **demonstrative pronoun** is not a proper term (§ 123, II) All pronouns, indeed, are demonstratives Those which we are about to study are especially used to denote the place of the persons or things of which we speak, either in space or time If we could re name the personal pronouns and possessive pronouns *personal demonstratives* and *possessive demonstratives,* we should have to call this third kind of pronouns the *locative and temporal demonstratives*

204 REMAINS OF THE LATIN DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS —Latin possessed the following demonstratives **hic, ille, iste, is, idem, ipse** The two last-mentioned had a particular signification the former signified *the same* (*person* or *thing*), in Modern French *le même*, the second *he himself,* or *self,* in Modern French *lui-même, même*

Is and **idem** were lost and have left no traces in French **Ipse** survived for some time in Old French under the form

[1] This expression is rarely used except in signing a letter

of *eps, es*[1], but this soon gave way to *medesme*, later on *meesme*, now *même*, which, as we have already seen (§ 142), is derived from the Latin *metipsimum*, in which we find **ipse** included

Hic, or rather its neuter **hoc**, is preserved in the Old French *o*, which is found in the compounds—(i) *oui*, formerly *oil* (from *o* = **hoc** + *il*, see p 383), and (ii) *avec*, formerly *avuec*, *avoc* (= *with this*, *near*, from *av* = **apud** + **hoc**)

Iste appears in the *Oaths of Strasburg* in the form *ist* (*D'ist di*, *from this day*) and was preserved in this form and also in that of *es* until the end of the 12th century[2]

Ille has been preserved as a personal pronoun of the third person (§ 197) and as an article (§ 199) Its genitive plural **illorum** has been preserved in *leur* (§§ 197, ii and 202) as the indirect object case of the plural personal pronoun of the 3rd person, and as a possessive pronoun

205 CREATION OF NEW DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN GALLO-ROMANIC —A new series of demonstrative pronouns was created in Gallo Romanic by combining **iste**, **ille**, and **hoc** with the adverb **ecce** (*behold*, *here is*, *there is*), forming the words **ecciste**, **eccille**, and **ecchoc** **Ecce** as an isolated word became the Old French adverb *eis*, *es*[3] In combination with the demonstratives it became *ię*- The resulting forms were *icist*, *icil*, *icho* The initial *i* of these compound demonstratives was not, however, invariably used in Old French In the oldest texts we already notice their absence, and we may say that the abridged forms *cist*,

[1] *Paschas furent in epse cel di*
(*Saint Leger* ed G Paris stanza 14)
[Mod F *Paques furent en ce jour la meme*]
The phrase *enes le pas* (*at once*, *quickly*) was in constant use in the Middle Ages

[2] We still find in Benoit de Sainte More, about 1160, 'la garison *d'iste cite*' (*Roman de Troie*, ed Joly, l 12835)

[3] This adverb was in constant use especially in the phrase *es vos*, in which the pronoun is an expletive *es les vos adobes* (*les vous voila adoubes*),

cil, ço, were far more used than the completer forms *icist, icil, içço* We still find in the 17th century traces of this i in the forms *icelui, icelle, iceux, icelles*, now only used in legal terminology, which is always archaic

206 Ecce hoc (*Origin of* O F **ço**, Mod F **ce**) —**Ecce hoc** became *içço* and *ço*, *ço*, in its turn, became *ce*, passing through the form *çou* (cf *jo, jou, je*)

We must not confound the neuter pronoun *ce*, coming from **ecce hoc**, with the masculine pronoun *ce*, of which we shall investigate the origin in the following paragraph, and which is a weakened form of *icest, cest* *Ce livre* comes from *cest livre* and represents the Latin **ecce istum** *librum*, *ce que je dis* represents the Latin **ecce hoc** *quod dico*

Ecce hac (*Origin of* **çà**) —**Ecce hac** similarly gave *ça* (adv)

Now, in order to emphasize the demonstrative idea, from the 14th century the adverbs *ici* and *la* were placed after *ce*, whence the forms *cecí, cela* In popular pronunciation *cela* was reduced in the 17th century to *ça* *ça ira* We must not confound this word *ça*, which is a contraction of *cela*, with the adverb *ça* just quoted, which is written with a grave accent precisely in order to distinguish it from the former word *or ça, dis moi* (*now, tell me*), represents the Latin **ecce hac dic mihi**

207 Declension of ecce iste (O F **cist**, *Origin of* **cet, ce, cette**) —The declension of this pronoun in Old French was as follows

Masculine

			Accented Form	Atonic Form
Sing	Nom	**ecce iste**	(*i*)*cist*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecce istui**	(*i*)*cestui*	(*i*)*cesti*
	Direct Object case	**ecce istum**	(*i*)*cest*	
Plur	Nom	**ecce isti**	(*i*)*cist*	
	Direct Object case	**ecce istos**	(*i*)*cez*	

Feminine.

			Accented Form	Atonic Form.
Sing	Nom.	**ecceistam**	(*i*)*ceste*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecceistei**	(*i*)*cestei*	(*i*)*cesti*
	Direct Object case	**ecceistam**	(*i*)*ceste*	
Plur	Nom	**ecceistas**	(*i*)*cestes*	(*i*)*cez*
	Direct Object case	**ecceistas**	(*i*)*cestes*	(*i*)*cez*

Notes.—1 In the 14th century the masculine nominatives singular and plural, *cist*, and the accented dative feminine *cestei*, disappeared In the 15th century the atonic datives masculine and feminine, both of which had the form *cesti*, also dropped out of use There remained, then, only the forms *cestui*, *cist*, *cez* (later *ces*), in the masculine, and *ceste*, *cestes*, *cez*, in the feminine *Cestui* was used indifferently as dative and accusative, and survived until the beginning of the 17th century, Vaugelas banished it finally from the language, and, if it still appears in La Fontaine, La Bruyere, and even in Voltaire, it is as an archaism[1] The feminine plural *cestes* did not outlive the 16th century

2 In *cest*, *cestui*, *ceste*, *cestes*, the **s** before the **t** dropped from pronunciation in the Middle Ages, and was dropped in spelling in the 16th century When the **t** was followed by a vowel, it was doubled the forms *ceste*, *cestui*, *ceste*, became *cette*, *cettui*, *cette*

3 We say in French *ce pere*, but *cet astre*, *cet homme* This weakening of *cest* into *ce* before a word beginning with a consonant or an **h** aspirate dates from the 12th century The **t**, having ceased to be pronounced, was probably omitted in spelling owing to the influence of the neuter *ce* from **eccehoc** (§ 206), *ce signifie* (Mod F. *cela*

[1] *Cestui* or rather its atonic form *cesti*, has been preserved in the popular language in the compound *sti-la* (= *celui la*) [It survives (with other relics of Norman French) in English legal terminology, in the expression '*a cestui que* trust']

signifie), &c, probably led to the replacement of the forms *ce(s)t pere, ce(s)t maître*, by *ce pere, ce maître*

208 Eccfille (O F. **cil**, *Origin of* **celui, ceux, celle, celles**) —The declension of *icil* or *cil* in Old French was identical with that of the personal pronoun *il*, except that *icil* possessed double forms, accented and atonic, for the indirect object, while, on the other hand, it had no atonic forms for the direct object corresponding to the masculines singular and plural *lo, le*, and the feminines singular and plural *la, les*, nor any form for the indirect object in the plural, masculine or feminine, corresponding to *lor* (see pp 295, 297)

Masculine

			Accented Form	Atonic Form
Sing	Nom	**eccei̯lli**	*(i)cil*	
	Indirect Object case	**eccei̯llui̯**	*(i)celui*	*(i)celi*
	Direct Object case	**eccei̯llui̯**	*(i)celui*, *(i)cel*	
Plur	Nom	**eccei̯lli**	*(i)cil*	
	Direct Object case	**eccei̯llos**	*(i)cels*	

Feminine

			Accented Form	Atonic Form
Sing	Nom.	**eccei̯llam**	*(i)cele*	
	Indirect Object case	**eccei̯llei̯**	*(i)celei*	*(i)celi*
	Direct Object case	**eccei̯llam**	*(i)cele*	
Plur	Nom	**eccei̯llas**	*(i)celles*	
	Direct Object case	**eccei̯llas**	*(i)celles*	

208 a Notes on §§ 207 and 208.—1 In the 14th century *cil* lost its accented dative feminine *celei*, and in the 15th century its atonic dative masculine *celi* The nominative plural masculine *cil* also dropped in the 14th century, but the nominative singular masculine *cil* survived until the beginning of the 17th century, and La Bruyere laments its loss as that of the prettiest word in the French language In Middle French, and in that of the 16th century, *cil* was

used for the accusative as well as the nominative, and even in the 16th century it was more used than *cel*, which was lost soon after Thus it was only in the 17th century that the family of words derived from **eccelle** was finally constituted in its modern form *celui, ceux* (see 2, *infra*), for the masculine, and *celle, celles*, for the feminine

2 The l of *cels*, preceding a consonant, was changed in the 12th century into u *cels* became *ceus*, and then *ceux* (§ 107)

3 *Cil* and *cist* in Old French were used as both substantive and adjective-pronouns **Cil** *oblïet les choses celestiennes et* **cist celes** *choses ke sunt sor tere* [Mod F *Celui la oublie les choses celestes et celui ci les choses qui sont sur terre*] (*Sermons de Saint Bernard*, ed Foerster, 55, 19) *La ou* **cist** *furent* [Mod F *La ou ceux ci furent*] (Rol, line 111) **Cist** *paien* [Mod F *Ces paiens*] (id, line 1166) But from a very early period the language showed a tendency not to use certain cases of *cist* substantively, and in the 16th century the reduction of *cest, ce, ces*, to atonic forms, i e to adjective-pronouns, was an accomplished fact *Cestui* (or *celtui*) and *cette* alone continued to be used as substantive-pronouns *cettuy ci* [Mod F *celui ci*] *nous souhaitoit du mal* (Montaigne, i, 50), *cettes ci* [Mod F *celles-ci*] (id, 19) All the forms of *cil*, on the contrary, continued to be used both as adjective- and as substantive-pronouns *cil livre, celui temps* [Mod F *ce livre, ce temps*] (Rabelais, ii, 1), *celle fin* (Montaigne, iii, 13) The separation between the two groups only became definitive in the 17th century, *cettui* was dropped, and *cette* became henceforth an adjective-pronoun, like *cet, ce, ces* The forms corresponding to *cil*, on the contrary, reduced to *celui, ceux, celle*, and *celles*, were henceforth only used as substantive-pronouns

4 Let us consider the modern forms *celui ci, celui la, celle-ci, celle la, ceux-ci, ceux-la*, the equivalents of the English *this, that, these*, and *those* In Old French the uses of *cist* and of *cil* were clearly distinguished The

cases of *cist* denoted objects that were near, those of *cil*, objects that were far **Cestui** *cruciet avarice*, **celui** *enflammet luxure* (Mod F *L'avarice tourmente celui-ci, la luxure brûle celui-là*, *Quatre Livres des Rois*, p 451). The etymological signification of each of these two groups in course of time becoming weaker, the language had recourse to a new process to distinguish the place of objects referred to the adverb *ici* was conjoined to *cist*, and the adverb *la* to *cil*, e g **cest** *livre* **ici**, **cestui** *livre* **ici**, **celle** *maison* **là**, which led to the later forms *cette-ci*, *cestui ci*, *celle-là*, *celui-la* But a new confusion of sense soon arose, for the forms *cette-la*, *cestui-la*, and *celle ci*, *celui-ci*[1], came also to be used. In Montaigne, in some instances, we find that the demonstratives have preserved their original signification, as in **Celuy là** *feroit bien, et* **cettuy ci** *vertueusement* [Mod F *Celui-la ferait bien et celui-ci vertueusement*] (II, 12), but in others this signification has been lost *J'ai mes autres parties viles, mais en* **cette là** [Mod F *celle ta*] *je pense estre singulier* (I, 9) *Cette* being reduced to an adjective-pronoun, and *cestui* being lost, the only substantive pronouns remaining to denote proximity or distance were the forms derived from *cil* *celui-ci*, *celui la*, *ceux-ci*, *ceux-la*, *celle-ci*, *celle-la*, *celles-ci*, *celles-la* Similarly, the cases of *cist*, now exclusively adjective-pronouns, are made to denote proximity or distance by means of the addition of the suffixes *-ci* or *la* to the substantives qualified *ce livre ci*[2] (*this book*), *cette femme-la* (*that woman*)

IV Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

209 RELATIVE PRONOUN (*Origin of* **qui** *and* **que**) — The declension of the relative pronoun in Classical Latin

[1] [The adverbial suffixes *-ci*, *-la*, introduced at first only to emphasize the primitive distinction of place between the two demonstratives, thus came to take this whole function on themselves]

[2] In the popular French *ce livre ci* (used for *ce livre ci*) there seems to be some consciousness of the origin of the phrase

was reduced in the Popular Latin of Gaul to the three following cases, which were indeclinable in gender and number

Nom accented, **qui**
Indirect Object case, accented, **cui.**
Direct Object case, accented, **cui**
Direct Object case, atonic, **quem.**

The nominative **qui** has become the French *qui* From a very early period it was also used as an atonic form, and then weakened into *que* *Fous est* **que** *dit quanque il pense* [Mod F *Fou est qui dit tout ce qu'il pense*] (*Roman de Renart*, ed Martin, I, p 287), *Chil* **que** *dedens estoient* [Mod F. *Ceux qui etaient dedans*] (Froissart, IV, 163, 32) This weakened form occurs in isolated instances in the 16th century

The form for the accented indirect object case and the direct object case, **cui**, remained as *cui* in Old French We have **cui** *Dieu absolve* (Mod F *que Dieu absolve*), **cui** *cousin* and **cui** *fille* (Mod F *le cousin de qui, la fille de qui*) It was only in the 15th century that the word *cui* was finally replaced by *qui* and became henceforth identical in form with the nominative *qui* It is this word *qui*, derived from the **object case**, which is used after prepositions *a qui, pour qui*, or as the direct object of verbs *prenez* **qui** *vous voudrez* In the last instance it has no antecedent, and is a substantive pronoun

The atonic direct object case **quem** has become the French *que*, which is always used with an antecedent, and, consequently, as an adjective pronoun

210 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN (*Origin of* **qui**).—The forms of the interrogative pronoun in Old French are the same as those of the relative pronoun that is, *qui* for the nominative, *cui* and *que* for the direct and indirect objects As in the case of the relative, *cui* was changed into *qui*, on the other hand, the accusative *que* was lost, so that

French now possesses only one form *qui* for the nominative, the direct object case, and the indirect object case **qui** *est venu?* **qui** *demandez vous?* *à* **qui** *desirez vous parler?* (See also Syntax, § 416)

211 THE NEUTER RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS **quoi, que** — Latin possessed a neuter **quod** as a relative pronoun, and a neuter **quid** as an interrogative pronoun **Quod** did not pass into French, **quid** gave the accented neuter *queid, quei, quoi*, and the atonic neuter *que*, which are used both for the relative and interrogative *quoi qu'il arrive, il ne sait a quoi s'en tenir, que voulez-vous?*

212 THE PRONOUNS **quel** AND **lequel** — The Latin **qualis**, in the sense 'of what kind, or nature,' has become the French *quel* It has preserved its original signification as an indefinite pronoun: *de quelle nature qu'il soit* (*of whatever nature it may be*) As an interrogative it became synonymous with *qui* from the earliest period of the language *quels d'els tuz?* (Mod F *lequel d'entre eux tous* or *qui d'entr'eux tous?*) As an interrogative substantive-pronoun, it is in Modern French preceded by the article *le*, as an interrogative adjective-pronoun it keeps its original form *quel lequel avez vous vu?* (*which* [*of them*] *did you see?*), *quel homme avez-vous vu?* (*which man did you see?*) But in the 16th century *quel* was still used indifferently with *lequel* as a substantive-pronoun *quelle des deux aurai je?* (Rotrou, *Venceslas*, II, 2, 207).

The use of *lequel* as an interrogative led in the 13th century to its being used as a relative It was especially in the 15th and 16th centuries that its use spread, to the detriment of the other relative pronouns Malherbe and Vaugelas endeavoured to proscribe the use of *lequel* as a relative It has overcome their opposition, but the relative use of *lequel* is more restricted now than it was in Middle French.

CHAPTER III

ON THE VERB

SECTION I —*Conjugation in general.*

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II MOODS AND TENSES —215 Creation of the conditional in Gallo Romanic —216 Loss of certain Latin tenses —217 New formation of past tenses —218 New formation of the future and conditional
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THE **Verb** is the part of speech which was most profoundly modified in Gallo-Romanic So much of the Latin conjugation has nevertheless been preserved as to make the origin of the Modern French conjugation clearly evident

We shall in the first section of this chapter study the conjugation in general, in the second section we shall study the different kinds of conjugations

We must first of all consider the **voices, moods, tenses,** and **persons** of verbs

I Voices

213 VOICES IN LATIN —Latin had two voices, the *active* and the *passive* Moreover, an intermediate class of verbs existed which were passive in termination and active in meaning, and which were called *deponents*

213 a The Latin deponents in use in Popular Latin disappeared as deponents without leaving any traces (except in two participles), they became active verbs Thus **admirari** became **admirare**, O F *amirer*, **sequi** became **sequere**, *suivre*, **mori** became **morire**, *mourir*, **nasci** became

nascere, *naitre* The participles *mort* and *ne* (**mortuus, natus**) are almost the only representatives of the Latin deponent participles

213 b In the conjugation of the passive verbs, two modes of formation were used (1) The following tenses were formed directly from the radical in the indicative mood, the present, the imperfect, and future, in the imperative, the present, in the subjunctive, the present and imperfect, in the infinitive, the present, and, lastly, the participles past and future (2) All the other tenses were formed by a combination of the past participle with the tenses of the verb esse (*to be*)

First Mode of Formation

	Present	Imperfect	Past	Future
1 sing Ind	**cantor**	**cantabar**	—	**cantabor**
2 sing Imper	**cantare**	—	—	—
1 sing Subj	**canter**	**cantarer**	—	—
Infinitive	**cantari**	—	—	—
Participles	—	—	**cantatus**	**cantandus**[1]

Second Mode of Formation

		Perfect	Pluperfect	Future anterior
1 sing Ind	**cantatus**	{ **sum** / **fui**	{ **eram** / **fueram**	**cantatus** { **ero** / **fuero**
2 sing Imper	**cantatus**	**esto**	—	—
1 sing Subj	**cantatus**	{ **sim** / **fuerim**	{ **essem** / **fuissem**	— / —
Infinitives	**cantatum**	{ **esse** / **fuisse**		

[1] [Generally called the *gerundive* by English writers]

214 VOICES IN FRENCH.—Now, in Popular Latin the whole of the tenses depending on the first mode of formation were lost, and the language had to create new passive tenses by compounding the past participle with the verb *être*: *je suis chanté*, *j'étais chanté*, &c. [Cf. the English passive.]

We shall see in the Syntax (§ 433) the consequences of this new formation, which, being singularly imperfect, renders the Romance languages incapable of expressing the passive idea in many cases. In reality, there is no French *passive*. French possesses but one voice, the *active*, which we must now consider in detail.

II. Moods and Tenses.

215 CREATION OF THE CONDITIONAL IN GALLO-ROMANIC.—Gallo-Romanic preserved the Latin moods: the *indicative*, *imperative*, *subjunctive*, *infinitive*, and *participle*. In addition, it created a new mood, the *conditional*.

216 LOSS OF CERTAIN LATIN TENSES.—Of the Latin tenses the following have been preserved in French: (1) in the indicative, the *present* (**canto**, *je chante*), the *imperfect* (**cantabam**, *je chantais*), the *perfect* (**cantavi**, *je chantai*), the last losing the senses corresponding to the French perfect (*I have sung*) and 2nd pluperfect (*I had sung*), which it possessed in Latin conjointly with that of the preterite (*I sang*); (2) in the imperative, the *present*, the only tense (**canta**, *chante*); (3) in the subjunctive, the *present* (**cantem**, *que je chante*), and the *pluperfect*, with the meaning of the *imperfect* (**cantassem**, *que je chantasse*); (4) in the infinitive, the *present* (**cantare**, *chanter*). Besides the above, the following forms were preserved: the *active participle present* (**cantantem**, *chantant*), the *gerund* (**cantando**, abl. case, *(en) chantant*), the *perfect participle passive* (**cantatus**, *chanté*).

The following tenses were lost and left no substitute: the *future present* and *future perfect* of the *infinitive* (**canta-**

turum esse and **fuisse**), the *future participle* (**cantaturus**), the *supine* (**cantatum**)

The following tenses were replaced by other forms the *imperfect* of the *subjunctive* (**cantarem**), of which the function was fulfilled by the pluperfect of the same mood (**cantassem**, [*que*] *je chantasse*), the *future indicative* (**cantabo**) replaced by a periphrase of the infinitive with the auxiliary *avoir* (**cantare–habeo**, *je chanterai*), a series of *past* tenses, viz the *pluperfect* and *future perfect* of the *indicative*, the *perfect* and *pluperfect* of the *subjunctive*, the *perfect* of the *infinitive*, which have been replaced by periphrases formed by the combination of the past participle with simple tenses of the auxiliary *avoir*, or in some cases with those of the auxiliary *être*

These combinations even led to the addition of some new tenses the *perfect* (*j'ai chanté*) and the *2nd pluperfect* (*j'eus chanté*)

Finally two new tenses were created by means of a periphrasis of the auxiliary with (1) the infinitive, and with (2) the participle the *present conditional* (*je chanterais*, I should sing) and the *past conditional* or future past in the past (*j'aurais chanté*, I should have sung) These two tenses of the indicative mood are also tenses of a new mood, the conditional

We thus find that the Latin verb suffered important losses, and that, to compensate for them, a still more important creation of new forms took place in Gallo-Romanic and French. As we see, these new forms were made in two ways (1) past tenses were formed in Gallo Romanic by combining the *past participle* with the auxiliaries, (2) a future and a conditional were formed by combining the *infinitive* with the auxiliary We have now to examine these two kinds of combination

217 NEW FORMATION OF PAST TENSES.—By the combination of the past participle with the auxiliary **habere**, and

in certain intransitive verbs with the auxiliary **esse**, a new system of compound tenses was introduced into Gallo-Romanic, which exactly corresponded with the *simple* tenses in Latin

In Latin the verb **habere** was already used freely with the perfect participle **habeo scriptam epistolam**, = *I have a letter written*, or, in Modern French, *j'ai (la) écrite une lettre* In Romanic this construction was developed and extended even to intransitive verbs, so that in the active conjugation in Romance languages there exists a double series of tenses, the *simple* and the *compound*

Simple Tenses

Indicative Mood

Present	*je chante* (**canto**)
Imperfect	*je chantais* (**cantabam**)
Preterite	*je chantai* (**cantavi**)
Future	*je chanterai* (**cantabo**)

Conditional Mood

Present	*je chanterais* (new tense)

Subjunctive Mood

Present	*que je chante* (**cantem**)
Imperfect	*que je chantasse* (**cantassem**)

Imperative Mood

Present	*chante* (**canta**)

Infinitive Mood

Present	*chanter* (**cantare**)

Participles

Present	*chantant* (**cantantem, cantando**)

Compound Tenses

Indicative Mood

Perfect	*j'ai chanté* (new tense)
1st Pluperfect	*j'avais chanté* (**cantaveram**)
2nd Pluperfect	*j'eus chanté* (new tense)
Future perfect	*j'aurai chanté* (**cantavero**)

CONDITIONAL MOOD

Past . . . . *j'aurais chanté* (new tense)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

Perfect . . . . *que j'aie chanté* (**cantaverim**)

Pluperfect . *que j'eusse chanté* (**cantavissem**)

IMPERATIVE MOOD

Perfect . . . *aie chanté* (new tense)

INFINITIVE MOOD

Perfect . . *avoir chanté* (**cantavisse**)

PARTICIPLES

Perfect . . *ayant chanté* (new tense)

Thus, by means of this large series of compound tenses, French acquired the power of expressing many important shades of meaning unattainable in the mother language (See also the Syntax of the Verb, Book IV)

218 NEW FORMATION OF THE FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL —The terminations of the Latin future were different in the different conjugations [1st conjugation, **canta-bo**, 2nd, **debe-bo**, 3rd, **leg-am**, 4th, **audi-am**] That was a first complexity In addition, the 1 sing of the future of the 3rd and 4th conjugations was identical in form with the 1 sing of the present subjunctive of the same conjugations Lastly, the weakening of certain sounds in pronunciation led to fresh confusion Thus the 3 sing future **cantabit** came to be pronounced **cantavit**, like the corresponding person of the perfect Hence the popular language was forced to use periphrases, which led to the loss of the Latin future and became the origin of a new future

In Roumanian the verb *will* was used with the infinitive [as in English] the future *eu voiŭ face* corresponds word for word to the French *je veux faire*[1] In the Roumansch

[1] In the eastern and southern provinces of France the Romanic future is often replaced in popular usage, by the combination of *vouloir* with the

districts (see Book I, p 7) the auxiliaries *to come* and *to go* are used, corresponding word for word to the French *je viens faire, je vais faire* In the other Romance tongues a combination of *habere* with the infinitive was adopted, e g *facere habeo* = *I have to do*, which has become the Modern French future [*je*] *ferai* This last form is the one which concerns us It implied originally two ideas that of *obligation* and that of the *future* The former of these two ideas was gradually lost, so that the periphrase came to express the idea of the future solely, and thus became precisely synonymous with the Latin future

In the future of certain dialects of Sardinia the form derived from *habere* has remained distinct, and may precede the infinitive Although the fusion of the auxiliary with the infinitive is elsewhere complete, in Old Spanish and in Modern Portuguese it is still permissible in certain cases to interpolate a pronoun between the infinitive and the termination representing the present of the Latin *habere* In the oldest Provençal there are also some examples of the separation of these two constituents of the future In French from the time of the *Oaths of Strasburg* (842 A D) the auxiliary and infinitive have been inseparable *si salvarai eo* (Mod F *ainsi sauverai je*), *avrai* (*aurai*), *prindrai* (*prendrai*)

A proof of this origin of the future is the complete agreement between the conjugation of the verbs derived in Romance languages from the Latin *habere* and the inflexions of the future in those languages Thus in Italian we have

infinitive the physician declares that the patient *vent non ou demain*, where a Parisian would say *mourra demain*

[The use of the English *will* is, of course, precisely similar, the difference between the auxiliary and emphatic use of *will* being rendered by difference in the place of the stress *he will go out*, *he* WILL *go out*]

[In Old Provençal the fusion of the two elements of the future is still so incomplete that a direct object may be inserted between the infinitive and the auxiliary, thus the phrase *dir vos ai* is equivalent to the Modern French *je vous dirai*]

ho (*I have*) and *canter ò* (*I will sing*), in Spanish *he* and *cantar-e*, in French and Provençal *ai* and *chanter-ai*, *cantar ai* In certain Italian dialects we find for 'I have' *aggio*, and for 'I will sing' *canter-aggio*

The French *conditional* is formed from the infinitive and imperfect indicative of the verb *avoir* Take the sentence *Je crois qu'il partira demain* Etymologically it is equivalent to *Je crois qu'il a a partir demain, I think that he has to go to-morrow* Take now the sentence *Je croyais qu'il partirait hier* It is evidently equivalent to *Je croyais qu'il avait a partir hier, I thought that he had to go yesterday* *Partirait* denotes an action that is future relatively to another, both actions being, however, past *Partirait* is then, in its first sense, a future in the past The *simple* future is expressed by the combination of the present of *avoir* with the infinitive, the future *in the past* by a similar combination of the imperfect of *avoir* with the infinitive, the infinitive expressing the idea of the future, the imperfect expressing that of the past

Besides this sense, the tense in question expresses also the idea of a condition, the *conditional* idea. In *il partirait s'il le pouvait* (*he would go if he could*), *partirait* denotes a future action depending on a condition This new idea no longer corresponds to that sense of the imperfect *avait* which we have just analysed, the imperfect here has a signification other than that which is habitually expressed by this tense Latin had no *conditional* mood It expressed the conditional idea either by the subjunctive or the indicative It is a conditional that we have here in reality in the form of *avait* If this second sense of *il partirait* had been developed by a process parallel to that which produced its first sense (and also the future), it would have come not from a form meaning 'he had to go,' but from a form meaning 'he would have to go[1]'

Thus were formed these two tenses which were originally

[1] See Syntax, § 452 a

compound and have now become simple, the future and conditional, they now possess corresponding compound tenses: *future perfect*, I shall have sung (*j'aurai chanté*), *conditional past*, I should or would have sung (*j'aurais chanté*).

We must observe that in the combination of the infinitive with the present or imperfect of the auxiliary *avoir* the syllable **-av-** (Latin **-hab-**) was lost when it was not accented *partirons*, *partirez*, stand for *partiravons*, *partiravez*, *partirais* stands for *partiravais*, &c.[1] This loss is not due to any phonetic action other than a need for simplification the forms *partiravons*, *partiravez*, were too heavy and too long to persist[2].

III Persons

The three Latin persons of the singular and plural have been preserved in French But the personal inflexion which forms the termination has been more or less modified under phonetic action or the influence of analogy, and the radical also, in certain determined cases, underwent changes which differed according to the position of the *tempus forte*

219 FIRST PERSON SINGULAR —1 Except in the first conjugation (*je chante*, *je chantai*, *chanté*), and in the form *ai* from *avoir*, the first persons of the present and the preterite (and also the second person of the imperative) now end with an **s** *je dors*, *je pars*, *je rends*, *je dormis*, *je partis*, *vois*, *prends*, *bois*. This **s** originally existed only in verbs of which the corresponding first person in Latin ended with **-sco**, **-ceo**, or **-cio** **cognosco**, *conois* (Mod F *connais*, from *connaître*), **crescо**, *creis* (Mod F *crois*, from

[1] The contraction is especially curious in the future and conditional of the verb *avoir* *aurons*, *aurez* are the contractions from *auravons*, *auravez*, i e for *habei habemus*, *haber-habetis* *Aurais* is a contraction from *auravais*, i e *haber habebam*, &c

[2] The examination in detail of the verbal forms that have resulted from this compound formation of the future and conditional will be resumed in § 227

[3] [And in the verbs *offrir* *souffrir*, *couvrir*, *cueillir*, and *saillir*, for which see p 372]

croître), pạsco, *pais* (Mod F. *pais*, from *paître*), fạcio, *fais*, plạceo, *plais*, tạceo, *tais*[1].

Whence, then, comes this s? It has been asserted, and is still sometimes asserted, that it is due to the analogical action of the second person But how could the second person have imposed its s on the first person, since from the 12th century this s was no longer pronounced before a following consonant? Besides, if this explanation were true, why should not there be an s in the first person of the present of the indicative in the first conjugation also? Why should not *je chantes* have resulted from the form *tu chantes*?

The historical study of the facts shows that the s is due originally to analogy with verbs in which this consonant forms part of the radical It appears from the 12th century, first in *je suis*, modelled on the type of *je puis* (from the Lat **potĕo*), and its use increased gradually and became almost general in the 16th century However, at that period (and even in the 17th century) poets still used the old and correct forms for the rhymed endings of their lines *je voi, je doi, je croi, je vien, je tien, je parti, je fini, je reçu, vien, crain, tien, aperçoi*, &c, whilst in the middle of the lines they used the new analogical forms with the s, which agreed with the popular pronunciation The following line from Racine '*Je croi* tout, je vous *crois* invincible' (*Alexandre*, iv 2), in which *croi* is spelt without an s before a consonant, and takes an s before a vowel, shows us

[1] And also in vạdo, O F *vois* (Mod F *vais*), rọgo, O F *ruis* no Mod F form), trọpo, O F *truis* (Mod F *trouve*), dọno, O F *dois* (Mod F *donne*), pọteo *puis* The *s* or *z* was also in Old French the termination of the 1st person of the present indicative in verbs of the first conjugation of which the corresponding Latin forms ended in -so, -tio, -cio *os, pris, commenz, balanz* [Lat *ạuso, *prẹtio, *cumịnịtio, bilạncio]

The modern forms *fais, plais, tais* (from *faire, plaire, taire*), which correspond to the O F *fas, plaz, taz*, are not derived phonetically from these latter, but were created by analogy with the 2nd persons singular.

popular pronunciation in the very act of overcoming literary tradition At the end of the 17th century the use of the s became general, the earlier forms are only to be found in the works of a few poets, in which they were employed occasionally for the sake of the rhyme They had become absolute archaisms, used only by poetic licence

2 The final e mute of the 1st person singular of the present indicative and of the present subjunctive of the 1st conjugation is, like the s in the verbs that we have just discussed, not primitive The forms corresponding in Old French to **cạnto, cạntem**, were *je chant, que je chant*, not *je chante, que je chante* The e was only put in where it was needed as a 'supporting vowel' *j entre, je tremble*, &c (§§ 47, 231)

Now, whenever the 1st person ended in the 16th century with an e mute, this e mute took the *tempus forte* and was changed into close é in the interrogative or exclamatory construction, in which the subject is placed after the verb *chante-je, puisse-je* (*do I sing? may I*, &c), a truly barbarous deformation of the verbal termination In Old French correct forms were used *entre jo, puisse-jo* (or with the form *gie* of the personal pronoun *entre gie, puisse-gie*), just as in the modern language we say *chantes-tu, puisses-tu* The reduction of the personal pronoun to the atonic form *je* led to the forms *chạnte je, puịsse je*, with the *tempus forte* on the radical of the verb, in the proparoxyton position, the pronoun being closely united with the verb The accented syllable was thus followed by two consecutive atonics, a sound sequence which is found intolerable in French (see § 46) Hence a displacement of the *tempus forte* ensued, and the atonic e of the final syllable of the verb was changed into an accented close é *chante je, puisse-je* In the 17th century the final e of *je* became mute, and in our own times the final close é of the verb has become open è Hence the present forms are spelt *chante-je, puisse-je*, but pronounced *chantej', puissej'* In

the 17th century, under the influence of analogy, an attempt was made to extend this barbarous form to the verbs of the other conjugations and to use barbarisms stranger still The forms *entende-je, rompe je, sorte-je*, were used instead of *entends je, romps-je, sors je*, &c. But this usage, condemned by Vaugelas, soon disappeared

Moreover, among verbs not belonging to the first conjugation the use of the construction with the pronoun *je* placed after the verb became still more restricted, and even obsolete in the case of certain verbs with which it had once been employed It is now seldom found except with a few verbs *suis-je, dis je, fais je, dois je*, there is a growing tendency to discard it in the verbs of conjugations other than the first *veux-je, pretends-je, sens-je, dors-je*, and even with those of the first *chante-je*, &c The construction is replaced by a heavy and disagreeable circumlocution *est-ce que je chante, je veux*, &c [1] (See Book IV, §§ 416, 417)

220 SECOND PERSON SINGULAR —The second person ends in all tenses of all conjugations with an **s**, represented in certain cases by an **x** *tu peux, tu veux* (§ 106). This sibilant final has become so characteristic of the second person that it has imposed itself on the preterite, in which, according to etymology, it should not occur, the Latin termination from which the French form is derived being **-sti** for **cantasti** we find *chantas* instead of *chantast*, for **finisti**, *finis* instead of *finist* The final **t** was probably dropped, leaving the characteristic **s** as a final, only because in all the other tenses the second person ended with an **s**

In the present indicative and present subjunctive of the first conjugation the final **s** became silent from the 16th century This is why in the poetry of this and a later period we find the last atonic syllable of the second person

[1] [Cf the English circumlocution *Do I sing*, &c]

in these tenses elided It was even suppressed altogether by certain grammarians of the time

221 THIRD PERSON SINGULAR —In cases where the third person of verbs ends with a vowel, a t, called the *euphonic* t, is interealated between the verb and the subject when the latter follows and is formed by one of the pronouns *il* or *elle*, or the indefinite substantive *on* *aime t il, a t-il, puisse t-elle, a-t on, dira t on* It was thought for a long time that this t came from the primitive form of the 3 sing of the verbs of the 1st conjugation The Latin *cantat* was indeed represented in the 11th century by the French *chantet* *Chante t on* would, accoi ding to this theory, stand for *cantat homo* But this explanation is wrong, because the euphonic t is hardly to be found before the 16th century, whereas the t of *chantet*, &c , dropped at the end of the 11th century As a matter of fact, the t is simply due to the influence of analogy with the 3rd persons singular of the present indicative in the three other conjugations *il dit—dit il, il reçoit—reçoit-il, il finit—finit-il*, and with the 3 sing of the imperfect indicative and the 3 plur of all tenses in all conjugations *chantait il, chantent ils, chantaient ils, chanterent-ils, chanteront-ils*, &c Thus in almost all interrogative or exclamatory clauses the verb ended with a t connected in sound with the subjects following *ils, il, elles, elle* Hence it was but a small step to extend the use of the t to those persons which did not possess it, and this was done during the second half of the period of Middle French *aime-t-il, aima-t on, aimera-t elle* When this construction became definitively established it led to the rejection of the euphonic use of *l'* (= *le*) with the substantive *on* (*l'on*) in such clauses, thus *dira l'on* became in the 17th century *dira t on* In familiar speech the use of this t has been extended to the verbal proposition with *voila*[1].

[1] [This is called a verbal proposition because *voila* = *vois, la* *voici* = *vois ici*.]

voila-t-il, ne voilà-t il pas This turn of phrase has led to the creation of an interrogative or exclamatory particle *ti*, which was adopted in the 17th century in popular speech, is daily gaining ground, and will perhaps establish itself in the language finally, in spite of the Academy and literary tradition [1].

222 FIRST PERSON PLURAL.—In all verbs and tenses, except the preterite, this person now ends in *-ons* In Old French there existed the three forms *omes*, *-oms* (later *ons*), *-om* (or *on*) The original form was *-oms*

The termination *-oms* (*-ons*) cannot be explained by any of the corresponding forms of the Latin verb In the 1st conjugation **-ąmus** should have given *ains*, in the 2nd conjugation **-ęmus** should have given *-eins*, in the 3rd, **ĭmus**, being atonic, should have given nothing, in the 4th, **īmus** should have given *-ins*

The inflexion *-oms* (*ons*) is in fact derived from **sụmus**, the 1 plur of the present indicative of **esse**, which according to rule became *soms* Besides this regular form we find another form *somes*, the *e* was probably introduced under the influence of *esmes*, another form of the 1st person plural of *être*, from the Gallo-Romanic **ęsmus**, which was itself an analogical form modelled on the 2nd person plural **ęstis**, and used for a long period during the Middle Ages [2]. The language, feeling the necessity of denoting the 1 plur by a uniform termination, selected that belonging to the verb *être* Thus in Old French the 1 plur of the various tenses of *chanter* came to be *nous chantomes*, or *nous chantons*, *nous chantiomes*, or *nous chantions*, *nous chanteromes*, or *nous chanterons*, these

[1] E g *suis je ti* for *suis je* See A Darmesteter, *De la Creation actuelle des Mots Nouveaux*, p 4

[2] On the other hand, *soms* itself changed into a rare form, *som* or *son*, the loss of the final **s** was doubtless due to a temporary effort to make the 1 plur like the 1 sing, and to keep the **s** exclusively as a characteristic sign of the 2nd persons singular and plural

being modelled on the alternative forms for the verb *être* *nous somes* and *nous sons*. At the end of the Middle Ages a distinction was made with regard to the use of the two forms *-omes* and *-ons* *-omes* was exclusively reserved for the present indicative of the verb *être*—*nous sommes*, for all other verbs in all their tenses, except the preterite, and even for all other tenses of the verb *être*, except the preterite, the inflexion *-ons* was adopted: *nous chantons, nous chantions, nous dions, nous sci ons,* &c

223. SECOND PERSON PLURAL.—Except in the case of the perfect (-ĭstĭs), the terminations of the 2 plur of the different tenses in Latin were -ātĭs, -ētĭs, -ītĭs, and -ĭtĭs We need not here deal with the termination of the 3rd Latin conjugation -ĭtĭs, which, not being accented, was lost fac(ĭ)tĭs, *faites*, dic(ĭ)tĭs, *dites* (§ 46).

The terminations ātĭs, ētĭs, and ĭtĭs became in French *-ez* and *-iz* In the earliest texts we find both these terminations in the northern and eastern dialects, in the 13th century, *-iz* became *-oiz* But in the dialects of the Ile de France the use of the termination *-ez* was extended, owing to analogy, to all 2nd persons plural of all but the preterite tenses of all verbs, excepting *faire*, *dire*, &c, referred to above *dev-ez, devi-ez, devr ez, devri-ez, dussi ez, vendr-ez*, &c The forms for the preterite in *astes, -istes, ustes* (Mod F *-âtes, îtes, -ûtes*), are perhaps due to the influence of the form **estes**

224 THIRD PERSON PLURAL.—In Latin we find the following terminations **-ant** (**cant-ant, cantab-ant, debeb-ant,** &c), **-ent** (**deb-ent, cant-ent, cantass-ent,** &c), **-unt** (**leg-unt, cantar-unt, sunt,** &c), which are atonic in all cases, except in some monosyllables, as **stant, sunt.** In

French[1] these terminations were reduced to a single atonic form *-ent chant-ent, dow-ent, lis ent, chantass-ent, chanter-ent,* &c.

As this termination consisted of an atonic e feminine, followed by a group of two consonants, which formed a syllable that was very hard to pronounce, in the Middle Ages the n was lost and *-ent* was pronounced *et* Then, in the 16th century, the final t, in its turn, was dropped in pronunciation when the word following began with a consonant, and somewhat later on the e became silent Thus originated the modern pronunciation of the 3rd person plural, in which the -ent has ceased in most cases to be pronounced, unless the verb is connected by *liaison* with a following word beginning with a vowel, when the *t* alone is now sounded

The Gallo-Romanic dialects, dealing with the same difficulties as the common language, turned the obstacle, not by a change in the group *-nt*, but by simply displacing the accent **cạntant**, which gave *chạntent*, became **cantạnt**, which became *chantạnt* From the 10th century we find *ocesisạnt* occurring for the 3 plur of the imperfect subjunctive *ocesịsent*, which afterwards became *oceissent, occissent* (from *ocir, occir, to slay*) This syllable *-ant*, accented, became later on identical in pronunciation with the final syllable of the 1st person plural Hence the conjugation of country folks *nous chantọns* (= **chătọ̃**), *ils chantọnt* (= **chătọ̃**).

225 PRESENT PARTICIPLE AND GERUND — To these general considerations on verbal inflexions we must add a remark on the present participle and gerund

In the first Latin conjugation these two tenses of the infinitive ended in **-ạntem** (accusative case) and **-ạndo** (ablative case) **cant-antem, cant-ando** The terminations

[1] Except in **hạbent**, *ont*, **sụnt**, *sont*, **fạciunt, fạcunt**, *font*, **vạdunt, vạunt**, *vont*.

in the other conjugations were -ęntem, -ęndo **deb-entem, deb-endo**, or -ięntem, -ięndo **aud-ientem, aud-iendo.** The other Romance languages merely reduced **-ientem, -iendo,** to **-entem, -endo,** and thus had two terminations **-ante, -ando,** and **-ente, -endo**, but in French, towards the 7th or 8th century, owing to the tendency, already noted, of reducing verbal inflexions to a single type, **-ente** was replaced by **-ante**, and **-endo** by **-ando** Hence we find in French only one termination *ant,* common to all the active participles and gerunds of all conjugations *lisant, en lisant.*

IV Form of the Radical

The radical in the various forms of the verb underwent various modifications, owing to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on different vowels (i) in the three persons singular and in the 3 plur of the present indicative and present subjunctive, and the 2 sing of the imperative, (ii) in the future and conditional The radical was also in some instances modified in the preterite, in the past participle, and in some persons of other tenses, owing to special causes These last modifications occur in the dead conjugation, and will be considered in § 250 We shall only consider for the present the modifications produced by the varying position of the accent in the 1, 2, and 3 sing and the 3 plur of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive), and in the future and conditional

226 On the part played by the tempus forte in the three present tenses — The *tempus forte* fell on the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing, and the 3 plur, in the three present tenses of all verbs (except in the inchoative conjugation in -ięco (§§ 244–246)) On the contrary, the 1 and 2 plur took the *tempus forte* on the inflexion in nearly all the verbal forms

Indicative	Imperative.	Subjunctive
cạnto		**cạntem**
cạntas	**cạnta**	**cạntes**
cạntat		**cạntet**
cạntant		**cạntent**

but

cantạmus	(**cantạmus**)	**cantẹmus**
cantạtis	(**cantạtis**)	**cantẹtis**

We know that when the vowel of the radical was accented and stopped—that is, followed by two consonants—it was in general preserved (§ 50) On the contrary, when it was free, it was in general transformed into another vowel or a diphthong.

(i) The vowel **a** when accented and free was changed, as a rule, into **e** (§ 51, 4)

	Indicative		Imperative		Subjunctive	
1 sing	**lạvo**	*lef*			**lạvem**	*lef*
2 sing	**lạvas**	*leves*	**lạva**	*leve*	**lạves**	*lefs, les*
3 sing	**lạvat**	*levet*			**lạvet**	*levet*
3 plur	**lạvant**	*levent*			**lạvent**	*levent*

but when atonic did not undergo this change (§ 57)

1 plur	**lavạmus**	*lavons*	**lavạmus**	*lavons*	**lavẹmus**	*lavons*
2 plur	**lavạtis**	*lavez*	**lavạtis**	*lavez*	**lavẹtis**	*lavez*[1]

This conjugation has left a trace in **apparẹre**, *apparoir*, **appạret**, *il appert*, the only two existing forms of this defective verb

(ii) But **a**, free and accented, when followed by a nasal, was changed into **ai** (§ 55)

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative *je lave, tu laves, il lave, nous lavons, vous lavez, ils lavent*, Imperative *lave, lavons, lavez*, Subjunctive *que je lave, que tu laves, qu'il lave, que nous lavions, que vous laviez, qu'ils lavent.*

	Indicative		Imperative		Subjunctive.	
1 sing	**ạmo**	*aim*			**ạmem**	*aim*
2 sing	**ạmas**	*aimes*	**ạma**	*aime*	**ạmes**	*aims*
3 sing	**ạmat**	*aimet*			**ạmet**	*aimet*
3 plur	**ạmant**	*aiment*			**ạment**	*aiment*

but when atonic did not undergo this change

1 plur	**amạmus**	*amons*	**amạmus**	*amons*	**amẹ̄mus**	*amons*
2 plur	**amạtis**	*amez*	**amạtis**	*amez*	**amẹ̄tis**	*amez*[1]

In Modern French, *either* the accented *or* the atonic form alone has been adopted throughout the conjugation of any given verb Thus we say *nous aimons, vous aimez*, &c In this verb the atonic form has only been preserved in the archaic *ame* (from **amạtum**), and in the participial substantive *amant* (*lover*) (from **amantem**) On the other hand, we say *il clame*, &c , instead of *il claime* (**clạmat**), &c , owing to analogy with the forms *nous clamons* (**clamạmus**), &c

(iii) **È** accented and open became ie (§ 51, 2)

	Indicative		Imperative		Subjunctive	
1 sg	**vẹnio**	*viens*			**vẹniam**	*vienne*
2 sg	**vẹnis**	*viens*	**vẹni**	*viens*	**vẹnias**	*viennes*
3 sg	**vẹnit**	*vient*			**vẹniat**	*vienne*
3 pl	**vẹniunt**	*viennent*			**vẹniant**	*viennent*

but

1 pl	**venịmus**	*venons*	**venịmus**	*venons*	**veniạmus**	*venions*
2 pl	**venịtis**	*venez*	**venịtis**	*venez*	**veniạtis**	*veniez*

Similarly we have the forms **tenẹre**, *tenir*, **tẹnet**, *il tient*,— **quạerere**, *querir*, **quạerit**, *il quiert*,— **levạre**, *lever*, **lẹvat**, *il lieve*, the form in *-e-* being preserved in *(re)lief*, a verbal substantive derived from *relever* (§ 308, V)

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative *j'aime, tu aimes, il aime, nous aimons, vous aimez, ils aiment*, Imperative *aime, aimons, aimez*, Subjunctive *que j'aime, que tu aimes, qu il aime, que nous aimions, que vous aimiez, qu ils aiment*

(iv) **É** accented and close [Latin ē and ĭ] became **ei**, and later **oi** (§§ 51, 3 and 93)

	Indicative		Indicative	
1 sg	**debeo, *dẹio**	*doi*[1]	**recipio, *recẹpo**	*reçoif*[2]
2 sg	**dẹbes**	*dois*	**recẹpis**	*reçois*
3 sg	**dẹbet**	*doit*	**recẹpit**	*reçoit*
3 pl	**dẹbent**	*doivent*	**recẹpunt**	*reçoivent*
but				
1 pl	**debēmus**	*devons*	**recẹpimus**	*recevons*
2 pl	**debẹ̄tis**	*devez*	**recẹpitis**	*recevez*

(v) **Ò** accented and open became **uo, ue, oe, eu** (§§ 51, 2 and 94)

***tropạre**, *trouver* ***trọpat**, *trueve, treuve* (Mod F *trouve*)
probạre, *prouver* **prọbat**, *prueve, preuve* (Mod F *prouve*)
***morịre**, *mourir* ***mọrit**, *meurt*
***potẹre**, *pouvoir* ***pọtet**, *peut*
***volẹre**, *vouloir* ***vọlet**, *veut*
dolẹre, *douloir* **dọlet**, *deut* (used until the 16th cent.).

(vi) **Ó** accented and close became **eu** (§ 51, 3)

colạre, *couler*, **oọlat**, *queule* (Mod F. *coule*)
plorạre, *plourer* (Mod F *pleurer*), **plọrat**, *pleure*

(vii) **È** open, followed by a palatal (§ 54, 2), gave the following conjugation

precare *je prie, tu pries, il priet, ils prient*, but *nous preyons* (*proyons*[3]), *vous preyez* (*proyez*[4]) (see § 93)

Similarly, with ò open before a palatal (§ 54, 2), we have

appodiare *j'appuie, tu appuies, il appuiet, ils appuient*, but *nous appoyons, vous appoyez* (Mod F *appuyons, appuyez*).

[1] Mod F *je dois*
[2] Mod F *je reçois*
[3] Mod F *prions*
[4] Mod F *priez*

(viii) There is a last case, differing from the preceding ones namely when the persons of which the penultimate vowel bore the *tempus forte* consisted of more than two syllables, the penultimate vowel was then necessarily long (§ 40, 3), and was therefore preserved in the persons in question, but, in those persons of which the termination was accented, this penultimate vowel, becoming atonic, was dropped, according to the rule relating to atonic vowels (§ 48)

Indicative		Imperative	Subjunctive	
aiu̯to	*aiu*		**aiu̯tem**	*aiu*
aiu̯tas	*aiues*	**aiūtə** *aiue*	**aiu̯tes**	*aiues*
aiu̯tat	*aiuet*		**aiu̯tet**	*aiuet*
aiu̯tant	*aiuent*		**aiu̯tent**	*aiuent*

but

aiūtạmus	*aidons*	**aiūtə̣mus**	*aidons*
aiūtạtis	*aidiez*	**aiūtə̣tis**	*aidiez*[1]

Similarly with the conjugation in Old French of (1) the verb *parler* (**parabolạre**, ***paraulạre**)

Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive
je parol		*que je parol*
tu paroles	*parole*	*que tu parols*
il parolet		*que il parolt*
nous parlons	*parlons*	*que nous parlons*
vous parlez	*parlez*	*que vous parlez*
ils parolent		*que ils parolent*[2]

and of (2) the verb *raisonner* (**ratiọnạre**).

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative *j'aide, tu aides, il aide, nous aidons, vous aidez, ils aident*, Imperative *aide, aidons, aidez*, Subjunctive *que j'aide, que tu aides, qu'il aide, que nous aidions, que vous aidiez, qu'ils aident* (See § 54 I a, p 100)

[2] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative *je parle, tu parles, il parle, nous parlons, vous parlez, ils parlent*, Imperative *parle, parlons, parlez*, Subjunctive *que je parle, que tu parles, qu'il parle, que nous parlions, que vous parliez, qu'ils parlent.*

Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive.
je raison		*que je raison*
tu raisonnes	*raisonne*	*que tu raisons*
il raisonnet		*qu'il raisont*
nous raisnons	*raisnons*	*que nous raisnons*
vous raisniez	*raisniez*	*que vous raisnez*
ils raisonnent		*qu'ils raisonnent*[1]

Such then was the varied series of forms of the Old French conjugation developed under the influence of the *tempus forte*

From the end of the Middle Ages the language sought to simplify these forms and began to unify the conjugation In some cases the *accented* forms prevailed, for instance in *aimer, pleurer, raisonner*, in others the *atonic* form, for example in *couler, laver, parler* It is difficult to determine the reasons which caused the one to prevail in a given instance rather than the other At the present day no traces of these double forms exist in the living conjugations The last examples date from the 17th century, and are to be found in Moliere *on treuve* (see § 226, v, *Misanthrope*, I 1), and in La Fontaine *je treuve* (Fables, II 20) But in the dead conjugation numerous specimens of the double forms still exist *je tiens, nous tenons*, *je meurs, nous mourons*, *je puis* or *je peux, nous pouvons*, &c (§ 253)

227 ON THE PART PLAYED BY THE TEMPUS FORTE IN THE FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL —We know that these two tenses were formed by the combination of the infinitive with the present and the imperfect of **habere** (§ 218) **cantare habeo, cantarabio, cantaraio, cantare-habebam, cantarebeba, cantareveva, cantareva, cantarea** Now in the forms

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative *je raisonne, tu raisonnes, il raisonne, nous raisonnons, vous raisonnez, ils raisonnent*, Imperative *raisonne, raisonnons, raisonnez*, Subjunctive *que je raisonne, que tu raisonnes, qu'il raisonne, que nous raisonnions, que vous raisonniez, qu ils raisonnent*

cantaraio, cantarẹa, the accent is on **a** in **ạio**, on **e** in **ẹa** Consequently the **a** of **-are**, that was accented in the infinitive when isolated, **cantạre**, became the atonic counterfinal in the new compounds **cantaraio, cantarẹa** Hence, in virtue of known laws (§ 48), this **a** became an **e** mute in these forms *je chanterai, je chanterais*

In virtue of the same laws, vowels other than **a** in the same position, when they were not protected by consonant-groups, were lost We find therefore

Future		Infinitive	
cantarạio	*chanter-ai*	**cantạre**	*chanter*
debērạio	*devr-ai*	**debẹ̄re**	*devoir*
tenērạio	*tendr-ai, tiendrai*	**tenẹ̄re**	*tenir*
valērạio	*valdr ai, vaudrai*	**valẹ̄re**	*valoir*
***cadērạio**	*chedr-ai, cherr ai*	**cadẹ̄re**	*cheoir*
vidērạio	*vedr-ai, verr ai*	**vidẹ̄re**	*veoir, voir*
sedērạio	*sedr ai, serr ai*	**sedẹ̄re**	*seoir*
***recipērạio**	*recevr-ai*	**recipẹ̄re**	*recevoir*
venīrạio	*vendr-ai, viendr ai*	**venīre**	*venir*
morīrạio	*morr-ai, mourr-ai*	**morīre**	*mourir*
audīrạio	*odr-ai, orr ai*	**audīre**	*oïr, ouïr*, &c

Thus may be explained these formations of the future, which at first seem so strange, but which really show a regular application of phonetic laws In Modern French most of the original forms, although normal from the etymological standpoint, have been simplified, as far as possible, under the unifying action of analogy We shall see in the following section to what extent the language has remained faithful to its older usage

Section II —*The different Conjugations*

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junctive mood —234 Infinitive mood —235 Compound tenses —236 Verbs formerly ending in *ier* —237 Unification of the conjugation of verbs in *er*, whose radical was subject to modification in Old French —238 Verbs in *-er*, of which the final close *e* in the infinitive is preceded by an *e* mute or another close *é* —239 Verbs in *-yer* —240 Verbs in *-er* preceded by a vowel —241. Verbs in *-ger*, *cer* —242 The irregular verbs *envoyer* and *aller*

II Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs) —243 The inchoative particle *-iss-* —244 Indicative mood —245 Imperative mood —246 Subjunctive mood —247 Infinitive mood —248 The irregular verbs *benir*, *fleurir*, *haïr*, *vetir*

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Introduction

228 On the revolution in the system of conjugation during the change from Latin into French — Latin possessed four conjugations, of which the present infinitive terminations were

I -ā̆re	III ĕre
II -ē̆re	IV -i̯re

The Latin system was revolutionized as a whole during its passage into French The 1st conjugation alone remained untouched, the others were more or less completely fused together and underwent such changes as to form an altogether new system

There is no example of a verb of the 1st conjugation having passed into another conjugation All those Latin verbs in ā̆re which survived in the popular language have become French verbs in er

The conjugations other than the 1st do not show the same constancy

A few verbs in -ē̆re, ĕre, and i̯re, either in the Latin period or, later, in the French period, took the inflexion -ā̆re, or the corresponding French form *-er*, and so have passed into the 1st conjugation Thus pavi̯re in the

earliest French became *paver*, and the O. F *toussir* (Lat. **tussīre**) was replaced in the 16th century by *tousser* The Latin **putēre** first gave *puir*, but this was changed into the modern form *puer* in the 16th, although the form *puir* co-existed with *puer* till the 18th century In Modern French, popular usage has introduced, in the same way, the verb *mouver*, from the participle *mouvant*, derived from *mouvoir*

We shall now consider the majority of the verbs belonging to conjugations other than the 1st

Verbs in **-ēre** gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in **-oir** **debēre**, *devoir*, **habēre**, *avoir*, &c

Verbs in **-ĕre** gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in *re* **dĭcĕre**, *dire*, **lĕgĕre**, *lire*, **rumpĕre**, *rompre*, &c

But, owing either to a change of suffix already effected in Popular Latin, or else to an analogical influence exercised in French by other parts of these verbs, certain Latin infinitives in **ēre** became French infinitives in *-ir* or in *-re*, and certain Latin infinitives in **-ĕre** became French infinitives in *-oir* **tenēre**, *tenir*, **ridēre**, *rire*, **căděre**, *cheoir*, *choir*, **sapĕre**, *savoir*, &c

Certain verbs have even adopted more than one form of the infinitive—(i) in Old French

manēre	*manoir* and *maindre* (*to remain*)
movēre	*mouvoir* and *mouvre*
sĕquĕre	*sivre* (*suivre*) and *sivir*
tollĕre	*toldre* and *tollir*

or (ii) in Modern French

gĕmĕre	*geindre* and *gemir*
fallĕre	*faillir* and *falloir*
currĕre	*courre*[1] and *courir*

In **mucēre**, *moisir*, **placēre**, O F *plaisir*[2], and other

[1] In the expression *chasse a courre*

[2] Only used as a substantive in Modern French, the infinitive has been replaced by *plaire* under the influence of the present indicative, *je plais*, *tu plais*, &c

similar infinitives, the **é**, being preceded by a palatal, has been transformed, not into *ei*, *oi*, but into *i* (§ 54, IV)

The Latin verbs in **ire**, which were not very numerous, have regularly given French verbs in *-ir* **audire**, *ouir*, **partire**, *partir*, **sentire**, *sentir*

Thus, to sum up (omitting from consideration the few verbs which passed from other conjugations into the 1st), we find that **-are** has always been transformed into *-er*, and **-ire** into *-ir*, but **-ēre**, which should normally have given *-oir*, and **-ĕre**, which should have given *-re*, have under various influences developed in some cases into *-re*, in others into *-oir*, and in others, again, into *-ir*

For the preterite and past participle French possesses two special terminations **-is** and **-us** for the preterite, *i* and **-u** for the past participle These terminations seem to be used with equal frequency and almost at random

		Preterite	Past participle
sentir	gives	*je sent-is*	*sent i*
partir	,,	*je part-is*	*part-i*
vêtir	,,	*je vêt-is*	*vêt-u*
courir	,,	*je cour-us*	*cour u*
rendre	,,	*je rend-is*	*rend-u*
rire	,,	*je r is*	*r i*
lire	,,	*je l us*	*l u*

To continue the first person singular of the present indicative of the verbs of the 2nd Latin conjugation ended in **-eo** **gaudeo** In the present subjunctive the person endings were **-eam**, **-eas**, **-eat**, &c The atonic **e**, in hiatus, of **-eo**, **-eam**, &c, was, as we know (§ 60), changed in Popular Latin, towards the end of the Empire, into *i*, and Gallo Romanic had in its turn changed this vowel into **yod**, **gaudeo,* gaudeam, gaudeas**, becoming **gaudio, gaudiam, gaudias**, &c On the other hand, the same persons of the same

tenses of verbs of the 4th conjugation, and of some verbs of the 3rd, ended in **-io, -iam, ias,** &c. Now in Gallo-Romanic this **yod,** in all the cases above mentioned, was gradually dropped, so that the 2nd and 4th conjugations became, as far as these tenses were concerned, identical with those of the majority of verbs of the 3rd conjugation, of which the corresponding forms ended in **-o, -am, -as,** &c

The result was a veritable chaos and inextricable confusion into which the language was compelled to introduce order and clearness

Owing to a first tendency in this direction a certain number of verbs came to have the same ending for the *preterite*, in *-i* (later on *is*), from the Latin **-ivi**, and the same ending for the *past participle*, in *-u*, from the Latin **-utum**

Je tend is	*tend u*
Je vend is	*vend-u*
Je romp is	*romp-u*

But this tendency was not strong enough to lead to the formation of a single, regular, and living conjugation, it only resulted in the analogical reduction of a certain number of the older French forms which were as yet hardly distinct from Latin

On the other hand, there was a tendency that proved more fruitful viz that which led to the creation of the conjugation of the type of *finir* There existed in Latin a number of verbs ending in the present infinitive in **-ascere, -escere, -iscere,** or **-oscere,** verbs called *inchoative*[1], because they denote the beginning of an action (**inchoare,** to commence) Thus **splendēre** means *to shine*, **splendescere,** *to begin to shine*

In Popular Latin this termination in **-scere** was applied to a great number of verbs in **-ēre, -ĕre, -īre,** which became French verbs in **-ir,** its inchoative meaning being at the same time lost The radical was thus lengthened by the

[1] [Or *inceptive*, from **incipere** = to commence]

interpolation of the syllable -isc, not in all tenses and persons, but only in those where it was necessary (in order to convert all atonic terminations into accented ones)

229. THE LIVING CONJUGATIONS.—The class of verbs of which the infinitive ended in -ir was developed in French with sufficient strength and perseverance to form a new *living* conjugation alongside with that in -are, -ar, -er

Indeed, from the earliest times all new verbs introduced into French, whether they were created by methods of derivation, or borrowed from foreign languages, or due to the Graeco Latin learned formation, belong to the conjugations in -er and -ir without exception, and we may safely predict that verbs introduced hereafter will also be conjugated similarly Hence we call these two conjugations, of which the present infinitives end in *-er* and *-ir*, the *living conjugations*

As a rule, verbs derived from substantives belong to the 1st conjugation: *plume, plumer, feuillet, feuilleter, mur, murer*, whilst verbs taken from adjectives belong to the 2nd conjugation *grand, grandir, faible, faiblir, noir, noircir* (see Book III, § 318)

230 THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—The remaining verbs—and they are not very numerous (about eighty in all)—together form what has been justly called the *dead conjugation* This conjugation includes some non-inchoative verbs in -ir, such as *bouillir, partir*, &c., some verbs in -oir, such as *avoir, devoir, recevoir*, &c., and some verbs in -re, such as *rendre, rire, rompre*, &c

I First Living Conjugation

(Verbs whose present infinitives end in- *er*)

231 INDICATIVE MOOD.—We shall take for this and all the other moods the verb *chanter*, derived from the Latin **cantare**, as our type.

1. Present indicative

Latin	French
cạnto	*chant* (11th century), *chante* (13th century)
cạntas	*chant es*
cạntat	*chant-et* (11th century), *chante* (12th century)
cantạ̄mus	*chant-ons*
cantạ̄tis	*chant ez*
cạntant	*chant-ent*

1 *sing* The primitive form was *chant*, the atonic final o of cạnto being dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47) When, however, this o was preceded by a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel, an e feminine was added. intro, *j'entre*, simulo, *je semble*, tremulo, *je tremble* Hence towards the 13th and 14th century, under the influence of analogy, an e was added to the first persons of all verb radicals ending with a consonant *je chante*, &c The addition of this e was even extended to radicals ending in a vowel *je prie*, *je confie* However, in the latter case we find until the middle of the 16th century the forms without the e *je pri*, *je confi*, as archaisms preserved by poetic licence It is true that in most cases, as these archaic forms were wrongly supposed to be due to the omission of an e, this was replaced by an apostrophe

2 *sing* The final s dropped in pronunciation in the 16th century This explains the fact that in the written literature of that time it was in some cases omitted

3 *sing* The original form was *chantet*, the t dropped at the beginning of the 12th century, and the e became mute quite at the end of the 16th century

1, 2, and 3 *plur* —For these persons see §§ 222, 223, and 224

We see that by a series of phonetic changes the 1, 2, and 3 sing and the 3 plur have now become identical in pronunciation, e g the verb in *je chante*, *tu chantes*, *il chante*, *ils chantent*, is in each case pronounced chăt'.

2. Imperfect

Classical Latin	Popular Latin.	O F.	Mod F
cant-ạbam	**cant-ạva**	*chant-aue, -òe*	*chantais*
cant-ạbas	**cant-ạvas**	*chant-aues, -oes*	*chantais*
cant-ạbat	**cant-ạvat**	*chant auet, -oet*	*chantait*
cant-abạ̄mus	**cant-avạ̄mus**	*chant uens*	*chantions*
cant-abạ̄tis	**cant avạ̄tis**	*chant-uez*	*chantiez*
cant-ạbant	**cant-ạvant**	*chant auent,-òent*	*chantaient*

In the 11th century the 3 sing, *chant òet*, became *chantòt, chantout* In the 12th century *chant-òe, chant-òes, chantout, chantoent*, became, by analogy with the imperfect of *finir* (§ 243, II), *chantoie, chantoies, chantoit, chant'oient* The 1 plur in the 11th century became *chant-uons*, and in the 12th century we already find *-uons, uez*, reduced to *-ions, iez*, the origin of these forms is obscure analogy with the verbs in *-ir* without doubt influenced them

3 Preterite

Classical Latin	Popular Latin	French
cant-ạvi	**cant-ại**	*chant-ai*
cant-avịsti	**cant-ạsti**	*chant as*
cant-ạvit	**cant-ạt**	*chant-at, chant-a*
cant-ạvimus	***cant-ạmmus**	*chant-ames, āmes*
cant-avịstis	**cant-ạstis**	*chant astes, -ates*
cant-avẹrunt	**cant-ạrunt**	*chant erent* (later *chanterent*)

1 *sing* —In **cantạvi**, before the 7th century, the **v** was dropped and the **i** formed a diphthong with the **a** *cantai*

2 *sing* —**Cantạsti** became first *chantast* (§§ 50 and 47), towards the 8th or 9th century the **t** dropped under the predominating influence of the **s**, already felt to be the characteristic of the second person (§ 220)

3 *sing* —**Cantạvit** was pronounced **cantạvt**, the **v** was dropped before the **t** and gave *chantat*, then, in the 12th century, the **t** itself was lost and gave *chanta*

1 *and* 2 *plur.*—**Cantạvimus** became **cantạvmus**, and then *chantames*, and *cantastis* became *chantastes* This second form reacted on the first and changed it into *chantasmes*, from which, with the loss of the **s** (§ 102), it gave *chantâmes, chantâtes*, in Modern French the **a** has become short, and the forms, though written as above, are pronounced *chantămes, chantătes*

3 *plur*—The form *chanterent* is derived regularly from **cantạrunt** The form *chantarent*, which occurs in the 15th and 16th centuries, was due to analogy with the 1 and 2 plur.

Preterites of the 1st conjugation in -i are to be found in French dialects, for example *je mangi*, &c (§ 236)

4 For the Future and Conditional, see §§ 218, 227

232 Imperative mood —Present

2 *sing*—**cạnt-a** gave, according to phonetic rule, *chante*

1 *and* 2 *plur*—*Chantons, chantez*, are taken from the indicative The Latin **cant-ạte** would have given *chantet, chante*, but these forms were probably not adopted because they would have been too easily confused with the past participle

233 Subjunctive mood — 1 Present subjunctive

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin	Old French	Mod French
cạnt-em	**cạnt-e**	*chant*	*chant-e*
cạnt-es	**cạnt-es**	*chanz* (=*chant s*)	*chant es*
cạnt-et	**cạnt-et**	*chant* (=*chant-t*)	*chant-e*
cant-ạmus	**cant-ạmus**	*chant-iens, -ons*	*chant ions*
cant-ạtis	**cant-ạtis**	*chant-eiz, -ez*	*chant iez*
cạnt-ent	**cạnt-ent**	*chant-ent*	*chant-ent*

Sing—The atonic **e** was regularly dropped *chant, chanz, chant*, are thus the normal primitive forms

Similarly, *que je plor, que tu plor-s, qu'il plor-t, que je lo, que tu loz, qu'il lot*, are the corresponding forms from the

verbs *plorer* and *loer* (Mod F. *pleurer, louer*). Only those verbs whose radical ended with a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel have an **e** in the singular inflexions in Old French *que j'entre, que tu entres, qu'il entret*, &c Later, the use of this vowel (as in the present indicative, § 231) became universal owing to analogy, and led to forms on the type of *que je chante, que tu chantes, qu'il chante*, &c.

1 *plur.*—*Chant-iens* was never much used, the ordinary form was *chantons* In the 16th century, either by a fusion of these two forms, or more probably owing to analogy with the subjunctives of verbs in *-ir*, appeared the modern form *chantions*

2 *plur.*—*Chanteiz* disappeared at an early period before *chantez* (§ 223), which was preserved until the 16th century. At this time *chantez* underwent the same treatment as *chantons* and became *chantiez*

2 Imperfect subjunctive

Latin	Old and Middle French	Mod French
cant-ȧssem	*chant-asse*	*chant asse*
cant-ȧsses	*chant-asses*	*chant asses*
cant-ȧsset	*chant-ast, chant-āt*	*chant-āt*
cant-assēmus	*chant issons, chant assions*	*chant-assions*
cant-assētis	*chant-issiez, chant-assiez*	*chant-assiez*
cant-ȧssent	*chant-assent*	*chant assent*

Sing—We should have expected the regular forms *que je chantas, que tu chantas* (= *chantasss*), the final atonic **e** being dropped, but the final **e** has been preserved so as to leave its characteristic form to this tense

Plur—It was only in the 16th century that the 1 and 2 plur *chantissons, chantissiez*, were definitively replaced by *chantassions, chantassiez*, under the influence of the **a** of the other persons. Robert Estienne, in his Grammar published in 1569, only recognizes the forms *chantissions, chantissiez* Besides *chantissons*, we find at a fairly early date the forms

chantıss ıens, chantıss-ıons, the termination *-ıons* finally prevailed in the 16th century.

234 INFINITIVE MOOD —

	Latin	French.
Present	**cant-ā̆re**	*chant er*
Partic present	**cant-ā̆ntem**	*chant ant*
Gerund (abl)	**cant-ā̆ndo**	*chant ant*
Partic. past, M Sg	**cant-ā̆tus, -ā̆tum**	*chant-ez, et* (O F), *chante*
Pl	**cant-ā̆tı, -atos**	*chant-et, ez* (O F), *chantes*
F Sg	**cant-ata**	*chant ede* (O F), *chant ee*
Pl	**cant-ā̆tas**	*chantedes* (O F), *chant ees*

235 COMPOUND TENSES —As these tenses involve the consideration of the auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*, we shall discuss them later on (§ 254)

ADDITIONAL NOTES

236 VERBS FORMERLY ENDING IN **-ier** —In certain O F verbs, under the action of a preceding palatal (§ 54, I *a*), the Latin **a** of the present infinitive, the past participle, the 2 plur of the present, and the 3 plur of the preterite indicative, had been changed, not into **é**, but into **ié** *chan gier* (***cambıā̆re**), *cerchier* (**circā̆re**), *aidier* (**adjutā̆re**), *cuidier* (**cogitā̆re**), *nagıer* (**navigā̆re**), *traitier* (**tractā̆re**), *enseignier* (**insignā̆re**), &c Thus the forms used were *changıe, vous changıez, qui vous changıez , vous aidiez, que vous aidiez , changıerent, aidierent*, &c Between the 14th century and the 16th the action of the regular conjugation caused the loss of this diphthong **ié**, which was replaced by the usual vowel **é** the unification of form prevailed thus everywhere in French proper

The northern and eastern dialects, however, far from following this progress of French towards simplification, brought matters to extremes They reduced *ié* to *i*, and this phonetic modification caused a great number of verbs of the 1st conjugation to pass apparently into the 2nd The infinitive, past participle, the 3 sing of the preterite, the 2 plur of the three present tenses, all having now the vowel *i* in their inflexion, the whole of the tenses received this inflexion Thus the verb *mangier* became *mangir* and was conjugated in the preterite *je mangi, tu mangis, il mangi, nous mangimes, vous mangites, ils mangirent*

This apparent change of conjugation is to be distinguished from that which took place in the 16th century, temporarily, in the case of the ordinary verbs in **-er** In these the old 1 and 2 plur of the imperfect subjunctive, *que nous chantissons, que vous chantissiez* (§ 234), led to the remodelling of the other persons of the tense, giving *que je chantisse, que tu chantisses, qu'il chantist, qu'ils chantissent,* while the type was even extended to the preterite *je chantis, tu chantis, il chantit, nous chantimes, vous chantites, ils chantirent*

These forms did not, however, survive either in the common language or in the dialects or patois

237. UNIFICATION OF THE CONJUGATION OF VERBS IN **-er,** WHOSE RADICAL WAS SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION IN OLD FRENCH —The principle of unification prevailed again in the conjugation of those verbs where the vowel of the radical was, in certain tenses and persons, modified under the influence of the *tempus forte il aime, nous amons, il queule, nous coulons,* became *il aime, nous aimons , il coule, nous coulons* (See § 226)

238 VERBS IN **-er,** OF WHICH THE FINAL CLOSE **é** IN THE INFINITIVE IS PRECEDED BY AN **e** MUTE OR ANOTHER CLOSE **é** —We have explained above (§ 227) how the close

é of the infinitive was changed into e mute in the future and conditional · *je chanter ai, je chante-rais* We have to examine the case where this close é of the infinitive is preceded (1) by an e mute, as in *geler, lever, peser*, and in verbs in **-eler**, **-eter**, or (2) by a close é, as in *ceder, esperer*

1*st case*—In the 1, 2, and 3 sing and 3 plur of the three present tenses the e mute, under the influence of the *tempus forte*, was changed into open è *je gele, je leve.* In verbs in **-eler**, **-eter**, the e has been marked as open in spelling, either by means of a grave accent or by doubling the consonant l or t, as in *j'epele* or *j'epelle, j'achete, je jette.* The other persons keep the e mute *nous gelons, vous levez, nous epelons, nous achetons, vous jetez*

Hence we have an alternation between forms in which the vowel of the radical is accented and forms in which it is atonic This alternation is especially evident at the present day in the verbs in **-eler** and **-eter**, in which the e in those forms in which it would normally be atonic, and remain an e mute, drops altogether in pronunciation[1] we say *je renouvęlle, tu renouvęlles, il renouvęlle, ils renouvęllent*, but *nous renouvlons, vous renouv'lęz, je renouv'lais*, and similarly *je cachęte*, &c, but *nous cach'tons*, &c[2] We see in this instance exactly the same process reproduced in Modern French which took place in Old French with regard to *parler* (see § 226, 8). In the O F conjugation the forms used were *je parole, tu paroles*, but *nous parlons, vous parlez*, &c Just as custom caused the contracted forms on the type of *parlons, parlez*, to be used throughout the verb, so the popular language of the present day is causing the contracted forms with the *tempus forte* thrown back, *je cąch'te, tu cąch'tes, je decąll'te, j'epouss'te*, &c, to replace *je cachęte, tu cachętes, je decollęte, j'epoussęte*, &c

In the future and conditional (all persons) the e mute

[1] Except in declamation and verse

[2] These forms are written *renouvelons, renouvelez, renouvelais*, &c, *cachetons*, &c

of the radical, being similarly followed by another **e** mute, and bearing the *tempus forte*, is also changed into open **è** *je geleraı, je jetteraı*, &c , and the pronunciation is marked either by the use of the grave accent or by a double consonant following

2nd case —In the infinitive of these verbs a close **é** occurs as the vowel of the radical, e g *ceder, esperer* In the 1, 2, and 3 sing and in the 3 plur of the three present tenses, this close **é** (like the **e** mute in the instances mentioned before) being followed by an **e** mute is similarly changed into an open **è** *il cede, il espere*

In the future and conditional the case is different, because the **e** mute of the infinitive contained in the written forms has become silent in modern pronunciation, *je cederaı, j'espereraı*, are in reality pronounced *je* **céd'raı**, *j'***espér'raı** The vowel of the radical being free, there is no reason for it to change

239 VERBS IN **-yer** —In the conjugation of these verbs **y** is changed into **ı** before **e** mute According to the modern spelling *payer* gives *je paıe*, &c

240 VERBS IN **-er** PRECEDED BY A VOWEL —For example *payer, ployer, prier, louer*, &c In the future and conditional this vowel is followed by an **e** mute, which in poetry is sometimes replaced by a circumflex accent: *paıeraı, païraı , prıeraı, prîraı*, &c

241 VERBS IN **-ger** AND **-cer** —The addition of an **e** after the **g**, and of a cedilla under the **c** before **a** and **o**, is a purely orthographic convention, as in *nous mangeons, je plaçaıs*, &c , so that the **g** may be pronounced as a **j**, and the **c** as a surd **s** (See §§ 34, 35)

242 THE IRREGULAR VERBS **envoyer** AND **aller** — **Envoyer** gives in the future and conditional the forms *j'enverraı* and *j'enverraıs*, instead of *j'envoıe-raı, j'envoıe-*

rais, which were still used in the 17th century This substitution was due to the action of the verb *voir*, which for a long time possessed double forms for the future *je voirai* and *je verrai* The latter alone survived, and *envoierai* disappeared before the analogical future *enverrai*

The conjugation of **aller** is formed from three distinct verbs

(i) The Latin **ire**, which also means *to go*, has given the future and conditional *j'irai, j'irais* This same verb **ire** is a component part of the Latin verb **exire** (*to go out*), which became the O F verb *eissir, issir*, of which the past participle *issu* has survived, and also of the verbs **perire** (*to go through*, and hence, *perish*), **subire** (*to go underneath*), represented in French by *perir, subir*, words of Learned formation

(ii) The Latin **vadere**, also meaning *to go*, has given the 1, 2, and 3 sing and 3 plur of the present indicative *je vois* (O F), *je vais* or *je vas*[1], *tu vas*, *il vat* (O F), *il va*, *ils vont* This verb is also a component part of the verb **invadere** (Pop Lat *invadire), *envahir*

(iii) Lastly, a verb of obscure origin, which is represented in Italian by **andare**, in Spanish and Portuguese by **andar**, in Provençal by **anar**, in Old French by **aler**, in Modern French by **aller**, has given the three tenses of the infinitive, *aller, allant, alle*, the 1 and 2 plur of the present indicative, *allons, allez*, the plural of the imperative, *allons, allez*, &c , the whole of the preterite, *allai*, &c , the whole of the subjunctive with its irregular forms in the present (1, 2, and 3 sing, and 3 plur), *aille, ailles, aille, aillent, allions, alliez, allasse*, &c

[1] *Vois* has become *vais*, as *François* has become *Français* The form *je vas* is due to the analogy of *tu vas*, just as the form *je peux*, which co exists with *je puis*, has come from *tu peux*

II Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs)

243 THE INCHOATIVE PARTICLE **iss-** —This conjugation (for the origin of which see pp 342, 343) is characterized by the interpolation of the syllable **-iss-** between the radical and the termination in the present and imperfect indicative, in the plural of the imperative, in the present subjunctive, the present participle, and the gerund In the other tenses—the preterite, imperfect subjunctive, infinitive, future and conditional, and past participle—the radical remains unchanged

In the popular pronunciation of the Gallo-Romans **-isc-** was changed into **-ics** hence the French form **-is-** or **-iss-**. This **s** is a surd **s**, this is why, owing to orthographic convention (§ 34), it is doubled before a vowel *nous finissons*, &c On the other hand, before a consonant it has disappeared *finis t*, derived from **finiscit**, has become *finit* Similarly *tu finis* (pron *fini*), from **finiscis**, stands for *finis s*

244 INDICATIVE MOOD —1 Present indicative

Latin	French
fin-isc-o	*fin-is*[1]
fin-isc-is	*fin is*
fin-isc-it	*fin ist* (O F), *fin-it*
fin-isc-imus	*fin-iss ons*
fin-isc-itis	*fin iss ez*
fin-isc-unt	*fin-iss-ent*

1 *sing* —The final atonic **o** of **finisco** was dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47), and the syllable **-isc**, **-ics-**, was regularly reduced to **-is-** In pronunciation the final **s** of *finis* is silent before a consonant, and becomes a sonant **s** before a vowel in cases of *liaison* *Je finis a peine* is pronounced *je finiz-a-peine*

[1] The Old French form was *fenir* and not *finir* a form copied from Latin In order not to complicate our exposition we give the paradigms in the form of *finir*, even for older forms The form of the radical does not signify here, as the present object is to study the terminations

2 *sing* —The **s** of the syllable **-isc-**, *-iss*, and that of the inflexion **-is**, -s, have fused into one **finiscis**, *finis* The fate of this final **s** has been similar to that of the **s** of the first person

3 *sing* — **Finiscit** became, according to rule, *finist*, then the **s** was dropped before **t**, as in *teste, tête, giste, gîte, noștre, notre* To be consistent, the word should be written *finît* (§ 102)

Plur —No remark is necessary

2 Imperfect indicative

Classical Latin	Popular Latin	O F	Mod F
fin-isc-ebam	**fin-iss-ęa**	*fin iss-eie, oie*	*fin-iss-ais*
fin-isc-ebas	**fin-iss-ęas**	*fin-iss-eies, oies*	*fin iss ais*
fin-isc-ebat	**fin-iss-ęat**	*fin-iss-eiet,-eit,-oit*	*fin-iss-ait*
fin-isc-ebamus	**fin-iss-eămus**	*fin iss ions, -ions*	*fin-iss-ions*
fin-isc-ebatis	**fin-iss-eătis**	*fin iss-iez, iez*	*fin iss-iez*
fin-isc-ebant	**fin-iss-ęant**	*fin-iss eient, oient*	*fin-iss-aient*

We have only in this place to consider the terminations **-ebam, -ebas,** &c The long accented **ē** in the 1, 2, and 3 sing, and 3 plur, became **ei** (§ 51, 3), the intervocal[1] **v** was dropped, though according to no fixed rule[2], and the final atonic **a** became an **e** Hence the primitive terminations *-eie, -eies, -eiet, -eient*

From the 11th century *-eiet* was replaced by *-eit* At the end of the 12th, the diphthong **ei** became **oi** (§ 93), and hence the terminations *-oie, oies, -oit, -oient*, from that time forward the imperfect of this conjugation became

[1] I e between two vowels

[2] The **v** between two vowels was usually preserved **le-v-are**, *lever* It was, however, dropped in **vi v-enda**, *viande* (§ 83) in order to avoid the close repetition of the same labial consonant It has been supposed, with some probability, that the dropping of the **v** in *finisseva* was due to the same cause, this termination *-eva* being derived from **aveva** (Classical Latin **habebam**, imperfect of **habeo**), which, for the same reason as **vivenda**, dropped the second **v** and became **avea**, O F *aveie avoie* Mod F *avais*

identical with that of the 1st conjugation, and has the same history

At the end of the Middle Ages *-oies* (2 sing) became *-ois*, between the 14th and the 15th century *-oie* (1 sing) became *-oi, oy*, and then, with the addition of an **s** (§ 219), *ois* In the 14th century the three forms *-oie, -oy*, and *-ois* were used indiscriminately At the same time the pronunciation of the diphthong òi was changed into **oè**, and then into **wè** (§ 93) In the second half of the 16th century a fresh change took place **wè** was reduced to **è** in the 1, 2, and 3 sing and 3 plur of the imperfect and the present conditional (§ 115) The forms still written *il aimoit, il finissoit*, were no longer pronounced *il aimwe, il finiswe*, but *il aime, il finissè* The pronunciation *we* was, however, preserved until the middle of the 17th century in the solemn and somewhat archaic language of the Parliaments and Law Courts But it finally disappeared before the pronunciation **è** (written *ai*), which became general The notation *ai* instead of *oi*, introduced in the 17th century by the advocate Bérain[1], and revived and defended by Voltaire, finally triumphed in the first third of the 19th century Hence the written forms of the imperfect now used *j'aimais, tu aimais, je finissais, tu finissais*, &c

The terminations *ions, iez*, already noticed (§ 231, 2), appeared in the 1 and 2 plur from the earliest period of the language, their origin has not yet been entirely elucidated

3 Preterite

Classical Latin	Popular Latin	French
fin-ịvi	**fin-ịi**	*fin-i* (O F), *fin is*
fin-ivịsti, isti	**fin-ịsti**	*fin-ist, fin is*
fin-ịvit	**fin-ịt**	*fin-it*
fin-ịvimus	**fin-ịmus**	*fin imes* (O F), *fin îmes*
fin-ivịstis, -istis	**fin-ịstis**	*fin-istes* (O F), *fin îtes*
fin-ivẹ̄runt	**fin-ịrunt**	*fin-irent*

[1] [His *Nouvelles Remarques sur la Langue Francaise* were published in 1675]

The remarks made with regard to **cantavi**, and the perfect of the 1st conjugation (§ 231, 3), hold good here The replacement in the Latin form of **a** by **i** constitutes the only difference between the two cases.

4 Future and conditional

The inflexions of these tenses are formed regularly and have been discussed in § 218 With regard to the preservation of the i of the infinitive in *finir-ai*, *finir ais* (from the forms **finir-abeo**, **finir-aio**, **finir-abebam**, **finir-eva**, *finir-eie*, with the dropping of the syllable **-ab**, or- **av**, already noticed), see § 227.

245 IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present imperative:

Popular Latin	French
fin-isc-e	*fin is*
fin-isc-imus	*fin iss ons*
fin-isc-itis	*fin iss ez*

The plural is borrowed from the present indicative.

246 SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

1 Present subjunctive

Popular Latin	French
fin-isc-am, fin-isc-a	(*que je*) *fin-iss-e*
fin-isc-as	(*que tu*) *fin-iss es*
fin-isc-at	(*qu'il*) *fin iss et* (O F), *iss e*
fin-isc-amus	(*que nous*) *fin-iss ons* (O F), *iss-ions*
fin-isc-atis	(*que vous*) *fin iss ez* (O F), *iss iez*
fin-isc-ant	(*qu'ils*) *fin iss ent*

In the 1, 2, and 3 sing , and 3 plur , the final atonic **a** gave, according to rule, an **e** feminine (§ 47) For the 3 sing the form *finisse*, without a final **t**, was already adopted in the 12th century In the plural the terminations *ons* and *-ez* (which corresponds exactly to **-atis**) became *ions*,- *iez*, in the 16th century

2 Imperfect subjunctive

Classical Latin	Pop Latin	French
fin-ı(v)-ɪssem	fin-ɪsse	(*que je*) *fin-isse*
fin-ı(v)-ɪsses	fin-ɪsses	(*que tu*) *fin-isses*
fin-ı(v)-ɪsset	fin-ɪsset	(*qu'il*) *fin-ist* (O F), *fin ît*
fin-ı(v)-ɪssęmus	fin-ɪssemus	(*que nous*) *fin-issons* (O F), *fin-issions*
fin-ı(v)-ɪssętıs	fin-ɪssetis	(*que vous*) *fin issiez*
fin-ı(v)-ɪssent	fin-ɪssent	(*qu'ils*) *fin issent*

The two ı's of the syllable **-ıvıss-**, **-ıiss-**, were fused into one in Popular Latin Hence the French forms, which show the same peculiarities as the corresponding forms of the first conjugation (§ 233, 2)

247 INFINITIVE MOOD

	Latin	French.
Pres inf	fin-ɪre	*fin-ir*
Pres part	fin-ısc-ęntem	*fin-iss ant*
Gerund (abl)	fin-ısc-ęndo	(*en*) *fin-iss-ant*
Past part Masc Sg nom	fin-ɪt-us	*finiz* (O F)
,, acc	fin-ɪt-um	*fin it* (O F), *fin i*
,, Masc Pl nom	fin-ɪt-ı	*fin it* (O F)
,, acc	fin-ɪt-os	*fin-iz* (O F), *fin-is*
,, Fem Sg acc	fin-ɪt-am	*fin-ide* (O F), *fin-ie*
,, Pl acc	fin ɪt as	*fin ides* (O F), *fin-ies*

248 THE IRREGULAR VERBS **bénir, fleurir, haır, vêtir**

(1) **Bénir** —This verb, from the Latin **benedıcere**, equivalent to the Modern French '*bien dire*,' was in Old French *beneistre*, a form which, modified by analogy with *finir*, developed into the modern infinitive *benir*, with the past participle *beni* The primitive form of this past participle, *benit*, fem *benite*, corresponding to the Latin **benedictus**, has been preserved to this day in certain expressions sanctioned by custom Until towards the end of the 17th century the language made no distinction between the two

forms However, as the older participle was especially used in the popular expression *de l'eau benite (holy water)*, French grammarians have reserved *bénit, -ite*, for the literal sense [of being blessed by a priest, &c], and *beni, -ie*, for the figurative sense, and this distinction has been adopted generally

(ii) **Fleurir, florir** —The former of these verbs is derived from the French noun *fleur*, the second from the Latin verb **florēre** All the tenses of the latter have been lost, except the imperfect indicative *florissais*, &c, and the present participle *florissant*, which are only used in the figurative sense[1] Grammarians have forbidden the use of *fleurir* for these two tenses But their rule is quite futile, since it is perfectly good French to say *La paix fleurit, fleurissait*, &c

(iii) **Haïr** (derived from the Germanic **hat-an** or **hat-jan**) —This verb, like all verbs derived from Germanic types in **-jan**, must have been originally inchoative And, in fact, we find at a very early period the forms *haïssant, haïssez* But in Old French the non inchoative forms were in general preferred present indicative, *je haz* or *je he, tu hes, il het, nous haons, vous haez, ils heent*, imperfect indicative, *je haoie*, &c , present subjunctive, *que je he*, or *que je hace*, &c , present participle, *haant* This verb gradually became inchoative in all its forms, except the three persons singular of the present indicative As late as the 17th century Vaugelas noted the existence of *nous hayons, vous hayez, ils haient*, and criticised the use of these forms

(iv) **Vêtir** — A similar change is now taking place in Modern French with regard to the verb *vêtir* and its compounds *devêtir, revêtir*, &c , which belong to the dead conjugation (§ 249) present indicatives, *je vêts, tu vêts, il vêt, nous revêtons, vous revêtez, ils revêtent*, present

[1] Of *to flourish* derived from the French in this sense]

participles *vêtant, revêtant* There is at the present day a strong tendency to include this verb in the second living conjugation Lamartine [1790–1869] used the form *je vets*, but also *il vêtissait* Bossuet had already with more consistency used the forms *je vêtis, nous vêtissons*, &c.

III The Dead Conjugation

249 THE DEAD CONJUGATION —The dead conjugation contains a limited number of verbs which instead of increasing has always been diminishing some of these verbs have been altogether lost, others have passed into the living conjugations The infinitives of these verbs end in **-ir**, **-oir**, or **-re**

Most of the verbs in **-ir** of this conjugation are on the whole regular, and are only distinguished from verbs of the 2nd living conjugation by the absence of the inchoative syllable **-iss-** e g *partir, repentir, sentir, sortir*, &c Consequently they are conjugated like *finir* in all those parts of the verb which do not take the interpolated syllable **-iss-** *je partis, que je partisse, je partirai*, &c

The verbs in **-oir**, which are not very numerous, are derived from verbs ending in Popular Latin in **-ēre** *devoir*, **debēre**, *recevoir*, **recipēre**

The verbs in **-re** form the majority in this conjugation, and are derived from Latin verbs in **-ĕre**

Compared with verbs of the living conjugations all these verbs are irregular, although in most cases their irregularity results precisely from a regular adherence to the Latin types from which they are derived

In the dead conjugation we have to study the preterite and past participle, the infinitive, the future and conditional, the present participle in its relation with the present and imperfect indicative, and with the present subjunctive, and, lastly, the apparent irregularities of the three present tenses

250 PRETERITE AND PAST PARTICIPLE.—A great number of Latin verbs, belonging chiefly to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations, exhibited a peculiar change of the radical in the perfect indicative (corresponding to the French preterite) and past participle. The *tempus forte*, instead of being placed on the inflexion, as in **fĭn-ĭvi, fĭn-ĭtus**, was placed on a syllable of the radical itself.

Infinitive	Perfect	Past participle
vĕrtĕre	**vĕrti**	**vĕrsus**
fŭndĕre	**fŭdi**	**fūsus**
mordĕre	**momordi**	**morsus**
tĕndĕre	**tetĕndi**	**tēnsus**
cŭrrĕre	**cucŭrri**	**cursus**
defĕndĕre	**defĕndi**	**defensus**
pĕndĕre	**pepĕndi**	**pēnsus**
prĕndĕre	**prĕndi**	**prēnsus**
mittĕre	**misi**	**missus**
făcĕre	**fēci**	**factus**
rumpĕre	**rūpi**	**ruptus**
vendĕre	**vendidi**	**venditus**
legĕre	**lēgi**	**lectus**
vidēre	**vīdi**	**vīsus**
ridēre	**rīsi**	**rīsus**
venīre	**vēni**	**ventus**
pingĕre	**pinxi**	**pictus**
ungĕre	**unxi**	**unctus**
vincĕre	**vīci**	**victus**
pŏnĕre	**pŏsui**	**pŏsĭtus**
cooperīre	**coopĕrui**	**coopertus**
bibĕre	**bibi**	**bibĭtus**
recipĕre	**recēpi**	**receptus**
quaerere	[**quaesīvi**]	**quaesītus**
debēre	**dĕbui**	**dĕbĭtus**
dicĕre	**dixi**	**dictus**

In a small number of these verbs we find the preterite

and past participle, or only one of them, preserved intact without undergoing any other than the regular phonetic changes

Latin Perf	French Pret	Latin Part.	French Part
fẹcı	*je fis*	fạctus	*fait*
dıxı	*je dis*	dıctus	*dit*
rısı	*je ris*	rısus	*ris (ri)*
prẹndı (Pop Lat pı ẹnsı, prẹsı)	*je pris*	prẹnsus	*pris*
vıdı	*je vis*		
vẹnı	*je vins*		
tẹnuı	*je tins*		
dẹbuı	*je dus*		
mısı	*je mis*		
		mọrtuus, mọrtus	*mort*
		nạtus	*ne*
		trạctus	*trait*
		ụnctus, &c	*oint*, &c
		offẹrtus	*offert*
		coopẹrtus	*couvert*

The above are what are called **strong preterites** and **strong past participles** in French They are so called because in these the *tempus forte* is borne by the radical as it was in Latin, while in verbal forms like *je fin ịs*, *fin-ị*, the *tempus forte* is borne by the termination, and these latter are called **weak preterites** and **weak past participles**[1]

[1] In Old French the only strong forms in the preterite were the 1 and 3 sing and 3 plur In the 1 and 2 plur the *tempus forte*, corresponding to that of the Popular Latin forms e g fecistı, fecımus, fecịstıs), was borne by the termination The preterite of *faire* was conjugated thus

Strong forms *je fis, il fit ils firent*

Weak forms *tu fesis, nous fesimes, vous fesistes*

Little by little the language reduced these forms to a single type, the weak forms were remodelled on the strong, *tu fis, nous fimes, vous fites* being formed from *je fis, il fit, ils firent*

At an early period the language endeavoured to simplify these multiple forms

Preterites of the Dead Conjugation —(1) For the perfects on the one hand, there already existed in Latin a termination **-ui**, used in a great number of verbs, mostly of the 2nd conjugation (**deb-ui, plac-ui,** &c), and this termination was extended in Popular Latin to many other verbs This final **-ui** combined with the preceding vowel of the radical, so that **debui** became **dui, placui** became **ploi,** &c Hence a series of strong preterites which originally ended in French in **-ui** or **oi**, later on in **-us**

Infinitive	Pres Indic	Preterite
avoir	*j'ai*	*j'eus*
devoir	*je dois*	*je dus*
plaire	,, *plais*	,, *plus*
taire	,, *tais*	,, *tus*
savoir	,, *sais*	,, *sus*
pouvoir	,, *puis*	,, *pus*
lire	,, *lis*	,, *lus*
boire	,, *bois*	,, *bus*
paraître	,, *parais*	,, *parus*

The preterite derived from *debui* was conjugated thus *je dui, tu deus, il dut, nous deûmes, vous deustes, ils durent* Analogy with the other persons possessing **-u** as a characteristic ending caused *dui* to be changed into *du*, later on *dus*, the *s* being added for the 1st person according to the general rule (§ 219) The preterite derived from *placui* was conjugated *je plot, tu plous, il plot, nous ploumes, vous ploustes, ils plorent* This preterite, like those of *avoir, savoir, pouvoir, taire*, was gradually assimilated to the preterites in **-us**, giving *je plus, j'eus,* &c

By analogy, the preterite of certain other verbs was formed by the addition of this termination **-us** to the radical of the present participle, hence the weak preterites in **-us**

Infinitive	Pres Part	Preterite
courir	*cour-ant*	*je cour-*us
valoir	*val-ant*	„ *val* us
vouloir	*voul-ant*	„ *voul-*us

(11) On the other hand, French adopted another termination, not less frequent in Latin, -ivi, -ii, which was used in the case of weak perfects, e g fin-ivi It was added similarly to the radical of the present participle Hence the many weak French preterites of which the 1 sing formerly ended in -i and now ends in -is (§ 219)

Infinitive	Pres Part	Preterite
peindre	*peign-ant*	*je peign-*is
craindre	*craign ant*	„ *craign* is
rompre	*romp ant*	„ *romp-*is
pendre	*pend-ant*	„ *pend-*is
rendre	*rend-ant*	„ *rend-*is
mordre	*mord ant*	„ *mord-*is
vaincre	*vainqu ant*	„ *vainqu-*is

Participles —The past participles were remodelled in precisely the same way A certain number of the original participles have, however, been preserved in modern French in the form of participial substantives, some masculine, but most of them feminine

Masculine		Feminine	
mọrsum	*mors*	cụrsa	*course*
cụrsum	*cours*	rụpta	*route*
pẹ(n)sum	(*pers*), *poids*	mịssa	*messe*
mịssus	*mets*	quạesita	*quête*
acquạesitus	*acquet*	elẹcta	*elite*
		pọsita	*poste*
		recẹpta	*recette*
		dẹbita	*dette*
rẹndita,		vẹndita	*rente, vente*
		tẹ(n)sa	*toise*
		pẹrdita	*perte*

Some participles have even passed through a second strong form, taken from the infinitive **tẹnsus, -a,** from **tẹndo,** was supplanted by **tẹndĭtus, -a,** whence the feminine substantive *tente*, **pọsitus, pǫ̆stus, -a,** from **pǭno,** had as a doublet **pǭnĭtus, pǭnĭta,** whence the French *ponte*

But apart from the survival in these substantive forms, in which they became, as it were, crystallized, the original participles have been lost They have been replaced by newer forms created on the type of **imb-ūtus** This new inflexion, **-ūtus,** reduced in French to **-u,** was added to the radical of the infinitive

Latin infinitive	French past participle
val-ēre	*val* **u**
pend-ēre	*pend-***u**
curr-ĕre	*cour-***u**
***vol-ēre**	*voul* **u**

In many cases, the final consonant of the radical having dropped, the atonic vowel is elided before the u of the participle, so that we have monosyllabic participles, which resemble in form the strong participles

Latin infinitive	O F past part	Mod F past part.
leg-ĕre	*l*eu	*l*u
bib-ĕre	*b*eu	*b*u
tac-ēre	*t*eu	*t*u
plac-ēre	*pl*eu	*pl*u
cognо-scŏre	*con*eu	*con*(*n*)u
par-escere	*par*eu	*par*u

By this process most of the verbs of the dead conjugation came to have forms in **-is** or **-us** for the preterite (the former being most in use), and the form in **-u** for the past participle[1]

[1] In some cases the termination in **-u** has invaded the territory of the participles in **-i**, the Latin **-ītum** We say *vêtu*, instead of the O F *vesti*, and in popular Modern French *bouillu* (or *boulu*) *sentu*, are used for *bouilli*, *senti*

Thus was formed the conjugation of *rendre*, which grammarians have made the type of the 4th French conjugation, simply because most of the strong verbs, as a matter of fact, conform to it.

251 INFINITIVE, FUTURE, AND CONDITIONAL.—We have seen how, in the formation of the future and conditional, certain verbs of the dead conjugation in -ir and -oir drop the vowels i, oi, as pretonic counterfinals (§ 48). Thus

mourir	gives in the future	*mourrai*,	from	mor(ī)raio
acquerir	,,	*acquerrai*,	,,	acquaer(e)raio
mouvoir	,,	*mouvrai*	,,	mov(ē)raio
devoir	,,	*devrai*	,,	deb(ē)raio
recevoir	,,	*recevrai*	,,	rocip(e)raio
avoir	,,	*aurai*	,,	hab(ē)raio
savoir	,,	*saurai*	,	sap(e)raio
tenir	,,	*ten(d)rai*, *tiendrai*	,,	ten(ē)raio
venir	,,	*ven(d)rai*, *viendrai*	,,	ven(ī)raio
valoir	,,	*vau(d)rai*	,,	val(ē)raio
vouloir	,,	*vou(d)rai*	,,	vol(o)raio
falloir	,,	*fau(d)rai*	,,	fall(e)raio
ch(e)oir (O F *chedeir*)	,,	*cherrai* (O F *chedrai*)	,,	cad(e)raio
voir (O F *vedeir*)	,,	*verrai* (O F *vedrai*)	,,	vid(e)raio

Pourvoir gives in the future only *je pourvoirai*, a modern form, in Old French the form *pourverrai* was regularly used.

Amongst the verbs in -ir we must notice those in which the termination is preceded by an l *mouillee*, this was treated in Old French as a simple l

saillir	gave a future	*sail-rai*, *sail-d rai*, *saudrai*
cueillir	,,	*cueil rai*, *cueil-d-rai*, *cueudrai*
bouillir	,,	*bouilrai*, *bouil-d-rai*, *boudrai*

These forms were lost in the period of Middle French, when the forms *saillerai*, *cueillerai*, were used, these latter are still in use at the present day, although in popular French the forms *saillirai*, *cueillirai*, *bouillirai*, formed on the infinitive, are tending to be accepted

The other verbs of the dead conjugation in **-ir** (e g. *partir*) form their future and conditional on the type of *finir* The i should have dropped according to rule, as in the preceding verbs, but it has been saved by the fact that the group of consonants resulting from the elision would form a combination of sounds too difficult for pronunciation (e g *partrai*)[1]

252 PRESENT PARTICIPLE —According to grammarians, the present and imperfect indicative, and the subjunctive tenses, are formed from the present participle it would be more correct to say that these different tenses are formed from the same radical Nevertheless, to simplify the matter, we may consider one of them as typical, and take as our type the present participle, for example

The relations of the present participle with the imperfect indicative and the subjunctive are too obvious to need discussion Thus we have

Pres participle	Imp indicative	Pres subjunctive
paraiss ant	*je paraiss-ais*	*que je paraiss-e*
dis ant	*je dis-ais*	*que je dis-e*

We may, however, dwell with advantage on the relations between this participle and the singular persons of the present indicative The 2 sing of this latter tense has ended with an **-s**, and the 3 sing with a **-t**, from the O F period, while since modern times the 1 sing has ended with an **-s** If the radical of the present participle itself ends with a consonant, the two consonants will meet

[1] *Ouir*, from audire, now gives in the future *ouirai* (a form very rarely used) The O F form was *orrai*, earlier *odrai*, from audiraio, audraio

We shall now consider how these consonant-groups are resolved

(i) The radical of the present participle ends in **-s-**, or **-ss-** *dis ant, conduis-ant, fais-ant, plais-ant, connaiss ant, paraiss ant*, &c In the 1 and 2 sing the **-ss-** or **-sss-** of the radical and termination are reduced to a single **s** *je lis, je connais, tu lis, tu dis, tu connais* In the 3 sing the **s** before the **t** of the termination is dropped according to the rules of Modern French phonetics and spelling, in cases when it is preceded by a vowel, a circumflex accent is placed over the **i** *il dit, il lit, il plaît, il paraît*

(ii) The termination **ant** of the present participle is preceded by a vowel *ri-ant, conclu ant, fri-ant, fuy ant, croy-ant* The original forms in Old French for the present tense were, according to rule, *je ri, je croi, je conclu*, &c (which became later on *je ris, je crois*, &c, § 219), *tu ris, tu crois, il rit, il croit*

(iii) The termination **-ant** is preceded by **m** or **v** *dorm ant, buv-ant, ecriv-ant, suiv-ant*, &c These consonants are dropped, not only before the **-s** and **-t** of the 2 and 3 sing, according to phonetic rule (§ 100), but also in the 1 sing, where they were final Thus we have not only *tu dors, tu vis, il dort, il vit*, &c, but *je dor, je vi, je doi, je sui*, which became later on *je dors, je vis, je dois, je suis* (§ 219), &c

(iv) The termination **-ant** is preceded by either one or two dentals *rend-ant, perd-ant, ment-ant, mett ant, batt-ant, sent-ant* In French pronunciation, on the one hand, we cannot have two consecutive final dentals, on the other hand, in Modern French spelling an effort is made to leave the verbal radical intact, whilst in Old French the spelling tended to follow the pronunciation These two tendencies have resulted in uncertainty and incoherency in modern usage We have *je rends, tu rends, il rend*, and not *il rent*, but *je sens, tu sens, il sent*, and not *je sents, tu sents*,

—*je pars, tu pars, il part,* side by side with *je mets, tu mets, il met, je bats, tu bats, il bat,* &c It is to be wished that the French Academy would adopt a uniform spelling in these cases

(v) The termination **-ant** is preceded by an **n** *mouillee craign ant, joign-ant* In Modern French the **n** *mouillee* can no longer be pronounced as a final, it has been replaced by a simple **n** Hence we have *je crains, tu crains, il craint,* together with the forms *craignant, nous craignons,* &c

(vi) The termination **-ant** is preceded by an **l** *mouillee.* This consonant has been transformed into the vowel **u,** and the **s** of the inflexion is written usually with an **x**, thus we have *val-ant je vaux, tu vaux, il vaut, defaill-ant je defaux* (or *je defaus*) In *bouill ant, je bous,* the preservation of the **s** after **ou** in spelling is to be noticed

Thus most of the apparent irregularities of the singular of the present indicative in the dead conjugation are explained by the general laws of French phonetics

253 THE THREE PRESENT TENSES IN THE DEAD CONJUGATION —We need only recall, by means of a table, the laws enounced in § 226 with regard to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on the vowel of the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing, and the consequent difference between the resulting French vowel in these persons and in the 1 and 2 plur (when the vowel is free) of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive)

	Infinitive	Pres Indic 3 sing	Pres Indic 1 plur
a	*(ap)parоir*	*il (ap)pert*	*nous parons* (O F)
è	*querir*	*je quiers*	*nous querons*
	tenir	*je tiens*	*nous tenons*
	venir	*je viens*	*nous venons*
é	*devoir*	*je dois*	*nous devons*
ò	*mourir*	*je meurs*	*nous mourons*
	pouvoir	*je peux*	*nous pouvons*

The four series of phonetic facts summarized above account for almost all the irregularities of the so called *irregular* verbs

254 Peculiarities of certain verbs.—To complete this study we have only to point out certain isolated facts, and firstly those in connexion with the two auxiliaries *etre* and *avoir*

(1) **Être**.—This verb shows interesting peculiarities in each of its moods and tenses.

1 Present indicative

Classical Latin	Old French	Mod French
sum	*sui, suis*	*suis*
es	*es*	*es*
est	*est*	*est*
sumus	*somis, somes*	*sommes*
estis	*estes*	*êtes*
sunt	*sont*	*sont*

With regard to the s of the 1 sing., see § 219 (1). In the 2 sing. the Latin ŏs should have given phonetically *ies* (§ 51, 2). *Es* is doubtless due to the action of *est*, or else to its frequent use as an atonic form. Similarly **estis** ought to have given *ez*, the form *estes* is without doubt due to the action of *somes*, just as *dites*, *faites*[1], are due to the action of *dimes*, *faimes* (see § 254, vii). With regard to *soms* and *somes* see § 222

2 Imperfect indicative

From the Latin **ĕram, ĕras, ĕrat, erāmus, erātis, ĕrant**, were derived the O F forms *iere* (*ere*[2]), *ieres* (*eres*[2]), *ieret* (*eret*[2]), *erions*, *eriez*, *ierent* (*erent*[2]). This imperfect from the time of the Middle Ages gradually gave way to other forms based on the infinitive *estre*. From *estre* were derived

[1] In certain dialects of Eastern France we find analogous forms *prentes* from **prĕndĭtis**, *rentes* from **rĕddĭtis**, *sentes* from **sĕquĭtis**

[2] The atonic forms, less used

estere, estoie, esteies, estoies, &c, on the model of the O F. *prometeie,* &c, from *prometre, tendeie,* &c, from *tendre.* Hence the Modern French imperfect *etais, etais, etait, etions, etiez, etaient*

3 Preterite

Popular Latin	Old French	Mod French
fu̯i	*fui, fu*	*fus*
fu̯isti	*fus*	*fus*
fu̯it	*fut*	*fut*
fu̯imus	*fumes, fusmes*	*fûmes*
fu̯istis	*fustes*	*fûtes*
fu̯erunt	*furent*	*furent*

This preterite is the only strong preterite of Old French which was strong in all the persons *tu fus, nous fumes, vous fustes* (cf. p 361, note) The 1 sing passed through the pronunciation fu̯i and fui̯, it then became *fu* under the action of the 2 and 3 sing *fus* and *fut* In the 16th century it was still written *fu* It became *fus* later according to the general rule (§ 219)

4. Future and conditional

From the Latin **e̯ro, e̯ris, e̯rit, e̯rimus, e̯ritis, e̯runt,** was derived the O F future, *ier, iers, iert, ermes, erles, ierent* Side by side with this classical future, **ero,** &c, there was in Popular Latin a future formed from the infinitive **essere** and the verb *(h)abeo* **esseraabeo,** &c, from which came the O F *estrai* The form of the future now used, *serai, seras,* has been in use since the 12th century, it is still unexplained

5 Present subjunctive

The forms *que je sois,* &c, have been taken, not from the Classical Latin **sim, sis, sit,** &c, &c, but from the Popular Latin **si̯am, si̯as, si̯at, si̯amus, si̯atis, si̯ant** Hence we have in Old French *seie* and *soie, seies* and *soies, seit, seient,*

seiez, *seient* and *soient*, and in Modern French *sois*, *sois*, *soit*, *soyons*, *soyez*, *soient*

6 Imperfect subjunctive

The forms *que je fusse*, &c, were derived from the Latin pluperfect **fuissem**, &c.

7 Infinitive:

Être is taken from the Popular Latin **essĕre**, whence *estre*, *être*

8 Gerund and participles

These forms are derived from another verb, the verb **stare**, which in Popular Latin had assumed the meaning of 'to find oneself' Hence the gerund *estant*, later *etant*, from **stando**, the present participle *estant*, later *etant*, from **stantem**, and the past participle, *este*, later *ete*, from **stătum** The verb *être* is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir* in the past tenses This is an anomaly In Italian the auxiliary used is the verb *essere* The equivalent of the Italian *io sono stato* would normally be in French, not *j'ai ete*, but *je suis ete* This more regular conjugation is sometimes found in Old French, and still survives in the popular language

(ii) **AVOIR** — The 1 sing of the present indicative comes from the Popular Latin (h)**abio**, **aio**, which gave according to the rules of phonetics *ai* (§ 54, I *b*) In accordance with its etymology the form *ai* has no final **s**, but in Popular French an **s** is often added, owing to the influence of the forms *je viens*, *je cours*, &c With regard to *ont*, see § 224, footnote The Latin perfect **habui**, &c, through the forms ***awi**, ***aui**, &c, was transformed into *oi*, *ous*, *ot*, *oumes*, *oustes*, *orent*, and thence into the modern (j')*eus*, tu *eus*, il *eut*, &c (cf p 331, note) It was only from the 16th century that the old form of the future, *avrai*, became *aurai*, in consequence of the transformation of the **v** into the vowel **u** In the same way *savrai* became *saurai*

(iii) **COUDRE** —*Je couds, tu couds, il coud.* This verb comes from the Classical Latin **consuere**, Popular Latin **cǫsvĕre, cǫsĕre**, which, according to phonetic rules, became *cosre, cosdre, cousdre, coudre* The euphonic **d** of the infinitive was introduced in spelling into the singular of the present indicative without any good reason

(iv) **MOUDRE** —*Je mouds, tu mouds, il moud* From the Latin **mǫlĕre, mǫlre**, *moldre, moudre* This verb shows the same peculiarity in spelling as *coudre*

(v) **SOUDRE** (obsolete, from **sǫlvĕre**) and its compounds *absoudre, resoudre*, &c The irregularity of these verbs lies in the existence of two forms of the past participle, the one in *-olu*, feminine *-oluc*, from the Classical Latin **solŭtus** *absolu, absoluc, resolu, resoluc*, the other in *-ous*, feminine *-oute*, from the Popular Latin **sǫltus** *absous, absoute* We have in reality, in the latter case, the masculine of an old participle in **s**, *assous, assousse*, together with the feminine of an old participle in **t**, *assout, assoute* The **b** in these forms is due to the learned formation and is of later origin (Cf p 277)

(vi) **OFFRIR, SOUFFRIR COUVRIR, CUEILLIR, SAILLIR**[1] —The present indicative of *offrir, souffrir*, and *couvrir* took a final **e** as a supporting vowel from the earliest times The influence of analogy led to the use of the forms *je cueille, je saille*, instead of the O F *je cueil, je sail*, in which the radical of the verb was too much masked to resist this influence

(vii) **DIRE (LIRE)** —The 2 plur *dites* no more represents the Latin form **dĭcĭtis** than *faites* represents **făcĭtis**, for these Latin forms would have given in French *diz* and *faiz* The forms *dites* and *faites* are doubtless due to the action of the old forms of the 1 plur., *dimes* and *faimes*

[1] Derived from the Pop Lat. forms **offerĭre, sufferĭre, *coprĭre, *colligĭre, *colyĭr** (corresponding to the Classical forms **offĕrre, sufferre, cooperĭre, colligĕre**), and **salĭre**

These were lost and replaced by the analogical forms *disons, faisons*, but *dites* and *faites* have survived[1] In the present subjunctive of *dire* we find in Old French the forms *que je die, que tu dies, qu'ils dient*, &c, and in the present indicative *ils dient*, which were all derived according to rule from Latin They are now replaced by forms due to analogy with other verbs, and taken either from the present participle or from the 1 and 2 plur of the present indicative *que je dise, que tu dises, qu'ils disent*, on the type of *disant, disons*, &c

The subjunctive of *lire* was similarly remodelled from *lisant*

(viii) **FAIRE (PLAIRE, TAIRE)**—Derived from the Latin **făcĕre**, and the Popular Latin **plăcĕre, tăcĕre** With regard to *faites* see (vii) supra On the form *font* see § 224, footnote The old subjunctive was written *que je face, que tu faces, qu'il face, que nous facions, que vous faciez, qu'ils facent* Similarly *plaire, taire*, gave the forms *que je place, que je tace*, &c But whilst *que je face* has been preserved, the c being merely replaced in spelling by **ss**, the subjunctives of *plaire* and *taire* have been remodelled on the forms *plaisons, je plaisais, plaisant, taisons, je taisais, taisant*, and have become *que je plaise, que je taise*, &c

We must notice in the future and conditional the forms *ferai* and *ferais*, with the weakening of *ai* into the *e* feminine The *e* feminine occurs in reality also in the forms *faisant* and *faisons*, and Voltaire wrote in accordance with this pronunciation *fesant, fesons*

(ix) **VAINCRE** (O F *veintre*)—This verb possessed a series of forms regularly derived from the Latin **vĭncĕre**, but owing to analogy it has undergone change, and the consonant **c**, or **qu**, has displaced **t** throughout, even in

[1] *Redire* gives in the same way *redites*, and *refaire* the form *refaites* The other compounds of *dire*, e g *medire* &c, give *medisez*, &c, except *maudire*, which gives *maudissez*

the 3 sing of the present indicative, in which the O F *veint*, Mid F. *vaint*, is now represented by *vainc* Thus we have for the present indicative.

	Old French	Mod French
je venc, vainc	*nous venquons, vainquons*	*je vainc, nous vainquons*
tu veins, vains	*vous venquez, vainquez*	*tu vaincs, vous vainquez*
il veint, vaint	*ils vainquent*	*il vainc, ils vainquent*

(x) **BRUIRE**[1] — In modern usage the pres part *bruyant* has been replaced by *bruissant*, and *ils bruyent* by *ils bruissent*, hence the substantive *bruissement*, &c

(xi) **GÉSIR** —The surviving forms are regularly derived from Latin forms jacēre, *gesir*, jacentem, *gisant*, jacet, *il gît*

(xii) **TENIR, VENIR** —Derived from the Latin tenēre, venīre. To distinguish the old regular futures and conditionals, *tendrai, vendrai*, from the futures and conditionals of *tendre* and *vendre*, these have been changed in Modern French into *tiendrai, viendrai*, &c, modelled on *je tiens, je viens*, &c

(xiii) **SEOIR** —From the Latin sedēre Cf vidēre, *veoir, voir* Present indicative *il sied*, from sedet, present participle *seyant*, and also *seant*, from sedentem The various forms in oi, ei, é, ié, in the original conjugation of the verb were regularly derived from the different parts of the Latin verb But in French each of them has been taken as a type of the radical, and hence the extraordinary inconsistencies of the modern conjugation

Pres indic *j'assois* and *j'assieds*
tu assois *tu assieds*
il assoit, &c *il assied*, &c
Pres part *assoyant* and *asseyant*, &c

[1] Of uncertain derivation

(xiv) **CHOIR** —Derived from Pop Lat **cădẹre** (Class Lat. **cadẽre**) — The new forms *il choit, il echoit,* &c, have been derived from the infinitive, the corresponding forms being formerly *il chet, il echet* The present participle *cheant* has been preserved in *echeant, echeance,* and in *mes-cheant, mechant,* from which came the old word *mes-cheance, mechance,* which has produced the modern *mechancete*

(xv) **POUVOIR** —Derived from the Pop Lat ***potẹre** (Class Lat **posse**) The future *pourrai* has been derived from the Popular Latin **potere-abeo,** through the forms *podrai, porrai,* compare the old forms of the infinitive *podeir, poeir, pooir,* and the modern *pouvoir.*

CHAPTER IV

INDECLINABLE WORDS

255 The two kinds of indeclinable words

I Words of Relation —256 Words of relation (adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions) — 257 The form of French adverbs - 258 Adverbs derived from Latin adverbs 259 Adverbs formed from adjectives —260 Adverbs formed by composition —261 Signification of adverbs —262 The origins of French prepositions —263 Prepositions derived from Latin prepositions —264 Prepositions of French formation —265 Signification of prepositions —266 Conjunctions properly so called —267 Conjunctive phrases —268 Signification of conjunctions

II Interjections —269 The Interjection

255 The two kinds of indeclinable words - Indeclinable words are divided into two classes

(i) **Words of relation,** including *adverbs, prepositions,* and *conjunctions*

(ii) **Interjections**

1 Words of Relation

256 WORDS OF RELATION (ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS) — The constituent terms of a statement may be connected in language by means of words which express general or abstract relations, and which are independent of other words, and consequently do not need to be inflected . these may be classed as adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions

Words of this kind are related to one another in their origin and nature Most French conjunctions are adverbs used absolutely , and the French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions, which originally were all adverbs

257 THE FORM OF FRENCH ADVERBS —French adverbs have been either derived from corresponding Latin adverbs or from Latin or French adjectives, or else have been formed by methods of word composition

258 ADVERBS DERIVED FROM LATIN ADVERBS —A certain number of French adverbs come from corresponding Latin adverbs

Class Latin	Pop Latin	O F	Mod F
aliorsum	aliorsu	*aillors*	*ailleurs*
sursum	susu	*sus*	*sus*
deorsum	deusu	*jus*	—
hodie	hodye	*hui*	*hui* (in *aujourd'hui*)
ibi	ivi	*i*	*y*
inde	ende	*ent*	*en*
illac	lac	*la*	*là*
jam	ja	*ja*	*ja* (in *déjà*)
magis	mages	*mais*	*mais*
minus	menos	*meins*	*moins*
plus	plus	*plus*	*plus*

Class Latin	Pop Latin	O F	Mod F
non	**non**	*non*	*non, ne*
sic	**sic**	*si*	*si*
tantum	**tantu**	*tant*	*tant*
ubi	**obe, ove**	*o*	*ou*

259 ADVERBS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES.—To this first series we must add a series of adjectives used absolutely, either in the singular or plural

1 *Adverbs formed from singular adjectives* *courir* **vite**, *voir* **clair**, *chanter* **faux**, *parler* **haut**, *sentir* **bon**, *couper* **court**, *aller* **droit**, &c.[1] In these we find the Latin tradition continued in French, since neuter adjectives were similarly used as adverbs in Latin

2 *Adverbs formed from plural adjectives* We find in Popular Latin, and later in French, adverbs which have been formed from the accusative plural, either masculine or feminine, of adjectives

voluntarios	*volontiers*
certas	*certes*
primas	*primes* (O F)[2]
longas	*longes* (O F)[3], &c.

These adverbs are, as we see, characterized by the presence of a final **s**. This **s** was also the final of a certain number of Latin adverbs in constant use, such as **foris** (*outside*), **magis**, **plus**, &c., and of Latin neuter comparatives, used also as adverbs **melius**, **pejus**, &c. It came consequently to be considered as the characteristic of adverbs, and its use was extended at a very early period to a number of other adverbs which, on etymological grounds, had no right to it: *jadis*, *tandis* (Lat **jamdiu**, **tamdiu**), *guères* (Gothic **waigari**), *donques* (from *donc*), *avecques* (from *avuec*, *avec*, + *que*), &c.

[1] [Adverbs are formed similarly in English: to run *fast*, speak *loud*, smell *good*, cut *short*, go *straight*, &c. *Chanter faux* = *to sing out of tune*.]

[2] = in Mod F *en premier lieu*.

[3] = in Mod F *longtemps*.

260 Adverbs formed by composition.—A large number of new adverbs have also been formed in French by composition

Four distinct methods of formation have been used (i) the combination of a preposition with a noun governed by it, (ii) the combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs, (iii) the combination of an adjective with a substantive (the resulting compound being used absolutely), (iv) the transformation of a phrase (generally an elliptical phrase) into an adverb

(i) **Combination of a preposition with a noun (substantive or adjective) governed by it**—In Latin we already find this kind of composition **ex-tempore**, that is, 'from the time', **illico** (from **illo loco**), 'in that place,' i e 'on the spot' French has created new compounds on this type, the constituent elements of some of which have merged in a single word so that they look like simple adverbs *alentour, debout*, while in other cases the two elements have been left separate *a cette heure, a la fois, a present, a tort, a raison*

We must draw special attention to

(*a*) Adverbs of this kind in which the noun is an adjective, whether taken substantively or not *a droite, a gauche, a la ronde, a la derobee* (=*secretly*), *a la prussienne*

(*b*) Locutions formed by the combination of a preposition with a verbal compound word · *a tue tête, a saute-mouton, d'arrache-pied*[1], &c

(*c*) Compounds formed by the union of the preposition à with substantives in -ons derived from verbal radicals *a tâtons, a reculons* (and O F *a genouillons*, Mod F. *en s'agenouillant, kneeling, a croppetons*, Mod F *en s'accroupissant, crouching*)

(*d*) Compounds formed of two nouns joined by the preposition à In these compounds sometimes the pre-

[1] *Crier a tue-tete* = to shout so as to split any one's ears, *jouer a saute mouton* = *to play leap frog*, *travailler d'arrache pied* = *to work unceasingly*

position **à** is equivalent to *à côte de* (i e. *alongside*) *corps a corps, tête à tête, bras a bras, nez a nez* Sometimes it implies *direction*, and in this case the first noun was originally preceded by the preposition **de** *de pas a pas, de peu à peu, de mot à mot* (i e *going from one step to the next step, from one word to the next word*), &c , which by ellipsis led to: *peu à peu, pas à pas, mot a mot, quatre a quatre, brin a brin, goutte a goutte.*

(*e*) In this category must be placed the two adverbs *avec* and *or*. (1) *Avec* is formed of *av* and of *ec*, *av* representing the Latin **ap(ud)**, and *ec* (formerly *uec*) representing the Latin **hoc** *Avec* signifies literally 'with that,' and is therefore an adverb It became a preposition also, at an early period, but has preserved its primitive function as an adverb down to the present day[1]

(2) *Or, ore,* or *ors, ores* —This adverb is derived from the Latin compound **ad-horam** = *at the hour* In Popular Latin this gave **ad ora, aora**, and the resulting diphthong **ao** became an open ò *ore* The plural **adoras** gave *ores* In both the singular *ore* and the plural *ores* the *e* was sometimes dropped, the forms *or, ors,* being also used. Modern French has kept the form *or* and dropped *ors,* except in the form *lors,* which seems to be formed from the article *le* + *ors* *Lors* has been lengthened by the addition of an *a* *alors* (= *a lors*, we find in Old French *ilors*)

(ii) **Combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs** —In Classical Latin there already existed the adverb **sub-inde,** which has become the French *souvent,* and in Popular Latin **ab-ante,** which has become the French *avant* Similarly, *dont* comes from **de unde** , *jusque* from **de usque** , *ensemble* from **in simul** We may quote also later compounds, of which the process of formation is more apparent.

[1] The adverbial use is shown in

Il avait dans la terre une somme enfoule
Son cœur *avec.* (La Fontaine, *Fables,* iv, 20)

And in familiar language il a pris mes livres et est parti *avec*

arrière (from *à* and *riere*[1]), *dessus, par-dessus, dessous, par-dessous, paravant, auparavant, d'or en avant* (which has become *dorenavant*), *desormais* (= *des or-mais*), *jamais.*

(iii) **Combination of an adjective with a substantive.**—In Classical Latin we have **hodie** = *hoc die*, 'this day', **magno opere**, 'with great work,' i e 'much'

On this type Old French created the adverbs *oan* (*this year*), *buer*, *mar* (Lat **bona hora**, **mala hora**), and Modern French has preserved or created the adverbs and adverbial phrases *beaucoup*, *tous jours* (now *toujours*), *autrefois*, *une fois*, *quelquefois*, *toutefois* (formerly *toutes voies*), *quelque part*, *nulle part*, &c

In this category must also be placed the adverbs in **-ment**, formed from a feminine adjective and the suffix **-ment**, which represents the Latin ablative **mente** (from the feminine noun **mens**, meaning *mind*, and, by extension, *manner*), e g *bonnement* is derived from **bona mente**, which means literally 'in a good mind, in a good manner' Originally the substantive was not merged with the adjective, and we find, in Old French, instances of two adverbs normally ending in **-ment** following one another, in which the termination **-ment** is omitted from the first adverb *e humle et dulcement* (Chanson de Roland, l 1163), as we should still say in French *d'une humble et douce manière*

Notes —(1) The adjective is feminine in form Several cases must be distinguished under this head

(*a*) In certain adjectives the feminine forms were indistinguishable in Old French from the masculine *fort, grand, tel, mortel, gentil, constant*, &c (§ 180) The feminines of such adjectives as constituent parts of adverbs in **-ment** have been mostly remodelled according to modern rules. Thus we have

O F	Mod F
forment	*fortement*
granment	*grandement*

[1] = Eng *rear*

O F	Mod F
mortelment	*mortellement*
griefment	*grievement*
loyalment, loyaument	*loyalement*

But traces of the old formation of the feminine have been preserved in the following words (1) *communement*, from the O F *communelment, communel* being another form of *communal*, (2) *gentiment* for *gentilment*, from *gentil*, an adjective, of which the masculine and feminine were identical, and also (3) in the adverbs which end in **-amment** and **-emment** The feminine forms of *constant, prudent*, were also *constant, prudent* The original adverbs must have been *constantment, prudentment*, &c, from which were derived *constan-ment, pruden-ment*, &c, and later on *constamment, prudemment*, &c In Modern French almost all adverbs taken from adjectives in **-ant**, or **-ent**, remain faithful to this mode of formation However, as early as the Middle Ages, and especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, literary men tried to give to the adjective the feminine form it had when used separately, and to introduce *prudentement, constantement, diligentement*, &c This attempt did not succeed, and the archaic feminine of the adjective persisted in use as a constituent part of the corresponding adverb, although it had become obsolete when used separately Of this attempt traces have remained in *presentement, vehementement* (§ 181, II)

(*b*) The adjectives above mentioned must not be confused with derivatives from Latin adjectives in **-entus, -enta**, which had distinct masculine and feminine forms.

lentus	**lenta**	*lent*	*lente*
opulentus	**opulenta**	*opulent*	*opulente*
violentus	**violenta**	*violent*	*violente*

Lentement, the adverb from *lent*, is regular (Lat **lentamente**) The adverbs from *opulent* and *violent* are irregular and were formed by analogy with the adverbs in **amment**

and **-emment** *opulemment, violemment,* instead of *opulentement, violentement,* being adopted

(2) In some cases the adjective is, or rather appears to be, masculine, this seldom occurs except in Modern French *Aveuglement, commodement, conformement, opiniâtrement,* are really derived, not from the corresponding adjectives *aveugle, commode,* &c, but from feminine past participles *aveuglee, (ac)commodee, conformee, opiniâtree* They lost the final **e** marking the feminine gender, just as the substantive *agreement* became *agrement* Similarly, *joliement, gaiement, duement,* have become *jolîment, gaîment, dûment,* just as the substantives *châtiement, paiement, eternuement,* have become *châtîment, paîment, eternûment*

Some adverbs have been affected by adverbs similar in sound Thus *immensement* was formed on the model of *sensement,* and *uniformement* and *enormement* were formed on that of *conformement*

Finally, others have been affected by the Latin adverbs ending with the vowel **ē** *confus, confuse, diffus, diffuse, expres, expresse,* have given *confusement, diffusement, expressement* (instead of *confusement, diffusement, expressement*), because of the Latin adverbs **confusē, diffusē, expressē** Similarly the adverb *impunement* has been formed from the Latin **impunē,** and has replaced the old adverb *impuniement,* corresponding to the feminine *impunie*

This formation of adverbs in **-ment** has developed extraordinarily in French The suffix **-ment** has even been added to some adverbs *comment* is the adverb *com* (Lat **cum**) + **-ment**, *quasiment* is the adverb **quasi** + **-ment.**

(iv) **Adverbs formed from phrases** —Some adverbs have been formed by an elliptic combination of words forming a statement

Naguere, from *n'a guere,* which is equivalent to *il n'y a pas beaucoup de temps*

Pieça, an O F adverb, is equivalent to *il y a piece de temps, il y a un bout de temps.*

Peut-être is equivalent to *cela peut être, il peut être* Hence the use of the conjunction *que* in *peut être qu'il a raison* There should by rights be no hyphen in *peut être.* [Cf the Eng *may be*]

Cependant is equivalent to *cela pendant, la chose etant en suspens* (*the matter pending*)

Maintenant is equivalent to *la main tenant, pendant que la main tient*

Ce nonobstant, and the still more elliptical *nonobstant,* are equivalent to *cela n'etant pas obstant, ne faisant pas obstacle* [Cf the parallel use of the English equivalent *notwithstanding*]

We must also mention *oui* and *nenni*

These two adverbs are formed from o + il and non + il respectively It was for a long time thought that *oil* and *nennil,* which became *oui* and *nenni,* were formed from **hoc illud** = 'that is it' and from **non illud**, 'it is not it' The explanation is erroneous In Old French the answer used to an interrogation was either *o* (Lat **hoc**) or *non* (of which the atonic form was *nen*), or else these adverbs followed by the subject of the verb (understood) To the questions

1	*Ai-je bien fait ?*	{ corresponded / the answers }	*o tu*	*nen tu*
2	*As tu bien fait ?*	,,	*o je*	*nen je*
3	*A-t il bien fait ?*	,,	*o il*	*nen il*
4	*A-t elle bien fait ?*	,,	*o ele*	*nen ele*
5	*Avons-nous bien fait ?*	,,	*o vos*	*nen vos*
6	*Avez-vous bien fait ?*	,,	*o nos*	*nen nos*
7	*Ont-ils bien fait ?*	,,	*o il*	*nen il*
8	*Ont-elles bien fait ?*	,,	*o elles*	*nen elles*

Of these eight forms of reply, the 3rd and the 7th, which were identical in form, were most used They gradually lost their etymological signification and became the signs of affirmation or negation pure and simple

261 SIGNIFICATION OF ADVERBS.—The adverb is used to limit the meaning of the verb by expressing the circumstances of the action denoted by the verb. Adverbs may be divided into several classes according to the nature of these circumstances.

Adverbs of place *en, y, ici, la, ou, en haut, en bas, ailleurs, partout*, &c.

Adverbs of time *hier, demain, alors, enfin, jamais, souvent*, &c.

Adverbs of manner *ainsi, bien, mal, ensemble*, &c.

Among the adverbs of manner are included the **adverbs of quantity** *combien, tres, presque, tout, tant, plus, moins*, &c.

We may consider as adverbs of quantity the adverbs of indefinite quantity used absolutely *beaucoup, peu, trop, assez*, &c.

Adverbs of mode[1] *oui, non, certes, vraiment, peut être, necessairement*, &c.

We must remember that some adverbs are also used as pronouns *en, y, dont* (Book IV, §§ 399, 413).

262 THE ORIGINS OF FRENCH PREPOSITIONS.—French prepositions have been either derived from corresponding Latin prepositions or formed by composition.

263 PREPOSITIONS DERIVED FROM LATIN PREPOSITIONS.—The majority of French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions.

Latin	French.	Latin	French
ad	*a*	**per**	*par*
contra	*contre*	**pro**	*pour*
de	*de*	**sine**	*sans*
in	*en*	**versus**	*vers*
inter	*entre*	**super**	*sur*
ultra	*outre*		

[1] Sometimes called *adverbs of affirmation and negation*.

Some are derived from Latin adverbs, which had previously become prepositions

subtus	*sous*	**foris**	*fors* and *hors*
retro	*riere*	**pressum**	*pres*

In Gallo-Romanic new prepositions were formed from Latin substantives *chez* from **casam** (= *in the house of*), *lez* from **latus** (*side, by the side of, beside*)

264. PREPOSITIONS OF FRENCH FORMATION.—In French there exist compound prepositions formed from either two prepositions, or an adverb preceded by a preposition *devers, envers, dessus, dessous, arriere, derriere, depuis, apres*

Others have been formed from prepositions followed by an object case of either an adjective or a pronoun e.g. *des*, from the Latin **de ipso**, *parmi*, which replaced the old adverb *enmi*, from the Latin **in medio** (*in the middle*)

Prepositions have also been created from present or past participles *durant, pendant, suivant, touchant, moyennant*, *attendu, excepté, supposé*, &c., *ras* (Latin **rasus**), past participle of the O.F. verb *rere* (Mod.F. *raser*), which signifies 'on a level with' *ras pied, ras terre*. *Malgré* is composed of an adjective and a substantive, *malgré lui* is equivalent to *au mauvais gré de lui* (*to his dissatisfaction*) This primitive sense is preserved in the locution *malgré qu'il en ait* = 'whatever dissatisfaction he may have therefrom,' and, hence, *in spite of him*

We must distinguish, from the formations just dealt with, the **prepositional phrases** formed from either adverbs or substantives followed by the preposition **de** or **à** *loin de, près de, proche de, au delà de, en dedans de, auprès de, au dessus de*, *à cause de, en dépit de, en face de, vis-à-vis de*, and, with the ellipsis of the preposition, *vis-à-vis, en face*[1]

[1] E.g. *vis à vis son frère, en face la maison* These expressions are used, but are regarded as inelegant

Prepositions, whether simple or compound (with the exception of the prepositional phrases), cannot be essentially distinguished from adverbs Both in the past and in the present the language has failed to make the distinction, especially in the case of compound adverbs and of prepositions formed of two or more particles At the present time *dessus, dessous, dehors, dedans,* are adverbs But they were formerly both adverbs and prepositions, and even at the present day they retain their prepositional use when they are combined with and preceded by another preposition *par dessus la table, de dessous la table, par dedans la maison, de dehors les murs*

265 SIGNIFICATION OF PREPOSITIONS —Prepositions denote certain general relations between two terms called *the antecedent* and *the consequent* They denote relations of—

(1) **place** and **direction** *a, de, vers, sur, en, dans, chez,* &c

(2) **time** and **duration** *a, avant, depuis, apres, pendant,* &c

(3) **cause, means,** or **purpose** . *a, de, par, pour,* &c

(4) **manner** *a, selon, suivant, d'apres, de,* &c

The prepositions *a* and *de* still denote, besides the relations of place, time, manner, &c , those relations which the Latin declension expressed by means of the genitive, dative, and ablative cases

266 CONJUNCTIONS PROPERLY SO CALLED —The true conjunctions are

Latin	French	Latin	French
et	*et*	**quod, quid**	*que*
nec	*ni*	**quando**	*quand*
aut	*ou*	**si**	*si*

The other simple and compound conjunctions, *mais, comme, aussi, ainsi, cependant, pourtant,* &c , are only adverbs used absolutely

267 CONJUNCTIVE PHRASES —French uses **conjunctive phrases** These are formed in two ways by combining the simple conjunction *que* either (1) with a preposition, or (2) with a noun

(1) *Preposition + que* —In Old French this kind of conjunction was formed by the combined use of a preposition, the demonstrative *ce* governed by the preposition, and the conjunction *que a ce que, avant ce que, apres ce que, depuis ce que, pour ce que, par ce que, jusqu'a ce que, puis ce que, sans ce que,* &c

From some of these phrases the pronoun has been dropped at a more or less recent period *avant que, apres que, depuis que, pour que* (blamed by Vaugelas), *puisque*

Ce has been preserved in the other phrases It is difficult to say why it has been preserved in one case and dropped in another

(2) The remaining conjunctive phrases are merely prepositional phrases in which the *de* has been replaced by *que a cause de, a cause que , afin de, afin que*

268 SIGNIFICATION OF CONJUNCTIONS —Conjunctions join two statements, forming either (1) a **co-ordinating link**, which connects statements independent of one another, e. g. *et, ou, ni ,* or (2) a **subordinating link**, which makes a statement considered as accessory depend on another statement considered as the principal statement, e g *que* and the *conjunctive phrases*

II Interjections

269 THE INTERJECTION —The **interjection** is not, properly speaking, a part of speech It is not a word, as it expresses no idea It is a *cry* expressing some sudden emotion e g *ah, aie, ha, bah, ouais, he, fi, ho, o, oh*

The majority of French interjections have been derived from Latin French has created others, either—

(1) by adding to certain existing interjections words having an independent meaning *hola = ho + la*, *helas*, in O F *he ! las = he ! + las* (*weary*) in the masculine, *he ! lasse*, in the feminine, the adjective being not yet fused with the interjection *'Ha ! las !' dist-il, 'com sui mal engeignez'* (Mod F *Hé, malheureux, dit il, comme, maintenant* [*je*] *suis trompé Couronnement Louis*, l 90), *Ha, fet elle, lasse chetive* (Mod F *Hé ! fait-elle, malheureuse prisonniere Dolopathos*, l 4024), or

(2) by using as interjections certain parts of speech (nouns, verbs, or adverbs) *ciel, dieu, dame* (Lat domine), *diable, diantre, bon, ferme, bien, ça, or ça, allons, tiens, va da* (from *dia*, a contraction from *di* and *va*, the imperatives of *dire* and *aller*), *aga* (now obsolete, an abbreviation for the O F *agarde*, the imperative of the O F verb *agarder* = *to look*) &c.

BOOK III

FORMATION OF WORDS AND LIFE OF WORDS

270 THE THREE SOURCES OF THE FRENCH VOCABULARY —Words not only undergo modifications in sound and form, but they may also on the one hand give rise to new words, and on the other undergo change of meaning We now come therefore to a new series of enquiries into the elements of the vocabulary

Popular Latin possessed several thousands of words which ultimately became French words by a mere change of pronunciation But this primitive vocabulary soon became inadequate to express the new ideas that the uninterrupted growth of civilization was destined to call forth It became progressively richer, the inevitable losses being more than compensated for by yet greater additions, so that in the 19th century it attained the formidable total of some 200,000 words, presented in Littre's *French Dictionary*

This process of enrichment of the language may be resolved into three modes

1 Popular Latin had recourse to certain methods of composition and derivation which the French language has continued to use and to develope French has thus drawn from the words already in existence in the language

an immense array of new words, by the use of certain combinations with prefixes, suffixes, or other words These are the words of **Popular Formation**

2 Owing to political, commercial, and industrial relations, &c, which form a bond of union among nations, French has been enriched in various degrees by borrowing from the other languages of the world at large a number of words, and assimilating them These are the **Borrowings from Foreign Tongues**

3 During the Middle Ages the sciences, theological, philosophical, and natural, were expressed, as they grew, in *Low Latin*, a little later on, from the time of the Renaissance, French writers began to study and imitate the writers of ancient Greece and Rome and hence a number of words and significations borrowed from Low Latin, Classical Latin, and Greek, were introduced, and even Greek and Latin modes of composition and derivation were transplanted, into the French language Words borrowed or formed in this way we term words of **Learned Formation**

The examination of these three groups of words will lead us to trace out the origins of the vocabulary this we term the study of the **Formation of Words**

In a second part we shall consider words in their various meanings this we term the study of the **Life of Words**

FIRST PART

FORMATION OF WORDS

CHAPTER I

POPULAR FORMATION OF WORDS

271 TWO MODES OF POPULAR FORMATION — Popular formation comprises **popular composition** and **popular derivation**

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Introduction

As a preliminary to the study of compound words certain general considerations are necessary

272 Compound words.—We have already seen (Book II, p. 180) that every substantive comes into being as a qualifying word. In fact the substantive designates the object by a single quality, its most salient one. The image of this particular quality which the substantive awakens in the mind gradually calls up that of the other qualities, and consequently the name of this particular image becomes in time the exact representation of the whole image of the object: the qualifying word thus comes to designate the whole of the qualities, that is the substance, and becomes a substantive. Thus *drapeau* signified originally 'piece of stuff' (*drap*). When this word was applied to a *flag* it designated it by calling up first the image of the stuff. Then the secondary images which, taken together with the first, constitute the flag grew to be associated with that of the stuff itself, so that the word *drapeau* came to express the object *flag*, with all its qualities.

Thus, every substantive being originally a noun of quality designating an object by one of its qualities, we can define it as *a* **determinant** *that specifies a* **determinate unexpressed**.

Express the determinate also and you have a **compound word**. In *chou fleur* (*cauliflower* = a *chou* which is at the same time *fleur*), *chou* is the general term, which is determined by the particular term *fleur* (terminal efflorescence from the leaves). In *chef lieu* (*chief town* = a *lieu*, place whose characteristic is to be the principal, the *chef*), *chef* is the determinant, *lieu* the determinate. In *arc en ciel* (*rainbow* = *arc*, bow, whose characteristic is to appear in the sky, *ciel*), *en ciel* is the determinant, *arc* the determinate.

A compound noun, then, defines an object by means of

a general term, the **determinate**, and a particular term, the **determinant**, which restricts its extension (§ 130)

The difference between the simple noun and the compound noun is consequently a mere external difference, essentially and logically the history of the meaning is the same in both We have in both cases the obliteration of the particular image expressed by the determinant through the single image presented by the object as a whole Just as *drapeau* has lost its first meaning of a piece of cloth, and now evokes in our minds the simple and single image of a flag, so in *chou-fleur* the two images of *chou* and of *fleur* have dropped, leaving only the simple and single image of a cauliflower

Compare *pomme d'acajou* and *pomme de terre* *Pomme d'acajou* signifies 'an apple or similar fruit produced by the *acajou*' (*cashew*) *Pomme de terre* does not recall the idea of 'an apple or similar fruit, which grows in the ground,' but the simple and single image of the potato

It is only on reflexion that *pain d'épices* (*gingerbread*) is analyzed into *pain* (*bread*) made with *épices* (*spices*), that *licou* (*halter*) is explained by the idea of *lier* (*to bind*) and the idea of *cou* (*neck*), &c

These compound words have become simple to the mind because they evoke simple images The unity of the image makes the unity of the word

These principles rule the whole theory of compound words, they apply not only to nouns but to all kinds of compound words Compound words become *logically* simple as soon as the several ideas evoked by each of the terms of the compound have merged into one dominant idea

273 THREE KINDS OF COMPOSITION — There are three kinds of composition **apparent composition or juxtaposition, composition properly so called, or elliptical composition, composition with particles**

274 JUXTAPOSITION.—Juxtaposition consists in the union of two or more terms, grouped according to the ordinary laws of the language without transgressing the rules of syntax, and without ellipsis, which through frequent use have finally merged the images of the determinant, or determinants, and determinate into the unity of a simple image: *pomme de terre, arc en ciel, gendarme, vinaigre, fer blanc*. We shall call words formed by juxtaposition **juxtapositæ**.

275 ELLIPTICAL COMPOSITION.—In **composition properly so called**, or **elliptical composition**, more ideas are comprised in the word formed than are expressed by the component terms taken separately: this really depends upon an ellipsis. In *timbre poste* there is the ellipsis of a preposition: *timbre* de la *poste* or pour la *poste*, in *arrière cour*, of a proposition[1]: *cour* qui est en *arrière*, in *portefeuille*, of a whole sentence: ce qui *porte* les *feuilles*, or, using the imperative to be more exact, *porte, va porter les feuilles*.

In the apparent mode of composition by juxtaposition the component terms can only be said to form a compound from the time when they have lost each their own proper significations, and so made room for a single image. In composition properly so called, on the contrary, a word exists as a compound from the very day when the component terms are forcibly united by an ellipsis, even though the components may retain for some time their individual meanings before being reduced to the unity of image. It follows that compounds by juxtaposition have *as compounds* but one phase of existence, that in which they evoke but one single idea in the mind, whilst true compounds have two: the first when composition brings together two or

[1] [We shall follow French usage in employing the word *proposition* to denote any sentence or part of a sentence containing the finite part of a verb.]

several terms in defiance of syntax, and the second when these terms come to express only one single idea

As this reduction to unity of image is the work of time and use, it comes to pass that certain expressions appear in an intermediate state, not yet grown simple enough to present unity of image, and yet familiar enough for the component terms to have become habitually associated and blurred These expressions naturally vary with the use made of them by various classes of society, thus, many a locution formed by juxtaposition may have become simple to some and remain a mere collocation to others The workmen who manufacture *blanc de ceruse* (*white-lead*), and are called *blanc-de cerusiers*, must consider the compound *blanc de ceruse* as a simple word, which, for most of them, offers no character of composition We reserve the name of *locutions by juxtaposition* for collocations of words which show this transitional character

This distinction, of course, applies only to juxtapositives, which acquire the function of compounds, i e of single words, only when they are reduced to unity of image With true compounds, which have existed as compounds from the very moment when ellipsis united their component terms, there is no need to inquire whether these terms are reduced to a simple idea in the mind or no

276 COMPOSITION WITH PARTICLES - **Composition with particles**, which has furnished the French language with the largest class of its compound words, comprises those compound words whose first element is either an adverb or a preposition *bienheureux, soumettre*

In certain cases it proceeds by simple juxtaposition *maltraiter*, in others it partakes of elliptical composition *arrière-cour* It might have been thought unnecessary to consider this mode apart, instead of distributing its terms between the two first divisions But it offers certain characteristics which are absolutely proper to itself when,

besides the prefix, a suffix is added *em-barqu er, entre colonne-ment* Indeed, the combination of the particle with the noun or verb is subject to a series of laws of its own, which include every possible form in this kind of composition It is therefore necessary to treat it separately, and its proper place lies between juxtaposition and true composition, since it partakes of the characteristics of either

Of course compounds with particles, like the others, obey the law of reduction to unity of image

277 ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION OF COMPOUND WORDS —Reduction to unity of image is sometimes shown by the outward form, by the spelling of the word In certain compounds the component terms have merged in a single word *plafond, vinaigre, gendarme, lucon, dorenavant, dument* These compounds present modifications of their components, both in pronunciation and spelling, in conformity with the general laws of phonetics When union has not taken place in writing, the simplification consists in the suppression of the *tempus forte* belonging to the first of the component terms Compare the pronunciation of *coffre* in these two sentences *Voici un coffre fort* (*Here is a strong box*) and *voici un coffre fort* (*Here is a strong box, or safe*)- and you will hear the difference, resulting from the presence or absence of the *tempus forte* on the word *coffre*[1]

278 RELATIVE POSITION OF THE DETERMINANT AND THE DETERMINATE We have just seen how the component terms lose their own proper value for the sake of the new idea that their union has to express both determinant and determinate are lost in one new and simple image What places should they occupy respectively in the word which they unite to form ?

[1] [In English following the ordinary tendency of the language, the *tempus forte* falls on the antecedent, strongbox]

The determinant expresses a particular quality, a phenomenon, relative to the determinate Now the mind usually is at first struck by the qualities, the phenomena of objects, as it can only take cognizance of things by their outward manifestations It is therefore natural, in those abridged propositions which we call compound words, for the determinant or attribute to precede the determinate such is the case in Sanscrit, and in German and English, as well as in Latin, we rarely see the determinate put first The Romance languages, which are more analytic, must have receded from this primitive Latin construction, in two fifths of the cases, however, the synthetic construction of the Latin has been still preserved and the determinant precedes, it follows in the other three-fifths

1 Juxtaposition

French possesses a great number of words formed by juxtaposition substantives, adjectives, pronouns, verbs indeclinable words We shall duly examine them in the order of the parts of speech

279 SUBSTANTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION — French employs various processes in forming substantives by juxtaposition Sometimes it unites a substantive to an adjective *bonhomme* (**juxtapositos of co ordination**), sometimes it unites two substantives by means of prepositions *eau de vie, char a banc* (**juxtapositos of subordination**), sometimes one or other of these two processes is used, under the influence of figures of speech, or tropes *blanc bec* (*greenhorn*), *pied d'alouette* (*larkspur*) (**figurative locutions**), sometimes it has recourse to other simple and obvious modes of formation

280 JUXTAPOSITES OF CO-ORDINATION (**substantive + adjective**) —(1) The determinant precedes *basse-cour*, *beaux arts*, *bonheur*, *bonjour*, *bonsoir*, *chauve-souris*, *fausse-*

monnaie, haut-mal, grand livre (*ledger*), ***lese-majeste, mal façon, malheur, petit-fils, petits-enfants, plafond, printemps, ronde-bosse, sauvegarde,*** &c —***Beauheu, Belle-Isle, Clermont, Grandville, Noirmoutier, Richelieu,*** &c

(11) The determinant follows *branle bas, chat-huant* (*owl*, lit *hooting cat*), *coffre fort, eau forte* (*aqua fortis*), *fer-blanc* (*tin plate*), *main chaude* (game of *hot cockles*), *raifort, vinaigre* &c – *Chateauneuf, Montagu, Montrouge, Rochefort, Ville franche,* &c

The first term may be an adjective used substantively *clair obscur, gras double* (*tripe*), *douce-amere* (*bitter sweet*)

Note 1 —We may notice *juxtapositos* formed with the possessive *monsieur, messieurs, madame, mesdames, mademoiselle, mesdemoiselles, monseigneur, messire, Notre Seigneur, Notre Dame* The fusion is seen in various degrees of completeness The following locutions *mon cher monsieur, ton monsieur* –are now used currently, without a thought of the presence of the possessive idea in *mon*, the compound *monsieur* having become so thoroughly a simple word So we say in the singular *chere madame*, but not yet in the plural *cheres mesdames Ma chere mademoiselle* is coming into use, but not *cette chere mademoiselle* In the plural we do not use *mes cheres mesdemoiselles*, nor *cheres mesdemoiselles*, but *mes cheres demoiselles*

Note 2 —Notice the particular sense of *beau* in *beau fils, beau pere, belle mere,* &c These expressions are derived from the peculiar use of this word during the Middle Ages, when persons greeted each other in conversation with the epithets *beau, belle beau sire, belle dame, beau fils* When these polite forms gave way to the less flattering and more simple expressions of *monsieur, madame*, they were utilized to express the relations of step-father, step mother, step-son, and step daughter or

the same relations 'in law') which had been conveyed by terms which have since become obsolete *parâtre*, *marâtre*, *filâtre* (now *beau-fils*), *serorge* (now *belle-sœur*) Of these, *marâtre* has alone survived in the metaphorical and pejorative sense of *step mother*

Note 3.—Compounds such as *conseiller general*, *faux monnayeur*, come from earlier compounds *conseil-general*, *fausse-monnaie* Now, these compounds being formed by simple juxtaposition, it was difficult to obtain derivatives from them For instance, to convey the idea of 'member of the council general,' or of 'maker of bad money,' it was impossible to say *conseil general ier*, *faux monnaie-ier*[1] The language solved the difficulty by a bold construction, it made from the substantive its own true derivative from *conseil*, *conseiller*, from *monnaie*, *monnayeur*, and to this concrete derivative noun it applied the adjective of the abstract noun, modifying its application *conseiller-general*, *faux monnayeur*

281 JUXTAPOSITES OF SUBORDINATION (**substantive + substantive**).—In juxtapositcs formed of two substantives the one governs the other *char a bancs*, *eau de vie*

We have to consider three periods with reference to the creation of this kind of juxtapositcs 1st, the Latin period, 2nd, the period of Old French, 3rd, the period of Modern French

1 *Latin period*.—Latin used cases to express certain relations, which French expresses by prepositions Hence it formed juxtapositcs by means of two substantives alone, one of which depended on the other and was in the case that expressed this relation of dependence **pater familias**[2], *pere de famille*

Now, certain Latin juxtapositcs have passed straight

[1] Cf *ferblantier* (*whitesmith*) In *fer blanc* (*tin plate*) we no longer recognize the original component terms

[2] *Familias* was an archaic genitive

into French, undergoing the changes imposed by general phonetic laws Thus

lūnae dĭem	became	*lun di*
mărtis dĭem	,,	*mars-di, mar di*
mĕrcŭrĭ dĭem	,,	*mercre di*
jŏvis dĭem	,,	*jues di, jeudi*
vĕnĕris dĭem	,,	*vendres di, vendredi*
sămbătĭ dĭem	,,	*sambdi di, samedi*

Similarly **Portus Veneris**, *Port Vendres*, **pullĭ pĕdem** (fowl's foot = *purslane*), *pol pied, poulpied, pourpier*, **comes stăbulĭ** (count of the stable), *connetable*, **auri pigmentum**, *orpiment*, **auri făber** (*goldsmith*, *orfevre*

In most of these words formed from Latin juxtapositēs, their component elements became so completely amalgamated as to be unrecognizable *pourpier* In the rest one of the terms was still apparent, the other almost obliterated *lundi mardi connetable*, &c., *Port Vendres*, for while *di* was known as a synonym of *jour*, and *table*, *port*, were words of the language, *lun-*, *mar-*, *con-*, *-Vendres*, had no meaning Only in a few cases were both terms still easily recognizable, each with its proper value *or piment*, *or-fevre* (*piment de l'or*, *fevre de l'or*)

On the type of this class of compounds Old French created some new compounds, in which the genitive precedes the governing term *ban lieue*, *ban cloche* (the *lieue*, the *cloche* of the territory, of the *ban*)

2 *Old French period*.—The preposition *de*, now used to unite one substantive with another to show a relation of possession, was in the Old language not expressed before the second substantive when this denoted a person or a thing personified, and was the logical subject of the former (that is, when it denoted a possessive genitive) *L'amour de Dieu* has one of two meanings (1) *l'amour qu'on a pour Dieu* (*the love of God*)—in this case *Dieu* is the logical

objective of *amour*, or (ii) *l'amour que Dieu a* (*God's love*) —and in this case *Dieu* is the logical subject of *amour*, it is a possessive genitive It is not the same genitive that we find in *le meurtre du roi* (*the murder of the king*), and *le crime du roi* (*the crime of the king*), respectively Now, in *le crime du roi*, where *roi* is the logical subject of *crime*, Old French did not insert the preposition *de*, similarly it used *la maison le roi*, and not *du roi*, *la mort Notre Seigneur*, not *de Notre Seigneur*, *l'epee Roland*, not *de Roland*, *le frere Charles*, not *de Charles*, *les quatre fils Aymon*, and not *d'Aymon*

This construction was lost in Middle French, the preposition *de* found its way everywhere However, numerous relics of the ancient usage have survived

(*a*) Juxtaposites *hôtel-Dieu*, *fete-Dieu*, *bain-Marie*, *cuisse Madame* (a kind of pear), *bourg epine* (*Alatern buckthorn*), &c

(*b*) Interjections involving the name of God, often disguised from religious scruples *corps Dieu*, *cordieu*, *corbleu*, *mort-Dieu*, *mordieu*, *morbleu*, *morgueu*, *morguenne*, *mordienne*, *par le sang-Dieu*, *par la sang Dieu*, *par la sambieu*, *palsambleu*, &c

(*c*) Proper nouns of places *La Chaise Dieu* (*chaise* comes from the Latin **casa**, *house* or *hut*), *Rochechouart*, *Château Briant*, *Fontaine Bliaut* (*Fontainebleau*), *Font-Evrault* (*Font evrault*), &c

With the intercalation of an article *Villeneuve le Roi*, *Bourg-la Reine*, *Baygneux les-Juifs*, &c The article refers in the above and following instances to the first noun, with the sense of *celui*, *celle* *Mesnil le-Guerin* (= *Mesnil*, *celui de Guerin*), *Villeneuve-la Guyard* (= *Villeneuve*, *celle de Guyard*), &c (see Book II, § 199, note 2)

(*d*) Family names *Jean Simon*, etymologically *Jean de Simon*, *fils de Simon*

(*e*) Religious festivals *la Saint Jean*, *la Saint-Martin*, *la Toussaint* (for *la fete de Saint Jean*, &c.).

(*f*) Names of firms *maison Pierre et C^ie^, librairie Delagrave*

(*g*) Proprietary articles *benzine Colas pastilles Geraudel*

(*h*) Certain expressions in political and legal phraseology *le ministère Richelieu, le procès Bazaine, l'affaire Clemenceau*

(*i*) Names of streets, squares, &c *rue La Fayette, place Maubert, boulevard Voltaire* We find also *faubourg Montmartre, boulevard Montparnasse*, this genitive having been extended to names of places, but *avenue de la Gare, boulevard de l'Hôpital*, because the possessive genitive here refers to common nouns

3 *Modern French period*—The modern language forms its juxtaposites with various prepositions

De *aide-de camp, blanc de céruse, chemin de fer, corps de garde, esprit de vin, gendarme, haut de chausses, homme de peine, main d'œuvre, mont de piété, pain d'épices, rez de chaussée, salle d'asile*

À *boîte au lait, boîte à lettres, cire à cire, chambre à coucher, machine à coudre, arme à feu, machine à vapeur, pot au feu, char-à-bancs, canne à épée*

In *propre-à-rien, justaucorps*, the first term is an adjective used substantively

En *arc-en-ciel, croc-en-jambes, bachelier-ès-lettres, bachelier ès sciences, maître-ès-arts, Arc-en-Barrois, Ars-en-Ré*

Lez (for *auprès*, from the Latin **latus**) is only to be found in some proper names of places *Plessis-lès-Tours, Saint Maur lès Fossés* (for 'Saint Maur auprès des Fossés')[1]

Sur in some names of places *Bar sur Aube, Chalons sur Marne*

282 Figurative locutions (**synecdoche, metaphor, metonymy**) - In a certain number of expressions formed by juxtaposition we must admit the influence of figures of

[1] [It is now replaced by *par* in modern postal addresses *Trépied par Etaples*, see Syntax § 471]

speech, or tropes *blanc bec, pied-d'alouette* At first sight one is tempted to regard them as words formed by ellipsis *Blanc-bec* (*greenhorn*) would seem to signify 'an individual with a *white beak*' (*bec blanc*), *pied-d'alouette* (*larkspur*) 'a plant with a leaf like a *lark's foot*' (*pied d'alouette*) In reality we have here a simple juxtaposition, modified by a figure which might have the same effect on a simple word Let us compare *bureau* and *tapis vert* *Bureau*, like *bure*, signified originally a kind of coarse woollen stuff, this noun was applied by a trope to the covered table of an office, and then to the room in which the table stands So *tapis vert* first denoted green cloth, then, by the action of a trope, the table covered by that cloth (*card-table*), and then the room where the table stands (*gambling saloon*) There is no ellipsis in the transformations of the sense of *bureau*, nor is there any in those of *tapis vert*

The figures that play a part in the formation of figurative locutions are **synecdoche, metaphor,** and **metonymy**

Synecdoche (§ 339) takes one term for another of unequal extent, replacing the whole by its part, or vice versa, &c It mostly affects juxtapositeS of co ordination, sometimes juxtapositeS of subordination

(i) JuxtapositeS of co-ordination

The determinant precedes *un bel-esprit, un blanc bec, une blanche raie* (*starling*), *une blanche-coiffe* (the *white-headed pie* of Cayenne), *une dure peau* (a kind of *pear*, or *grape*, according to Littré), *un rouge bord* (a *bumper*, red (*rouge*) with wine to the rim (*bord*)), &c

The determinant follows *un bas-bleu, un cordon bleu, une gorge-blanche* (*white throat*), *un pied bot* (a man with a *club foot*), *un tapis vert*

(ii) JuxtapositeS of subordination *bouton d'or* (*buttercup*), *bouton d'argent* (*white double ranunculus, bachelor's button*), *barbe a Jean* or *barbajan* (*owl*), &c

Metaphor Metaphor (§ 341) applies the name of one object to another with which it has points of resemblance.

Unlike synecdoche, it mostly affects juxtapositions of subordination, and but rarely juxtapositions of co-ordination. It has been used to create a host of locutions designating animals, plants, and instruments.

(1) Juxtapositions of subordination: *barbe-de-capucin* (*curly endive*), *boule de-neige* (*snowball tree*), *dent-de loup* (kind of peg), *oreille d'ane* (*comfrey*), *pas d'âne* (*coltsfoot*), *pied d'alouette* (*larkspur*), *pied de poule* (*crowfoot*), *œil de-bœuf* (*bullseye window*, &c.), *tête-de-mort* (*skull* or *death's head moth*), *œil de chat* (*catseye*, gem), *bec de-cane* (*duck-bill forceps*), *bec de-corbin* (*halberd, halberdier*), *queue-de-rat* (*rat tail file*), *pied de-mouche* (spidery writing).

(2) Juxtapositions of co-ordination: *aigue marine* (*aqua marine*, gem), *bouillon blanc* (*mullein*), *cerf volant* (*kite*, for flying), *fer chaud* (*actual cautery, heartburn*), *longue-vue* (*spyglass, telescope*), *dure-mere* (*dura mater*), *pie-mere* (*pia mater*), &c.

Metonymy. Metonymy (§ 340) designates one object by the name of another which is connected with it by certain constant relations.

It is by means of metonymy that those locutions by juxtaposition are formed which indicate certain kinds of pear: *un bon Chrétien*, *un Martin sec*, *un Martin Sire*, &c., for *une poire de bon Chrétien*, *de Martin sec*, &c.

We may also quote: *un terre neuve* (*Newfoundland dog*), *collet monte* (*precisian*), *coin de feu* (*dressing-gown*), *un Saint Augustin* (a kind of type in printing), &c.

Such are the three modes in which locutions formed by juxtaposition are taken figuratively. Usually metaphor is associated with synecdoche or metonymy, sometimes even one metaphor is grafted on another. In *pied d'alouette* (pied de l'alouette) not the whole plant, but one part of the plant, the leaf, is compared with a *lark's foot*, and thus a synecdoche and a metaphor are united. *Bec-de-lievre* (*hare-lip*) implies two metaphors and a synecdoche: the

cleft lip, which is the characteristic of this deformity, is compared to a *hare's* lip, and this again to a *bird's* beak, to this double comparison is added synecdoche, designating the individual by the name of the local deformity that characterizes him

Some of the expressions formed by juxtaposition, modified by synecdoche, metaphor, and metonymy, do not show the gender or number which etymology would seem to demand, this appears to indicate an ellipsis We find *un rouge gorge* (*redbreast*), *un rouge queue* (*redstart*), *un grand'croix*, *un pattepelu* (*corn-weevil*), *une bon-bec* (*chattering woman*),—*un trois-mâts* (*three master*), *un trois pieds* (*tripod stool*), *un trois ponts* (*three decker*), *un cent-Suisse* (*one of the King's hundred Swiss guards*), *une mille feuille* (*milfoil*), *une mille-graine* (*allseed*) Originally these nouns had the gender or number required by the sense Thus *rouge gorge* and *rouge queue* were feminine until the 18th century 'La *rouge-gorge* est de tous les oiseillons le meilleur à manger, c'est dommage qu'elle soit si petite' (Dict de Trevoux, 1771) Furetiere's Dictionary [1691] gives **une** *rouge queue male*, **une** *rouge queue femelle* *Pattepelu* was feminine in the 16th century **une** *pattepelue* **Un** *bon bec* was used before **une** *bon-bec* So, in the reduction of the plural to the singular, the forms **les** *cent gardes*, **les** *cent-Suisses* **les** *Trois-ponts*, **les** *trois mâts*, **les** *mille graines*, preceded the forms *un cent garde*, *un trois mâts*, &c This change of gender or number is due to the fact that in these locutions formed by juxtaposition the distinct components have been reduced to unity of image they are now simple juxtaposites

Such locutions as we have just treated may be used in apposition, becoming a sort of adjective Thanks to this capacity, they were a copious source of proper names during the Middle Ages, and gave rise to a number of nicknames *Bernard Plante-velue*, *Guillaume Longue-epee*, *Frederic Barbe rousse*, *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* [cf *Saint-*

Jean Bouche d'Or, Chrysostom], &c Such nicknames are the origins of many modern surnames, and this creation of figurative expressions still survives in country places and among the working-classes

283 OTHER SUBSTANTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION — The other types of substantives formed by juxtaposition are so simple that it is sufficient to enumerate them

I Two substantives united by the conjunction *et* *arts et metiers* (*arts and crafts*), *poids et mesures*, *ponts et chaussees*, *point et virgule* (*semicolon*), *chaud et froid* (in cookery), *etoffe coton et laine*, and hence, by the dropping out of *et* *point-virgule*, *chaud-froid*, *coton laine*

II Adverb + substantive *desarroi*, *desastre*, *mesaventure*, *non-sens*, *presqu'ile*, *renom* The substantive may be originally a participle *bienfait*

III Present participle with a direct object *lieutenant*, *ayants-droit* (*claimants*), *ayants-cause* (*legal representatives*)

IV Two infinitives, one governing the other *le savoir faire*, *le savoir vivre*, *le laisser aller*, *un ou dire* (for *ouï dire*, obsolete)

284 ADJECTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION —These juxtapositives present various types of combination

I The adjective is formed of an adverb and an adjective (or participle) *bienheureux*, *bienseant*, *bienveillant* (whence *bienseance*, *bienveillance*), *bien aime*, *bienvenu*, *maladroit*, *malentendu*, *malintentionne*, *mecontent*, *mecreant*, *desagreable*, *desobligeant*

II The adjective is formed of an adjective and a participle used adverbially *clairsemé* (*thin sown*, *scattered*), *clairvoyant*, *court-battu* or *courbatu* (*stiff with fatigue*), &c

III The adjective is formed of two adjectives, the first used adverbially *demi fin*, *demi rond*, *tout puissant*, *nouveau-ne*, *nouveau venu*, &c

In the older language the adjective used as an adverb and determining the second adjective might be inflected *chair hachée menue, œufs durs cuits* Some traces of this usage still remain *fenêtres grandes ouvertes, fleurs fraiches écloses, hommes ivres-morts* We also meet this archaism in the rule that leaves *tout* declinable, although an adverb, before a feminine adjective beginning with a consonant *toute puissante, toute bonne* (see Syntax, § 371)

Just as the conjunction *et* joins two substantives, it may also join two adjectives, and similarly be dropped out at a later stage *sourd et muet,* which was still in use in the 18th century, has become *sourd muet* by the loss of *et* Present usage has turned this new form to account, to distinguish the *sourds-muets*, mute because they are deaf, from the *sourds et muets*, deaf mutes by birth On the type of *sourds-muets* has been formed in our own time the correlative term, *entendants parlants*

IV To the class of adjectives formed by juxtaposition belong the numerals formed (1) by multiplication *deux cents trois cents, cinq mille, quatre-vingts*, &c , and (2) by addition *vingt trois, cent huit, mil trois, cent vingt-sept* The older language used *vingt et trois, cent et huit, mil et trois, cent et vingt et sept*, from the desire for brevity the conjunction *et* was everywhere dropped, save before *un* and *onze vingt et un, trente et un, soixante et onze, les mille et une nuits* We say, however, *cent un* (see Book II, p 201)

285 Pronouns formed by juxtaposition — See Book II, §§ 206, 207, 208, 212

286 Verbs formed by juxtaposition — Of these we find the following types —

I Verbs formed by the combination of a simple verb and a particle *contre dater, contre signer, décharger, mé prendre, mésavenir, parcourir, défaire, sourire, surmener*, &c

II Verbs formed of two verbs, the one governing the

other Thus the verb *faire* is used in forming **factitives**: *faire tomber, faire faire*

We must here again refer to infinitives used as substantives *le savoir-faire, le savoir-vivre, un ou'i dire* (§ 283, IV)

III See Book II, §§ 217-8, for the explanation of the forms of the future and conditional and the past tenses springing from a juxtaposition *chanterai, chanterais, j'ai chanté, je suis tombé*

287 INDECLINABLE WORDS FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION.— See Book II, § 260

II Composition with Particles

288 PARTICLES.—Composition with particles combines a *radical* (substantive, adjective, or verb) with a *particle* (adverb or preposition) called the *prefix* It combines them by juxtaposition, by elliptical composition, or by means of a third mode, involving the use of both prefixes and suffixes Composition with particles is one of the most fertile sources of new words that the language possesses, its activity seems inexhaustible

We shall first study the general characteristics of composition with particles, then we shall examine the special characteristics of each particle separately

Speaking generally, we must distinguish the form of the compound, the grammatical function of the particle, and its mode of use

289 FORM OF COMPOUNDS WITH PARTICLES.—The process of combination of radicals with particles comes from the Latin

1 In Latin the first vowel of the radical was usually modified in compounds

Facere became	**ficere**	*perficere, conficere, reficere*
Placere ,,	**plicere**	*displicere*
Tenere ,,	**tinere**	*continere, retinere*
Agere ,,	**igere**	*adigere, subigere*

Nevertheless a certain number of compounds of later formation escaped this change thus **placere** gave *complacere* during the Empire So we find *demandare* and not *demendare*, *pertangere* and not *pertingere*, &c

This new tendency to leave the form of the radical intact prevailed during the Gallo-Roman period Not only did the new compounds of radicals and particles show the radical intact, but even in the older compounds the changed form reverted to the primitive form of the simple radical

perficere became **perfȧcere**, *parfaire*
reficere ,, **refȧcere**, *refaire*
continere ,, **contẹnere**, *contenir*
displicere ,, **displȧcere**, *desplaire*, &c

Only a few compound verbs, whose radicals had either fallen into disuse or assumed such a new signification that their component elements were no longer recognizable, passed into French without undergoing this restoration of the radical **confịcere** did not become **confȧcere**, because it had assumed the special sense *to preserve* (in cooking), 'préparer en confiture,' *confire*, **consuere**, reduced to **cọsvere**, became the French *coudre*, *cousdre*, *coudre*, the simple verb **suere** of the same signification having disappeared Similarly we find *conclure* from **concḷudere**, *cailler* (*to clot*) from **coagulare**, *coucher* from **collocạre**, *emplir* from **implẹre**, *enter* (*to graft*) from **imputạre**

Particles were treated in the same way The preposition **per** when isolated became in French *par*, in composition also it became *par* **perdonare**, *pardonner*, **perjurạre**, *parjurer*, **perfịcere**, *parfaire* The prepositions **pro**, **trans**, became *pour*, *tres*, both when isolated and in composition **providẹre**, *pourvoir*, **transilịre**, Pop Lat **trassalire**, *tres saillir*, **transaltạre**, Pop Lat **tras-saltạre**, *tressauter*

The prepositions might acquire sufficient importance (in the sense) to be replaced by a neighbouring form of

similar meaning but greater volume, or even by another particle of similar sound Thus

E was replaced by **ex**

elevare became **exlevare**, O F *eslever*
eligere ,, **exlegere**, O F *eslire*

De was replaced by **dis-**

denudare became **disnudare**, O F *desnuer*
dedignari ,, **disdignari**, O F *desdaigner*
decrescere ,, **discrescere**, O F *descroistre*

Sub was replaced by **subtus**

Submittere became **subtus-mittere**, O F **sozmettre**, Mod F **soumettre**

Subridere became **subtus-ridere**, O F **sozrire**, Mod F **sourire**

Sometimes, even, there was an interchange between different prepositions of allied sense in (1) compound verbs

CONtaminare was replaced by **INtaminare**, *entamer*
ILluminare ,, **ADluminare**, *allumer*
INvitare ,, **CONvitare**, *convier*

(2) Compound substantives and adjectives

EXsequiae was replaced by **OBsequiae**, *obsèques*
PROfundus ,, **PERfundus**, O F *parfond*

It seems, then, that in the Gallo Roman period the language felt the need of bringing the component elements more into light

This is why in compounds of which the particle ends with a vowel, and the second term begins with a consonant, the union was never so complete as to hide the initial character of the consonant The consonant was thus preserved, whereas, had the compound been considered as a simple word, it would have dropped out as a medial (Book I, §§ 63, 99)

contradicere became *contredire*, not *contreire, contraire*
defendere ,, *defendre*, not *de-endre, dendre*
recipere ,, *recevoir*, not *reisoir, roisoir*

On the other hand, certain compounds, which were considered as simple words because the radical had disappeared, or because the earlier form was forgotten in the actual meaning, present the regular application of the laws of phonetics **tradere** became *tra-ir*, *tra hir*

2 Particles are either separable or inseparable They are separable when they may be used alone, as adverbs or prepositions, such are *a* (**ad**), *contre* (**contra**), *entre* (**inter**), *sous* (**subtus**), *sur* (**super**) They are inseparable when used only in composition, such are *e-*, O F *es-* (**ex-**), *de*, O F *des-* (**dis-**), *re-* (**re-**)

These inseparable particles were originally adverbs and prepositions that could be used alone, but have since gradually dropped out of use, and are only preserved in combination with certain radicals Thus in Latin the preposition **se** existed separately at the earliest period of the language, in classical times it was only preserved in composition **secūrus** (*sīr*), **separāre** (*sevro*), **seorsum**, later **sūrsum** (*sus*) So in the transition from Latin to Gallo-Romanic certain prepositions dropped out of independent use **ab**, **cum**, **circum**, **dis**, **ex**, &c , again, some of these have been less fortunate than others, for **ab** and **cum** no longer form compounds in French, whilst **ex** still exists as a prefix.

The same holds good for the separable particles *fors*, *outre*, are becoming restricted in their use or obsolete, *en*, *avant*, *entre*, *contre*, &c , are still in frequent use

290 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION OF PARTICLES — Particles may be either adverbs or prepositions

Bien, *mal*, *non*, are separable adverbs, *bes-*, *des*, *es-*, are inseparable adverbs

Those particles which are followed by an object are prepositions, either separable or inseparable *entre*, *contre*, *avant*, &c.

Prepositions are used (1) as true prepositions with an

object *contre poison, contre sens* (= ce qui est *contre* le poison, ce qui est *contre* le sens), *embarquer* (mettre *en* barque), or (2) as adverbs, when the object is understood *confrere, compere, commere* (*frere, pere, mere,* in association *with* another *frere, pere,* or *mere*) *Avant* is an adverb in *avant-bras* (*fore-arm*), and a preposition in *loge d'avant-scène* (*stage box*) *Sur* is a preposition in *surtout* (*above all*), an adverb in *surenchere* (*a bid higher*)

291 USE OF PARTICLES — Particles combine with radicals in four different modes, yielding four different types of compounds

1 **(Particle + Verb = Verb) A particle may combine with a verb to form a new verb**, thus **porter**, *apporter, comporter, deporter, reporter, supporter*, faire, *défaire, refaire*, **mettre**, *admettre, commettre, démettre, permettre, remettre, soumettre*

2 **(Particle + Substantive or Adjective = New Substantive or Adjective) A particle may combine with a noun, substantive or adjective, to form a new substantive or adjective**

(*a*) The particle is an adverb and produces a juxtaposite *bienheureux, déloyal, mésaventure, nonsens*

(*b*) The particle is an adverb and forms a true compound with the noun *arrière cour* (*back yard*), *avant bras* Here the noun is the subject of the adverb *cour qui est en arrière, partie du bras qui est en avant*

(*c*) The particle is a preposition and forms a true compound with the substantive which it governs *contrepoison* (that which is *contre le poison*), *pourboire* (*gratuity*, that which is *pour boire*)

3 **(Particle + Noun + Verb Suffix = Verb) A particle may combine with a noun and a verb suffix to form a new verb** *barque* forms *embarquer, noble, anoblir*

4 **(Particle + Noun + Noun-Suffix = New Substantive or Adjective) A particle may combine with a noun**

and a noun-suffix to form a new noun, substantive or adjective *colonne* forms *entre-colonne-ment*, *nature* forms *sur-natur-el*

The two last kinds of composition require closer examination Take *barque* and *embarquer* The French language possesses neither the substantive *embarque* nor the verb *barquer* Nevertheless, the synthesis of the prefix *em-* and the suffix *-er* with the radical *barque* suffices to produce the verb *embarquer* Similarly, *entrecolonne* does not exist, nor does *colonnement*, but the synthesis of the prefix *entre* and the suffix *-ment* with the radical *colonne* suffices to produce the compound

This kind of compound, where both prefix and suffix combine with the radical, has received the name of *parasynthetic*, from the Greek παρά, indicating juxtaposition, and συνθετός (= put together) it well expresses a formation in which three juxtaposed elements concur in the formation of a new word by synthesis

We distinguish **parasynthetic verbs** and **parasynthetic nouns**

292 PARASYNTHETIC VERBS — (i) Verbs thus formed generally belong to the 1st conjugation when the radical is a substantive, to the 2nd when it is an adjective, according to the general rules of the derivation of verbs (§ 318) **table**, *attabler*, **boite**, *déboiter*, **caisse**, *encaisser*, **col**, *accoler*, **ligne**, *aligner*, **os**, *désosser*, **pâte**, *empâter*, **doux**, *adoucir*, **faible**, *affaiblir*, **franc**, *affranchir*, **noble**, *anoblir*, **rond**, *arrondir*, **sourd**, *assourdir* The parasynthetics in ir, derived from substantives, e g **bout**, *aboutir*, **brute**, *abrutir*, **corne**, *racornir*, **terre**, *atterrir*, and those in -ei derived from adjectives, e g **chaud**, *échauder*, **fol**, *affoler*, **gai**, *égayer*, **pire**, *empirer*, are few in number, and nearly all of recent formation

(ii) The particle may be either an adverb or a preposition *embarquer* is equivalent to 'mettre en barque.'

déboîter to 'mettre hors la boîte', *barque* and *boîte* are the objects of *en* and of *dé*, which are prepositions. On the contrary, *éclaircir*, *ébourgner*, are not equivalent to 'mettre hors clair, hors bourgne,' but 'rendre clair, rendre bourgne.' Here the particle *é-* is an adverb, adding its signification to that expressed by the radical and the suffix, it becomes a sort of augmentative.

(iii) We must distinguish parasynthetic verbs from the compounds classified under § 291, 1. *Déborder* has two senses: it signifies, when speaking of a river, to *overflow* its banks (*bords*), *la rivière déborde*, it also signifies to *untuck* sheets previously tucked in (*bordes*). It is evident that we have here two different verbs: the former, being a parasynthetic from *bord*, is decomposed into *dé-* + *bord* + *-er*, the latter is formed by the simple verb *border* and the negative prefix *dé-*.

293 PARASYNTHETIC NOUNS. - Whilst parasynthetic verbs are very numerous, parasynthetic nouns are rare, the substantives *accroupon* (*a* + *croup* + *-on*), *désherence* (*dés* + *hoir*[2] + *-ence*), *écrançon* (*é* + *cran* + *-çon*), *effilage* (*é* + *fil* + *-age*), *embellie* (*en* + *bel* + *-ie*, *fine or calm interval*), *embranchement* (*en* + *branche* + *-ment*), *encadrure* (*en* + *cadre* + *-ure*), the adjectives and participles *effronté* (*en* + *front* + *é*), *embesogné* (*en* + *besogne* + *-é*, *occupied*), *englanté* (*en* + *gland* + *-é*), *engrêlé* (*en* + *grêle* + *-é*), *forcené* (*fors* + *sen*[3] + *-é*), and a few others, can alone be cited. We must, however, distinguish *parasynthetic adjectives*, which offer a very peculiar character. Take the word *marin*: it comes from the Latin **marinus**, derived from **mare** *mer*, it is, then, decomposible into a radical *mar*, signifying 'sea,' and a suffix *in*, signifying 'relative to.' Take now the word *sous-marin*, which means 'relating to what is under (*sous*)

[1] The termination is really *on* + a *c* due to analogy.
[2] *Heir*. Engl. *heir*) is the unaccented form of *noir*.
[3] The German *Sinn*. *mind*.

the sea' How does the combination of *marin*, 'relative to the sea,' with *sous* come to signify 'relative to what is under the sea?' It is that in the combination *sous marin* the adjective is logically decomposed in such a way that the word *mer* contained in the idea of *marin* becomes the object of the preposition *sous*, and that the suffix *-in* which previously determined the substantive *mer* now determines the implied compound *sous-mer* The change of connexion of the component elements may be indicated by the following scheme

sou + *mar-in* becomes *sous mar* + *in*

This decomposition and recomposition do not affect the word in its outward form, they are purely logical, and confined to the process in the mind Hence the parasynthetic adjectives reveal rather a logical composition of ideas than a material composition of actual words This process is obvious in certain parasynthetics, such as *surhumain*, composed of *sur* and of the adjective *humain* from the Latin **humanus** The word *homme* does not formally exist in *humain*, and yet in the parasynthetic *surhumain* the mind sees the substantive *homme*, as the object of the preposition *sur*, together with a suffix *-ain* making an adjective out of the imaginary compound *sur homme*

The number of parasynthetic adjectives thus formed is daily increasing, owing to their employment in scientific nomenclature and to the Learned formation *circumpolaire*, *interoceanique*

294 STUDY OF THE VARIOUS PARTICLES We shall treat these in alphabetical order, starting from the Latin forms

1 **AB**, (**A**, **ABS**), a separable Latin preposition, exists in some words which have passed into French **abstinere**, Pop Lat **abstenere**, O F *astenir*, in Mod F *abstenir*, through a partial return to Latin orthography, **abŏculus**,

a word of Pop Lat, properly = eyeless, *aveugle* [This particle has ceased to be employed since Gallo-Romanic times]

2 AD, a separable Latin preposition The **d** assimilated in Latin with the following consonant when this was a **c** (**accedere**), **f** (**af-firmare**), **g** (**ag gravare**), **l** (**al-licere**), **p** (**ap-portare**), **r** (**ar-ridere**), **s** (**as-surgere**), or **t** (**at-trahere**) It was changed into **c** before **q** (**ac-quirere**) It remained unchanged before **d** (**ad-dere**), **j** (**ad-jurare**), **m** (**ad-monere**) **n** (**ad nuere**), or **v** (**ad-volare**)

In French, popular pronunciation everywhere dropped the **d**, whether unchanged or assimilated, before a consonant or a vowel, in words derived from Latin and in new words Thus **ap-portare**, **at trahere**, **ad-jurare**, **ad-orare**, became in Old French *aporter*, *atraire*, *ajurer*, *aorer* *Fol* gave the new compound *afoler*, *emplir*, the new verb *aemplir* The purely French form of the Latin preposition **ad** in composition is then **a**, identical with that of the isolated preposition

The Learned formation restored the unchanged or assimilated **d** in most compounds *adorer*, *affoler*, *apporter*, &c The older orthography has persisted in *a-percevoir*, *abaisser*, *a-battre*, without any obvious reason The substantive *avenue* preserves the ancient form, the participle *advenu* shows the modern spelling

Pronunciation has in many cases followed orthography, in Old French *ajoindre*, *amettre*, *avenir*, were pronounced as they were spelt, in Middle French the words were written *adjoindre*, *admettre*, *advenir*, but no change was made in the former pronunciation, in Modern French the words are now pronounced *ad'joindre*, *ad'mettre*, *ad'venir* It is desirable that the assimilated **d**, at least in cases where it is not yet heard in pronunciation, as in *attabler*, *attaquer*, *appauvrir*, *accabler*, &c, should be dropped in spelling

The preposition **ad** generally indicates direction towards

a person, object, place, or end In combination with verbs of motion it always expresses the motion of coming or arriving, and not that of going or leaving *abaisser* = 'faire venir à soi en baissant', *abattre* = 'faire venir à soi en battant', *amener* = 'venir mener', *apporter* = 'venir porter' This is why we say *apportez-moi ce journal, amenez-moi ces enfants*, but not *apportez lui ce journal, amenez-lui ces enfants* This sense of *a* is still well seen even in the most figurative expressions *apprendre* properly signifies to take to oneself, hence, figuratively speaking, *apprendre une leçon* = to take a lesson into oneself, into one's mind

The particle *a* combines in modes 1, 2, and 3 of § 291, but not in mode 4

Mode 1 *Abattre, amener, apercevoir, assaillir, attirer*, &c In most of these verbs the sense of **ad**, 'towards one self,' is obvious In some old verbs **ad** attained an augmentative signification by passing from the idea of the end attempted to that of the end attained *aemplir* = to fill (*emplir*) to the brim

Mode 2 The particle combines as a preposition with substantives and infinitives to form compound substantives *a compte, affut, ap-point, a-propos, a plomb, a verse* See § 298

Mode 3 It combines with substantives and adjectives to form verbs of the 1st or the 2nd conjugation This formation of parasynthetic verbs is of singular richness It already existed in Gallo Romanic **cor, cordis**, gave **ac-cord-are**, *acorder, accorder* French has never ceased creating parasynthetic verbs on this pattern

(i) The radical is a **substantive** in *aborder, accoler, accouder, accoutumer, adosser, affronter, agenouiller, approvisionner, atterrer, atterrir, accroupir, ahurir*, &c

(ii) The radical is an **adjective** in *accourcir, affadir, amincir, amoindrir, affoler, approcher*, &c

3 ANTE (and **ANTI** in **anticipare**), a separable Latin

preposition and adverb This particle is to be found in words of Popular formation **antecessor**, *ancestre, ancêtre*, literally 'he who goes before', **anteannum**, *antan* (les neiges *d'antan* = the snows of yester year), in Old French *angarde* = '*avant garde*' **Ante** was not preserved in French It is represented by derivative forms

(i) *Ains, ainz* (probably from the Pop Lat ***anteis*** or ***antius***), very frequent in Old French as an isolated adverb, and as a particle in composition The modern language has only preserved *ainsne, aisne*, in the form *aîne* (whence the derivative *aînesse, seniority*)

(ii) *Avant*, from the Latin **abante**, a combination of **ante** with the preposition **ab**, is compounded with nouns in mode 2, § 291, as an adverb or preposition *avant-garde, avant projet, avant-main* See § 298

Avant forms no compound in modes 1, 3, or 4, where Latin makes of **ante** and the verb **cedere** a compound verb, **antecedere**, French is obliged to have recourse to the periphrase *aller en avant*

4 BENE, MALE, separable adverbs which form juxtapositions in Latin **benedicere, benefacere, benemeritus benevolens, maledicere maledicens**, &c

Some of these words have passed into French through ecclesiastical Latin *benir, benêt* (from *benei, benoit*, Lat **benedictum**), *maudire*

They have also formed purely French juxtapositions (modes 1 and 2, § 291) *bien faire, bien dire, bienfaisant* (whence *bienfaisance*) *bienfait* (whence *bienfaiteur*), *bien heureux bienveillant*, O F *bienveuillant* (whence *bienveillance*), *malaise, malembouche, malentendu, malhonnête, malpropre, malveillant*, O F *malveuillant* (whence *malveillance*), *maussade, malmener, maltraiter, malverser* The verbal compound is used as a substantive in *le bien-dire, le bien-faire, le bien être*

5 BIS This separable adverb signified in Latin 'twice,' and served to form a number of compounds of which

one only passed into Gallo-Romanic **bilanx**, Pop Lat **bilancia**, *balance* (= lit double-tray)

This particle became in Gallo-Romanic **bes-** (*besace*), **bas-**, **bar-** (*barbouiller*), **be-** (*berouette, brouette*), **ba-** (*baiioler*)

It combines in modes 1 and 2, § 291, to form juxtaposites

In Gallo Romanic, besides the Latin signification of 'twice,' it came to have a new, pejorative, signification which made it a synonym of the French 'mal' The Latin sense is preserved in the following words—(*a*) (Old French) *besas* (*double ace*), *besaive* (Mod F *bisaieul*), *besoncle, besante* (Mod F *grand-oncle, grand'tante*), (*b*) (Modern French) *brouette* (originally a chair with two wheels, *a deux roues*), *besace* and its learned doublet *bissac* (= *double sac*), *biscuit*, formerly *bescuit* (a twice cooked cake) The following have the newer sense *bevue, bevue* (*oversight*), *barbouiller* (*to daub*), *barbouquet* (pimple on the lip), from *bar-* and *bouquet*, diminutive of *bouque* (= *bouche, mouth*), *bluette* (formerly *besluette, berluette, beluette*, a bad little light, and, by extension, *spark*)

6 **CAL-**, a particle of unknown origin which appears in the forms **ca-**, **cal-**, **cali-**, **calem-**, **coli-**, **chari**

It has a pejorative value and forms a certain number of compounds of popular character of type 2, *a*, § 291 *califourchons*, *colimaçon* (formerly *calimaçon*), *cabosser* (= *deformer en bossoyant* (*to dinge, dent*)), *charivari* (*vari* signifies *tumult*), *calembredaine* (in certain dialects *calembourdaine*, where *bourdaine* is a derivative of *bourde*, a piece of fantastic nonsense), *calembour* (the masculine of the preceding word, meaning a *play on words*), *camouflet*, &c

7 **CONTRA** This particle is separable, and combines either as an adverb or a preposition It formed only few compounds in Latin, but has taken a great extension in French[1]

It offers an idea of (1) opposition *contredire, contre-assaillir, contre poison*, (2) exchange and return *contre-*

[1] [It corresponds to the English counter]

aimer (Ronsard), (3) reversal of the action denoted by the verb *contre-mander*, (4) an action parallel to a similar one *contre allee, contre plantation, contre-signer* These various significations are really referable to that of the Latin **contra**, which contained an idea of duality

Contre combines (I) with verbs (mode 1, § 291) *contre-balancer, contrefaire, contrepeser, contresigner*, (II) with nouns, as an adverb (mode 2, *b*) *contre-accusation, contre-allee, contre appel*, &c , (III) with nouns, as a preposition (mode 2, *c*) *contre poison, contre sens, a contre cœur* (see § 298) *Contre* forms no parasynthetics[1]

8 **CUM** (**com-, con , col-, cor-, co-**), a separable preposition in Latin, meaning 'with' The development of this preposition contrasts with that of **contra**, for, although much used in Latin, it is little used in French Nearly all French words beginning with **com-, con**, &c , are of Learned origin or formation

Among those of Popular formation we must first distinguish the Latin compounds that have become French **committere**, *commettre*, **computare**, *compter*, and *conter*, **collocare**, *colchier, couchier*, Mod *coucher*, **coagulare**, *cailler*

French has formed some new compounds in mode 1, § 291 *compromettre*, 'to engage another *with* oneself in a bad business', in mode 2, *b compere commere*, where *com* is an adverb (see § 290), in mode 4 *compagnon*, from Pop Lat **companionem** (he who eats bread *with* another)

9 **DE** This separable preposition, though very fertile in Latin, has lost much in passing into French, only a few of the Latin compounds with **de** have been preserved in the later language **demandare**, *demander*, **demorari**, Pop Lat **demorare**, *demeurer*, **deaurare**, *dorer*, &c Everywhere else **de** has been replaced by *des-*, Fr *des-, de-* In *debattre* and *dechoir* the etymological *e* feminine, from the Latin **de**, has been

[1] The only word that looks at first sight like a parasynthetic of *contra* is *contre revolutionnaire*, but it is really a derivative from *contre revolution*

converted into close *e*, by analogy with compounds of *de-* from **dis-**

As a preposition **de** passed into French unchanged, and has entered into certain compounds of French formation *debout, dessus, dessous, dehors, derrière, devant* (properly *de avant*)

10 DIS- This inseparable particle had a sense allied to de, and, having greater body, it has replaced it in most compounds originally formed with **de** (see above, pp 409, 410) **defendere, demittere, deducere,** &c, became in Pop Lat **disfendere, dismittere, disducere**, *desfendre, desmettre, desduire*

The Latin dis- also existed in the form di which gave in French *de-* **divisare**, *deviser*, **dimidium**, *demi*

The form di- gave no new compounds, *des-* or *dé-*, on the contrary, has taken a remarkable development

It most frequently combines in mode 1, § 291, with verbs, to denote the opposite of the action expressed by the simple verb *déchanger, déconseiller, déshériter, démembrer* Sometimes the negative idea expressed by *dé-*, instead of being opposed to the idea of the radical, adds to it, and *dé-* then assumes an augmentative signification[1] (cf § 292, 2) *cesser, decesser* (popular), *plumer* (*to pluck* [a fowl]), *déplumer* (*to strip of feathers* [met *finery*] a live bird) *Demaigrir* (in carpentry) means *to plane down*, *délisser* (in millinery, from *lisser, to smooth*), *to smooth down*

The particle *des-, dé-*, combines also, in mode 2, *a*, with either (1) adjectives *déloyal, déshonnête, désagréable*, or (11) substantives *dégoût déshonneur, désarroi, désordre, désastre, déraison*

Finally *des-, dé-*, forms a considerable number of parasynthetic verbs in mode 3 *déborder*[2] (*to overflow*), *dégainer* (*to unsheath*), *défroquer* (*to unfrock*), *déniaiser* (*to*

[1] [This obviously applies to verbs of diminution and removal]

[2] See § 292, 3

sharpen the wits of a greenhorn), &c. Here the negative idea is weakened *de-* appears as the synonym of **e, ex** ('to remove from' the connexion with '*bord*,' '*gaine*,' '*froc*,' the state of being '*niais*,' &c)—In *degueniller*[1] and its synonym *depenailler* the particle seems to have the same augmentative value as in *deplumer* and *decesser*

Dis- forms no parasynthetic nouns in mode 4

11 E, EX, a separable Latin preposition, indicates extraction, remoteness, privation, and is akin in meaning to **de** and **dis-**

A few of the Latin compounds with **e** passed into Gallo-Romanic **emendare**, O F *emender*, Mod F *amender*

The **e** was mostly replaced by the more sonorous **ex** (see p 411 above) **eligere**, ***exlegere**, *eslire*, *elire*, **elevare**, ***exlevare**, *eslever*, *elever* In the O F *estraire* (**extrahere**), *escuser* (**excusare**), and *espandre* (**expandere**), *es-* corresponds directly with the Latin **ex**

French forms new words with *es-*, *e-*

(i) Verbs, in modes 1 and 3, § 291 *esbattre*, *ebattre*, *eschanger*, *echanger*, *esmouvoir*, *emouvoir*,- *ebruiter*, *ecarteler*, *effacer*, *egorger*,—*emerveiller* *eborgner*, *effaroucher*, *eclairer*, *emousser*, *eclaircir*, &c in the last set of compounds the particle seems to assume an augmentative signification

(ii) Substantives in mode 2, *a* *chenal* (*channel*), *echenal* (*gutter*), *coin* (*wedge*, *corner*), *ecoinçon* (*jamb*, *corner piece*) Here the exact sense of the particle remains obscure

12 FORIS This separable adverb (meaning *out of doors*), seldom used in Latin, has become the French adverb or preposition *fors* or *hors* In French compounds it appears in the forms *fors*, *fours-*, *for-*, *four*, *hors*, *hor-* It is found especially as a particle of composition in Old French, where it combines with verbs (mode 1, § 291) and with nouns (mode 3) to form new verbs expressing remoteness from the right way or direction, and hence, error, excess *forbannir*

[1] [*To put in rags*, only used in past participle]

(*bannir hors, to banish beyond the territory, ban*), *forvoyer*, *fourvoyer* (*to put off the track, voie*), *forligner* (*swerve*), *forboire* (*drink to excess*), from which *forbu*, *fourbu* cheval *fourbu*, a horse that has drunk to excess, that is consequently ill, *foundered*, *forvêtu* (erroneously written *fort vêtu*, *clothed out of, or above, one's condition*), *hormis*.

Fors has been in some cases confused with *faux* *fau bourg* (a burg outside the city), *faufiler*, *faux-marche*, &c. We may also quote *hors d'œuvre* (mode 2, *c*).

13 a IN (im-, ig-, il-, ir), a separable Latin preposition, has become the French *en*, which is also used as a separable preposition, as well as in the formation of compounds (in the form *em-* before **b**, **m**, **p**).

A certain number of Latin compounds with in have become French **implicare**, *employer*, **implere**, *emplir*, **inclaudere**, *enclore*, **inducere**, *enduire*, **inflare**, *enfler*, **in quantum** (= for how much), *encan* (*auction*).

In French the particle *en* has formed a large number of new compounds. Mode 1, § 293: *enmurer*, *enfermer*, *enjoindre*, &c.; mode 2, *c*: *embonpoint*, *enjeu*, *entrain*, *encas*[1], &c.; mode 3: *embarquer*, *embaucher*, *embaumer*, *encaisser*, *encourager*, *endimancher*, *enjoler*, *englober*, *enrôler*, *enorgueillir*, *enivrer*, *enjoliver*, *engloutir*, *enlaidir*, *enrichir*, &c.; mode 4, substantives: *emplacement*, *encorbellement*, *entablement*, *encâblure*, *envergure*, *encolure*, &c.

13 b IN, an inseparable negative adverb (which must not be confused with the above), was added principally to adjectives and, more rarely, to substantives to give them a negative value: **indignus**, **instabilis**, **infelix**, **inimicus**, **infirmitas**, &c.

Of these compounds some have passed into French: **infantem**, *enfant*; **incinctam**, *enceinte* (adj.); **infirmitatem**,

[1] [*Encas* means (1) a collation kept ready, and (2) a parasol stout enough to be used against rain. In the latter sense it is probably an abbreviation of the synonym *en tout-cas*, itself a coinage of the last quarter of a century.]

O F *enferté*, integrum, *entier*, inimicum and inamicum, *ennemi*

Gallo Romanic lost this particle, and Old French replaced it either by *neent*, *nient-* *nientcontrestant* (*notwithstanding*), or by *non-* (see non, p 425) The modern learned language took it up again and has given it great extension

14 INDE, a separable Latin adverb, signifying 'thence,' became the French *end*, *ent*, *en*, and is the modern adverb or adverbial pronoun *en*

Latin did not use it in composition French from the earliest times has added it, according to mode 1, § 291, to certain verbs of motion, to indicate removal from a place *emporter*, *envoyer*, *enlever*, *emmener*, *enfuir*, *entraîner*, *envoler*,—*s'en aller*, *s'en retourner*, *s'en venir* The modern literary language separates *en* from the verb in the latter compounds *il s'en est retourné*, *il s'en est venu* The popular language, being more logical, says *il s'est en allé*, compare *il s'est enfui*, which is accepted as correct

15 INTER, 'between,' a separable preposition and adverb, gave few compounds in Latin interdicere has passed into French in the form of *entredire* (*to tell one another*), *interdire* (*to interdict*) is a Learned form reconstructed from the Latin

This particle, after becoming the French *entre*, formed a considerable number of compounds in which its meaning varies It signifies literally 'in the middle of,' and then, as the middle marks the half of the space traversed, 'half' Figuratively it expresses the relations of two or several things in contact with each other, and, by extension, *reciprocity*, in certain verbs construed with the reflexive pronoun

Entre combines with verbs according to mode 1, § 291, and signifies 'through,' or 'in the middle of,' in *entrecouper* (*intersect*), *entrecroiser*, *entremêler*, *entremettre* In *entretenir*, *entreprendre*, the primitive idea of *entre* has disappeared

It signifies 'half' in *entrebâiller*, *entrevoir*, *entr'ouvrir* (*to half-open*) It indicates reciprocity in *s'entredechirer*, *s'entreregarder*, &c

It combines with nouns, according to mode 2, *b*, (i) in the sense of 'between' *entrepas* (pace between a gallop and a trot), *entretemps* (*meanwhile*), (ii) in the sense of 'community' *entrecours* (*interchange of rights* between two districts), *entrelacs* (*an interlacing*), (iii) in the sense of 'half' *entrelarge* (*medium*, in width, fineness, &c)

It combines as a preposition, according to mode 2, *c*, in the sense of 'between' *entr'acte*, *entrecote*, *entrevoie*, *entreligne*, *interligne* is a form reconstructed from the Latin

Entre has no compounds in mode 3 Mode 4 gives *entre-colonnement* (see §§ 293 and 291, 4)

16 MALE, see **BENE**

17 MINUS, 'less,' a Latin adverb in its accented form it has become the French *moins*, which is found in the expression *la moins value* (cf **plus**)

As an atonic adverb, used as an inseparable particle, it became **menos**, preserved in Spanish, then **mens**, which is to be found in Provençal, and finally *mes* *Mes-* is preserved unchanged before a vowel (*mesaise*, but is reduced to *me-* before a consonant (*meplat*) It has a negative and pejorative value

It combines (i) with verbs (mode 1, § 291) *mecontenter*, *medire* (whence *medisance*), *mefaire*, *se mefier*, *se meprendre* (whence *mepris*), *mesallier* (whence *mesalliance*), *mesestimer*, *mesuser*, &c, (ii) with substantives (mode 2, *a*) *megarde*, *meplat* (an *unevenness*, hence, a *plane* in a picture), *mesaise*, *mesaventure*, *mesintelligence*, (iii) with adjectives in the same mode *mecontent*, *mecreant*, *mescheant* (present participle of the verb *mescheoir*, whence *mechant*)

18 NON, 'not,' a separable Latin adverb of negation, in French *non*, combines with substantives (or infinitives), adjectives, and participles *non-jouissance*, *non paiement*,

non-residence, nonsens, non-valeur, nonchalant (whence *non chalance*), from the old verb *nonchaloir*[1].

Non replaced in Gallo-Romanic the Latin negative **in-** (**13 b**), which had fallen out of popular usage

19 OB, a separable preposition, exists in Latin words which passed into Gallo-Romanic by Popular formation **oblitare**, *oublier*, **occidere**, *ocir*, *occir*, &c Except in these words, **ob** has disappeared

20 PER, a separable Latin preposition, the French *par*, was used in Latin to form compounds, with either verbs or adjectives

(i) With verbs, **per** often had the sense of 'to the end' **perficere**, Pop Lat **perfacere**, *parfaire*, **perfundere**, O F. *parfondre*, **percurrere**, O F *parcourre* (Mod F *parcourir*), **perjurare**, *parjurer*, **pervenire**, *parvenir* French continued the Latin usage, and in the Middle Ages created a great number of verbs with *par*, hardly any of these have survived, except *parachever* (to finish, *achever*, to the end), *parfaire*, and *parfournir*

Per in composition also signified 'through, here and there, about' **pervagari** (*to wander here and there*), **pervolare** (*to fly hither and thither*), **perspargere** (*to scatter about*) It is to be found in this sense in *parsemer* (literally, 'to scatter like seed'), *parfumer* (literally, 'to scent here and there with sweet smoke,' *fumee*)

(ii) With adjectives **per** expressed a kind of superlative **pergrandis**, **perutilis** Here also Old French followed the Latin and used *par* in the sense of the modern *tres*, but usually separated it from the adjective by a verb or another adverb *par fut bon* (*he was very good*) A reminiscence of this construction has remained in the

[1] Old French has the word *nonper* Mod F *non pareil* which offers a singular elliptical construction due to a confusion with *sans pareil* une beaute *non pareille*' signifies etymologically 'a beauty *not equal* (to another) which is meaningless It is intended for 'a beauty to which there is *no equal*

expression, which is no longer understood, *par trop c'est par trop fort* (*it is really too bad!*)

Par, as a French preposition, combines with adverbs *par-dessus* (whence the substantive *pardessus*, *overcoat*), *par-dessous* It forms a compound in mode 2, *c*, § 291, in *le parterre*

21 PLUS, 'more,' a separable adverb in Latin, which became the French *plus*, is used in the formation of *la plupart*, *le plus que-parfait*, *la plus-petition*, *la plus value* (*surplus*, *rise in value*, *premium*) (which led to the formation of *la moins-value*)

22 POST, 'after,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, became the French *puis*, an adverb which combines with *de* in *depuis* It occurs also in composition with a participle in *puîne* (*younger son*) (cf *aîne*)

23 PRAE, 'before,' a separable preposition, has not passed into French, but is found in some Latin compounds that have passed into French **prædicare**, *prescher*, **prævidere**, *prevoir*, **præstare**, *prêter*, &c

24 PRESSUS This participle of the verb **premere**, 'to press,' was used adverbially in Popular Latin, and has become the French *pres* *Pres* is combined with the preposition *a* in *apres*, which forms some compounds in mode 2, *c*, § 291 *apres midi*, *apres-diner*, *apres-souper*, and with the conjunction *que* in the adverb *presque*, which is used in the compound *presqu'ile*.

25 PRO, 'for,' a separable preposition in Classical Latin, became in Popular Latin and Old French *por*, which has become in Modern French *pour* It formed compounds chiefly with verbs, some of which passed into French **procingere**, *pourceindre*, **prosequere**, *poursuivre*, **providere**, *pourvoir*

On this type French has created many compounds *pourchassier*, *pourchasser* (*to follow up*), *pourfendre* (*to cleave in two*), *pourparler* (*to parley*, this has survived only as a substantive), *pourpenser* (obs, *to meditate long*), *pour*

prendre (whence the participle, used as a substantive, *pourpris, enclosure*), *pourtraire* (whence *portraire*), &c

Pour is an adverb in *pourtour* and *pourfil* (probably of Italian origin, now *profil*), it is a preposition in *pourboire*

26 RE- (**red-** before a vowel **red ire**) This inseparable Latin particle became the French *re-* before a consonant and *r-* before a vowel *reprendre, rappeler* We must distinguish the form *re-*, which belongs to the Learned formation (compare *reformer, to reform, amend,* &c, and *reformer, to form anew*) Sometimes *re-* seems to occur in words of popular origin, but in such cases the *e* of *re-* belongs to the radical of the verb *rejouir* from *r-* and *ejouir* (O F *esjouir*)

The Latin particle possessed various meanings which have been preserved or even developed in French they are all reducible to a fundamental idea of *opposition* existing in the primitive literal sense In fact *re-* indicates or has indicated that one thing or action is set up against, or opposed to, another in one of the following ways (1) in simple opposition *recourber*, 'to curve so that one end comes against the other', (2) so as to return the action received, or react against it *repousser* (3) so as to come back *retourner, revenir*, (4) so as to replace something in a position that has been lost *regagner ce qu'on a perdu*, (5) so as to be added to the other thing or action and increase it *remplir (to fill up), raffoler (to dote, go into raptures), reluire (to glow)*, (6) so as to replace or repeat the other thing or action *redire, refaire (to say or do a second time)*[1]

Of all these varied senses, which have left numerous traces in the language, there is but one living the sense of repetition The language can no longer create new compounds with *re-*, except to denote the repetition of an action This use of *re-* in composition is, however,

[1] [Compare our English *again, against*, with their senses of opposition and iteration.]

almost unlimited, as nearly all verbs may be preceded by this particle

The particle combines with verbs according to mode 1, § 291 *redire, renommer*, with substantives according to mode 2, *a rebord, reflux*, with substantives according to mode 3 *rebrousser*, with substantives according to mode 4 *replâtrage*, &c

There is a certain number of verbs compounded with the preposition *a* which again combine with *re-* and so give the initial syllable *ra- rabougrir* from *abougrir*, *rapetisser* from *apetisser* In many words the particle *re-* has become *ra-* under this influence, although no corresponding primitive word beginning with *a* would seem to have existed *rafraîchir, rassasier, ravauder* (*to patch, darn*)

The popular language abuses the use of *re-* it has weakened or effaced its meaning completely in a great number of compounds that express only a simple idea, and of which some have passed into the general language *rappeler en justice*, for *appeler en justice*, *remplir*[1] *son verre*, for *emplir son verre*, *remonter*[1] *sa montre*, for *monter sa montre*, *retamer, recuire*[1], *rapproprier, rassortir, renforcer*, for *etamer*, &c , *une resserre* for *une serre* (*greenhouse*)

27 RETRO, a separable Latin adverb, 'behind,' or 'backwards,' became the Old French *rere rieregarde* Combined with *a*, it has given *arriere Arriere*, in its turn, in mode 2, *b*, § 291, gives *arriere bouche, arriere-boutique, arriere main* (fem *back of the hand*, and hence masc *back-hander*), *arriere-neveu*, &c , and, in mode 2, *c*, the other substantive *arriere main* (masc , the after part or *crupper* of the horse, behind the rider's hand), the sole example of this mode of formation (see § 298)

28 SE- An inseparable particle existing in certain Latin words, where it indicates separation, absence Some of these have become French **securum**, *sûr*, **separare**, *sevrer*, but the particle has formed no new word[2]

[1] [These words are in standard use]

[2] Except *seduire* from seducere which is of modern Learned formation

29 **SINE**, 'without,' a separable Latin preposition, has become the French *sans*, which forms compound nouns according to mode 2, *c*, § 291 *sans-cœur, sans culotte, sans gêne, sans-souci*

30 **SUB**, 'below,' 'under' (hence often = up to), a separable Latin preposition, exists in French only in words derived from Latin **subcurrere**, *secourir*, **subflare**, *souffler*, **sufferre**, *souffrir*

In most cases **sub** has been replaced by the more sonorous **subtus subridere**, **subtusridere**, *sourire*, **submittere**, **subtusmittere**, *soumettre*

31 **SUBTUS**, 'under,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, has replaced **sub** in French in both its uses (see above, pp 410, 411) It became successively **sóbtos**, **sótos**, **sóts**, **soz**, *soz*, *sous*

Sous is spelt *sou-* when it is fused with a following word beginning with a consonant *soucoupe, soupeser* (*to poise*) It combines (i) with verbs according to mode 1, § 291 *soubattre, soumettre, soupeser, sourire*, (ii) as an adverb, with nouns, according to mode 2, *b* *sous bail, sous clavière, sous-dominante, sous-locataire, sous maître, sous-préfet*, &c , (iii) as a preposition, with nouns, according to mode 2, *c* *sous-bois, soucoupe, sous-gorge* It also (iv) forms parasynthetic verbs according to mode 3 *souligner*, and (v) parasynthetic nouns in mode 4 (logical parasynthetics) *sous marin, souterrain*

32 **SUPER**, 'above,' and **SUPRA**, 'over,' separable Latin adverbs and prepositions, became fused in Popular Latin, and gave the single form **sópra**, which became *sovre, sore, sor*, in Old French, *seur* in Middle French, and in Modern French *sur*, doubtless under the influence of *sus*

In certain Latin compounds, which became French by Popular formation, the above particle took another form, *sour-* **supercilium**, *sourcil* As an isolated *adverb* the sole form is *sus*, and it is this form which enters into new compounds of French formation

Sur combines (i) with verbs according to mode 1, § 291 *surcharger, surjeter, surmener, sur moulu, surnager*, (ii) with substantives, in mode 2, *b*, as an adverb *surarbitre* (*final umpire*), *surpoint*, (iii) in mode 2, *c*, as a preposition *surlendemain, surtout*—It forms (iv) parasynthetics in mode 4 (logical parasynthetics) *surnaturel*, on the model of which *surhumain* was doubtless created

In most compounds *sur* preserves its proper signification, sometimes with verbs it expresses the idea of a superlative, meaning 'beyond measure' *surajouter, surcharger, surexciter, surmener* (*to overwork*, transitively)

33 **SURSUM** or **SUSUM**, a Latin separable adverb found in some compounds, e g **suspirare, suspirium**, which became in French *soupirer, soupir*

As an isolated adverb this word has become the French *sus* *Sus* was used in Old and Middle French both as an adverb and a preposition, it is now used only as an adverb, in composition according to modes 2, *a*, 2, *b*, § 291 *susdit, sus enonce*, &c, sometimes in scientific nomenclature it forms logical parasynthetic adjectives (in mode 4), and then resumes the function of a preposition *trou sus orbitaire*, &c [1]

34 **TRANS**, 'across,' a separable Latin preposition, in Popular Latin **tras** and sometimes **tra** **tradere**, *trahir*, **traducere**, *traduire* As an isolated word the particle **tras** has become the French *tres*, which signified originally 'beyond,' and hence figuratively 'beyond all limit'

Tres combined in Old French with verbs in mode 1, § 291 *tresjeter, tresmuer*, we find in Mod F *trepasser, tressaillir* - It sometimes combined with substantives in mode 2, *b* *trepointe* (*welt*, of boot) —It combines especially with adjectives in mode 2, *a*, and then serves to form the superlative *très bon, tres sage*—It forms a parasynthetic verb in *trebucher* (*to stagger*, i e to let the body fall crosswise)

[1] [*Sus* is still used as an interjectional command, and in the archaic phrase *courir sus a* = *to fall upon, attack*.]

35 TROP An adverb of Germanic origin, used in composition in the word *trop plein* (*overflow*, &c)

36 ULTRA, 'beyond,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, became the French *oltre* (Mod F *outre*), which gives some verbal compounds in mode 1, § 291 *outre-cuider* (whence *outre cuidance*), *outre passer*, it also combines with nouns in mode 2, *c* *outre mer, memoires d'outre-tombe* Old French possessed a parasynthetic adjective *oltre-marin, outre-marin* (*from beyond seas*)

37 VICE, 'in place of,' a separable Latin adverb, the ablative of the defective substantive **vicis** It combined in Latin with substantives **vice-praefectus** This construction passed into French, which changed **vice** into **vis**, *vi-viscomte, vicomte, visdame, vidame*[1] The Learned formation went back to the Latin form *vice president*

Thus, from the prefixes, chiefly Latin, that we have just considered were taken the following French prefixes, some of which were lost in the growth of the language, while others are still in full activity We put a dagger (†) against those which are no longer used in French

a (or *a*)	**ad**	*de*	**de**
†*an*, *ant-*	**ante**	*des*, *de*	**dis-**
apres	**pressus**	*es-*, *e*	**ex**
arriere	**retro**	*en*, *em-*	**in**
avant	**ante**	*ent-*, *em-*, *en*	**inde**
bien	**bene**	*entre*	**inter**
†*bes*, *be-* (*bas*, *bar*, *ba-*)	**bis**	*fors*, *hors*, &c	**foris**
		mal	**male**
†*ca*, *cal*		*mes-*, *me*	**minus**
cal, *calem-*		*moins*	**minus**
col, *char*		*non*	**non**
contre	**contra**	*outre*	**ultra**
†*com-*, *con*	**cum**	*par*	**per**

[1] *Dame* = lord

plus	**plus**	*sans*	**sine**
pour	**pro**	*sous*	**subtus**
pre-	**præ**	*sur*	**supra and super**
pres	**pressus**	*sus*	**susum, sursum**
presque	**pressus**	*tres*	**trans**
puis	**post**	*trop*	
re-, r-	**re**	*vis-*	**vice**
†riere	**retro**		

III Composition properly so called = Composition by Ellipsis

295 ELLIPSIS — Composition properly so called is based on **ellipsis** Here we must remember that the ellipsis is instantaneous—that is, the mind associates two objects, and forthwith translates this unity of conception into a more or less complete unity of expression *Arriere-cour* did not start from *cour qui est en arriere*, but the images *cour* and *arriere* were joined, and at once fused into a single expression *arriere-cour*

This process sometimes makes it difficult to discover the true nature of the ellipsis Should we explain *papier-tenture* (*paper-hangings*) as 'papier de tenture' (paper of the wall covering), or 'papier a tenture' (paper for wall covering), or 'papier qui est une tenture' (paper which is a wall covering)? We cannot say However, in most cases the ellipsis is obvious, and most compounds explain themselves

Elliptical compounds may be classed according to the various forms assumed by the ellipsis We shall proceed from the simpler to the more complex forms

296 COMPOUNDS BY APPOSITION — The simplest form of elliptical composition is that which is based on **apposition** It combines two substantives, one of which qualifies the other *chef-lieu* (*lieu* qui est *chef*), *chou-fleur* (*chou* qui est *fleur*)

1 The determinant precedes *aide-chirurgien, chef-lieu, maître-clerc, mere-patrie*

2 The determinant follows *bateau-mouche* (*small river steamer*), *betterave, cafe-concert, carte-lettre, chou-fleur, corne muse* (*bagpipes*, *muse* = *musette*)

This mode of composition is very fertile The language of commerce, industry, and the press uses it without limit, three, four, or even five, consecutive terms being sometimes combined, in this case the determinate always precedes the determinant

It may happen that the determinant is gradually reduced to a mere qualification of the determinate, it then becomes an adjective This is one of the processes by which the French language reduces substantives to adjectives (§ 306, II, 2)

Composition by apposition produces several series of compounds

1 Proper nouns, such as *Frederic Barberousse, Richard Cœur-de Lion* We have seen indeed (§ 282) that these locutions *Barberousse, Cœur de Lion*, might be used by apposition and become a kind of adjective *Frederic Barberousse* is explained as 'Frederic qui a une barbe rousse,' *Richard Cœur-de Lion*, 'Richard qui a un cœur de lion' *Colin-Maillard*[1] and *Martin bâton* were created on this type

2 Titles of courtesy, modes of address, polite expressions, etc *Sa Saintete le Pape, Sa Majeste le Roi*, and *Monsieur, Madame, dom, frere*, joined to names of persons, names of fruits and flowers related with the above *reine-claude* (*greengage*), *reine-marguerite* (*aster*), finally, names of places where the Latin dominus, domina, are introduced as adjectives with the sense of 'saint' *Dampierre, Domremy, Dannemarie* (*St-Pierre, St-Remy, Ste-Marie*)

[1] [*Colin Maillard*, apparently a proper name, = the blindfolded player at blind man's buff and hence the game itself]

3 Compounds formed by the union of one substantive denoting the object, and another substantive or locution denoting a coloured object *une robe lilas, une etoffe gris-perle*

Note 1 —In some cases it seems as if a preposition should be understood *cafe-concert* (*de*), *roman-feuilleton* (*en*), *timbre-quittance* (*de*) These formations show a confusion between composition by apposition and composition with a genitive which will be treated below (§ 297)

Note 2 – We must class separately compounds formed by two words of which one is a translation of the other The name of the plant called *agnus castus* is formed from the Greek word **agnos** (*chaste*) and its Latin translation **castus** The word *chanfrein* comes, through the Popular Latin **camus**, from a Greek term **kemos** *muzzle*) and its Latin translation **frenum** The word *loup garou* is formed of the French *loup* and of the Low Latin **garulfus**, itself a modification of the German compound **were-wolf** (*man-wolf*) Compare the English *Mansion house* composed of the French *mansion* and the English *house*, which is its translation

297 COMPOUNDS WITH A GENITIVE —(Type **timbre-poste**) We have seen (§ 281, 2) that Old French combined two terms, the second term of which was in the genitive, without the preposition *de*, when this second term was the name of a person, and the genitive was a possessive genitive *hôtel Dieu*

We have also seen (§ 281, 1) that since certain Latin juxtapositeS had regularly become French compounds (*orfevre, orpiment*) the Old Language was led on to create certain compounds the first term of which was the indirect object of the second *bancloche, banlieue*, &c

The modern language has given up such formations, which had the defect of following the Latin construction and placing the determinant before the determinate *orfevre* =

auri faber) It prefers compounds in which the first term governs the second, and has thus created a certain number of compounds with the genitive which in outward form recall compounds by apposition, of the type *canape-lit, chou-fleur*, where the determinant follows the determinate Such are *livret police, malle poste, timbre-poste, timbre quittance, train-poste*, &c Owing to the great extension in the present day of composition by apposition, the original relation between the component terms is much less stringently observed The relation of co ordination degenerates in some cases into one of subordination, and the language thus succeeds in creating true compounds with the genitive, to its own great enrichment

We must, however, note the limits to this kind of composition It does not appear possible that French should ever come to formulate combinations of two terms of which one designates a *person* in the genitive, analogous to the German *Vaterland*, e g *ancêtre-pays* or *pays-ancêtre*, or again *maison fille, fille-maison*, analogous to the English *house-maid* Composition with the genitive, which is inexhaustible in the Germanic languages, will thus always be restricted in French

To composition with the genitive belongs the construction that unites a common noun, denoting a coloured object and playing the part of an adjective, to a true adjective indicating a colour *vert-pomme, vert pre*[1]

298 SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED OF A PREPOSITION AND A NOUN OR A VERB —(Type **entrain, pourboire**) Compounds of this kind usually begin either as adverbs or adverbial phrases donner une somme *a compte* (to pay a sum *on account*) Sometimes, however, the compound

[1] We must distinguish these compounds with the genitive (*vert-de pomme, vert de-pre*) from compounds by apposition already treated (§ 296 3) *robe lilas* They are also different from compounds by apposition, such as *chatain clair, vert-fonce*, where the second adjective qualifies the first, which is used substantively (See Syntax, § 372.)

is a substantive from the outset. *un contrepoison* Here the ellipsis precedes the compound *contrepoison*, 'ce (qui est) contre le poison', *un sans-cœur*, 'un (qui est) sans cœur', *l'enjeu* (*stakes*), 'ce (qui est) en jeu'

When the compound denotes a person it takes the gender of the person *un sans-cœur, une sans-dents* When the compound denotes a thing it, similarly, takes the gender of the thing denoted but not expressed *une averse* (*downpour, shower*), 'une (pluie) a verse' Usually the word understood is neuter, and consequently the substantive is masculine *l'enjeu*, 'ce qui est en jeu' In the last case the masculine may give way to the feminine when the termination of the second component is feminine and when the compound has become a simple term in the mind *affaire* (*business*), 'ce qui est a faire,' masculine in the Old language, feminine since the 17th century, *soucoupe* (*saucer*), 'ce qui est sous la coupe,' now feminine, *entre-côte*, masculine in the *Dictionnaire de l'Academie*, feminine in popular usage (See Book II, § 158)

This mode of composition is very fertile

À *Un acompte, acoup* (*shock*), *adieu, aplomb, à-propos, atout* (*trump-card*, played *to any* suit), *une averse, les alentours*, with an infinitive used as a substantive *affaire, avenir*

Après *Apres-midi, apres diner, apres souper* These nouns are etymologically masculine and became feminine under the influence of *apres dinee, apres soupee*

Arrière *Une arriere-main* (*back of the hand*, see p 429), which must be distinguished from *un arriere-main* (*crupper*), where *arriere* is an adverb (§ 299)

Avant *Loges d'avant scene, un avant scene*, masculine in the *Dictionnaire de l'Academie* of 1798, feminine since, under the influence of *loge*, *un avant main* (*fore quarters of a horse*) must be distinguished from *une avant-main*, where *avant* is an adverb (§ 299).

Chez *Chez soi* (*home*)

Contre *Contre-poison, contre-jour, contresens, contretemps, contrevent* (*outside shutter*), *a contre-cœur, a contre-poil*

De *Debonnaire*, adjective for *de bonne aire* (of good race, from the O F masculine substantive *aire*)

En *Embonpoint, endroit, en-cas, en tout-cas* (see p 423, note 1), *enjeu, en tete, entrain*

Entre *Entr'acte, entrecôte, entregent* (*civility*, and hence *worldly address*), *entreligne, entrefilet, entremets, entresol* The objective of *entre* is in the singular, one might expect the plural, but here the singular is used to indicate the singular of the compound considered as a whole

Ex *Ex-roi, ex-juge*

Fors, Hors *Hors-d'œuvre*, O F *hors du sens* and *forsene*, whence *forcene* (*madman, desperado*)

Outre *Outremer*

Par *Pardessus, parterre*

Pour *Pourboire*

Sans *Sans-cœur, sans-culotte, sans dents, sans-façon, sans gêne, sans-souci*

Sous. *Sous bois, sous pied, sous seing*[1], *en sous œuvre, en sous ordre, une soucoupe*

Sur *Surdos, surlendemain, surplis, surpoint, surtout* (*overcoat*, cf *overall*)

299 SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED OF AN ADVERB AND A SUBSTANTIVE (OR ADJECTIVE)[2] —(Type **arriere-cour**) Here the substantive is the subject of the adverb *arriere-cour*, 'cour (qui est) en arrière' The determinant here, as in the ancient languages precedes the determinate

Sometimes it happens that the subject does not represent the whole of the object denoted by the simple word, but, by synecdoche, only a part of it *l'avant-bras* (*fore-*

[1] *Sous-seing* = the signature at the foot, in contrast with the sign-manual at the head of a document

[2] [Compounds of this type formed with adjectives, though found in Latin are rare in French in *sous-garant sous lieutenant*, &c, the determinate was originally an adjective]

arm), *l'arrière-bouche* (*pharynx*), do not mean 'le *bras* qui est en *avant*, la *bouche* qui est en *arrière*,' but 'la partie du *bras* qui est en *avant*, la partie de la *bouche* qui est en arrière'

The gender of the compound is that of the substantive, as it is the substantive which is the subject of the proposition understood

Arrière *Arrière-ban, arrière-bouche, arrière-boutique, arrière-fief, arrière-garde, arrière goût, arrière neveu, arrière pensée, arrière port, arrière saison*

Avant *Avant-bras, avant-corps, avant coureur, avant fort, avant-goût, une avant main* (cf § 298), *avant-poste, une avant scène* (the proscenium, or part occupied by the actors in the classical theatre, cf § 298), *avant toit* (*eave*), *avant train*, &c

Com, con (Lat **cum**), an inseparable preposition occurring in some compounds of Gallo Romanic formation *compère, commère, confrère*

Contre has here the various senses indicated on p 419 *contre-épreuve* (*check test*), 'épreuve contraire à une autre', *contre allée*, 'allée placée en face d'une autre' Its compounds are numerous *contre accusation, contre appel, contre-basse* or *basse-contre, contre-coup, contrescarpe, contre indication, contre-ordre, contre poids, contre point, contre seing*, &c [1]

Entre *Entre-bat, entre-cour, entre temps*

Fors *Fors bourg*, later *faubourg* (see p 423)

Sous *Sous garant, sous lieutenant, sous locataire, sous multiple, sous-préfet, sous-secrétaire*

Sur *Sur-arbitre, surpoids, sur-point*

300 VERBS COMPOUNDED OF A SUBSTANTIVE AND A VERB OF WHICH IT IS THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT OBJECT (Type **oolporter**) French possesses a small number of words of this kind

(1) Infinitives *billebarrer* (*to colour in stripes*), *bouleverser*

[1] [The English *counter-* has kept on the whole the same meaning and the same case of composition as *contre*.]

ser, *boursoufler* (*to blow out, froth up*, a corruption of *boude-soufler*, containing *boude*, the radical of *boudin*), *chavirer* (*capsize*), *colporter*, *culbuter*, *maintenir*, *manœuvrer*, *morfondre* (= 'fondre par suite de la morve'), *saupoudrer* (to *sprinkle*, originally, with salt)

(ii) Participles *Dieudonne* (Lat *Deodatus* = *God-given*), *vermoulu* (*worm eaten*)

301 COMPOUNDS THE FIRST COMPONENT OF WHICH IS A FINITE PART OF A VERB.—(Type **portefeuille**) This very living and popular type of composition has existed from the very earliest times of the language, it has continued active to the present day without any loss of its inexhaustible fertility, yielding thousands of compounds, including proper names of persons and places, names of things, and epithets

The verbal element was originally an imperative in the second person singular, this we can prove by the following facts and examples[1]

(i) The mediaeval translations into Latin of French nouns of this kind without exception present the imperative, even as early as the 9th century **Tene***gaudia* (*porte-joie*), **Porta***poma* (*porte-pommes*), **Porta***florem* (*porte fleur*)

(ii) There exist French compounds in which the imperative is indisputable *Jehan* **Boi** *l'iaue* (*eau*), *Martin* **Boivin**, *Martin* **clo** *mes œulz* (*yeux*), *Uquignon* **fai** *mi* (*mie*) *boire* In these examples, to which many more might be added, **boi**, **clo**, **fai**, are imperatives

(iii) We find common nouns such as *un ne m'oubliez pas*, *un pensez a moi*, *un revenez-y*, *un venez-y voir*, *un va t'en si tu peux* (name of a plaster, cf *stick-fast*), *un entends-tu* (a 16th century synonym of *equivoque*, or expression with two meanings), *une trousse la-queue* (*chambermaid*, 16th century), *un ramasse-ton bras* (*braggart*), *un rendez-vous*

[1] For a full discussion of this point see the *Traité des Mots Composés*, 2nd edition, pp 168-234

(iv) The Low Latin words of this kind still in use are all imperatives **vade**-*mecum* (*manual*), **fac**-*simile*, **factotum** (*manager*), **salva**-*nos* (*lifebuoy*), **nota**-*bene*

(v) Other Romance languages, wherever they distinguish the 2nd person imperative from the 3rd person indicative, use unhesitatingly the former, not the latter, form Span. **hazmereir** (*buffoon*, 'fais moi rire'), **dime y direte** (*quarrel*, 'dis moi et je te dirai'), Ital **bevi***lacqua* (*abstainer*, 'bois-l'eau'), **mordi***gallina* (*chickweed, mourgeline* = 'mords, geline')

(vi) The German and English languages recognize this mode of composition and use the imperative German **bleib***imhaus* (*stay at-home*), **gieb***hand* (*hand-shake*, lit *give-hand*), English **break***fast*, **cut***purse*, **pick***pocket*, &c

(vii) There exist French compounds which are obviously formed of an imperative and a vocative the game **saute-***mouton*, the insect called *lisette* or **bête** *lisette*, the cat, *minaud* or **grippe***minaud*, the bird called *martin* or *Bernard*, or **pêche** *martin* or **pêche**-*Bernard*, the tool called *brequin* or **vire** *brequin* (or *villebrequin* = *centre bit*)

(viii) Finally, in compounds of this kind the object follows the verb Now this construction, dating from the earliest periods of the language, necessarily implies that the verb was used in the imperative, because in the syntax of primitive French the object followed the verb in the imperative, but preceded it in the indicative

Thus all these facts show beyond question that the verb component is in the imperative

But, as nine tenths of the compounds of this class belong to the first conjugation, in which the 2nd person of the imperative is indistinguishable from the 3rd person of the present indicative, the original construction was lost sight of by the grammarians, who have regarded the verb as the present indicative

Compounds of this kind were first formed as names of places or nicknames of persons *Boileau*, 'drink water, as

much as you want', *vaudenier, vaurien* (*good for-nothing*), 'be worth a farthing, nothing at all' Then this formation was found to be very convenient for creating common nouns and adjectives, and, the type once established, analogy went on ever creating new compounds whilst unconsciously using the indicative instead of the imperative Still, whenever, apart from the formation by analogy, the language creates new compounds of this kind, it again clearly shows the imperative This appears in the above examples of the imperative and in the following sentences *un tiens tot-bien* (*go cart*), *un tâte mes-poules* (applied in the Picard dialect ironically to a husband who meddles with household affairs, a *molly-coddle*), *un va-comme je te pousse, un va t'en voir-s'ils-viennent.*

Starting from the primitive construction, the immense majority of these compounds may be divided into three categories according to the three persons of speech

(i) The thing or person denoted speaks *ne-m'oubliez-pas, marche pied* (*step*)

(ii) The thing or person denoted is spoken to *porte-monnaie*

(iii) The thing or person denoted is spoken of *revenez-y*

Compounds of this kind are formed thus

(i) By an imperative and a direct object *porte monnaie*

(ii) By an imperative and an indirect object *boute en-train*

(iii) By an imperative and an adverb *passe partout* (*master key, latch-key*)

(iv) By an imperative and a vocative *saute-mouton* (*leap-frog*)

(v) By two imperatives *passe passe* (*sleight of hand*)

Compounds of this kind are in essence adjectives *la gent trotte menu*[1] These adjectives may be used absolutely

[1] The *short trotting race* La Fontaine's mock-heroic term for mice

when applied to animated beings or things They are masculine or feminine when they denote a male or a female, they are neuter, that is masculine, if applied to a thing However, when the compound is formed by a verb and a vocative it takes the gender of the vocative thus the name of the weevil that gnaws the vine, and is called *lisette* or *bêche lisette*, is feminine

As we have seen, compounds of this kind commenced by being nicknames and epithets, denoting persons and places Then they became common nouns At the time of the Renaissance, Ronsard introduced them in a new and original manner as epithets *Jupiter lance tonnerre, le soleil donne vie, Hercule porte massue*, &c It is a pity that Ronsard's disciples, particularly Du Bartas, should by excess have discredited this poetical use La Fontaine, and other authors, like Scarron, who wrote in the burlesque style, practised it in a discreet, ingenious, and picturesque fashion It would be well could French poets again make use in lofty poetry of this class of epithets, for they may attain Homeric breadth The popular language continues to use them extensively in the form of common nouns, and especially as names for all sorts of industrial products In fine, this composition is eminently French, it belongs to the popular language, to that of arts and crafts, and to poetry Its richness is inexhaustible, the problem is to utilize it

302 IRREGULAR COMPOUNDS —To bring this study of compounds to a close, we may cite some formations that are irregular, or of quite exceptional character

(1) Compounds of free formation *un coq a-l'âne* (a *cock-and bull story*, *un sauve-qui peut, le qu'en dira t on* (in English slang, *Mrs Grundy*)

(11) Compounds formed by the irregular fusion of the article with the initial vowel of a substantive *l'endemain*, whence *le lendemain*, *l'uette*, whence *la luette* (*uvula*),

l'ierre, whence *le lierre*, *l'ombril*, whence *le lombril* and later on *le nombril*, *l'evier* ('*sink* for water'), whence *le levier* in servants' language [Cf English *a newt* = *an evet* or *eft*] The following proper nouns have been formed in the same way *Langlois*, *Lefevre*, *Lejeune*, *Levêque*, *Lemoine*, *Labbe*, *Laval*, *Lille*, &c

(iii) Children's words *bonbon*, *fanfan* (*enfant*), *nounou* (*nourrice*), *fifi* (*fils* or *fille*), *mimi* (*mere*), and without doubt the word *tante* from the Old French *ante*, the reduplication of which may have given *antante*, and hence, by apocope, *tante*

(iv) Onomatopœia *cricri* (*rattle*), *coucou*, *glouglou* (*gurgle*), *froufrou* (*rustle*, of silk, &c), *ronron* (*purring*), &c

(v) Substantives, adverbs, and interjections formed on the type of Germanic compounds, in which the vowels *i*, *a*, *o*, *ou*, occur in succession *cric crac*, *flic-flac*, *de bric et de brac*, *bric a-brac*, *bredi-breda*, *patati patata*, *pif paf* (*bang*, of a firearm), *tic tac*, *trictrac* (*backgammon*), *zigzag*, &c

Section II —*Popular Derivation*

303 Derivation

I Improper Derivation without Suffixes —304 Improper derivation —305 Adjectives —306 Substantives —307 Pronouns —308 Verbs —309 Indeclinable words

II Proper Derivation (with Suffixes) —310 Proper derivation —311 Significations of suffixes —312 Forms of suffixes —313 Intercalation of suffixes —314 Alteration of suffixes —315 Noun suffixes formed of vowels —316 Noun-suffixes containing simple consonants —317 Noun suffixes containing double consonants or consonant-groups —318 Verb-suffixes

303 Derivation —The second process used by the language to extend its vocabulary consists in **derivation** The latter is called **proper** or **improper**, according as it has recourse to suffixes or not

1 Improper Derivation (without Suffixes)

304 IMPROPER DERIVATION.—**Improper derivation** forms new words from previously existing words, either (1) by simply changing the function of the latter without any external modification, as when the substantive *rose* becomes the adjective *rose*, or (2) by taking only the radical of existing words, as when the radical of *appeler* gives the word *appel*

Each of the various parts of speech may give rise to various series of words

305 ADJECTIVES.—(1) An adjective becomes a substantive naturally by the ellipsis of the noun that it qualifies *un sage*, that is *un* (homme) *sage*, *une bonne*, that is *une* (servante) *bonne*, in the sense of 'useful[1]', *une capitale*, that is *une* (ville) *capitale* or *une* (lettre) *capitale*, *un journal*, that is *un* (papier) *journal*[2], *un periodique*, that is *un* (journal) *periodique*, &c

An adjective may also be used absolutely as a substantive, it is then a logical neuter, and so ranks as masculine *le beau*, *le vrai* (*the true*, *the beautiful*), that is *ce qui est beau*, *ce qui est vrai* But it is used in the same manner in the feminine in adverbial phrases such as *a la française*, *a la legere*, *a la ronde*, &c

Lastly, an adjective may also become a substantive (masculine or feminine) by unconscious personification of the object denoted, this is especially the case with numerous adjectives ending in *-eur*, *-euse*, used as denominations in the vocabulary of arts and crafts *un condensateur*, *une faucheuse*, *une mitrailleuse*, *un ventilateur*, &c

[1] [But see 'Bonne' in *Dict Gen de la Langue Fr*, by Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, according to which 'the substantive use has gradually emerged from the expression "ma bonne," a friendly address used especially by children']

[2] *Journal* (Lat diurnalem, – 'daily'

(ii) An adjective becomes an adverb when it qualifies a verb *frapper fort, chanter juste, voir clair*

(iii) An adjective may become an interjection *bon ! las ! helas ! ferme !*

306 SUBSTANTIVES —I *Proper nouns* Proper nouns are changed into common nouns by various processes

(i) The names of authors and inventors pass to their books or inventions *barême, calepin, dedale, guillemet, lebel, quinquet, rigollot, ruolz*, &c Here also belong the names of certain coins *carolus, louis, napoleon*, &c

(ii) The names of celebrated people in history and literature are used to indicate characters, virtues, or vices, or may be applied to certain objects, as in *agnes, amphitryon (host)*[1], *assassin allas, celadon, chauvin, escobar, espugle* (from the legendary German rogue *Till Eulenspiegel*), *harpagon, ladre, lovelace, machiavel, mephistopheles, pathelin, phaeton, prud'homme, renard, scide, sganarelle, tartufe*, &c

(iii) Certain Christian names have become common nouns of unfavourable signification *un benet, un claude, un jeanjean, un jeannot, un nicaise, un nicodeme*[2], *une peronnelle* (*hussy*, from *Petronilla*) &c

(iv) Names of persons or places have been given by the whims of fashion to certain objects *un châteaubriand* (*beefsteak*), *un mazagran* (*cup of black coffee*), *une silhouette, une victoria*, &c

(v) Names of places have passed to the objects which are produced or manufactured there *alencon, bougie, bordeaux, cachemire, calicot, canari, cognac, curaçao, elbeuf, faience* (Ital *Faenza*), (cheval de) *frise, guinee, gruyere, malines, mousseline* (from *Mosul*), *tulle*, &c

(vi) Ethnical and class names have been taken in a general

[1] From Sosie's declaration in Molière's play 'Le véritable Amphitryon est l'Amphitryon où l'on dine'

[2] The foregoing are equivalent to the English *doit, looby*, &c

sense, mostly unfavourable *arabe, bohemien, cannibale, esclave, flandrin, gascon, grec, iroquois, jesuite, juif, ostrogoth, turc, vandale, wisigoth*, &c Names of this kind are given to animals or objects *basque, bavaroise, epagneul, gavotte, hermine, hongre, indienne, maroquin, persienne, pêche*, &c

(vii) Proper names of persons have been given jestingly to animals *bernard-l'ermite* (*hermit crab*), *jacquot* (*poll parrot*), *margot* (*magpie*), *martin, martinet, pierrot* (*sparrow*) [1], &c

II *Common nouns*—(i) Common nouns form new common nouns (*a*) by a change of gender *un garde, une garde*, (*b*) by a change of sense *bureau*, 'étoffe de bure,' coarse woollen cloth, hence, a work table covered with this stuff, &c , (*c*) by a change of both gender and sense *la loutre* (*otter*), *un loutre* (*an otter skin, seal skin*, &c, *garment*), *la paillasse, un paillasse, le pendule, la pendule, le triomphe, la triomphe, la trompette, un trompette*, &c (See Book II, p 243)

(ii) Common nouns become adjectives by apposition *le prophete, le roi prophete , la violette, la couleur violette le violet, le rayon violet , la rose, un ruban rose* Thus we have on the one hand more or less popular or familiar adjectives taken from common nouns *canaille, crane, drôle, fanfaron, farce, ganache, espiegle, ladre* (the two last being originally proper names, *Eulenspiegel* and *Lazarus*), on the other hand, adjectives of colour *châtain, indigo, lilas, mauve, rose, marron*, &c, which never take the feminine termination, though they take the s of the plural (See Syntax, § 372)

Nouns in *-eur, -euse*, fluctuate between the status of substantive and adjective *liberateur, reveur, tentateur, travailleur, trembleur, vainqueur, vendeur* They may be

[1] For all these common nouns and their relations with the proper names from which they are derived, see *Dict Gen de la Langue fr* by Hatzfeld Darmesteter and Thomas

considered at will (1) when they have the function of substantives, either as substantives or as adjectives taken absolutely, or (2) when they have the function of adjectives, either as adjectives or as substantives used adjectivally by apposition

(iii) A common noun may become an interjection *dame! paix! silence!*

307 PRONOUNS — The only pronoun to be noted is the personal pronoun *moi*, which has become a substantive in *le moi*, *le non-moi* (the *Ego*, the *non Ego*) We may also mention here the numerals which may be used as substantives *le chef des onze, les douziemes provisoires*

308 VERBS - The following parts of the verb must be considered in this connexion the present and past participles, the infinitive, the imperative, and the present indicative

I *Present participle* —(1) The present participle, expressing either the quality or property of the verbal action, is transformed into an adjective with the greatest ease, and the adjective in its turn may be changed into a substantive Thus we have referring to persons **suppliant**, *une personne suppliante, un suppliant*, **extravagant**, *des gens extravagants, des extravagants*, and so also *une aspirante, un conquerant, les debutants, un emigrant, une mendiante, les protestants, une servante*, and referring to things *une variante, une consonnante, un dormant (frame), un mordant, une roulante (chair on castors), un stimulant, les tenants et aboutissants*

We may also note a curious formation of masculine substantives expressing the abstract idea of the verbal action *le levant, le couchant*[1] Here the present participle has

[1] Not the subject, *ce qui se leve, se couche*, but the action, *se lever, se coucher*, and, by extension, the place of the action, where the sun rises, or sets, *se lève, se couche*, i e the east, 'the west'

almost the function of the English present participle or gerund.

(ii) The present participle is easily turned into a preposition *concernant, durant, pendant, touchant,* &c

II *Past participle*—(1) The past participles of verbs expressing an immediate or instantaneous action readily become adjectives, and the latter in turn as readily become substantives. These substantives may denote persons *les assieges, un associe, un etourdi, une fiancee, une mariee,* &c They may also denote objects, in which case they express either (1) the result of verbal action *un dit, un ecrit, un fait,* that is, 'ce qui a été dit, écrit, fait' (*a saying, a writing, a deed*), or (2) the abstract verbal action itself *le prononce d'un jugement,* that is, 'the action of pronouncing or *pronouncement*', *l'enonce des faits,* that is, 'the action of enouncing or *enunciation*' This double function of the participle used substantively already existed in Latin, and in this French only continues the Latin tradition

Participles thus employed are either masculine or feminine in form, sometimes owing to the ellipsis of a masculine or feminine substantive understood, sometimes without *une armee,* that is, 'une troupe armée', *un resume,* that is, 'ce qui a été resumé', *une tranchee,* that is, 'ce qui a été tranché'

The abstract signification is as frequent as the concrete *vendre a la criee* (*to sell by public auction*), that is, 'à l'action de crier', *une chevauchee* (*a ride,* obs.), that is, 'l'action de chevaucher' Past participles taken from intransitive verbs exchange their past signification for the present when used in the concrete or abstract *une montee,* that is, 'ce que l'on monte,' or 'action de monter' [just as the approximate English equivalent *ascent* means 'what is ascended' or 'the act of ascending'], *allee,* 'the way you go' or 'the action of going', *issue,* 'the way you go out, *exit*'

This formation of substantives from the past participle, otherwise called **participial substantives**, is of extraordinary richness and inexhaustible activity

We have seen (Book II, § 250) how frequent it was during the Middle Ages, and how many of the 'strong' past participles, though replaced in the conjugation of the verb by the 'weak' form, have been preserved in Modern French as substantives, some masculine, but the majority feminine masc *cours, mets, mors, pords*, fem *course, dette, elite, messe, perte, poste, quête, recette, rente, route, torse, vente*, &c

We saw also that these strong participles might exist in two forms, now represented by two different substantives *poste* and *ponte*, *torse* and *tente*, &c Weak participles have also contributed to the formation of substantives, especially during the last hundred years *cliche, communique, emigre, federe, insurge, rendu*, &c These participial substantives of recent formation are generally masculine, a very small number are feminine The popular language, on the contrary, continues the process of the Old language by the daily creation of new feminine participial substantives *une brossee* (*brush* with an enemy), *une degelee, une peignee*, &c

(ii) The past participle readily becomes a preposition *excepte, hormis*, &c

III *Imperative* —(i) The imperative gives both substantives and adjectives, but mostly by means of composition (§ 301) We rarely find isolated imperatives save as nautical terms *aborde, accoste*, &c, which are orders *to board, come alongside*, &c

(ii) The imperative gives a few interjections *tiens! c'est vous* (not *tenez! c'est vous*), *da* (in *oui da*), contraction of *dea* or *dia*, O F *diva*, from *dis* and *va*, *voyons, va, allons, gare, aga*, which was still in use in the 17th century for *agare* (from *agarer, to look at*)

IV *Infinitive* —In Old French the infinitive was used

as a substantive, in which case it was mostly accompanied by the article, and this usage was preserved until the 16th century But from that time the language had become too analytical longer to tolerate this construction, in which the same term was used to denote both the substantive and the verbal action La Fontaine, inspired by the language of the 16th century, still uses *vendre le dormir (to sell sleep)*, but it was an archaism, and notwithstanding the endeavours of certain writers of the 18th and 19th centuries the construction has been lost

Thus the Modern language still contains substantives formerly taken from infinitives, but no longer possesses the power retained by other sister languages of using the infinitives of all verbs as substantives Where Italian uses *il pentirsi*, 'le se repentir,' French uses *le repentir* In the annexed list of substantives taken from infinitives it is only by reflection that we recognize their verbal origin *un avoir, le baiser, le boire, des deboires, des dejeuners, des devoirs, des dîners, les dires, les êtres, le faire, le goûter, des loisirs, le manger, un manoir, des penſers, un plaidoyer, un plaisir, des pourparlers, un pouvoir, le repentir, le rire, le savoir, un souper, le sourire, un souvenir, des vivres, un mauvais vouloir*, &c

V *Present indicative*—French, like other Romance languages, has inherited from Latin the power of making nouns (substantives, and sometimes adjectives) from the radical of a verb as presented in the present indicative singular These derivatives mostly come from verbs of the first conjugation, and are generally feminine when they end with an e mute

Masc	aboyer	j'aboie	*un aboi*
	accorder	j'accorde	*un accord*
	achater (O F)	j'achate	*un achat*
	affronter	j'affronte	*un affront*
	amasser	j'amasse	*un amas*

Masc. (*cont*)	appeler	j'appelle	*un appel*
	apporter	j'apporte	*un apport*
	arrêter	j'arrête	*un arrêt*
	blâmer	je blâme	*un blâme*
	buter	je bute	*un but*
	cligner	je cligne	*un clin*
	compasser	je compasse	*un compas*
	compter	je compte	*un compte*
	coûter	je coûte	*un coût*
	crier	je crie	*un cri*
	débourser	je débourse	*un débours*
	décorer	je décore	*un decor*
	dédaigner	je dédaigne	*un dedain*
	dégoûter	je dégoûte	*un degoût*
	délayer	je délai (O F)	*un delai*
	départir	je departz (O F) = je departs	*un depart*
	emprunter	j'emprunte	*un emprunt*
	flotter	je flotte	*un flot*
	jeter	je jette	*un jet*
	manquer	je manque	*un manque*
	mépriser	je mepris	*un mepris*
	pardonner	je pardonne	*un pardon*
	prêter	je prête	*un prêt*
Fem	adresser	j'adresse	*une adresse*
	aider	j'aide	*une aide*
	allonger	j'allonge	*une allonge*
	appliquer	j'applique	*une applique*
	approcher	j'approche	*une approche*
	cacher	je cache	*une cache*
	cesser	je cesse	*une cesse*
	commander	je commande	*une commande*
	conserver	je conserve	*une conserve*
	coucher	je couche	*une couche*
	cueillir	je cueille	*une cueille*

dépêcher	je dépêche	*une dépêche*
depenser	je dépense	*une depense*
dépouiller	je dépouille	*une depouille*
détremper	je détrempe	*une detrempe*
disputer	je dispute	*une dispute*
écouter	j'écoute	*les ecoutes*
élever	j'éleve	*une eleve*
enclaver	j'enclave	*une enclave*
épouvanter	j'épouvante	*une epouvante*
excuser	j'excuse	*une excuse*
fatiguer	je fatigue	*une fatigue*
fouler	je foule	*une foule*
gouverner	je gouverne	*une gouverne*
montrer	je montre	*une monire*

Note the following verbs

relever	je relief	(O F)	*un relief*
maintenir	je maintien	,,	*un maintien*
soutenir	je soutien	,,	*un soutien*
esperer	j'espoir	,,	*un espoir*

It is on the ground of these last forms, and certain other analogous ones where the substantive corresponds to the present indicative of the Old language, that we take the view that the verb radical in all the other substantives quoted is that of the present indicative

This formation is still very living and very fertile, especially in the popular speech

309 INDECLINABLE WORDS — The adverb may easily become a preposition, and the preposition an adverb, the adverb may also become a conjunction (Book II, § 256) All three, as well as the interjection, may become substantives *le dedans, le dehors, le dessus, le dessous, le pour, le contre, les si, les que, un hola, des ho, des ah, un haha,* &c

Thus all the parts of speech may exchange their functions by improper derivation The most fertile formations are those that change the adjective, the past participle, and the present indicative into substantives

II Proper Derivation (with Suffixes)

310. PROPER DERIVATION —**Proper derivation** creates new words by adding special syllables called **suffixes** to the radicals of existing words

This formation is of great fertility, especially as compared with the poverty of suffix formation that characterizes the Germanic languages

French possesses, or has possessed, more than a hundred different suffixes, belonging to either the Popular or the Learned language some lived in the earlier periods and have died out, others have been created during the growth of the language and are still flourishing, others, again, have survived through the whole epoch of fourteen centuries, without losing any of their primitive energy

The form of a suffix has often changed in consequence of changes in pronunciation often, again, the sense has changed in the lapse of time, and many a suffix has no longer at the present day the same signification as in Old French

Suffixes are not individual, isolated words, each expressing either an idea or an image proper to itself they are general expressions or formulas of abstract notions, which the language detaches from the words in which they are to be found, and joins on to other words of analogous form, so as to extend the significance of these in varying degree Thus the suffix *-esse* existed in Latin, under the form of **-ịtia**, in such words as **largịtia**, which became in French *largesse*, and this syllable *-esse* was added to the radicals of other adjectives *faibl-esse*, *rudesse*, *sag-esse*, &c The suffix *-age* existed in Latin, in the form of **-ạticum**, in a certain number of words like **silvạticum**, which became in French *sauvage*, and **viạticum**, which became *voyage*, this syllable was added in the same manner in French to a great number of other radicals *blanchiss age*, *charbonn age*, *feuill age*, *lai age*, *plum-age*.

Thus was extended the use of these terminations, which might in a sense be called 'words,' as expressing ideas; but which are not true words, since they do not exist in an isolated state, but are always added to other words

311 SIGNIFICATIONS OF SUFFIXES.—I In order that a suffix should be living and able to give rise to new words, *it is necessary and sufficient* that the suffix, as well as its conjoined radical, should awaken a clear idea in the mind. If neither the radical nor the suffix awakens this clear idea, the derivative has absorbed the suffix Thus in *vitrail*, where the suffix *-ail* is no longer perceptible, in *taureau*, where the radical is no longer recognizable, in *soleil*, where neither radical nor suffix is now apparent, the derived word has become a simple word, there is unity of image On the contrary, in *herb ette*, *polliss oire*, *sag esse*, the radical on the one hand, and the suffix on the other, stand out in bold relief the image is divisible, and the suffix, preserving its complete value, may be joined to other radicals and thus produce new creations when needed

II The suffix may (1) convey the abstract notion of an object *eteign-oir*, *gratt-oir* (*extinguisher*, *scraper*), or (2) of a physical or moral quality *roug eur*, *verd eur*, *just esse*, *sag esse*, *ancienne te* (*redness*, *justice*, &c), (3) it may express a verbal action or its result *blanchiss-age*, *lav age*, *ameubl ement*, *attroup ement*, *chang ement* (*washing* [the action], *furniture*, *gathering*, &c), (4) it may express a collective notion *ferraille* (*old iron*), *limaille* (*filings*), (5) it may express a depreciatory or pejorative idea *bav ard*, *commun ard*, (6) it may denote a person or an object and serve as a diminutive *fill ette*, *mouch eron* (*midge*), *flamm erole* (*will o'-the-wisp*), *ail-eron* French has hardly known, and no longer possesses, augmentative suffixes, which are so numerous in both Italian and Spanish.

III The signification of suffixes has not in all cases been constant, many a suffix conveys an abstract notion,

which is quite different from that belonging to it formerly it has really become a new suffix by assuming a new function Thus the suffix *-age* in Old French once expressed a collective idea *charbonn-age, feuill-age, plum-age*, and has still that function in some ancient words which have been preserved in the Modern language At the present time *-age* expresses the action of the verb · *blanchiss-age, lav-age* The suffix *-aille* indicated originally a collective notion; at the present day it expresses a pejorative idea *radic-aille* (*radical mob*), *valet-aille* (*pack of servants*) The suffix *-asse*, which had once no very clear signification, has now assumed a pejorative one *fad asse* (*unpleasingly insipid*), *lav asse* (*dish water, over dilute beverage*), *paper asse* (*useless papers*)

Whence do these changes arise? They are no doubt due to the action of certain derivatives formed with these suffixes, in which some special idea originally expressed by the radical itself has been transferred to the suffix thus in *chiennaille* (Mod. F *canaille*), an ancient synonym of *meute*, 'pack of hounds,' the unpleasant idea evoked by the radical *chien* affected the suffix, first in the word *chiennaille*, and then in the new derivatives in *aille* The suffix *-asse* in *bestiasse* (originally *a beast*, and hence *a stupid person*) acquired an unpleasant notion from its radical, destined to affect thenceforth every new word in *asse*

312 Forms of suffixes.—(1) Gallo Romanic suffixes consist without exception of one or more accented syllables

Latin, like Greek, German, and English, possessed atonic suffixes But these atonic suffixes, in passing from Latin to French, of necessity disappeared, or, if they were preserved, took a *tempus forte* The Latin **vĭn-ĕa**, derived from **vinum**, *vin*, became the French *vigne*, the Latin **frĭg-ĭdum**, ***frĭg-ĭdum**, has become, it is true, the French *froid*, and the Latin **pĭr-ŭla**, **ăv-ĭca**, have become the French *perle* and *oie* But the suffixes **-ea**, **-idu**, **-ula**, **-ica**,

have not formed any new words in French, and have been lost as suffixes, because they were not accented On the other hand, the Latin suffix ĭa, although atonic in Latin, has become the French suffix *ie*, because in French it took the *tempus forte* -ĭa The suffix -ŏlus, also atonic in Latin, acquired a *tempus forte*, and became *-eul*, *-euil*, or *-ol*

(ii) The suffixes are divisible into classes, each generally added only to radicals of one and the same kind Thus *-oir* is added to the radicals of verbs *gratton*, *poussoir* *-ise* to the radicals of adjectives *gaillard ise*, *lourd ise*, *-eur* to the radicals of adjectives *grand-eur*, *haut eur*, *larg-eur*, *able* to the radicals of verbs *aim-able*, *lou-able*

However, extensions arising by analogy through the action of the derivatives have caused some confusion for although *raisonnable* comes from *raisonner*, or rather from *raisonn-*, the radical of the verb, it is decomposed into *raison* + *able*, and on this type have been formed *charitable*, *equitable*, *veritable*, in which the radicals are those of substantives

Confusion may occur in other ways In *factage* we do not recognize the radical either of a verb or of a substantive . this word must therefore be due to another kind of analogy *Blanchissage* and *lavage*, as well as *blanchisseur* and *laveur*, come from *blanchir* and *laver* Now, the number of verbs which thus give regular derivatives in both *eur* and *-age* is considerable enough for the two suffixes *-eur* and *-age* to have been brought together and associated, and thus *fact-age* (*distribution of parcels*, &c) is due to the existence of *fact eur* (*carrier*, *porter*, and, later, *postman*)

(iii) By virtue of analogical extensions the suffixes of the 1st conjugation have replaced those corresponding to the other conjugations The verbs of the 1st Latin conjugation gave derivatives in **ābilis** **amare**, **amābilis**, those of other conjugations gave derivatives in **-ĭbilis** **crēdere**, **crēdĭbilis**

We shall have frequent occasion to recall this law We must, however, notice that it is far from being uniformly followed The influence of analogy has in many cases led to the adoption of the same form in the derivative and in the simple word Thus we already find in Old French *fierte* for *ferte* (due to *fier*), *hoirie* (due to *hoir*), *croyance* (due to *croire* as well as *creance*), *pieton* (due to *pied*), instead of the forms the phonetic laws would lead us to expect We may notice in the same way the spelling *grainetier* (due to *graine*), instead of the regular spelling *grenetier*

313 INTERCALATION OF SUFFIXES — It often happens that between the radical and the final suffix other suffixes are intercalated, as in *chambrillon, gantelet, pelletier, roitelet* Between *chambr-* and *-on* the suffix *-ill* is intercalated, between *roi-* and *-et* the suffixes *t-* (for *et*) and *-el- roi-et-el et, roi-t-el-et*

Sometimes the intercalation is only apparent, and in reality there have been successive additions and no intercalation of suffixes Thus *roi* first became *roiet* (still used as a proper name), then *roiet* became *roietel*, which was reduced to *roitel*, and finally *roitel* was lengthened to *roitelet*

Sometimes the intercalation is real *Chambre* gave *chambrillon, gant, gantelet, peau, pelletier*—without passing through intermediate words *chambrille, gantel, pellet*, formed with the secondary suffixes *-ille, -el, -et*, which, though they exist independently, merely serve here as links between the radicals and the suffixes *-on, -et, -ier* The intercalation of these suffixes is due in most cases to the difficulty felt by the tongue in adding a suffix beginning with a vowel to a radical ending either with a vowel, pure or nasal, or with a consonant dropped in pronunciation Take the words *bijou, ecu* it would be difficult to add to these the suffixes *-ier* and *-on* respectively, and we find as derivatives with these suffixes *bijou-t-ier, ecu-ss-on* Take again *chaux*, of which the *x* has dropped in pronunciation,

it has yielded similarly *chau-l-er* (*to lime*) and *échau d er* (*to limewash*)[1].

Among such intercalations we may especially note the following —

(*a*) *Intercalation of* **r**—This is very frequent The syllables *-on, -eau, -ol,* have been lengthened into *-eron, ereau, -erol,* in *puceron, poetereau, feverole,* &c , owing to a false analogy Many words in *-ier* (and *-eur*) formed diminutives in *-on* and *-eau berger, bergeron , vacher, vacheron , voleur, volereau,* &c , and probably technical names like *forgeron, marneron, tâcheron, vigneron,* to which no corresponding simple words are known, have a like origin Now in course of time, instead of connecting *forgeron* with *forgeur, volereau* with *voleur*, the people came to connect them with *forge* and *vol,* and so to imagine the existence of the suffixes *-eron, ereau ,* and thus were formed *puceron, moucheron, laideron,* &c , from *puce, mouche, laid* *-Eron* and *-ereau* then led to the use of *-erol* for *-ol* We have an exactly parallel formation in the case of *-erie,* which has replaced *-ie* in many words formed from a false analogy with *bonneterie, chevalerie,* which are themselves regularly derived from *bonnetier, chevalier* (see § 315)

(*b*) *Intercalation of* **t**—The intercalation of a **t** in *abriter, agioter, bijoutier, caillouter, cafetier, ferblantier, papetier,* &c (derived from *abri, agio, bijou, caillou, cafe, ferblanc, papier*), has similarly for its starting point the existence of derivatives in which the t really belongs to the radical, but is not sounded in the simple word, e g *laitier, laiterie, laitage, ebruiter, crocheteur* (from *lait, bruit, crochet*), &c These words suggested the existence of suffixes, *-tier, -terie, -tage, -ter, -teur,* and these forms, especially since the 17th century, have been added to radicals ending in a vowel, pure or nasal It is owing to this fact that substantives in *-eau* no longer yield verbs in *-eler,* but verbs in *-auter.* Thus from *peau* we have the old verb *peler,* the modern *depeauter*;

[1] [Distinguish from *échauder, to scald,* derived from *chaud*]

biseauter, tableauter, are formed in the same way Old derivatives formed regularly have been transformed so as to resemble the new model. *abrier* has become *abriter, fermure, fermeture, tabaquière, tabatiere,* &c

(*c*) *Intercalation of other consonants* -ç- or -ss- in *ecoincer* (from *coin*), *courçon* (*court*), *ecusson* (*ecu*), -ill- in *chambrillon* (*chambre*), *cotillon* (*cotte*), -l- in *chauler* (*chaux*), -ll- in *epillet* (*epi*), -d- in *echauder* (*chaux*), -v- in *amadouvier* (*amadou*), -iq- in *tourniquet* (*tourner*), &c —Transformations of this kind are capable of yielding an unlimited number of new words, and hence are a great source of wealth to the language

314 ALTERATION OF SUFFIXES —In some cases the suffix is sufficiently distinct from the radical to be liable to independent transformation, and hence it has been modified, or replaced by other suffixes more or less related to it Changes of this kind may be classed as follows —

(*a*) *Phonetic changes* —(i) *Poitral, frontal,* have been replaced by *poitrail, frontail* (ii) The final *r* having ceased to be pronounced at a certain period, the suffix *-eux* was confused with the suffix *-eur*, hence the forms *faucheux, gâteux, hasardeux,* for *faucheur, gâteur, hasardeur* (see p 479) (iii) The suffix *-en* was similarly confused with *-an* in *brelan, chambellan, cormoran,* and with *-and* in *tisserand*

(*b*) *Changes to homonymous forms* —Of these the examples are innumerable We may quote *dalleau* for *dallot, chafaud* for *chafaut, marchand* and *chaland* for *marchant* and *chalant, civet* for *cive, homard* for *homar,* &c

(*c*) *Changes of one suffix for another of identical signification* —The diminutive suffixes are constantly interchanged *agrouette* has been substituted for *agrouelle, gargoter* for *gargater, loriot* for *loriol, maillot* for *maillol, ouaille* for *oueille, corneille* for *cornille,* &c This elasticity in the use

of suffixes is found in Old French, in which the alternative forms *amerte, amertor, amertume, aspresse, aspror, asprete*, &c, were employed indifferently

(*d*) *Changes due to the influence of words cognate in form or sense* —*Plurel* was changed into *pluriel* under the influence of *singulier*, *escargol* into *escargot* under the influence of *escarbot*

315 NOUN SUFFIXES FORMED OF VOWELS — Suffixes[1] may be classified into *noun-suffixes*, which form nouns, both substantive and adjective, and *verb-suffixes*, which form verbs The former, which are very numerous, may be subdivided into *suffixes formed of vowels, suffixes containing simple consonants*, and *suffixes containing double consonants*, or *consonant-groups*

-IA Of all the atonic Latin suffixes formed of vowels · **-ĕus, -ĕa, -ĕum, -ĭus, -ĭa, -ĭum, -ŭus, -ŭa, -ŭum,** one only, **-ĭa,** has passed into French, by becoming accented, **-ī́a,** and has given *-ie*[2]

This suffix *-ie* combined in the Old language with substantives denoting persons, or with adjectives, the resultant originally expressing a state of existence or a quality *chevalier, chevaler-ie, courtois, courtois-ie, fol, fol-ie, garant,*

[1] In this study we omit those Latin suffixes which, for want of giving new derivatives, have been lost in the modern language They are, however, sometimes represented in words handed down from the Latin, but, in these cases, although the suffix existed as such in the mother language, the words are taken as simple in French Thus **-ece-** in **vervecem**, *brebis*, **amen, -imen**, in **examen**, *essaim*, **nutrimen**, *nourrain*

[2] **-ĭa** could only become **-ī́a** under the influence of the Greek suffix **-ī́a** (*ία*), which was accented, and was confused with the Latin suffix However, it was only in Popular Latin that it served to form new words The ancient words in **-ĭa** preserved the atonic Latin ĭ **fortĭa** gave *force* The distinction between the ancient and the new words is especially obvious in proper names we have *Bretagne* from **Britannĭa**, *France* from **Francĭa**, but *Bulgarie, Normandie, Picardie*, these words being of later date than the 7th century, that is, than the period when the Latin suffix **-ĭa** came under the influence of the Greek suffix of the same form

garant-ie, *jaloux*, *jalous-ie*; *libraire*, *librair-ie*, *maire*, *mair-ie*, *malade*, *malad-ie*; *vilain*, *vilen-ie*.

In a certain number of words it was preceded by the syllable *-ier*, which from the 14th to the 16th century was reduced to *er* in words in *-chier* and *-gier* (Book I, §§ 54, I, and 95, 1), *ier*, like *er*, becoming atonic, was changed into *er* *argentier*, *argenter-ie*, *boucher*, *boucher-ie*, *boulanger*, *boulanger-ie*, *chevalier*, *chevaler-ie*, in other cases the derivative was taken from substantives in *-eur* where the syllable *-eur* became atonic and was reduced to *-er* *blanchisseur*, *blanchisser-ie*, *menteur*, *menter-ie* This termination in *-er-ie* became so frequent that there grew up a belief in the existence of a suffix *-erie*, which finally replaced the suffix *-ie* altogether (§ 313, *c*) From the 12th century words in *-erie* began to appear *novelle*, *novell-erie*, *aumône* gave in Old French *aumonie* and *aumonerie* In the course of Middle French certain derivatives change their suffix *-ie* into *-erie* *diablie* becomes *diablerie*, *orfevrie* becomes *orfevrerie* From the 16th century on, the language only used the suffix *-erie* in its new formations *âne*, *ân-erie*, *cagot*, *cagot-erie*, *charlatan*, *charlatan-erie*, *coquette*, *coquett-erie*, *coquin*, *coquin-erie*, *drôle*, *drôl-erie*, *dupe*, *dup-erie*, *fourbe*, *fourb-erie*, *singe*, *sing-erie*, &c

Thus the existing words in *-ie*, e g *mairie*, date back to Old French[1] and this is at present changed by the people into *mairerie* This substitution of *-erie* for *-ie* is a curious example of the transformations of suffixes

In signification the suffix *-ie* or *-erie* shows characteristic changes In *cagoterie*, *folie*, it expresses the mode of existence, or the state of the individual who is *cagot*[2], *fou* From

[1] Of course we refer here only to words of Popular formation We shall see that this suffix *-ie* is still in force in the Learned formation, but there it fully corresponds to the Greek suffix *-ια*

[2] [The *Cagots* were an outcast race, scattered through the S W of France and supposed to be lepers, probably through analogy of sound in part, the name has now come to be used as a pejorative of *bigot*, *a stupid fanatic* See F Michel, *Races maudites de la France*]

being abstract, the signification readily becomes concrete *Faire des cagoteries, faire une folie,* signify to do acts resulting from *cagoterie* (*bigotry*), *folie Librairie* signified in Old French *library,* a collection of books, and it has come to mean in the Modern language a bookseller's trade or shop In industrial language the suffix *-erie* is utilized to denote industries and businesses, and the places where these are carried on *boulangerie, laiterie, orfevrerie,* &c

316 NOUN-SUFFIXES CONTAINING SIMPLE CONSONANTS — 1 **-ĄCU** This suffix exists in some Latin adjectives, such as **ebri-ącus** from **ebrius** (*ivre*) On this type Gallo-Romanic lengthened the adjective **verus** into **verącus,** which became *verai,* later on *vrai* **Verus** had given the adjective *voir, voire,* which now only survives as an adverb, having been replaced in its other uses by the above derivative

2 **-ĄC-U** This suffix, of Gaulish origin, has served to form very many names of places After the conquest of Gaul, Augustus (B C 27) established the land-tax, property in land did not then exist in the country, since the ground belonged to the commune, the *pagus* The establishment of this tax changed communal property into private property, the heads of the commune became landowners responsible for the tax, and had to exploit the lands which became their domains It was necessary to designate these estates, and so create numerous names of places A very simple means was devised to the landowner's name was added the Gaulish suffix **-ac,** which signifies 'in relation to,' nearly corresponding to the suffix *-ier* If this owner was a barbarian, **-acum** was added to the stem of his plain name (romanized) **Camarus, Camar-acum, Eburus, Eburacum, Turnus, Turn-acum** If, on the contrary, he had become a Roman citizen possessing a *gentilicium* or family name, the suffix **-acum** was added to the radical of the name of his *gens,* which always ended in 1. **Quintius,**

Quinti-acum, **Paulius**, **Pauli-acum**; **Sabinius**, **Sabini-acum**.

Thus two series of proper names were formed, in **-ą̣cum** and **-iącum** respectively

These underwent different modifications in different regions In the South they only dropped the **m** and the **u**, hence numerous names in *-ac* and *iac* The **s** of *-iac* might combine with a preceding **l** or **n**, giving **l** *mouillee* or **n** *mouillee*, or with a **t**, giving **ç**, **z** **Carenden-acum**, *Carennac* (Lot), **Paulin-iacum**, *Paulignac* or *Polignac* (Charente Inférieure), **Aurel-iacum**, *Aurillac* (Cantal) The **c** might drop out, or be replaced by a **t** or an **s** **Nantu-acum**, *Nantua* (Ain), **Carbon-acum**, *Charbonnat* (Saône-et-Loire), **Arn-acum**, *Arnas* (Rhône), **Marc-iacum**, *Marsas* (Gironde), *Marsat* (Puy-de Dôme) North of the Loire, **-acum** was changed into *-ai*, *-ay*, *-ey*, *-e*, **-iacum** was changed into **-iai*, **-iei*, *-y*, by contraction **Spara-acum**, *Épernay* (Marne), **Camer-acum**, *Cambrai* (Nord), **Man-iacum**, *Maney* (Marne), **Flor-iacum**, *Fleure* (Vienne), *Fleury* (Aisne), **Sabin-iacum**, *Sevigny* (Orne), *Savigny* (Seine-et-Oise), **Anton-iacum**, *Antony* (Seine et-Oise), **Clipi-acum**, *Clichy* (Seine), **Gaud-iacum**, *Jouy* (Aisne)

Let us consider a single type of names those derived from **Cant-iacum**, in different places this became.

Cussac (Gironde, Aveyron, Cantal, &c),
Cuisia (Jura),
Cussat (Aveyron);
Cuissai (Orne),
Cussay (Indre-et-Loire),
Cosse (Maine-et-Loire, Mayenne);
Cusset (Allier),
Cussy (Côte-d'Or),
Cuissy (Yonne),
Coisy (Somme);
Choisey (Jura),
Chouzy (Loir-et-Cher);

Chouzé (Indre-et-Loire);
Choisy (Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Oise, &c.).

Thus were formed the numerous names of places (hamlets, villages, and towns), most of which were originally the names of Gallo Roman farms or domains We may notice, by the way, that from the permanence of these names of domains as names of localities and towns we may draw a very probable induction in favour of the antiquity of the road system of France For these domains to become centres of populations they must have been united by a regular network of roads, and it is not too bold to affirm that the commercial geography of France during the Middle Ages, and even in modern times, is in its origin traceable to the imperial administration of Gaul.

3 **-ICU.** The **i** of this suffix being short, and therefore atonic, the suffix could not be preserved isolated, but it passed into French in the compound form **-ạticus**, with the *tempus forte* on the **a**. **-Ạticus** formed adjectives in Popular Latin **par-ạticus**, **silv-ạticus**, **vi-ạticum**, **vol-ạticus**, &c It became successively ***-ạdego**, ***-ạdeo**, ***-ạdjo**, **-ạge** **silvạticus**, *selvage*, *sauvage*, **viạticum**, *veiage*, *voyage*, **volạticus**, *volage*.

In Old French it also formed adjectives *ombre*, *ombr-age* (*lieu ombrage*, 'a place with shade,' whence the substantive *ombrage*, taken absolutely, = *shade*), *raim*, *ram-age* (*chant ramage*, song from the *ramee* = branches or tree-tops, whence the substantive *ramage*, taken absolutely, = the song of birds in the open); *forme*, *formage* (*lait formage*, milk set in *formes*, whence the substantive *formage*, *fromage*, taken absolutely, = *cheese*).

Moreover, the Old language possessed a great number of substantives in *age* expressing collective ideas, they have mostly been preserved with the same sense in the Modern language *branch age*, *feuill-age* (*foliage*), *charbonn-*

-age, lain-age, vitr-age (*glass*, of a building), *lait-age* (*milk food-products*), &c

But as early as the Middle Ages the signification of this suffix had a tendency to change, and united with verb radicals it has come to express in the Modern language the verbal action *lav age* = the action of washing (*laver*), *chauff-age* = the action of heating (*chauffer*), *balay-age* = the action of sweeping (*balayer*) Of rare occurrence are those new derivatives which, like *outillage*, 'the whole set of the tools (*outils*) of a trade,' preserve the collective idea which the suffix expressed in the Old language

This suffix was formerly added to radicals of nouns, but is now added only to those of verbs[1] If *crayonn age* were an old word it would signify 'collection of crayons or chalks,' and would have come from *crayon*, as a matter of fact it signifies 'the action of chalking,' and comes from *crayonner*

4 **-ŲCU, ŲCA** This suffix exists in **lactųca**, *laitue*, **verrųca**, *verrue*, **carrųca**, *charrue*, &c On this type have been formed ***astrucum**, *astru*, from *astre*, whence *malastru, malostru, malotru* (*ill-starred*, whence it has come to mean *ill-mannered*), *massue*, from *masse* (*club, mace*), *tortue*

5 **-ĄCEU, -ĄCIU** The Latin suffix **-ceus, -cius**, was preceded by an accented vowel **-ącĕus, -ącius, -ącĕus, -ącius, -ǫcĕus, -ǫcius, -ųcĕus, -ųcius** **-Ąceus, -ącius**, was a very fertile suffix in Latin **gallinąceus, herbąceus, minącia** In French the masculine form has become *-az, -as* **solącium**, O F *soulas* (*consolation*), the feminine form has become *-ace, -asse* **minącia**, *menace* *Brouillas, coutelas, embarras, plâtras*, &c, *crevasse, cuirasse, filasse, lavasse, terrace, tignasse*, are new substantives derived from nouns

[1] With, however, the exception of *factage*, which comes from *facteur* and has been formed on the type of *laveur, lavage, batteur, battage* (§ 312, II)

or verbs. There are also nouns in *-ache* *bravache, ganache,* &c. Though in the Picard and Low Norman dialects the feminine form does present itself in the form of *ache,* the nouns of this termination are mostly of foreign origin (Italian *-accia*). These substantives have a collective signification, augmentative or pejorative

This suffix also formed feminine adjectives in *-asse* with a pejorative signification *bonasse* (*stupidly good-natured*), *mollasse,* &c , and then, the feminine form being no longer felt, it was extended to the masculine *blondasse* (*tow-coloured,* of hair), *fadasse,* &c. Thus it is that the substantive *savant,* which had formed the masculine derivative *savantas* (*pedant*) (Molière, *Fâcheux,* III, 3), has given in the Modern language the masculine derivative *savantasse* (*smatterer*)

6 **-ĮCEU, -ĮCIU** This suffix has given in French in the masculine *-iz, -is*, in the feminine *-ice, -isse*, and as a dialectal form *-iche* **factįcius**, O F *faitiz* (*well-wrought*), **finctįcius**, O F *feintiz* (*crafty*), **tractįcius**, O F. *traitiz* (*well-turned*), **salsįciam**, *saucisse* This suffix was added to past participles[1], especially to those of the 1st conjugation (in **-ątum**), whence the form **-atįcius**, which became the French *-édiz, eiz, -eis, is* Thus **colare** (*couler*) gave **colatįcius**, *coleiz, coleis, coulis* (*vent coulis* = *draught*), **levare** (*lever*), **levatįcius**, *levediz, leveiz, leveis, levis* (*pont-levis* = *drawbridge*) Hence a great number of masculine verbal substantives in *-is* *éboulis, frottis, gâchis, glacis, hachis* (*mince*), *lavis, pilotis, pâtis, semis, torchis,* &c , and feminine verbal substantives in *-isse* *bâtisse* (*framework of building*), *coulisse* (fem of *coulis*), &c We may add some words in

[1] In **factĭcius, tractĭcius**, where the suffix is added to participles, the ĭ is long Latin possessed another suffix, **-ĭcius**, with the ĭ short, which was added either to adjectives or substantives **galbĭnĭciam, pellĭciam** These two words should have become *jaunesse, pelesse,* just as **pĭciam, vĭciam**, became *pesse, vesce*, but they gave *jaunisse, pelisse,* because the suffix **-ĭcius** was soon confused with the suffix **-īcius**, which was the source of so many more derivatives

-iche (dialectal or foreign) *poulıche* (*foal*, Low Norman), *barbıche, cornıche, postıche* (Italian)

7 **-OCEU, -OCIU** This suffix does not seem to have given any derivatives in *-oz, -os, oce, -osse*, but there exist some feminine words in *-oche brıoche, epınoche, fıloche, maıllochc* (*a heavy mallet*, from *maıllet*), *mıoche, pıoche*, &c, of obscure origin, of which the ending seems to be derived from an Italian suffix **-occa**, and not from the Italian **-occio, -occia**, as in *bamboche* (**bamboccio**), *fantoche* (**fantoccio**), *saıoche, carrosse* (earlier *carroche*).

8 **-UCEU, -UCIU.** Like the preceding one, this suffix does not seem to have given any derivatives in *-uz, -us, -usse*, but there exist similarly some feminines in *uche baudruche, guenuche* (from *guenon*), *peluche* (*plush*, from *poil*), this suffix is obscure Italian possesses some words in **-uccio, -uccia**, which, from the 16th century on, gave French words in *-uche perruche* (*parroquet*, **peruccia**), *fanfreluche* (*gewgaw*)

9 **-EOLU, -IOLU.** This suffix, which existed in Latin in **areola, falseolus, foliolum, gloriola**, had the *tempus forte* on the **e** or the **i**, but it was displaced in the Romanic period so as to give **-eǫ̆lus, -iǫ̆lus.** It had a diminutive value

The masculine in French became first *-uel, -eul*, then *eul* under the influence of analogy (Book II, p 261) **filiǫlum**, *filleul*, **linteǫlum**, *linceul*, **hispaniǫlum**, *epagneul*, **tiliǫlum**, *tilleul*, **capreǫlum**, *chevreuil*, **scuriǫlum**, *ecureul* It sometimes kept the **o** unchanged **luscıniǫlam**, *rossignol.* In the masculine form it lost its function as a suffix at the end of the Middle Ages, and left to the Modern language only the preceding words, together with *aieul, bouvreuil*, and a few others

In the feminine form **-iǫla** it has given the feminine *aieule* and a number of words in *-ole* or *-olle*, mostly preceded by the intercalary suffix *-er-* (§ 313, *c*) *bande, banderole, fève, feverole, flamme, flammerole, lis, liserolle, mouche,*

moucherolle (*fly-catcher*, bird), *rousse*, *rousserolle*, &c This feminine termination in *-ole* seems to be now extinct. There are other words in *-ole*, such as *asteriole*, *luciole*, that are of Learned formation

10 **-ULU** (in **-ȧcŭlus**, **-i̇culus**, **-i̇culus**, **-u̇culus**).

These suffixes have become **-ȧculus** *-ȧcula*, *-ail -aille* (**gubernȧculum**, *gouvernail*, **tenȧcula**, *tenaille*), **-i̇culus** *-i̇cula*, *-eil -eille* (**pari̇culus**, *pareil*), **-i̇culus** *-i̇cula*, *-il -ille* (**auri̇cula**, *oreille*, **peri̇culum**, *peril*, **lenti̇cula**, *lentille*[1]), **-u̇culus** *-u̇cula*, *-ouil -ouille* (**genu̇culum**, O F. *genouil*, **ranu̇cula**, *grenouille*)

These suffixes have been more or less fertile in new formations **-Ȧculus** *-acula*, *-ail -aille*, which were fertile in Latin and still more so in Old French, have disappeared in the Modern language Of the derivatives created during the Middle Ages, French has preserved *epouvantail*, *eventail*, *fermail*, *vantail*, *vitrail*, &c *-Eil -eille*, *-il -ille*, have also given a fair number of derivatives *bouteille*, *pareil*, *soleil*, *sommeil*,—*bequille*, *chenille*, *faucille* (*sickle*, from *faux*, *scythe*), *grille* (O F *graille*), &c , but some of these have also become extinct The numerous words in *-ille* of recent formation have another origin which we shall treat later on (14), moreover, they have not the *diminutive* signification of the present category, but a collective sense The words in *-ouil -ouille* were not numerous, and the surviving words in *-ouil* have, with the exception of *fenouil*, changed the *-ouil* into *-ou* *genou*, *pou*, *verrou* In *-ouille* we have *cornouille*, *grenouille*, *quenouille* (*distaff*)

11 **-ȦLE** This suffix, which was very fertile in Latin, formed adjectives which might be used substantively.

It has become in French *-el* or *al*[2], giving thus two

[1] In Popular Latin the short i of the suffix **-i̇cula** in **lenti̇cula**, *lentille*, **cani̇cula**, *chenille*, was lengthened into ī Thus Old French still gave *cornille*, *orille* (for *cornaille*, *oreille*) from **corni̇cula**, **auri̇cula**, instead of **corni̇cula**, **auri̇cula**

[2] *-Al* is of Learned origin, but at an early period it passed from the

different suffixes **legālis**, *loyal*, **regālis**, *royal*; **carnālis**, *charnel*, **mortālis**, *mortel*, hence the new adjectives and substantives in *-al* and *-el* *banal, final, national,—journal, signal,—accidentel, personnel*

12 **-ĮLE** In Latin this suffix formed (1) adjectives **gentįlis**, *gentil*, and (2) neuter substantives in **-įle** **faenįle**, *fenil* (*hay-loft*) New formations *charretil, chenil* (*kennel*, from *chien*), *courtil, coutil, essieu* (O F *aisil, axle-tree*), *fournil* (*bakehouse*), *fusil*

13 **-B-ILE** This suffix was first added to verb radicals, pure or modified **amābilis, amicābilis, laudābilis, favorābilis** Gradually, in the form of **-ābilis** or **-įbilis**, it came to be added to any verb radical whatever, or even to substantive radicals **-įbilis** has become *-ible*, which occurs in a few words of Popular formation *paisible, penible*, but chiefly in words of Learned formation The suffix most used is *-able*[1], which forms adjectives with the radical of the present participles of verbs of all conjugations *agreer, agreable, definir, definissable, redevoir, redevable, recevoir, recevable, croire, croyable, connaître, connaissable, vendre, vendable* It is also added to substantives *charitable, corveable, equitable, mainmortable, sortable, veritable, viable*

In sense **-ābilis** expressed in Latin an active or passive possibility **formidābilis**, *who may frighten or be frightened*, **favorābilis**, *who or which may bring into favour or be in favour* Old French continued this tradition, and the new adjectives in *-able* which it created might express, for transitive verbs, either the active or the passive aspect · *agreable, that may accept* or *be accepted, aidable, that may give aid* or *receive aid, voyable, that may see* or *be seen*

Of the active usage of the Middle Ages the Modern language has preserved *secourable, that can succour*,

language of the lettered to that of the people, and supplanted *-el* in a great number of words

[1] [The English suffix *-able* is borrowed from this]

comptable, that can account, i.e *accountant, redevable, that may owe, liable* (from *redevoir*), *effroyable, that may frighten, epouvantable, that may terrify, pitoyable, who or that may inspire pity*, and some others We may add all similar words of Learned formation: *delectable, that may delight, responsable, who or that may answer* [*for*], *solvable, who is able to pay* Save these adjectives, which are of old formation, existing derivatives in *-able* from transitive verbs all express the passive possibility *vendable, that may be sold, saleable,* &c

In intransitive verbs the suffix *-able* indicates and can only indicate an active possibility *convenable, that may suit, perissable, that may perish, serviable, who or that may serve, valable, that may be worth, alable* (in *prealable, that may go* [*aller*] *in front*) The sense of the suffix is slightly modified with certain intransitives *une situation remediable, a situation that one can remedy, une affaire lamentable, an affair that one may lament, jours ouvrables, days on which one may work* (from *ouvrer*, obsolete) [1].

14 **-LIA** The suffix **-lis** (**a-lis, e-lis, i-lis**) could be used substantively in Latin in the neuter plural **-lia**, this plural was taken in Popular Latin for a feminine singular, so that the Latin termination **-ălia** has become in French *aille*, the termination **-ēlia** or **-ĭlia** has become *-eille*, and the termination **-ĭlia**, *-ille* There exists but one word in *eille merveille*, from **mirabĭlia**, but the suffixes *-aille, -ille*, added to the radicals of nouns or verbs, have formed many feminine substantives of collective signification, and it is this collective signification which distinguishes them from words in *-aille* and in *-ille* formed from **-ăcula**, **-ĭcula** [Sec (10), p. 471]

Words in *-aille accordailles, broussaille* (*brush-wood*), *cisaille, fiançailles, futaille, limaille, mitaille, rimaille, semaille,*

[These verbs take the indirect object, but with their linking prepositions formed in the mind a single transitive idea and so gave derivatives in *-able* in the passive sense]

valetaille. The suffix *-aille* in the Modern language has acquired a pejorative value. *prêtraille, radicaille*[1].

Words in *-ille* *brouille* (*twig*), *pointille, ramille, vetille* (*rag, trifle*), *charmille, coudrille, ormille*, in the three last nouns *-ille* has come by its collective idea to express plantations of horn-beam, hazel, or elm (*charme, coudrier, orme*) (See the suffix -ętu, p 481)

15 **-ĄNU, -ĄNA** This suffix in Latin formed adjectives and substantives (*a*) from substantives. **villa, villąnus; Roma, Romąnus**, and, in Popular Latin, (*b*) sometimes from adjectives **altus, altąnus**, **certus, certąnus**, and (*c*) even from adverbs **longe, longitąnus** It became in French (1) *-ain, -aine* *certain, hautain, lointain, romain, vilain*, or (2), after a palatal, *-ien* (Book I, § 54, I) **christiąnum**, *chrestien*, **pagąnum**, *paien* The words of French formation in *-ain* belong to the earliest periods of the language, this suffix has disappeared from the Modern language This does not apply to the second form *-ien, -ienne*, which has taken a considerable development, especially since the 16th century *gardien, faubourien, prussien*, &c We may also note a peculiar use of *-ain, aine*, with numerals to indicate a set, this suffix having replaced the suffix *-ein* from -ęnu *huitaine, neuvaine, dizaine, douzaine, vingtaine, centaine*, instead of *huiteine, neuveine*, &c The change is probably due to the influence of *centain* In the masculine these numerals are used as terms of prosody *quatrain, sixain, dizain*, &c (Book II, § 138)

16 **-ĮNU, -ĮNA** This suffix, which in Latin formed adjectives and substantives, passed into French and was

[1] Meaning *priests, radicals*, collectively, and in a disparaging sense But when Régnier, in one of his satires, says

'Les Latins, les Hébreux et toute *l'antiquaille*,'

this word, borrowed from the Italian *antiquaglia*, was used to denote ancient literature as a whole, without suggesting the slightest pejorative idea, it would be erroneous to take it in the sense which the language ascribed to it later on

used to form new adjectives: *argentin, bovin* (in *bovine*), *enfantin, sauvagin*, and especially ethnical names *Angevin, Messin* (*of Metz*), *Perigourdin* It forms substantives (*a*) from nouns *etoupin* (*wad*), *gourdin* (from *corde*, *rope's-end*, hence *cudgel*), *grapin*, and (*b*) from verbs *gratin, picotin, trottin* (*foot*) This suffix, which has a diminutive meaning in *blondin, crottin, oursin* (*bear-cub*), has come to have a pejorative meaning in *calotin, galantin* (*would be gallant*), *plaisantin* It has also given feminine substantives *famine, houssine, routine, saisine, terrine* The feminine suffix *ine* is especially used in the language of chemistry, perfumery, and textile industries, thus forming half-learned, half-popular words *aconitine, morphine,—brillantine, veloutine,—percaline, popeline.*

17 **-ON** This suffix was very fertile in Latin, in which it designated persons, animals, and things of various kinds. Many of the Latin words which it formed have become French *charbon, faucon, larron, lion, poumon, savon, saumon*, &c (from **carbonem, falconem, latronem**, &c). French, in its turn, has created a number of new words by adding this suffix to the radicals of substantives and verbs *brouillon, centuron, chaînon, coupon, cruchon, fripon, harpon, jeton, jupon, juron, paillasson*, &c

In the derivatives from substantives it has usually a diminutive value, especially in the names of animals *aiglon, ânon, chaton, ourson, raton* (*eaglet, ass-foal, kitten*, &c), the diminutive value is often emphasized by the addition of an intercalary syllable which gives more consistence to the suffix *ail-er-on, mouch-er-on, puc-er-on, bouv-ill-on, cendr-ill-on* (*cinderella*), *cot ill-on, berr-ich-on, corn-ich-on* (*gherkin*), *fol-ich-on, bann-et on, cul-et on, hann-et-on* The diminutive sense is obvious in Christian names *Fanchon, Jeanneton, Marion*; it is still apparent in *laid eron, souillon, tendron* It becomes pejorative in *brouillon, grognon*

We must note that in Italian the very same suffix has an augmentative value, which explains the oddity of such words as *ballon, caisson, canton, carafon, medaillon.* In the 17th century *carafon,* coming from the Italian, meant a large *carafe*, now it means a little *carafe,* the sense of its termination having been assimilated to that of the French termination *-on* *Medaillon,* derived from *medaille,* had it been of French origin, would have meant a small *medal* (*medaille*), but, being borrowed from the Italian *medaglione,* it means a large medal.

18 **-IǪNE** (i) *Masculine* —The suffix which we have just examined often occurred, preceded by an i, in Popular Latin **campus** formed **campiǫnem,** *champion,* and in the same way in French *croupe* has given *croupion, lampe, lampion* But in many cases the i, merging with a preceding sound, gave rise to a new sound **auc-i-ǫnem,** *oison* (*gosling*), **arc-i-ǫnem,** *arçon* (*holster*), **trunc-i-ǫnem,** *tronçon* (Book I, § 78), **compan-i-ǫnem,** *compagnon* (Book I, § 60, 2)

(ii) *Feminine* — This suffix formed feminine abstract substantives from the past participle the participles **lectus, factus, fusus, traditus, nutritus,** gave respectively **lectiǫnem,** *leçon*, **factiǫnem,** *façon*, **fusiǫnem,** *foison* (*abundant produce* or *growth*), **traditiǫnem,** *trahison*, **nutriǫnem,** *nourrisson* (*nursling*, feminine substantive in Old French) This suffix, in derivatives from certain French verbs in *-ir,* takes the form of *-son* *guerir, guerison, garnir, garnison* In Latin its most frequent use was with the past participle of verbs of the 1st conjugation **-ątus** gave **-atiǫnem,** which became in French *aison*, thus **oratus,** from **orare,** gave **oratiǫnem,** *oraison*, **venatiǫnem** gave *venaison*, **comparatiǫnem,** *comparaison* In Old and Middle French this suffix was used with all kinds of verbs and yielded a great number of new words, some of which still exist *couver, couvaison, faucher, fauchaison, florir, floraison, livrer, livraison, pendre, pendaison, tondre, tondaison*

This suffix has entirely disappeared in the Modern language before the suffix *-ation* of Learned origin: *deriver* gives *derivation* and not *derivaison*[1] All new abstract substantives derived from the infinitive by means of this suffix end in *-ation generalisation*, &c.

19. **-UNU, -UNA** This suffix, which is found in some Latin words, seems to have given but one derivative in French *becune* from *bec*.

20. **-ARE** This suffix in Latin formed adjectives which might become substantives **buccularem, pilarem, scolarem, singularem**, the suffix became in Old French *-er boucler, piler, escoler, sangler* At the end of the Middle Ages *-er* merged into *-ier boucher, pilier, ecolier, sanglier*.

But *-ier* was reduced to *-er* when the radical ended with **ch, g, l** *mouillé*, or **n** *mouillé vacher, berger, conseiller*, &c , words like *pistachier, epongier*, are of ancient origin The suffix, as in Latin, forms both substantives and adjectives

21 **-ARIU** This suffix, of inexhaustible fertility, in Latin formed both substantives and adjectives It passed into French in the form of *-ier, -iere*, and in some cases in the form of *-aire* (**contr-arius**, *contraire*), *-aire* only gave new words of Learned formation, the popular suffix being *-ier, -ière*

The radical of the derivatives formed with this suffix may be that (i) of a substantive *buisson, buissonnier, prison, prisonnier*, (ii) of an adjective: *gros, grossier, plein, plenier*, or (iii) of an adverb *devant, devancier*. The derivatives may be (*a*) adjectives *moutonnier, princier* (*princely*), *printanier, routier*, (*b*) masculine or feminine substantives denoting the person acting *barbier, geôlier, geôliere, greffier, fermier, fermiere*, (*c*) masculine substantives designating a tree or plant: *cerisier, fraisier,*

[1] Old French possessed a half-popular form, *derivoison*.

peuplier, pommier, (*d*) feminine substantives denoting articles serving to contain other things. *aumoniere, bonbonniere, glaciere, gouttière, soupiere* (*soup-tureen*), *tabatiere* (*snuff-box*), &c, (*e*) under the masculine form the substantives may conceal a Latin neuter *charnier, echiquier, moutardier, saladier, panier* (**panarium**), &c

The variety of signification appears unlimited, and the suffix seems to have no other sense than to point out general relations of belonging It may be translated by the vague expression 'qui tient' (that which holds or keeps) *pommier*, 'ce qui tient des pommes', *encrier*, 'ce qui tient de l'encre', *chevalier*, 'celui qui tient un cheval', *crinière*, 'ce qui tient des crins', *rivière*, 'ce qui tient la rive', *geôlier*, 'celui qui tient la geôle', *prisonnier*, 'celui qui tient la prison'

22 **-ŌRE.** From adjectives Latin derived abstract substantives in **-ōrem albus** (*white*), **albōrem** (*whiteness*) Gallo-Romanic developed this formation and created a considerable number of derivatives in which **-ōrem** assumes the form *-eur grand, grandeur, laid, laideur*; *large, largeur, raide, raideur*, &c The words formed by this suffix in Latin were masculine, but in French it has become a feminine suffix (Book II, § 162)

23 **-ŌR, -ŌRE** This suffix, added to the past participle in Latin, designated the agent

Tradere, traditus, derivative **traditor.**
Facere, factus, derivative **factor.**
Legere, lectus, derivative **lector.**
Imperare, imperatus, derivative **imperator.**

Some of the Latin derivatives have become French: **factōrem**, *faiteur* (in *bienfaiteur, malfaiteur*), **imperatōrem**, *empereur* Here also (cf **-ābilis**, p 472) the language has utilized the suffix especially in the forms furnished by verbs of the 1st conjugation, **-at-ōrem**, which became

successively *-edor* (11th century), *-eor* (12th–13th), *eeur* (13th), and *-eur* (14th). It is added to the radical of the present participle:

Blanchir, blanchiss-ant, blanchisseur
Mentir, ment-ant, menteur
Venger, venge-ant, vengeur

The number of these derivatives in *-eur* is so considerable that the suffix alone has come to have the full power of expressing the agent, and so of forming new derivatives from substantives, as well as from verbs, *petrole, petroleur* (the verb *petroler* does not exist), *chronique, chroniqueur* (*chroniquer* does not exist [1]), *farce, farceur* (the verb *farcer* does not exist)

In Middle French the final *r* of this suffix disappeared from popular pronunciation, and even from that of the upper classes (Book I, § 121) People said *un menteu, un porteu d'eau, un coupeu de bourses, un arracheu de dents*, &c. We find a trace of this pronunciation in the lines of La Fontaine.

Mon bon *monsieur*[2],
Apprenez que tout *flatteur*
Vit aux depens de celui qui l'ecoute

The r reappeared in the pronunciation of the middle classes in the middle of the 18th century Yet even nowadays *faucheux* (*field-spider*) subsists side by side with *faucheur* (also meaning *mower*), *baveux* with *baveur*, &c It is especially in the popular speech that the pronunciation *eu* has survived so as to cause confusion with the suffix *-eux, -euse* (see 26, below) So the word *un gâteux* is used instead of *un gâteur* It is really a different suffix from the latter, and has a pejorative sense *les partageux* (those who wish to share other people's goods) for *les partageurs*

[1] [It is now creeping into journalistic use]

[2] [The final *r* of *monsieur* was not pronounced, even at this period]

The feminine of this suffix was in Latin **-ɪx, -ɪcem: ɪmperatǫrem, ɪmperatrɪcem.** **Imperatrɪcem** became in Old French *empereriz*, then a new feminine, derived from the suffix **-ɪssa,** *-esse* (§ 317, 2), replaced the termination *-iz* *empereresse* *-Esse,* lengthened into *-eresse,* was in Middle French the regular feminine ending corresponding to the masculine *-eur* *danseur, danseresse, menteur, menteresse, pipeur, piperesse, vengeur, vengeresse* Later on, when the masculine *eur* became confused with the masculine *-eux, -eresse* gave way to *-euse* *menteur, menteuse, -eresse* was only preserved in a few archaisms *bailleresse, chasseresse, demanderesse, enchanteresse, pecheresse, vengeresse* (Book II, § 164, v)

The Modern language is modifying the signification of the suffix *-eur, -euse,* by applying it to express the names of instruments *un condenseur, une balayeuse, une moisson neuse* (*a reaping-machine, reaper*), the suffix, thus extended in signification, is replacing the suffix *oir, -oire*

24 **ǪRIU, -ǪRIA.** In Latin this suffix formed adjectives, which might in turn become either masculine or feminine substantives. Here again French has utilized the form of this suffix taken from verbs of the 1st conjugation (see 23, above) **-at-ǫrius, -at-ǫria,** which has passed through the successive forms *-edoir, -edoire, -eoir, -eoire, -oir, -oire,* but it has always a substantival value, and usually designates (*a*) the place of an action *abattoir* (*slaughter-house*), *abreuvoir* (*drinking trough*), *boudoir, chauffoir,* &c, or (*b*) the instrument with which something is done. *arrosoir* (*watering-pot,* from *arroser*), *battoir, découpoir, brunissoir* (*burnisher*), *polissoir* The following are feminine *baignoire* (*bath*), *balançoire* (*swing*), *écumoire* (*skimmer*), *râtissoire* (*rake*), &c As we see, this suffix is generally added to radicals of verbs, but, by a misapprehension, it has been also added to the radicals of substantives. *bougeoir* (*candlestick*), from *bougie, drageoir,* from *dragee.*

25 **-ŲRA** This suffix formed in Latin abstract feminine substantives from the past participle **factus, factŲra, fissus, fissŲra, morsus, morsŲra, natus, natŲra, pictus, pictŲra.** Some of these Latin words have become French **junctŲra,** *jointure*, **scriptŲra,** *ecriture* The language has especially utilized the suffix **-at-Ųra,** taken from the 1st conjugation, which gave the successive forms *-adure, -edure* (11th century), *-eure* (12th), *-ure* (14th, 15th) This suffix is added to the radicals (*a*) of verbs *blessure* (*a wound*), *bouffissure* (*swelling*), *clôture, coiffure, fletrissure, teinture*, (*b*) of adjectives · *ordure* (from the Old French *ord, dirty*, still used in the 17th century), *verdure* (*greenery*), (*c*) of substantives *chevelure, denture, ferrure, nacrure*

Its signification, originally abstract, has in some instances become concrete (e g *chevelure, a person's hair*, &c)

26 **-ǪSU, -ǪSA** This suffix in Latin formed adjectives from substantives, it has become in French *-eux, -euse*, and has kept its function *farineux, hasardeux, neigeux, nerveux, paresseux, poussiereux*

27 **-ĄTU** This termination of the past participle of the 1st conjugation has become *-e* in French, and has formed (*a*) adjectives *marbre* (*marbled*), *nacre, orange, perle, sense*, (*b*) a small number of masculine substantives *côté, poire, pomme, raisine*, (*c*) more numerous feminine substantives, expressing (i) an abundance or collection of objects *gerbee, jonchee, risee* (abondance de rires), &c , (ii) sometimes the idea of a thing contained *assiettee, bouchee, cuilleree* (*spoonful*), *poignee*, or with the intercalated syllable *-et- pelletee*, (iii) a product *araignee* (*spider-web*, or *spider*, but properly *spider-web*, from *aragne, spider*, obs), (iv) the effect of an action *collee* (*blow on the neck, col*), †*jouee* (*blow on the cheek, joue*) Sometimes the feminine derivative does not seem to add anything to the idea expressed by the radical *an, annee*[1], *val, vallee*, &c

28 **-ĘTU** This suffix, neuter in Latin, designated

[1] See, however, the *Dictionnaire General*, by Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas

a group of trees **laurẹtum, rosẹtum,** *plantations of laurels, of roses* It became French in the plural form as well as the singular In the singular, **-ẹ̄tum** gave **-édu,** *-ed, -eid* (11th century), *-ei* (11th), *-ei* (12th), *-oi* (13th) *-Oi* has been preserved in Modern French in the form of *-oy,* later *-ay,* in proper nouns *Aunoy, Aunay* In the plural, **-ẹ̄ta,** which at the end of the Middle Ages had become *-oie, -aie,* was taken for a collective feminine singular *Oie* is still found in proper nouns and a few common nouns, e g *gravois* (for *gravoi,* from *grieve*) The suffix *-aie* is now used to form new common nouns of this kind, and these are numerous *boulaie, cerisaie, chênaie, coudraie, futaie, oseraie, pommeraie, ronceraie* [meaning *plantations of birch-trees* (*boulcaux*), *cherry trees* (*cerisiers*), &c], &c

29 -ŲTU This suffix in Popular Latin formed adjectives expressing some special development of a quality expressed by the radical, mostly with a shade of deprecation or contempt **astųtus,** *possessing cunning*, **cornųtus,** *possessing horns* (**cornua**), **nasųtus,** *big-nosed* Hence in French, by imitation *barbu* (*bearded*), *bossu, branchu, crochu, crêpu, chevelu, charnu, goulu, fourchu, grenu, lippu* (*large-lipped*), *mafflu, moustachu, membru, poilu, pattu, pointu, tetu, ventru,* &c

30 -TĄTE This suffix (which corresponds nearly to the English *-ness*) formed abstract nouns in Latin, hence the French words **bonitątem,** *bonte*, **claritątem,** *clarte*, **puritątem,** O F *purte* (Mod F *purete*), **sanitatem,** *sante*, **veritątem,** O F *verte* (Mod F *verite*) In some derivatives phonetic laws required the presence of a feminine **e** before the termination *-te* **falsitątem,** O F *falsete* (Mod F *faussete*), **paupertątem,** *pauvrete* The derivative seemed as though formed from a feminine French adjective and the suffix *-te*, this is why in the Modern language the derivatives are actually formed in this way *anciennete, durete, legerete, naivete, oisivete, sûrete* So the Old French

purte has become *purete* If a word corresponding to *bonte* had been created in our own time it would have been *bonnete*

This suffix *-e-te* is very fertile and is a constant source of new derivatives designating abstract notions The Learned formation has revived the Latin i of **-it-ȧtem** *diversite*, and thus *verte* has become *verite*

31 -ĮTIA This suffix in Latin also formed abstract nouns from adjectives **avȧrus, avarįtia, jųstus, justįtia** It is also nearly equivalent to the English *-ness* In French it has become either *-esse* or *ise* In these two forms it has created a considerable number of new nouns from adjectives *faiblesse, ivresse, justesse, richesse, rudesse, sagesse, tristesse, vieillesse,* &c , *bêtise, cafardise, couardise, fainéantise, franchise, gaillardise, gourmandise, sottise,* &c

We may note the interpolation of *-er-* in *fort-er-esse, sech-er-esse*

32 -ĮVU This suffix in Latin formed adjectives from the past participle **attrȧctus, attractįvus, descrįptus, descriptįvus** The suffix has become in French *-if, -ive,* and forms new adjectives from verbs or nouns *defensif, maladif, pensif, poussif, tardif,* &c During the course of the language *-if* has often replaced *-is* *massif* for *massis*, and *-eux* *oisif* for *oiseux*

317 NOUN-SUFFIXES CONTAINING DOUBLE CONSONANTS OR CONSONANT GROUPS

1 Double Consonants

1 -LL- (**-ęllus, -ęlla**) In Latin this suffix formed diminutives chiefly, it passed into French in the form of *-el* (later on *-eau*) in the masculine, *-elle* in the feminine, and has assumed a rich development Sometimes the suffix is added direct to the radical: *tombe, tombeau*, sometimes it

requires an intercalary syllable *poete, poet er-eau, tourte, tourt-er-elle*, **navem, nav-ic-ella**, *nacelle*

The proper function of this suffix is that of a diminutive Sometimes the derivative has displaced the simple word and has then assumed its original signification *cout eau, mart-eau, taur-eau* Sometimes the derivative has taken a distinct signification, and the simple word and derivative have both survived *dent, dentelle (tooth, lace), ombre, ombrelle (shade, sun-shade), pomme, pommeau (apple, pummel), tombe, tombeau* The diminutive signification is often preserved *cave, caveau, rue, ruelle, tonne, tonneau, becasse, becasseau, carpe, carpeau, colombe, colombelle, dindon, dindonneau, pigeon, pigeonneau, porc, pourceau, tourte* (obsolete), *tourterelle*

2 **-SS-** (**ĭssa**) This suffix in Latin of the Decadence formed feminines of nouns denoting persons **diaconĭssa, prophetĭssa** It came into popular use through the language of the Church It has become in French *-esse* (Eng *ess*), which has formed feminine substantives *chanoinesse, diaconesse, duchesse, hôtesse, maîtresse, patronesse, prêtresse, princesse*, &c , and, preceded by the syllable *-er* , it has also become the feminine ending corresponding to that of substantives in *-eur* denoting masculine agents *defend-er-esse*, &c (p 480) *-Esse* has been extended to names of animals *ânesse, tigresse*

3 **-TT-** This suffix occurs in feminine nouns in Popular Latin in the form of **-ĭtta**, which has become the French *-ette* From this was formed a masculine **-ĭttu**, French *-et* Then this suffix, with a change in the vowel, lengthened into *-at, -atte, -ot, otte* It forms substantives and adjectives of diminutive or sometimes contemptuous meaning, smallness breeding contempt [It corresponds nearly to the English *-let (booklet)*]

The termination *-at* is rare *aiglat, louvat* (from *aigle, loup*), *verrat (boar of domestic pig)* The termination *-ot* is

more frequent *îlot, fievrotte* It is found in proper nouns *Jacquot, Pierrot, Margot,* especially in Franche-Comté and Burgundy The diminutive sense is lost in *fagot, gigot, goulot* It is contemptuous in *bellot* (*childishly pretty*), *vieillot* (*oldish*) We may note the intercalation of this suffix in *verroterie* The termination *-et* (*-ette*) is by far the most frequent, and forms diminutives *garçonnet, fillette, boulette, maisonnette*

The diminutive signification has disappeared, either through the disappearance of the original word or because the derivative had assumed a distinct signification, in *boulet, corset* (from *corps,* O F *cors*), *livret, ourlet, tabouret, alouette, casquette, tablette* The radical is a substantive in most cases, as we have seen, but it may be a verb *allumette, bavette* (*bib*), *mouchette, sonnette* (from *allumer, baver,* &c) The suffix is preceded by an intercalary syllable in *gant-el-et, oss el-et, band el-ette, femm-el-ette, char-donn-er-et, gorg-er-ette, pâqu-er ette* When the suffix is added to an adjective its diminutive signification (= the Eng *-ish*) becomes very apparent *doux, doucet, roux, rousset, jeune, jeunet, mou, mollet, aigre* (*sour*), *aigrelet* (*sourish*), *grand, grandelet, tendre, tendrelet*

2 Consonant-Groups

1 **-ALD** This suffix, of Germanic origin, is a constituent of a great number of compound Germanic proper names, such as **Grimwald, Reinwald** In certain dialects **-wald** becomes **-wold** **Reinwold** Proper nouns in **-wold** have passed into French in the form of *-old* **Reinwold,** *Reinold, Renout* The form *-wald* became in French *-ald, -alt, -aud, -aut* **Reinwald,** *Reinald, Reinaud, Renaud,* **Gerwald,** *Gerald, Geraud* Of these the suffix *-ald* in French has formed, more especially, numerous proper names, first with Germanic elements, but afterwards even with Latin elements *Arnaud, Arlaut, Gonault, Guenegaud, Reynault, Bonaud, Clairaud* or *Clairaut,* &c

Owing to the number of proper nouns in *-aud* the suffix was extended to common nouns indicating persons and animals, giving them mostly a pejorative sense In the substantives *clabaud, crapaud, heraut, ribaud, baguenaude, grignenaude,* &c, the radical is doubtless Germanic, in *badaud, levraut* (*leveret*), *pataud* (*flounderer, bungler,* from *patte*), and *quinaud* the radical is French The sense is clearly pejorative in derivatives from adjectives *finaud* (*wily*), *lourdaud, noiraud, rustaud* (*boorish*), *salaud*

2 **-ND-** This group is found in the Latin gerundives **-ndus, -ndus,** which in the feminine form have given French feminine substantives in *-ande buande, buvande, filande, lavande, offrande, provende, viande,* whence *buandier, buanderie, filandiere* (obsolete), *lavandiere* [Old Eng *lavender* (*laundress*), whence *laundry*], &c

3 **NS-** (**nse**) The Latin **-nsem,** through its Popular form **-se,** became in French *eis,* or sometimes *is,* and then *ois,* which in the Modern language has been changed into *-ais,* thus the Latin suffix has given rise to three different forms in French *-is, -ois, -ais* As in Latin, these indicate origin or residence

Derivatives in *-is marquis* (man of the Mark or March), *pays* (**pagensem,** *country*), le *Parisis,* le *Beauvaisis*

Derivatives in *-ois bourgeois, courtois, villageois, Albigeois, Bavarois, Carthaginois,* &c

Derivatives in *-ais Anglais, Français Orleanais,* side by side with *arlenois, alenois* (*cresson alenois* = *Orleans cress, garden cress*), *Portugais, Marseillais,* &c

The language still hesitates between the two forms *ais* and *-ois* [We must note that the termination of *français, harnais, marais,* and a few other words represents the Germanic *-isk* (Eng *-ish* in *Frankish*), and not the Lat *-ense*]

4 **-NT-** (**-ntu, -ante** and **-antia**) The suffix **-ntu** was added in Latin to the radical of a verb **ali ntum,**

frag-mẹntum French has utilized the suffix as it occurs in verbs of the 1st conjugation, **-a-mẹntum**, *-ement*, which is added to the radical of the present participle It is one of the most fertile suffixes of the language, and a powerful instrument of derivation, it forms an unlimited number of words expressing either the action indicated by the radical or the state or object that results from the action *abaissement, aboutissement, accablement, achevement, accroissement, adoucissement, allaitement, appartement, département*[1], &c

In *blanchiment* we have a contraction for *blanchiement*, another form of *blanchoiement* from *blanchoyer*, so *châtiment* for *châtiement*, from *châtier* *Compartiment, sentiment*, are Learned forms for *compartement* (cf *département*), *sentement*

The suffixes **-ạnte** and **-ạntia** in Latin formed present participles and feminine verbal substantives taken from them they have become in French *-ant*, *-ance*, and are added to the radicals of verbs These suffixes are very prolific *puissant, savant, puissance, croyance, vengeance*, &c

5 **-RD-** (**-ard**) The German suffix **-hart** (*hard, strong*) has given many proper names **Meinhart, Reginhart**, these proper names have passed into French with the termination *ard*, which has given rise to derivatives from either (*a*) Germanic radicals *Aymard, Bernard, Guyard, Havard, Richard*, &c , or (*b*) French radicals *Hachard, Denisard, Nisard, Poupard, Vetillard*, &c

From proper names the suffix has passed to common nouns, and has formed, in combination with either nouns or verbs, substantives which denote (*a*) living beings, generally in a disparaging sense *bavard* (*chatterbox*), *criard, fuyard, grognard, mouchard, pillard, richard*, &c , or (*b*) objects *billard, cuissard, placard* (*cupboard*, from *plaque, panel*), *poignard, puisard*, &c

[The history of this word, as given in the *Dictionnaire General* of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, illustrates excellently the development of the sense of the suffix in question]

6 **-SM-, -ST-** **-ɪsmus, -ɪsta**, have been adopted by the Learned formation in the forms *-isme, -iste* (see under Learned Formation, § 322)

The suffix **-ạster** indicated, in Latin, an incomplete resemblance to the idea expressed by the radical **oleaster** (*wild olive*, from **olea**, *olive*) The suffix has become in French *-astre, âtre pasâtre, marâtre, filâtre, gentillâtre* In combination with adjectives it forms especially new adjectives which express a quality kindred to that expressed by the radical (Engl *-ish*) *bellâtre* (*coarsely handsome*), *blanchâtre* (*whitish*), *bleuâtre, brunâtre, douceâtre, finâtre* (*inefficiently cunning*), *folâtre* (*frolicsome*), *jaunâtre, noirâtre, verdâtre*, &c It has often a slightly disparaging signification

Conclusion —We have now reviewed the numerous suffixes that serve to form both nouns and adjectives, classifying them in a purely external and artificial order

Suffixes are added to the radicals of substantives, adjectives, verbs, or indeclinable words, and by one or other of these combinations give rise to either substantives or adjectives Of the Latin suffixes some did not outlive the period of Old French, and now only survive in isolated words where they are no longer perceived as suffixes e g *-ail, -ain, -as, -aison, -is*, &c , others have lasted as suffixes down to the present day, and are still living e g *-eur* feminine), *-eur* (masculine), *-ure, -esse, -ise*, &c Others again have been developed in the progress of the language e g *-ien*, which has developed from **-anu** preceded by a palatal , and *-el*, which has grown up beside *-al*, from the Latin **-ạlem** Some have changed their signification, and hence their function *-age*, from being a collective suffix, has become the suffix of a noun of action , *-aille*, from being a collective suffix, has become a pejorative

The chief truly French suffixes derived from Latin suffixes, and used in the Popular formation, are

-able	*-eau, -elle, -ereau, -erelle*	*-il, -ille* (see p 471)
-ade	*-eil, -eille*	*ille* (see p 473)
-age	*-ement*	*-in, -ine*
-agne	*-erie*	*-is* (= **-ensem**, see p 486, 3)
-aie	*-esque*	*-is, -isse, -ice, -iche* (see p 469, 6)
ail, -aille	*-esse* (-**ɪtia**)	*-isc*
-ain (from **anum**)	*-esse* (-**ɪssa**)	*-oche*
ais (*-ois*)	*-et, -ette*	*-oin, -one*
-aison	*-euil, -eul, -eule*	*ois*
-al, -el	*-eur* (see p 478, 22)	*-ol, -ole*
ant, ance	*-eur, -eresse, -euse* (see p 478, 23)	*-on*
-ande, andier, -endiere	*-eux, -euse* (see p 481, 26)	*-ot, -otte*
-ard, -arde	*-ey*	*-ouil*
-as, -asse	*-ien, -ienne*	*-te*
at	*-ie*	*u*
-âtre	*-ier, -iere*	*-uche*
-aud, aude	*-il* (see p 472)	*-ure*
-ay		
e, -ee		

Of these suffixes the following are still living, in various degrees

(*a*) Forming the names of things, either concrete or abstract *-age, -ance, ement, oir, -ure*, which are usually added to radicals of verbs, *-t, -ee, esse, -ise, -eur* (*verdeur*), *-erie, aille, -ille, -on, -is, -ine*, which are added to radicals of nouns (substantive or adjective)

(*b*) Forming nouns relating to persons (substantive or adjective) *-ais, -aise, -ois, -oise, ant, ande* (*-ande*), *-andier -eau, -elle, -ereau, -erelle, -ard, -arde, -aud, -aude, -eur, -euse, -eux, -euse* (*partageux*), *ien, -ienne, -ier, -iere*

(*c*) Forming adjectives *-able, al, -el, -aie -e, -ee, et, elle, -eux, -euse* (*poudreux*), *-in, -ine, -u*

Some of these suffixes may pass from one class to another

We see how varied is this mode of word-formation, by which the most subtle and delicate shades of thought may be expressed This fertility of French contrasts with the singular poverty of Germanic derivation

318 VERB-SUFFIXES —Verb-derivation may be **simple** or **complex**

Simple derivation is effected with the help of the suffixes *er*, *-ir*, to form, in general, verbs of the 1st conjugation when the radical is a substantive, and verbs of the 2nd conjugation when the radical is an adjective *mur, murer*, *blanc, blanchir* (See also § 292)

The derivation is **complex** when between the radical and the suffix special suffixes are intercalated Nearly all of these also serve to form nouns, and they add to the verb the same special signification that they give to nouns

Verbs in *-ailler* *fer-ailler* (*to fence*), *philosoph-ailler, rim-ailler, touss-ailler*

Verbs in *-iller* *brand-iller*, *fend iller*, *mord iller* (*to nibble*), *point-iller, saut-iller*

Verbs in *-ouiller* *gaz ouiller* (*to warble*, from *gazer* = *jaser, to chat, chatter*), *bred-ouiller* (from the Old French *bredeler*, with the same meaning, *to gabble, mumble*)

Verbs in *-eler* *dent-eler* (*to scallop an edge*, from *dent er*), *saut-eler* (from *saut er*)

Verbs in *-eter, -oter* *claqu-eter* (*to rattle*), *craqu-eter, marqu eter, crach-oter, suç-oter, tap oter*

Verbs in *-onner* *chant onner* (*to hum*), *griff-onner, mâch-onner*

Verbs in *-asser* · *avoc-asser, ecriv asser, rêv-asser* (*to day dream*)

Verbs in *-ocher* *bav-ocher* (*to smudge*), *flân-ocher*

We may add *piet-iner* (*to stamp*), *pleur nicher* (*to whimper*), &c.

Finally we must note the very prolific suffix occurring in the forms *-oyer, -ayer, -eyer,* or even *-ier*, *char, charroyer* (*to cart*), *charrier* (*to float down,* of a river carrying ice, or wreckage), *vert, verdoyer*, *larme, larmoyer*, *net, nettoyer, onde, ondoyer*, *fête, festoyer*, *begue, begayer* (*to stammer*), *planche, plancheier,* &c

CHAPTER II

LEARNED FORMATION OF WORDS

319 Learned Formation from the Latin and Greek — 320 Modes of composition and derivation in the Learned Formation

I Learned Formation from the Latin — 321 Borrowings from the Latin — 322 Derivation on the Latin model — 323 Composition on the Latin model

II Learned Formation from the Greek — 324 Borrowings from the Greek — 325 Derivation on the Greek model — 326 Composition on the Greek model — 327 Conclusion

319 Learned formation from the Latin and Greek —We have spoken (Book I, § 16) of the history of this Learned formation first from the Latin and then from the Greek, by which a considerable number of words have been borrowed, and introduced into French

We know on the one hand how the Latin Learned formation first had recourse to Low Latin, that is to mediaeval Latin, at the very origin of the written language, how the words taken from Low Latin increased in number, imperceptibly at first, how they multiplied from the 12th to the 14th century, and finally made quite an invasion in the 15th, how, at that date, the lettered classes, becoming more and more familiar with the writers of ancient Rome, resorted to Classical Latin, how, in the 16th century, a movement of reaction took place, which endeavoured to reduce the borrowing of fresh words, but did not succeed

in suppressing it, how this still continued, perhaps with more moderation, in the 17th and 18th centuries, and again assumed a more considerable development in the 19th century. Learned formation from the Latin will never cease until the whole Latin vocabulary has passed into French.

On the other hand, in the Middle Ages Greek was unknown, or could no longer be read. When the monks met Greek words in a manuscript they said *graecum est, non legitur* (*it is Greek, it cannot be read*). It was in the 14th century that its study was revived, first with the help of Latin translations made by the Italians. Bishop Nicole Oresme (d. 1382), councillor of Charles the Fifth, translated the works of Aristotle, and then for the first time appeared such words as *aristocratie*, *democratie*, *monarchie*. This does not imply that they penetrated into general use immediately, they were mostly confined to works of limited circulation. In the 16th century the knowledge of Greek received considerable development; the great scholars of the Renaissance studied this beautiful language enthusiastically, and authors like Rabelais introduced Greek terms into their works. On the other hand, the Greek terminology, through Latin, entered into the language of science, and, the Latin being translated into French, Greek words became French. The unprecedented growth of the natural sciences in the 18th century introduced an endless number of Greek words. Words were taken from all sources, in every form, simple or compound, and we find even Greek radicals combined, according to the laws of Greek composition, to form new French words. In some cases Greek prefixes and suffixes were added to Latin or French radicals, and this enormous mass of foreign words has infused into French modes of word formation that are contrary to its genius.

The inconveniences of this influx will be shown below; we only note here that this learned language, for the most

part remains foreign to those who are unacquainted with Latin The common people, who can only speak a language that they understand, ignore it, or, if they adopt some of its terms, approximate them to the words they know, by the most singular distortions Thus *definition* is turned into a synonym of *fin un travail qui n'a pas de definition* (*an endless piece of work*), *deliberer* is used as an equivalent of *liberer un homme delibere du service* (*a man freed from military service*) The words are distorted, not only in meaning, but also in outward form *le carbonate* (sc *of soda*) becomes *de la carbonade*, *le strapontin* (*small front-seat of a brougham*) becomes *le serpentin*, *le diabete* is changed into *diablette*, *le laudanum* into *lait d'anon*, *la goutte sciatique* (*sciatic gout*) into *goutte asiatique*[1], &c This is called **popular etymology** The common people —and for this they are not to be blamed—cannot bring themselves to repeat words that they do not understand, they must make out a connexion in some way or other between these words and those with which they are familiar However, the vulgar as well as the literary language is becoming more and more permeated with these Learned words

320 MODES OF COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION IN THE LEARNED FORMATION — The modes of composition and derivation which the Learned language has introduced into the Popular language rest on the following principle *Each new French word created by Learned formation is produced on a Latin or a Greek type, either real or artificially created*

Thus *corporel*, *sebace*, *tangible*, represent the real Latin types **corporalis**, **sebaceus**, **tangibilis**, carried directly into the Learned language On the contrary, *caudal*, *crustace*, *explosible*, correspond to artificial types **caudalis**, **crustaceus**, **explosibilis**, taken from the simple Latin words

[1] [Compare our vulgar English *sparrow grass*, for asparagus]

cauda, crusta, explosus *Fabuliste* is not derived from *fable*, but from a Latin type **fabulista**, artificially derived from **fabula**.

So also with compounds In forming a compound signifying 'bee-culture,' Latin gives **apis** for *bee*, and **cultura** for *culture*, the Latin compound would be **apicultura** on the type of **agricultura**, **apicultura** is therefore transferred to French in the form of *apiculture*

The same principle applies to Greek on the types of **amaurôsis** (*dim-sight*), taken from **amauros** (*dim*), and **arthrôsis** (*articulation*), taken from **arthros** (*a joint*), &c, the Learned formation has created with **neuron** (*nerve*) the word **neurôsis** and rendered it by *nevrose* With the two words **osteon** (*bone*) and **lithos** (*stone*) Greek might have formed **osteolithos**, it is this compound, regularly coined by the moderns, that has become the French *osteolithe* (*petrified bone*)

I Learned Formation from the Latin

321 BORROWINGS FROM THE LATIN —Borrowings from the Latin form the most considerable part of the learned vocabulary of French It is unnecessary to give examples We shall only quote Latin words (both from Classical and Low Latin) which have passed unchanged into French without the slightest attempt to gallicize them *ab irato, ab intestat* (for *ab intestato*), *ad libitum, ad patres, ad unguem, ad valorem, a fortiori, a priori, a posteriori, Ave Maria, benedicite, caput mortuum, credo, cruor, deleatur, ecce homo, ex professo, ex cathedra, ex voto, fac simile, impromptu, oremus, quolibet, rossolis, semper vivens, semen-contra, Te Deum, tu autem, vice versa, vertex,* &c

We shall quote more borrowings from compounds with particles (§ 323, 2)

322 DERIVATION ON THE LATIN MODEL —We give the list of the more important Latin suffixes transferred into French —

1 Noun-suffixes

-ium, used in chemistry *aluminium, potassium, sodium*

icus, French *-ique*, forms adjectives *chimique, ferrique* (this is difficult to distinguish from the Greek suffix **-ikos**, p 501)

-aceus, -eus, French *-ace, -acee, -ee*, indicates the organic orders and families of the animal and vegetable kingdoms *liliacees, lilices, renonculacees, renonculees, crustaces* The plural is used to designate the group, the singular a member thereof

-alis takes the same forms in Learned derivation as in Popular derivation *-al, ial*, and *-el, -iel, caudal, pictural, abbatial, additionnel, juridictionnel*

-tudo, French *-tude decrepitude, exactitude, longitude, platitude*

-ulum, French *ule*, forms diminutives *ovule, pilule*, with an intercalated syllable **-ic-** *clavicule, theâtricule*

ianus, -iana, French *-ien, -ienne*, a suffix of Popular origin adopted by the Learned formation (see p 474), added especially to the radicals of words ending in *-ique logique, logicien, rhetorique, rhetoricien*, also *acarien, batracien*, &c

-arius, French *-aire* *-Aire* is the Learned form of the Popular suffix *-ier* (21, p 477) *egalitaire, humanitaire, proletaire*

-ationem, French *-ation*, replaces the Popular suffix *-aison* of the same origin *derivation, formation, organisation* (see p 476)

-atorem, French *-ateur*, replaces the Popular suffix *-eur* of the same origin (see p 478) *aspirateur, organisateur* Compare the two derivatives *fleur, filateur* (*spinner*), from *filer*

-atorium, French *-atoire accusatoire, blasphematoire* The language had lost the power of forming adjectives with the help of the suffix *-oir, -oire*, of the same origin (see p 480), and could only form substantives, mascu-

line or feminine *femoir, reumoire* The Learned language has re introduced the adjective

-atura, French *-ature,* tends to replace the Popular form *-ure* (see p 481) *courbature, flature, ossature* (*the bony framework of the body*)

-atum, *-at,* corresponds to the Popular suffix *-e* (see p 481) *externat, internat, volontariat*

-itatem, French *-ité amovibilité, culpabilité* From *amable* the Popular language had derived *amablete* (see p 482) The Learned language reintroduced the Latin form *amabilité*

-entem, -entia, French *-ent, -ence* These suffixes, in the Popular language, had become *-ant, -ance* (see p 487 The Learned language reintroduced the Latin vowel e *imminent, imminence, prudent, prudence*

-iscus, French *esque,* through the Italian **-esco** The Italian suffix, introduced into French in the words *dantesque, grotesque, pittoresque,* gives also new derivatives *Aristophanesque, Molieresque*

-ismus, -ista, French *-isme, -iste* These suffixes indicate respectively abstract notions or doctrines, and the partisans of these notions or doctrines *christianisme, royalisme, deisme, athéisme, journalisme, royaliste, deiste, journaliste* Words in *-isme* may exist without corresponding terms in *-iste,* and vice versa *mysticisme, spécialiste,* and even when both forms occur they may not correspond with one another thus *naturaliste* has nothing necessarily in common with *naturalisme*[1]

2 Verb-suffixes —These are (1) the suffix *-er,* often preceded by i *transfuser, conférencier* (*to give a lecture, conférence*), and (11) the suffix *-iser* *général, généraliser*

[1] [*Naturaliste* originally meant a student of nature, the Eng *naturalist*, *naturalisme* the doctrine of the school of novelists who aimed at portraying nature with scientific truth Quite recently *naturaliste* has gained a second meaning as an adjective corresponding to *naturalisme romancier naturaliste*]

323. COMPOSITION ON THE LATIN MODEL.—The Learned mode of composition naturally reproduces the Latin mode of formation of compounds, whether by introducing into French a real Latin compound (e g *agriculture*), or by combining two Latin words according to Latin laws and transferring this artificial product into French

Learned composition combines (1) words with words, (2) words with particles

1. *Compounds of words*.—These include substantives or adjectives formed (*a*) of an adjective and substantive *multicolore, multiforme*, (*b*) of two adjectives *unirefringent*, (*c*) of an adverb and an adjective *bicarbone*, (*d*) of two substantives *aqueduc, viaduc, fulmicoton* (*gun-cotton*), *cuneiforme*, (*e*) of a substantive and a verb radical (these being very numerous) *regicide, viticole, fumivore* (*smoke-consuming*), *calorifere*

We may also class here the verbs in *-ifier* and *-efier* compounded of a noun (substantive or adjective) and a verb Verbs in *-ifier* correspond with Latin verbs in **-ificare** **sanctificare**, *sanctifier*, **versificare**, *versifier*, their derivatives end in *-ificateur, -ification* (*versificateur, versification*) Verbs in *-efier* come from Latin verbs in **-facere** **liquefacere**, *liquefier*, **stupefacere**, *stupefier*, **torrefacere**, *torrefier* (*to roast* coffee, &c), their derivatives end in *-efacteur, -efaction* (*liquefacteur, liquefaction*)

2 *Compounds with particles*.—Composition with particles has reintroduced in an almost entirely Latin form certain particles, some of which had been lost in French, while others had been preserved in the Popular formation, but under more or less modified forms

Ab	Borrowings *abdiquer, aberration, absorber*, &c
	New compounds *abducteur, ablegat*
Ad	Borrowings *adapter, addition, applaudir*
	New compound *adducteur*

Ante or **Anti-**	Borrowings *antecedent, antepénultième* New compounds *antichambre, antidater, antediluvien*
Circum	Borrowings *circonférence, circonvenir* New compounds *circumpolaire, circumnavigation*
Cis (*this side of*)	Borrowings *cispadan, cisrhenan*, &c New compound *cisleithan*
Cum	Most Latin words beginning with **cum** (**com-**, **con-**, **cor-**, **col-**, **co-**) have been reintroduced into French, and new formations have further increased the endless list of these Learned compounds *commensal, construire, convenir, correspondre, coefficient, codetenu*, &c
Contra	Borrowing *contradiction* New compound *contravention* (in Latin **contravenions** is found)
De	Borrowings *décerner, déclarer*
Dis-, **di-**	Borrowings *dilapider, divulguer, dispenser, disputer* New compounds *disconvenir, disculper, discréditer*
E, Ex	Borrowings *excellence, exposer, clîmner, enumérer* New compounds which are becoming popular *ex-ministre, ex préfet*
Extra	Borrowings *extraordinaire, extravagant* New compounds *extra-judiciaire, extra-fin, extra-légal*, &c *Extra* has become a substantive in the popular speech *faire des extra*
In (Eng *in*)	Borrowings *illustrer, implorer* New compounds *infiltrer, injecter, in-folio, in-dix-huit* (18*mo*).

In- (*negative*)	Borrowings *injuste, inexorable* This prefix at the present day forms an immense number of negative adjectives of which the corresponding simple words often no longer exist *inextinguible, implacable*, &c ; *extinguible, placable*, do not exist
Inter	Borrowings *intercaler, intercéder.* New compounds *international, interoceanique*, &c
Intra	Borrowing *intrinseque* New compounds *intra-marginal, intra-tropical*, &c
Intro-	Borrowing *introduire* New compound *intromission*
Ob	Borrowings *observer, occulte, opprimer* New compounds *objectif, obovale*
Paene (*nearly*)	Borrowing *peninsule* New compound *penombre*
Per	Borrowings *perfection, perforer, perseverer* New compounds *persifler, perspective, persecuter*
Post	Borrowings *post-scriptum, posthume* New compounds *post dater, post-poser*
Prae	Borrowings *preceder, predestiner* New compounds *predominer, predisposer, prehistorique*
Praeter	Borrowings *preterit, preterition*
Pro	Borrowings *proceder, produire* New compounds *proeminence, protuberance* In the 16th century, in certain Popular compounds, *pour* was changed into *pro-* under Learned influence *pourmener, promener, pourfil, profil*

Quasi (*almost*)	New compounds *quasi-contrat, quasi-feu.*
Ré-	belongs to the Learned language when it has the acute accent *reformer, repression, reorganiser* (see p 428)
Retro	Borrowings *retroagir, retrograder* New derivatives. *retroactif, retrogradation*, &c
Sub	Borrowings *subjuguer, subsister.* New compounds *subdiviser, subordonner*
Satis (*enough*)	Borrowing *satisfaire*, whence *satisfaction*
Super	Borrowings *superficie, superflu* New compounds *superfin, superposer*
Supra	New compounds *supra-sensible, supra terrestre*
Trans	Borrowings *transferer, transformer* New compounds *transalpin, transfuser*
Ultra	has only formed one real compound, *ultramontain*, but it is tending to become popular *ultra royaliste*
Vice	New compounds *vice-amiral, vice-roi*

We may add **bene** (*benediction*), **male** (*malediction*), and the numeral adverbs **bis, tri-, quadri-, quinti-**, in *bisannuel, bivalve, trifolie*, &c.

These examples show the extent of this Learned formation, which is slowly disorganizing the popular speech [1].

[1] In practical instruction in French this fact may at least be turned to good account in dealing with pupils who are ignorant of Latin, for the words of Learned formation familiar to the pupils may usefully do duty for the unknown Latin words In historical French grammar Latin is requisite in discussing questions of origin Now, it often happens that the primitive Latin type is to be found intact in some Learned derivative and can be quoted instead of the Latin *frêle* comes from the Latin **fragilis**,

II Learned Formation from the Greek.

This includes borrowings from the Greek and the formation of derivatives and compounds from Greek words.

324. BORROWINGS FROM THE GREEK.—The list of words borrowed direct from Greek is very considerable

We give only a few examples with the initial **a** *acalèphe, acephale, adynamie, agaric, agiologie, aloès, alopécie, amaurose, amorphe, anacoluthe, analyse, androgyne, anemie, anthere, aorte, aphasie, apherese, aphonie, apocryphe, apologie, aponevrose, apophthegme, apoplexie, apostrophe, aptere, apyrexie, arthrite, asphyxie, atonie,* &c

325. DERIVATION ON THE GREEK MODEL.—Suffixes taken from Greek are not very numerous

-ia (*-ια*), French *-ie*, which has merged with the suffix *-ie* of Latin origin (§ 315), gives, with the help of prefixes, parasynthetic nouns *petale, apetalie* (absence of petals)

ique (*-ικος*) is distinguished from the suffix of Latin origin *-ique* by its being always preceded by the syllable *-at-*
arome, aromatique

-ose (*-ωσις*) On the type of *amaurose* doctors have created new derivatives in *-ose* *gastrose, nevrose,* &c, denoting morbid affections

-itis (*-ίτις*), French *-ite.* On the type of *arthrite, nephrite,* doctors have created feminine words in *-ite* *bronchite, pharyngite,* in which *-ite* indicates inflammation.

-ités (*-ίτης*), French *-ite.* On the type of *malachite, pyrite,* mineralogists have created masculines in *-ite* to designate minerals *anthracite, granite, lignite,* &c.

This suffix has been extended into chemistry to designate salts *sulfites*, analogy with the Latin word **muriatum** (*sea-salt*) caused the creation of the suffix *-ate* to designate more oxygenated salts *sulfate*

represented by *fragile*, *meuble* from mobilis, preserved in *mobile*, *mûr* from maturus, preserved in the derivative *maturite* (Latin maturitatem), &c

326 COMPOSITION ON THE GREEK MODEL.—Words are combined according to this mode of formation either (1) with other words, or (11) with particles

(1) *Compounds of words*.—These are innumerable. We may divide them generally into two groups in the first (*a*) certain words play the part of prefixes or determinants, in the second (*b*) certain other words play the part of suffixes or determinates They are either substantives or adjectives

(*a*) **Anthropo** *logie, -metrie*, **chrono** *metre, scope*, **crypto-***carpe, gramme, -graphie*, **électro-***aimant, -chimique, -dynamique, -graphe, -lyse, -lyte, -metre, -phore, -scope, therapie*, **gastr-***algie, -encephalite*, **gastro** *cele, -logie, -thoracique*, &c We may mention also as important prefixes **hémato-, hémi-, hydro-, méso-, ostéo-, paléo, photo, pseudo, thermo-**, &c

(*b*) *Céphal-, nevr-, odont-, ophthalm-***algie**, *aristo-, demo, pluto-***cratie**, *anthropo-, auto-, epi-, helio-, holo-, paleonto-***graphie** We may also quote as important suffixes **-logue, -logie, -logique, manie, -mane, -mètre, -métrie, -métrique, -morphie, morphisme, oide, orama, -scope, -scopie**, &c

Many of the compounds of this kind are not at all well formed e g *hydro-gene, oxy-gene*, for *-gene* in Greek compounds does not signify 'producing,' but 'born' (cf *Eugene* = well born), again *hectometre, kilometre*, should be *hecatometre, chiliometre*

Others are hybrids in whose formation Latin and Greek radicals have been united *deci-metre, centi-metre, milli-metre*[1], also a host of words ending in *-algie, -game, -logie, -manie*, &c, or beginning with *philo-, neo, pseudo-*, &c These Greek elements have become, as it were, fully

[1] *Decimetre, centimetre, millimetre*, are even doubly anomalous, since the Latin radicals, *deci-, centi, milli-*, are not only combined with a Greek word, but are made to mean *a tenth, a hundredth, a thousandth*, instead of *ten, a hundred, a thousand*

naturalized, and from this has resulted the creation of such words as *bureaucratie* from the purely French *bureau* and the termination *-cratie*, the French form of the Greek **kratεia**

Finally, we must note those compounds consisting of two components, Latin or French, in which the vowel **o**, belonging to Greek composition, is added to the radical of the first component *franco-anglais, gallo romain, austro hongrois*, &c [1]

(ii) *Compounds with particles*

1 **A-**, privative, **an-**, before a vowel (cf the Latin **in-**) — Borrowings *abîme, acatalepsie, acephale, agalactie, amorphe, apathie, apepsie, aphonie, asphyxie, ataraxie, athee, atome, atonie, atrophie, anarchie, anomal, anonyme*, &c

New compounds *achromatique, acotyledone, aneroide, apetale, apode, athermane, atone, azote, anaryen, anesthesie, anurie*

2 **Amphi-** Borrowings *amphibie, amphibologie, amphi braque, amphitheâtre*

New compounds: *amphiptere, amphiarthrose*

3 **Ana-** Borrowings *anabaptiste, anachorete, anacoluthe, anagramme, analogie, analyse, anatheme, anatomie*

New compounds *anamorphique, anasarque*

4 **Anti-** Borrowings *antagoniste, antarctique, antichrèse, antidote, antinomie, antipathie, antiphrase, antipodes*

New compounds *antipyretique, antipyrine, antiseptique, antispasmodique*, added to French words *antichretien, antimonarchique, anticonstitutionnel, antisocial*

In the latter kind of compounds, in which it tends to become popular in use, **anti** mostly forms parasynthetics *anti-monarch-ique* signifies 'what is (*-ique*)

[1] *Héroi-comique, tragi-comique*, are formed on the same principle, but the connecting vowel is here **i** and not **o**.

against (*anti-*) monarchy' So with the following words. *anti-divin, anti-evangelique, anti-humain, anti-naturel, anti-patriotique, anti-scientifique, anti-scorbutique, anti-systematique*

In some words, also, **anti-** retains its adverbial value *anti-nature, anti-pape* (*Anti-Pope*) Sometimes even it represents a preposition pure and simple *Dentifrice anti carie*

5. **Apo-** Borrowings *apherese, apocalypse, apocope, apocryphe, apogee, apologie, apologue, apophyse, apoplexie, apotheose, apostasie, apostrophe,* &c

New compounds *aphelie, apophonie* (= German *Ablaut*), *apotheme,* &c

6 **Archi-** Borrowings *archiâtre, archidiacre, archimandrite, architecte*

New compounds *archiduc, archiprêtre,* &c

This particle is also used in the Modern language with the value of an augmentative, particularly with adjectives of an unfavourable signification, and forms such words as *archi-bête, archi fou, archi-vilain,* &c It is even added to participles, as in the following remarkable sentence of Topffer (*Voyages en Zig-zag*, II, 1re) 'C'est qu'elle nous est *archi-* et super*connue*' Here *archi* has the value of a superlative

7 **Cata-** Borrowings *catachrese, cataclysme, catalectique, catalepsie, catalogue, cataplasme, cataracte, catarrhe, catastrophe, catechisme, cathechumene, categorie, catholique,* &c

New compounds *catapetale, catacaustique,* &c

8 **Dia-** Borrowings *diabete, diademe, diagnostique, dialecte, dialogue, diametre, diaphane, diaphragme, diarrhee, diarthrose,* &c

New compounds *diacaustique, diacoustique, dia pason,* &c

9 **Dis-** or **di-** Borrowings *dissyllabe, distique, diglyphe, dilemme, dimètre,* &c

New compounds *distyle, dispondée diandrie, diœcie, dièdre,* &c

10 **Dys-** Borrowings *dyscole, dysenterie, dyspepsie, dysurie,* &c

New compounds *dyslalie, dysopie, dyspnée.*

11 **Ec-, ex** before vowels (cf in Latin *e, ex*) Borrowings *ecchymose, eclectique, eclipse, eczema, exantheme, exarque, exégese,* &c

New compound *ecdemique*

12 **En-.** Borrowings *encephale, encyclique, energie, energumène, enthousiasme, enthymeme, embleme, embolisme, embryon, emphase, emphyteose, emplâtre, empyree,* &c

New compounds *enchorique, enostose, emmesostome, emmorphose,* &c

13 **Endo-** Borrowing. *endogène*

New compounds *endobranche, endocarpe, endocephale, endoderme, endogone, endosmose,* &c.

14 **Ento-**

New compound *ento-zoaire*

15 **Épi-** Borrowings *epacte, epenthese, ephebe, éphemère, ephialte, epicene, epichereme, epidemie, epiderme, epigastre, epigramme, epigraphie, epilepsie, epilogue, Épiphanie, episode, epithalame, epithete, epode, epoque,* &c

New compounds *epicycle, epigenesie, epilaryngien, epineme, epizootie,* &c

16 **Eu-** Borrowings *eucharistie, Eumenides, Eugène, eufraise, evangile, Évergete,* &c

New compounds *euchrôme, euchylie*

17 **Exo-** Borrowings *exocet (flying-fish), exomphale, exotérique*

New compounds *exogene, exorrhize*

18 **Hyper-** Borrowings *hyperbole, hypermètre,* &c

New compounds *hyperboreen, hypercritique, hypertrophie,* &c

In chemical nomenclature this prefix is used,

and often confused with **per**, as in *hyperchlorure* or *perchlorure*

19. **Hypo-**. Borrowings . *hypallage, hyphen, hypocondre, hypocrite, hypogastre, hypotenuse, hypothèque, hypothese, hypotypose* (*word-picture*), &c

New compounds *hyphemie, hypophylle*, &c

In chemical nomenclature this suffix has an important place *hypoazotique*, &c

20 **Is-** The Greek particle *ἴς* is hardly to be found save in the word *ep-is-ode*

21 **Meta-** Borrowings *metabole, metamorphose, metaplasme, metathese, metempsycose, meteore, methode, metonymie*, &c

New compounds *metacentre, metagramme, methylique, metaphysique*

22 **Palin-** Borrowings *palimpseste, palingenesie, palinodie*, &c

New compound *palimbacchique*

23 **Para-** Borrowings *parabole, paradigme, paradoxe, paragraphe, Paralipomenes, parallele, paralysie, parasite*, &c

New compounds *parachronisme, paracentrique paraplexie*, &c

In the new words *paramagnetisme* and *paramagnetique*, the particle **para-** signifies 'parallel'

24 **Péri** Borrowings *perianthe, pericarpe, perigée, perimetre, periode, periroste, peripatetique, peripetie, periphrase, periple, peripneumonie, peristyle, peritoine*, &c

New compounds *perichondre, pericolpite, periderme, perigone, perihelie*

We may add the grammatical term *periphonie*, a very awkward rendering of the German *Umlaut*

25 **Pro-** Borrowings *probleme, proboscide, prodrome, programme, prolegomenes, prologue, pronostic, prophete, protase, prothese*, &c

New compounds *prognathe*, &c

26 **Pros-**. Borrowings *prosélyte, prosodie, prostase, prosthèse,* &c

New compound *prosenchyme*

27 **Syn-** Borrowings *syllabe, syllepse, syllogisme, symbole, symetrie, sympathie, symphonie, symptôme, synagogue, synallage, synchronisme, syncope, syncretisme, syndic, synecdoque, synode, synonyme, synoptique, syntaxe, synthèse, systeme, syzygie,* &c

New compounds *sympetalique, sympode, synanthe, synclinal,* &c

The derivatives from these compounds are generally formed on the model of corresponding Greek derivatives thus *democratie* gives *democratique* When the Greek word has entered completely into the language, it may receive a French suffix *syndic* gives *syndical* Compare *syntactique* and *syntaxique,* the one derived from the Greek adjective, the other from the French word *syntaxe*

327 Conclusion —From the point of view of the purity of the language we may deplore the introduction of these Greek and Latin formations which are disorganizing French From the point of view of civilization we must consider it as a beneficent and necessary fact The Learned Latin formation corresponded to the movement of Latin civilization in the Middle Ages For ancient France, progress consisted in arresting the invasions of the Barbarians, in crushing feudalism, and bringing about the triumph of the Roman principles of unity of administration and unity of law This renewal of the past of Imperial Rome, and the successive triumphs of the monarchy and of the legists over the feudal nobles and customary law, brought with them the revival of the Latin language Later on, at the end of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance revived both Latin and Greek culture, which introduced a multitude of ancient ideas and ancient terms into the current of general life Great writers went to the masterpieces

of Athens and Rome for the inspiration of their matter, and to the beautiful language of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil for their form of expression

On the other hand, during the Modern Period, the triumph of science has brought about the triumph of the Greek language Greek, owing to the peculiar circumstances of its history, and to its combination of qualities of the highest order, became the language of science As science belongs to all nations, and is universal, it requires a terminology that shall be no more French than English or German This is why the Greek supremacy in this domain was inevitable In this struggle between science, the universal factor, and individual languages, each a factor peculiar to a limited group of men, the victory remains with science.

CHAPTER III

BORROWINGS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES

328 Words of foreign origin — 329 Borrowings from the Celtic — 330 Borrowings from the Greek — 331 Borrowings from the Germanic — 332 Borrowings from the Slavonic — 333 Borrowings from Romance languages — 334 Borrowings from Oriental languages — 335 Cant terms (*argot*)[1] and onomatopoeias

328 WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN —In the Introduction (Book I), we have already pointed out the influence on the French vocabulary exercised at each period of the language by various foreign languages, and first of all by the Celtic and Germanic tongues, which left some traces, the former

[1] [The French word 'argot,' often rendered by the English 'slang,' is not equivalent to the usual meaning of this term, as comprising the colloquialisms of everyday life, which are rarely admitted into literary use 'Argot' is used to designate the terms peculiar to the vocabulary of criminals, tramps, &c , living outside the pale of our official civilization, and is best rendered by 'cant terms.']

on the language of the conquering Romans, the latter on this speech, when it was adopted later by the conquering Franks To these ancient elements must be added certain Greek words introduced into Gallo-Romanic through popular use, and some Hebrew and Arabic words which were terms of religion or science, or of industry or commerce We have noted the importation of Spanish, and still more of Italian, words in the 16th century, the invasion of English, from the end of the 18th century, and finally, in the 19th century, the unbounded extension of the neologism, which borrows its modes of expression from any and every source

Before studying in detail the influence of each of these foreign languages on French, we must recall a law to which exotic words are all subject They all, in time, lose more or less of their own physiognomy, changing their pronunciation, if not their spelling, and so end in complete assimilation with French Thus the Old High German word **marahsskalk**, passing through Popular Latin, became *marıscalcus*, and thence the French *mareschal, marechal* The French word *redingote* represents the English word *riding-coat,* modified in its orthography and pronunciation Though the word *wagon* is written with the w of the original language, it is pronounced **vagon** Thus every word of foreign origin gradually loses its national character and becomes naturalized[1]

329 Borrowings from the Celtic — The first language that Latin met in Gaul was Celtic, which it suppressed (Book I, § 6) Celtic has undoubtedly left numerous traces in geographical names (Book II, § 129) There is, however, nowadays a tendency to seek in many names which

[1] [A French word borrowed by a foreign language may again be taken by French in its foreign form e g *tunnel* (O F *tonnel*), *budget* (O F *bougette, purse*) The English *ticket,* derived from the French *etiquette,* was reintroduced in 1878 as the official name for the tickets of admission to the Paris Exhibition, it is pronounced tikē]

cannot be reduced to Celtic elements words of those older languages that the Gauls found in the land of Gaul, when, coming from Germany, they extended their empire to the Atlantic

Amongst French words of common speech we may count some forty of Celtic origin, some of which had previously passed into Latin and assumed a Latin garb Of the few hundreds of Gaulish words quoted by the ancients, very few are found in the Gallo-Romanic Popular Language **alauda**, O F *aloe*, which has remained in its diminutive *alouette*, **arepennis**, *arpent*, **beccus**, *bec*, **betulla**, *boule* (whence *bouleau*), **braca**, *braie*, **carrum**, *char*, **cervisia**, *cervoise*, **margila** (derived from **marga**, O F *marle*, Mod F *marne*)

There are about thirty or forty words, some common to the other Romance languages, others confined to French, which cannot be traced back to any Latin or Germanic radical, but of which the Celtic roots may be easily found, these we are justified in regarding as Gaulish *bouge*, *breuil* (*covert*), *bruyere*, *chai*, *claie* (*hurdle*, &c), *drille*, *dru*, *galc*, *greve*, *musser*, *piece*, *quai*, *ruche*, *tamis*, *vergne*, &c

To these ancient words may be added words introduced more recently from the Bas Breton *binıou* (*bag-pipe*), *darne*, *dolmen*, *goeland* (*sea-gull*), *menhir*, &c

330 Borrowings from the Greek — Greek words which have come through the Popular Language are not numerous Some have passed into French through Latin, by which they had been previously adopted Gr **episcopos**, Lat *episcopus*, Fr *evêque*, Gr **monachos**, Lat *monachus*, Fr *moine* Others are words of Low or Byzantine Greek, introduced into mediaeval Latin or French through the commercial and political relations that united the West with the East from the 9th to the 11th century Gr **apotheke**, Low Gr. **bothika**, Fr. *boutique*, **hemicrania**, Low Gr **migrania**, *migraine*, *besant* (a Byzan-

tine coin), *cable*, O F *caable*, *chaable* (a certain engine of war), whence *accabler* (*to overwhelm*)

331. Borrowings from the Germanic.—In the 6th century Germanic invasion modified the face of Western Europe, and in a certain measure its languages also

In Gaul the first invasion began with Clovis and was continued down to the time of Dagobert, it was that of the Neustrian Franks, who came from Flanders

A little later, under the rule of the Mayors of the Palace, a fresh invasion of the Austrasian Franks, who came from the Rhine Provinces, strengthened the Germanic stock in the East, for it was already romanized in Neustria This invasion lasted until the time of Charlemagne

Thus came in two series of Germanic words, the first belonging to a Low-Frankish dialect, between the 6th and the 7th century, the second belonging to a High-Frankish dialect, between the 7th and the 9th century

In the 9th century the Danes (*Northmen*) brought many Norse words into the region called Normandy after them[1] Of these words a great number were preserved as geographical terms, and some passed into the common speech

The Germanic words which thus passed into French under the Merovingians and Carlovingians at three distinct periods are fairly numerous, the more ancient are common to various Romance languages, while others are peculiar to French

Substantives

agace	*aigrette*	*amarre*	*auberge*
agrafe	*alleu*	*anche*	*aune*
agres	*alise*	*arroi*	*avarie*

[1] Norse, or Nordic, is the primitive language of the Scandinavian peoples, it has been preserved almost intact in Icelandic In course of time it was changed into Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish Norse is related to Low-German

bac	*caille*	*eclisse*	*fourrage*
balle	*cane*	*ecot*	*fourreau*
ban	*canif*	*ecrevisse*	*fourrier*
banc	*caque*	*écume*	*framboise*
bande	*carcan*	*ecurie*	*fresange*
baudrier	*chaloupe*	*élingue*	*fret*
bedeau	*chambellan*	*émail*	*frimas*
beffroi	*chouette*	*emoi*	*froc*
beignet	*cinquant*	*empan*	
belier	*coiffe*	*epeiche*	*gabelle*
berme	*cotte*	*eperon*	*gaffe*
bief	*crabe*	*epervier*	*gage*
biere	*crampe*	*epois*	*gal*
bille	*crampon*	*escrime*	*gant*
bitte	*creche*	*esquif*	*garenne*
bliaut	*cremaillere*	*est* (*east*)	*garou*
bloc	*crique*	*esturgeon*	*gâteau*
bois	*croupe*	*etal*	*gauchoir*
bord		*etangue*	*gaude*
bosse	*dard*	*etape*	*gaufre*
bot	*desarroi*	*etau*	*gaule*
boulevard	*digue*	*etoffe*	*gazon*
bourg	*drageon*	*etrier*	*gerbe*
bout	*drague*	*etuve*	*gerfaut*
braise	*dreche*		*gonfanon*
brandon	*drogue*	*falaise*	*grappe*
braque	*dune*	*fanon*	*gres*
breche		*fard*	*grimace*
brelan	*ecaille*	*faucon*	*groseille*
brette	*echafaud*	*fauteuil*	*groupe*
brodequin	*echanson*	*feutre*	*gruau*
brouee	*echarpe*	*fief*	*guerdon*
brouet	*echasse*	*flan*	*guerre*
bru	*echevin*	*flaque*	*guet*
brume	*echine*	*flèche*	*guichet*
butin	*echoppe*	*foc*	*guille*

guimpe
guipure
guise

haie
haillon
halage
hâle
halle
hallebarde
halte
hamac
hameau
hanap
hanche
hanneton
hanse
harangue
hareng
haro
hâte
hauban
haubert
haveron
havet
hâvre
heaume
heraut
heron
hêtre
homard
houblon
houe
houseaux
housse
houx
huche
hune
hutte

jardin

laiche
latte
layette
lippe
liste
loquet
lot

malle
manne
mannequin
marc
marche
marechal
marque
marsouin
mât
matelot
meurtre
mitaine
mite
moue
mouette
mousse
mulot

nord
noue
nuque

orgueil
ouest

quille

race
rade
rang
rat
regain
rochet
roseau
rosse

sale
salle
saule
senechal
sillon
souhait
soupe
sud
suie

targe
tas
taudis
tillac
tonne
touaille
touffe
toupet
trappe
treteau
treve
tuyau

vacarme
vague
varangue
varech
vase (f.) (*ooze, mire*)
vilebrequin

ADJECTIVES

affreux

blafard
blanc
blême
blet (fem. *tte*, *over-ripe, sleepy*)
bleu
brun

drôle

frais
franc

gai
gaillard
galant
gauche
gris

hardi	*laid*	*marri*	*saur*
hargneux	*ligе*	*mignard*	*sur* (sour)
hâve	*lisse*	*mignon*	
			terne
joli	*madre*	*riche*	

VERBS

adouber	*déguerpir*	*glisser*	*marcher*
	dérober	*goder*	
bafouer		*gratter*	*nantir*
baudir	*éclater*	*graver*	*navrer*
blesser	*ecraser*	*grimper*	
blinder	*effrayer*	*grincer*	*pincer*
bramer	*elaguer*	*gripper*	
brandir	*emousser*	*grommeler*	*radoter*
branler	*epargner*	*guerir*	*râler*
briser	*epeler*	*guerpir*	*râper*
broncher	*epier*	*guider*	*regretter*
brouir	*equiper*	*guiller*	*rider*
brouter	*esquiver*	*guinder*	*rincer*
broyer	*etayer*		*river*
		hair	*rôtir*
choisir	*frapper*	*hanter*	*rouir*
chopper	*fournir*	*happer*	
choquer		*heberger*	*saisir*
cingler	*gaber*	*hisser*	*siller*
clabauder	*gâcher*	*hocher*	*sumter*
clapir	*gagner*	*honnir*	
cracher	*galoper*		*tarir*
	garder	*jaser*	*tirer*
danser	*garer*		*toucher*
dauber	*garnir*	*lécher*	*traquer*
dechirer	*gaspiller*	*leurrer*	
defalquer	*glapir*	*loger*	*voguer*

ADVERBS

guère	*trop*

Numerous as are these words, they have not modified the aspect of the French language, which has assimilated them and subjected them to the laws of its pronunciation; once adopted, they have shared the general lot of the other words of the language.

Modern German has given but little to French French is more especially indebted to it for terms denoting beverages *bitter, kirsch, vermouth,* &c During the Thirty Years' War were borrowed the words *bivouac* (or *bivac*), *chenapan, havresac, lansquenet, reître* German philosophy has given terms of metaphysics, themselves, however, taken from Latin and Greek The war of 1870 has left no trace in the language

It is to be noted that Germanic languages have given to Mediaeval and Modern French most of the seafaring terms used in the West (the sailors of the Mediterranean use Provençal, Italian, or Byzantine terms).

SUBSTANTIVES

agres	*digue*	*hauban*	*rade*
amarrer		*hâvre*	
	ecume	*hune*	
bac	*elingue*		*tillac*
bord	*esquif*	*lisse*	
canot	*falaise*	*mât*	*vague*
chaloupe	*foc*	*matelot*	*varangue*
crique	*fret*	*mousse*	
dague	*gaffe*	*quille*	

VERBS

cingler	*garer*	*hâler*	*voguer*
equiper	*gaander*	*hisser*	&c

These examples show how the maritime terminology of the Romans had gone under with so much else at the downfall of the Empire

Modern English has, since the end of the last century, given French words relating to politics, sport, fashion, industry, dress, finance, &c

ballast	*drain*	*meeting*	*tilbury*
bifteck			*toast*
budget	*express*	*pamphlet*	*touriste*
		pudding	*tunnel*
châle	*festival*		*turf*
cheque	*flirt*	*rail*	
clown		*redingote*	*verdict*
club	*grog*	*rosbif*	
convict			*wagon*
coke	*humour*	*speech*	*whist*
		spencer	
dandy	*jockey*	*sport*	&c

332 BORROWINGS FROM THE SLAVONIC —These are not numerous *caleche, cosaque, cravate, knout, moujik, samovar, steppe, ukase,* &c Russian literature, now so much in vogue, is increasing the importation of such words

It is curious to notice that Polish has supplied French with the names of dances *mazurka, polka, redowa,* &c

333 BORROWINGS FROM ROMANCE LANGUAGES —Among the dialects of the Langue d'oil the *French* dialect (i e the dialect of the Ile de France) has, it is true, been affected by the neighbouring dialects, but only very slightly, in the main it has remained almost pure Their influence has been confined to a few words, Picard, Norman, or Burgundian, denoting local products *pouliche* (Norman, *filly*), *arroche* (Picard, *orach*), *avoine, foin* (Burgundian, *oats, hay*), which have replaced the French forms *poulaine, arreuce, aveine, fein,* &c

Provençal, from the 14th century, has given many more words, first of all, terms of literature *ballade* (traceable to the period of the troubadours), &c , then, later on, names of fish and general terms of fishing or navigation, &c

autan (*south-wester*), *cap*, *carguer*, *gabarit* (*templet*, or *lines* of a boat, &c), *croisade*, *mistral*, *vergue* (*yard*), *abeille* (French *avette*, obs and dialectal), *dorade* (*John Dory*), *bigarade*, *cabri*, *ortolan*, *radis*, *grenade*, *grenat*, *isard* (*chamois*), *bastidec*, *adenas*, *caisse*, *forçat*, &c

We may further note that Walloon has given to French the word *ducasse* (*village feast*), the Romance dialects of Switzerland have given a few words *avalanche*, *chalet*, *cretin*, *ranz* We have quoted in § 329 the words of Bas Breton origin Basque has also given a few words

Going beyond the French territory, we find that Portuguese has given but little *autodafe*, *bayadere*, *bergamote*, *chamade* (*the sounding of a parley*), *coco* (*cocoa-nut*), *mandarin*, *marmalade*.

Spanish has had greater influence The Spanish wars in the 16th century, and the political relations accompanying and following them until the 18th century, have left numerous traces in the language These are —

Titles or qualifications *duegne*, *grandesse*.

Military terms

alfange	*escouade*
algarade	*matassin*
camarade	*matamore*
caparaçon	&c

Seafaring terms

debarcadere	*embargo*
embarcadère	*subrecargue*

Musical terms

castagnette	*serenade*
guitare	

Terms of games or pleasures

domino	*regaler*
hombre	*sarabande*
ponte (in cards, &c)	*sieste*

Terms denoting animals, plants, manufactured articles, &c

abricot	*epagneul*	*savane*
anchois	*indigo*	*tabac*
benjoin	*jasmin*	*tomate*
cannelle	*jonquille*	*tulipe*
cigare	*mirlitons*	*vanille*
cochenille	*pintade*	&c

We may also cite *alcôve, ambassade, caban* (*a cloak*), *caramel, case, chocolat, corridor, galon, mantille, pagne, paragon, soubresaut, transe,* &c , the adjectives *barbon, baroque, bizarre, disparate* , the verbs *chamarrer* and *hâbler* (from the Spanish **hablar**, *to speak,* which has passed into French in the sense of *to brag*, or *romance*)

Of the sister Romance languages Italian has left the deepest traces in French, influencing its vocabulary at two successive periods, in the 16th and in the 18th century Its action in the 16th century caused so much disturbance that certain writers took up their pens in defence of the purity of the French language. Henri Estienne protested against the usage of the Court in his two *Dialogues du langage françois italianise* [1578] The Transalpine expeditions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, the Italian Court of Catherine of Medicis, the development of the fine arts originally due to Italian artists, the great movement of the Renaissance which came from beyond the Alps, had introduced a great number of Italian words into French Many of these have, it is true, disappeared , but enough have survived to leave a deep imprint groups of sounds hitherto unknown to the language were thus introduced, and modified to some extent the general character of its pronunciation , and new suffixes came into use

We now give a list of the more important words borrowed from the Italian

Terms of war

alerte	*cantine*	*escarpe*	*parapet*
anspessade	*caporal*	*escopette*	*pertuisane*
arquebuse	*carabine*	*escrime*	*plastron*
arsenal	*cartel*	*espadon*	*poltron*
bandiere	*cartouche*	*esplanade*	*redoute*
bandouillere	*casemate*	*estacade*	*relevade*
baraque	*casque*	*estafilade*	*saccade*
barricade	*castel*	*estoc*	*sacoche*
bastion	*cavalerie*	*fantassin*	*sentinelle*
bombe	*cavalier*	*fleuret*	*soldat*
botte	*chevaleresque*	*fougue*	*soldatesque*
bravache	*citadelle*	*fracasser*	*spadassin*
brave	*condottiere*	*galion*	*taillade*
bravoure	*cuirasse*	*generalissime*	*vedette*
bravo	*embuscade*	*giberne*	*volte*
brigade	*escadron*	*manege*	&c.
calibre	*escalade*	*mousqueton*	
canon	*escarmouche*	*parade*	

Terms of the Court

accolade	*brigue*	*escorte*	*page*
accort, e (*engaging*, adj.)	*cameriste*	*estafier*	*paladin*
	carrosse	*estrade*	*partisan*
affide	*cavalcade*	*grandiose*	*serenissime*
altesse	*cortege*	*imbroglio*	&c
altier	*courtisan*	*incognito*	

Terms of the fine arts (architecture, painting, sculpture, the stage, and dress)

aquarelle	*balustre*	*buste*	*caricature*
arcade	*balustrade*	*cabinet*	*carnaval*
archivolte	*bamboche*	*cabriole*	*casaque*
arlequin	*belvedere*	*caleçon*	*casino*
artisan	*bouffon*	*camee*	*catafalque*
baladin	*bronze*	*camisole*	*cicerone*
balcon	*burin*	*campanile*	*comparse* ('*super*,' theat.)
baldaquin	*burlesque*	*capote*	

concetti *gambade* *pantalon* *saltimbanque*
corniche *grotesque* *pastel* *serviette*
costume *girandole* *pastiche* *simarre*
coupole *loto* *pasquinade* *stage*
dôme *madone* *perruque* *stance*
dilettante *madrigal* *piedestal* *stuc*
entrechat *maquette* *pilastre* *tarots*
esquisse *mascarade* *pittoresque* *torse*
façade *medaille* *polichinelle* *tremplin*
feston *modele* *pominade* *valise*
filigrane *mosaique* *porcelaine* *villa*
filoselle *niche* *postiche* *virtuose*
fresque *orvietan* *quadrille* *voltige*
gala *palette* *raquette* &c
galbe *panache*

Terms of commerce

agio *colis* *gazette* *sequin*
banque *dito* *mercantile* *tare*
banqueroute *douane* *noliser* *tarif*
bilan *ducat* *piastre* *tire-lire*
billon *franco* *pistole* *tontine*
bulletin

Terms of navigation

bastingage *escadre* *felouque* *gondole*
boussole *escale* *fregate* *regate*
brigantin *fanal* *gabier* *tartane*
caravelle

Names of (i) animals, (ii) plants, (iii) foods

(i) *tarentule* *belladone* *gousse*
ganache *zibeline* *brocoli* *lavande*
madrepore *brugnon* *muscade*
marmotte (ii) *cedrat* *muscat*
perroquet *artichaut* *celeri* *pistache*

primevere *biscotte* *macaron* *salade*
scorsonère *candi* *macaroni* *semoule*
carbonade *marasquin* *sirop*
(iii) *cervelas* *massepain* *sorbet*
balzan *frangipane* *riz* *zeste*

We may add

assassin *capitonner* *frasque* *pédant*
babiole *carriole* *girouette* *populace*
bagatelle *cascade* *gourdin* *revêche*
bagne *catacombe* *granit* *revolte*
baguette *chagrin* *improviste* *riposte*
ballon *charlatan* *ingambe* *rodomont*
balourd *chiourme* (*the convict- or slave - crew of a galley*) *isole* *sacripan*
bambin *lagune* *sarbacane*
bandit *lave* *sbire*
basque *lazzarone* *sirocco*
bourrasque *desinvolture* *lesine* *talisman*
bouton *douche* *malandrin* *tramontane*
brigand *faquin* (*brigand*) *tromblon*
brusque *fiasco* *muscadin* *villegiature*
calme *filon* *passade* *volcan*
caprice *forfanterie* *peccadille* &c
capilotade

In the 18th century France received from Italy her musical terminology.

adagio *cavatine* *opera* *soprano*
andante *concert* *oratorio* *tenor*
arietta *crescendo* *piano* *timbale*
arpège *epinette* *rebec* *trille*
barcarolle *fausset* *ritournelle* *trombone*
becarre *fioriture* *solfege* *violon*
bemol *fugue* *solo* *violoncelle*
cadence *mandoline* *sonate* &c
cantate

334. BORROWINGS FROM ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.—Hebrew has given French a few words, most of which have passed through the medium of the Vulgate, or Latin translation of the Bible *cherubin, gehenne* (from which has also been derived the Mod F *gêne*), *Pâque, sabbat, seraphin.* We may add the words taken from the Talmud *rabbin, cabale*[1]

Arabic, owing to the Crusades, and to the study of Oriental philosophy, which excited enthusiasm between the 12th and 14th centuries, has given French a certain number of terms, most of which have passed into the language through Low-Latin, and some through Spanish and Italian They comprise more especially terms of alchemy, astronomy, and mathematics

alambic	*algebre*	*chiffre*	*zenith*
alcali	*algorithme*	*elixir*	*zero*
alchimie	*aludel*	*julep*	&c
alcool	*borax*	*sirop*	

Relations of war and commerce also introduced a considerable number of words denoting stuffs, stones, perfumes, &c, of oriental origin, Persian and Turkish as well as Arabic Some of these were borrowed direct, others through various intermediary languages, and notably Italian

bouracan	*divan*	*lazuli*	*taffetas*
cafe	*echec*	*magasin*	*tamarin*
carat	*hoqueton*	*matelas*	*truchement*[2]
civette	*jupe*	*mat (check-mate)*	&c
colback	*kiosque*		
coton	*laque*	*sofa*	

[1] This last word has assumed a peculiar signification in Hebrew, *cabala* means 'tradition', in the Middle Ages it designated a mystic philosophy, which was kept secret, hence it took the sense of a hidden sect, an assemblage of men secretly united for a certain purpose, and thus came to have its present meaning, which is identical with that of the English *cabal*

[2] [See note 1, p 523]

We may also quote a series of words denoting purely oriental objects

alcoran	*cimeterre*	*mameluk*	*serail*
babouche	*derviche*	*marabout*	*sultan*
bazar	*drogman* [1]	*minaret*	*talisman*
bey	*firman*	*mosquee*	*turban*
burnous	*gazelle*	*narguileh*	*vizir*
caravanserail	*girafe*	*odalisque*	
chacal	*janissaire*	*pacha*	

Chinese, Hindustani, Bengali, and the other Asiatic tongues, notably Malay, and also the native languages of Africa and America (Carib, Mexican), have given certain terms, mostly commercial *Bambou, Brahme, cachemire, cornac, pagode, palanquin, paria,* &c , come from India , *the, casoar, orang-outang, ylang-ylang,* come from Malaysia , *acajou, alpaga, ananas, cacao, caiman, colibri, condor, ouragan, quina, sagou, tabac, tapioca, tatouer,* from America

335 —CANT TERMS (*ARGOT*) [2], AND ONOMATOPOEIAS —We may also note the 'cant' terms of thieves, a conventional language made by people who have excellent reasons for not letting themselves be understood We find, not without regret, that this language is not absolutely walled in, that cant terms find their way into the popular speech, and even rise to that of the middle classes This artificial language must not be confounded with true 'slang' or what is miscalled the *argot* of the boulevards, or the *argot* of various occupations These are more or less legitimate and regular forms of the common tongue , they consist especially of metaphors, usually very picturesque, often obscure, more or less lasting, and more or less widespread The formation of these metaphors presents the same regular characteristics as that of thousands of other figurative expressions which

[1] *Drogman* (Eng *dragoman*) is another transformation of the Arabic word that gave *truchement* (*interpreter*)

[2] See note, p 508.

have entered into current use This is not true of the terms of *argot* proper, which is a language created consciously, with the help of intentional modes of derivation, and is consequently quite at variance with the general laws of the formation of languages[1]

Finally, we must say a few words on 'onomatopoeia,' a term which properly signifies 'word-formation,' and which is improperly applied to that one process of word-formation which consists in imitating a particular sound, when we wish to designate the sound itself, or an object or action producing this sound *frou-frou* (*rustle*, subst), *glou-glou* (*gurgle*, subst), *cricri* (*rattle*, subst) It has been sought to ascribe to onomatopoeia a considerable number of words whose etymology is obscure this is too ready a solution of the etymological problem, and the number of true onomatopoeias is reducible to very few We may add to those just mentioned a few words derived from interjections *chuchoter* (*whisper*), from **chut** (*hush !*), *huer* (*to hoot*), from **hu**, *ebahir* (*to take aback*) (perhaps from **bah**)

[1] See an article by Messrs Marcel Schwob and Georges Guieysse in the *Memoires de la Societe de Linguistique*, t VII p 33

PART II

THE LIFE OF WORDS[1]

330. The history of words.—Words are made to express ideas. After studying their external form, that is their pronunciation, their grammatical variations, and their modes of formation, we must now consider their essential value, as symbols of the ideas and feelings we wish to express.

This new study leads us straight into popular psychology. From this standpoint there is nothing so fertile and interesting as the history of the words, for it reflects the history of the thought and of the civilization of a people.

In the normal state of a language words are perpetuated while preserving their proper sense. Thus, through all the deformations that phonetic laws have imposed on Latin words, a certain number have retained in the new language the ideas which they originally expressed: *homme, femme, père, mère, frère, sœur, fils, fille, membre, bras, main, pied, doigt, nez, dent, langue, cœur, ventre, dos, bœuf, chèvre, chien, souris, loup, lièvre, chameau, arbre, fruit, graine, champ, plante, table, mur, plume, porte, livre, charbon, vêtement, clef, étable, écrin, couronne, ciel, temps, pluie, nuit, heure, étoile, mer, eau, rive, raison, vertu, mal, vie, mort,*

[1] [In the following pages free use has been made of the English edition of A. Darmesteter's book, *The Life of Words* (London, 1886), in which the subject is more fully dealt with. For kind permission to avail himself of this work, the translator tenders his best thanks to the publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.]

bonté, santé, ardeur, amour, douleur, coutume, bon, froid, chaud, vert, noir, doux, vif, fort, ferme, aimer, chanter, donner, porter, nouer, ternir, voir, venir, jouer, mentir, sentir, vêtir, dire, rire, faire, rompre, joindre, plus, puis, sur, sous, tant, quand, &c

But in the course of their history nations acquire new knowledge and new ideas, their manners and their mode of life are modified, their civilization transformed. Their language perforce follows these changes, and by the action of all these outward and inward causes the vocabulary is transformed, losing here, gaining there, either words or meanings

We need not here speak of the losses The new acquisitions, or **neologisms**, are of two kinds acquisitions of new words, or **word-neologisms**, and acquisitions of new meanings, or **neologisms of meaning**

Word-neologisms are produced by Popular composition or derivation, by borrowings from foreign languages, and by Learned formation The principles of these formations have been studied in the preceding section We have now to study neologisms of meaning, and to sketch the history of the sense of words in its general bearings [1]

[1] [This is sometimes called *Semantics*, from σημαινω, to signify, from σῆμα, a sign (cf semaphore) The general theories of Semantics given apply in most cases to English equally with French But for obvious reasons the original examples have been preserved]

CHAPTER I

HOW NEW MEANINGS ARISE

I The Logical Conditions of Changes in Meaning —337 The word —338 Formation of substantives —339 Synecdoche —340 Metonymy —341 Metaphor —342 Catachresis —343 Complex modifications (radiation, concatenation) —344 Conclusion

II The Causes of Changes in Meaning —345 Historical causes —346 Psychological modifications

III Philological Conditions —347 Neologisms —348 Literary neologisms —349 Popular neologisms

New meanings arise in accordance with definite logical processes of the mind, induced by definite historical or psychological causes, and, like new words, they penetrate more or less deeply into the language

We have, then, to study these logical processes, these historical and psychological causes, this entrance of new meanings and new words into the language

I The Logical Conditions of Changes in Meaning

337. The word.—Before studying the logical conditions required for changes in meaning we must first realize the essence of the word itself

In the spoken language the *word* is a sound or group of sounds to which those who speak the language attach a *durable* intellectual meaning The word is an *audible* symbol which recalls by a *constant* association of ideas either the image of a material object, or the idea of an action, or an abstract notion

It would seem that a language ought to possess as many words as there are simple ideas But in that case memory would be overwhelmed by the weight of words, and the mind relieves it by giving to the same word various senses, each of which, while assuming the common primitive sound, has a separate existence, and is in reality a new word. Hence it is that the words of our language present themselves to our mind with those special meanings wherewith we wish to use them, with no need for us to trouble about the multiplicity of other meanings which each of them may carry The idea, not the word, is the mental starting point of the expression of thought

338 FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVES —Amongst the various kinds of words, substantives, from their importance, occupy the first rank Here, moreover, changes in meaning are the most numerous and easiest to apprehend Therefore, in the case of the substantive, we shall be especially able to consider the sequence of thought, and what we say of the substantive applies with but little modification to the other parts of speech

Every substantive originally designates an object by some particular character which defines or determines it, and which is called the *determinant* A ship, called in Latin **navis**, is called in French **vaisseau**, or **bâtiment**, in Latin the determinant is 'that which *swims* (*natat*)', in French it is either the idea of a great *vase* or that of a *construction* (from *bâtir*) The choice of a determinant is therefore the first act of the mind in giving the name to an object

This determinant has no need to be *denominative* it serves, not to express the inner nature of the object, but simply to call up the image thereof This is why, in the case of so many words, the terms used in their formation show so little of their essence *Un* **soldat** is not *a fighting man*, but *a man 'solde,' paid* *La* **confiture**, *jam*, is not

a preparation of cooked fruit, but simply *a preparation* (Lat *confectura*) If we consider etymology alone, *un* **cardinal** is simply *a man of importance* (Lat *cardinalis*).

Thus, in giving names to objects, language designates them by some one of their qualities, which may be important or trivial In the beginning these determinants call up in the mind first the image of the determining quality, and only as an accessory that of the object Then, by force of habit, the name applies more and more to the object, until finally it evokes its idea in its entirety The name begins by being an **attributive** word, and ends by becoming a **substantive** Le *drapeau* was first the piece of cloth —*drap*—fastened to the staff (*drapeau* from its etymology means 'pièce de drap'), now it denotes the flag

To forget the etymological signification is the necessary condition of the formation of the substantive It is also the fundamental condition of every transformation of sense

Transformations of sense have been **classed by grammarians as** 'figures of speech' or *tropes* Tropes are of three kinds **synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor**

339. SYNECDOCHE —**Synecdoche**, from the Greek συνεκδοχή, *inclusion*, exchanges two terms of unequal extension

(*a*) The **genus** for the **species** *un bâtiment* for *un navire*, and the **species** for the **genus** *l'homme* for *l'être humain* (*man* for *the human being*).

(*b*) The **singular** for the **plural**: *proteger la veuve et l'orphelin*, meaning *les veuves et les orphelins*, and the **plural** for the **singular** *il est dit dans les Écritures*, that is *dans un livre des Écritures* (*in a book of the Holy Scriptures*).

(*c*) The **part** for the **whole** *un drapeau* (lit *piece of cloth*) for *un etendard* (*flag*), and the **whole** for a **part** *un tableau* for the *picture on a 'tableau'* (which originally meant *panel*)

(*d*) The **common noun** for the **proper noun** *le Roi* for *Louis XIV*, and the **proper noun** for the **common noun**:

un Tartuffe for *a hypocrite* The last case has received the barbarous name of **antonomasia**

Thus synecdoche specializes a general meaning or generalizes a special meaning It proceeds by either (i) **restriction** or (ii) **extension**[1], and we will examine these two cases more closely

(i) There is **restriction** when the determinate is absorbed by the determinant, or the determinant by the determinate In *le jour de l'an*, for *le premier jour de l'an*, *le Roi* for *le Roi Louis XIV*, the determinants have given way to the determinates *jour de l'an*, *roi* In *une capitale* for *une ville capitale*, it is the determinate *ville* which has been absorbed in the determinant *capitale* The latter case frequently occurs in the transformation of adjectives into substantives *journal* for *papier journal*[2], *bonne* for *domestique bonne* (*a tout faire*[3]), *bâtarde* for *ecriture bâtarde*[4], &c. The former case is commonest in the special use of a word when its complement or determining qualificative is understood *bâtiment* (in the sense of *ship*) for *bâtiment de mer*, *succès*[5] for *succes favorable* In both cases there is a contact, expressed or understood, between the two ideas expressed by the determinant and the determinate, and of the two, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, is finally absorbed by the original associate which restricted its application

(ii) There is **extension** in the use of the name of the species, or part, for the genus, or whole, and again in the use of the proper name to designate common nouns Here we again find that general process of name giving which consists in designating an object by one particular quality,

[1] We shall pass over the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular, this is a matter of style, not of language

[2] A 'daily'

[3] [See, for another derivation, p 445, note 1]

[4] [A kind of writing which is intermediate between a round hand and a sloping hand]

[5] Lat. *successus*, Eng *issue*.

from this one quality the mind steps to the image of the object as a whole

340 METONYMY —Metonymy (from the Greek *μετωνομία*, transformation of the name) is a kind of metaphor which comprises the following cases, taking—

a (1) The **cause** for the **effect**. *un effort* (*a strain*), an internal derangement produced by an exaggerated muscular effort, or (2) the **effect** for the **cause** *les pâles maladies*, i e the pale maladies, for the maladies that make persons pale (*anaemia*)

b (1) The **container** for the **contents** *boire son verre* (*to drink one's glass*, &c), *la maison est en emoi* (*the house is in commotion*), or (2) the **contents** for the **container** *un couvent, un college, une ecole, un ministere*, originally used to designate certain assemblages of people, but now also used to denote the buildings that contain them

c (1) The **place** for a **product characteristic** of it *du champagne*, or (2) the **product characteristic** of it for the **place** *les Eaux-Bonnes*[1]

d (1) The **object** for the **thing symbolized** *le trône et l'autel* for *la royaute et l'eglise* (*the throne and the altar* for *Royalty and the Church*), or (2) the **thing symbolized** for the **object** *la royaute* for *le roi* (*Royalty* for *the King*)

e (1) The **abstract** for the **concrete** *faire des politesses, des charites*, that is *des actes de politesse, de charite*, or (2) the **concrete** for the **abstract** *l'homme* for *l'humanite* (*man* for *humanity*)

Metonymy, as we have seen, implies two notions united together by a *constant* relation It is very commonly used. It for the most part gives to abstract terms a concrete meaning *ameublement* means in its original sense the *action of furnishing*, and, by metonymy, the *furniture as a whole*, *bâtiment*, the *action of building*, and, by metonymy,

[1] [The name of various towns and villages in France]

an *edifice built*, *allee, entree, issue, sortie,* the actions of *going, entering,* or *going out,* and, by metonymy, the *ways by which one goes* (*alley*), *enters* (*entry*), or *goes out* (*exit*)

341 METAPHOR —**Metaphor** (from the Greek μεταφορά, *transference*) transfers the name of one object to another, thanks to some character common to both, by which they may be connected and compared

Like metonymy, it proceeds by **extension,** and in three ways

a It connects two material objects *feuille* (*leaf* of a tree) and *feuille* (of paper), because of the thinness which is the characteristic of both

b It connects a moral or intellectual fact with a material fact or action, and gives the name of the former to the latter *ceder a quelqu'un* (*to yield to any one*), and, by metaphor, *la porte cede* (*the door yields*), *entendre* signifies properly *to understand,* and, by metaphor, *to hear*

c Most frequently it serves to express and denote abstract ideas by comparing them with concrete objects, or actions, and giving them names applicable to these un *noir* chagrin, *peser* des raisons, *esprit* (properly *breath*), &c

Every metaphor passes through two stages the one in which the metaphor is still visible, and in which the name, while designating the second object (or action), still calls up the image of the first, the other in which the first image is forgotten, and the name designates only the second object (or action) and becomes commensurate with it In quoting the following passage of Montaigne '*Devant le spectacle des divisions . . qui nous dechirent* ,' *division* seems to be synonymous with the term *strife* or *civil war* But the complete sentence runs 'Devant le spectacle des *divisions* et *subdivisions* qui nous déchirent' We immediately recognize that for Montaigne *division* still

retained the etymological image, while in the language of to-day, the image having disappeared, the word has really acquired a new value

342 CATACHRESIS.—We have seen how restriction of meaning by synecdoche absorbs the determinant in the thing determined, or the reverse; how extension by synecdoche, metonymy, or metaphor, transfers the name of a part of an object to a whole, to a group, or to a neighbouring object, united to the former by a constant or an analogical relation. In every case the condition of the change being our mental forgetfulness of the first term, and our consciousness of the second alone.

This forgetting has been regarded by grammarians, who failed to grasp its true character, as a distinct figure of speech, and has received the Greek name **catachresis** [*misuse*]. Such forgetting is not a misuse of language, but the very law that rules every change of meaning. Without this process the new designation always retains a twofold character, and remains bound to its root; catachresis, the act of its emancipation, is one of the vital forces of language.

Since it is habit, usage, and time that bring about the forgetting of the primitive meaning, and complete adaptation of the old name to the new thing, this important consequence follows: that metaphorical expressions may have become the adequate expression of a new fact for some persons, while for others they have retained all the transparency of their etymological value. For a Frenchman, *cornet* evokes the idea of a bit of paper twisted up into a cone; a foreigner studying French will see in it *a little horn*, the diminutive of *corne*. Inversely, for the Germans the word *Würfel* exactly corresponds with the French word *dé* (*die, dice*); for a Frenchman studying German it will call up the image of an object that we throw (*werfen*). The same holds with a number of words which,

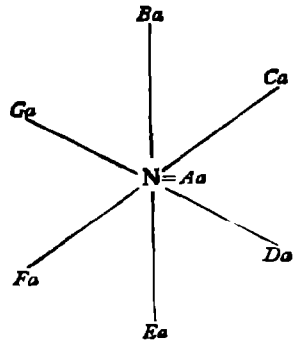
according to the greater or less frequency of their use, undergo a correspondingly more or less complete reduction to the unity of image Thus in every language there exist words which do not exactly convey the same idea, the same image, to all—a noteworthy fact which well explains many a misunderstanding and many an error

Here we touch on a cardinal point in the life of language the relation of the word to the image it expresses Words, the rude interpreters of the inner world of vague impressions and dim sensations dwelling in the depths of our thought, very often fail to reveal more than an infinitely small part thereof, that part which is most obvious and most easy to grasp Herein we recognize the imperfection of the instrument called language, admirable as it is in so many other respects.

343 COMPLEX MODIFICATIONS RADIATION, CONCATENATION —Changes of sense are but seldom seen in the simple forms that we have just studied, they usually present far more complex forms, which are combined and overlap—**radiation** and **concatenation**

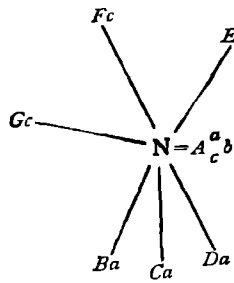
A **Radiation** —When an object gives its name to a series of other objects, because of some one character that is common to all, the process is termed **radiation** The name radiates from the original object to all the others

Examples —Racine The name *racine*, like its English equivalent *root* (of a plant), passes to *racine*, *root* of a word, of an algebraic quantity, of an evil, because the word, the algebraic quantity, the evil, are each considered as the development of one primitive element which is compared to the root of a plant. The following diagram will explain the matter —



Let N be the name of a given object *A*, which, among other qualities, possesses a certain quality *a* The name N will pass on to a number of other objects *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, because each of these possesses the same quality *a*

Again, the object *A* may have other characters *b*, *c*, each of which is common with it to one or more different objects or series of objects.



Then the object *A* will give its name N first to the objects *B*, *C*, *D*, because of their possessing the common character *a*, secondly to the object *E* because it possesses a second character *b* in common with *A*, and, finally, to a new series of objects *F*, *G*, which possess a third character *c* in common with *A* Thus '*queue*,' *tail*, gives its name to a billiard *cue*, and the *tail* of a (political) party,

in respect of the common idea of end or extremity; to a *queue* at a theatre in respect of the idea of length and narrowness common to the file of people and the tail of an animal.

B. **Concatenation** — In the process of **concatenation** (Fr *enchaînement*) the original meaning of the word is lost after it has passed on to a second object through some one character common to both, then the name passes from the second object to a third on account of a different character, common to this and to the second object, this character is forgotten in turn, and so on

Thus *fermer* signifies *to fix, to make firm or fast*, *fermer une porte* meant originally *to fix the door in its frame*, then the primitive sense of *fixing* was lost, *fermer une porte* has become a synonym of *clore* (*close*), and it is in this sense that we say figuratively *un parti ferme*, *fermer un compte* (*to close an account*), &c

Ombrageux signified originally *that casts a shadow*, *shady arbre ombrageux*, then *cheval ombrageux*, originally a horse that sees its own shadow on the ground, came to mean, by extension, a horse that shies, in this case the idea of *ombre* is completely forgotten, and the expression *cheval ombrageux* has led to the use of '*caractere ombrageux*,' a character ready to take *umbrage*

Mouchoir, *handkerchief* The first meaning is the object with which a man wipes his nose (*se mouche*) Our customs have chanced to determine that the object should be a square piece of stuff, silk, cotton, cambric, &c Hence, through a complete forgetfulness of the original idea, *mouchoir* only recalls the piece of stuff[1], and we say *mouchoir de cou*, then another lapse of meaning comes in the handkerchief tied round a woman's neck falls in a tri-

[1] [In the last century the lapse of the original meaning was not yet complete, and alterations were necessary in adapting 'Othello' for the French stage, as the primitive idea still perceptible, of 'moucher' in *mouchoir* was inconsistent with the dignity of French tragedy]

angular point on the shoulders, and hence *mouchoir* takes in seafaring language the new meaning of a triangular piece of wood (*angle-board* of the cut-water)[1].

Concatenation may be represented by the following diagram

$$\underbrace{N = Aa}\underbrace{\text{——}aBb}\underbrace{\text{——}bCc}\underbrace{\text{——}cDd}\underbrace{\text{——}dEe}\underbrace{\text{——}eF}$$

Let N be the name (say *mouchoir*), *A* the object it first represents, possessing a characteristic attribute (from *se moucher*) Then the name will pass on by radiation to the object *B* (neckerchief), because of the new property *a* (both being small squares or oblongs of light stuff) The object *B* (neckerchief) has another quality *c* (when folded it has a triangular form), which is common to it with a third object *C* (the triangular board), hence the name N passes by concatenation from *B* to *C* So the name N might pass on to *D*, *E*, *F*, in the same way

Closely scanned, we find that concatenation is really a descending series of radiations, in which each term is taken in turn as a primitive starting-point through oblivion of its origin The characters which serve in turn to transfer the name from one object to another may be any whatever, and are mostly unrelated to one another Hence they may lead to the oddest apparent inconsistencies

Chasser (Lat **captare**) signifies properly 'to try to seize', now we say *chasser un domestique* (*to turn away a servant*[2]) *Cadran* (Lat **quadrans**) signifies properly a *rectangular surface*, although our *dials*, *cadrans*, are *circular*

The contradictions are easy to explain

[1] [The transformations of 'kerchief' in England are equally interesting Etymologically, it is a juxtaposite of the imperative and its object *couvre-chef*, cover-head The word passed on to designate *the piece of stuff used*, whence the new juxtaposites of substantives, *neckerchief*, *handkerchief*, *pocket-handkerchief*, in which the sense of head-covering is lost, nay, we find that 'coloured *hand*kerchiefs are worn as head gear by the negresses in the West Indies']

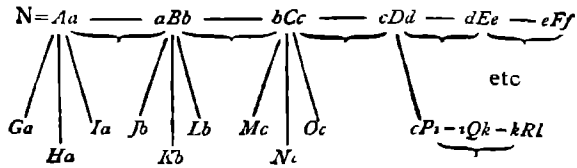
[2] [Cf Irish-English '*to hunt*' *a servant*, or *beggar*.]

Chasser originally signified 'to try to *seize* or *capture*' *chasser le cerf*, hence its new sense *chasser l'ennemi*, meaning either to try to catch him or put him to flight, the last sense leads to the phrases *chasser un importun*, *chasser un domestique*, where *chasser* means *to cause his hurried departure.*

The first dials were sun dials with a rectangular surface. Next, the rectangular outline was forgotten and *cadran* came to mean the surface on which the hours were marked Hence the use of the word *cadran* for the faces of clocks, watches, &c, on which the hours are marked as on sun-dials, but pointed to by the motion of the hands, and, as it happens, this face is circular As the original meaning of 'rectangular surface' is forgotten in the language, there has ceased to be any inconsistency in this case

For similar reasons we use such expressions as *pave en bois*, *cheval ferre d'argent*, *être a cheval sur un âne*, &c *Pave* does not now denote a rectangular compact stone (*sett*), but any hard compact block used to cover the roadway *Ferrer un cheval* does not mean to have him shod with a *certain article* made of iron, *fer*, but only with this object, of no matter what material it is made In *être a cheval sur un âne*, *être a cheval* simply means ' to bestride '

Radiation and concatenation are generally mixed and combined as shown in the following diagram, which represents an imaginary series of changes



The name N of the object *A* will thus pass, by radiation and concatenation branching in different directions, from the object *A* to all the objects *B*, *C*, *D* *Q*, *R*, &c, successively.

Take for example *timbre*, which originally signified a drum, this by concatenation comes to signify a clapperless bell struck from without by a hammer, the sound given out by this bell, the sonorous quality of an instrument or a voice, the physical character of a sound exclusive of its pitch, intensity, and duration, and depending on the harmonics which co-exist with the fundamental note, the first verse of *some* well-known ballad (*vaudeville*) written above other words to indicate the tune to which these last may be sung Then, by radiation and concatenation, it signifies the rounded form of a bell, the rounded form of a helmet, the crest of a helmet, the crest in heraldry, that is, any ornament placed above the shield in armorial bearings, the official mark stamped on paper, which the law renders obligatory for legal documents, &c, a private mark stamped by each post-office upon letters Hence *bureau du timbre* (*stamp office*), *instrument à timbrer* (*stamping-press*), *timbre-poste* (*postage-stamp*), *timbre quittance* (*receipt-stamp*), &c

344 Conclusion —Such are the logical processes employed singly, or in combination, by the language, to extend the various meanings of words Sometimes the mind limits the horizon of a term by absorbing the determinant in the determinate, or the determinate in the determinant Sometimes it enlarges the function of a word, extending its application to different objects by following some constant relation (metonymy) or some analogy (metaphor), which it finds between the object designated and these other new objects. The former process generally gives a new fulness and concision to the expression, condensing two ideas into one The latter gives it a relief which takes hold of the imagination Of these processes metaphor plays by far the more important part. It has the function of substituting for the dry abstraction or the simple expression of a fact the colour and brightness

of a picture, but above all it gives language the power of expressing abstract ideas It is especially by the use of metaphor that man is enabled to communicate to his fellows the world of invisible, intangible thought that dwells in his mind

Everywhere the fundamental condition of all these changes is the co-existence of two intellectual elements, the one principal, the other accessory In time, by unconscious advances, the mind loses sight of the former and only considers the latter, which either drives out the other or restricts its value Under cover of the one physiological fact—*the word*—the mind thus passes from one idea to another

II The Causes of Changes in Meaning

The causes that determine changes in meaning are of two kinds Historical and Psychological.

345 HISTORICAL CAUSES —The development of civilization introduces into every nation a vast number of new ideas and new facts that constitute the ever shifting ground-work of their moral history

If we confine ourselves to France, we first find Christianity bringing in a whole new world of moral ideas, and the Latin language transforming a vast number of expressions so as to make them the equivalents of these new ideas Thus *edification*, meaning literally 'building up', *transgression*, literally 'the action of crossing, overstepping', *prevarication*, literally 'walking crooked', and many others of the same kind

And the vocabularies of feudalism, of political institutions, of law, of scholastic philosophy, and the sciences of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, of medicine and astrology, offer us quite as many curious facts for analysis and reflec-

tion the history of thought is echoed in the language Thus in every language there are many words which, though silent to those who now use them, revive under the gaze of the historian, and reveal with their own history the tale of bygone manners and of a bygone civilization Take for instance the word *parole*, in its present meaning it tells us nothing But in its etymology we at once see the Christian **parabola**, the preaching of the Gospel with its parables (the primitive meaning of *parole* in French was 'sentence')

All the rustic royalty of the Merovingians comes back to us in *ville* (villa = *homestead*) and *cour* (O F *court*, Lat. **cortem**, **cohortem**, as in *basse-cour*, *farm yard*), in *connetable* (**comes stabuli**, *the chief of the stable*), and in *le marechal* (*the groom*)

The history of the changes in the sense of the word *livre* would be a complete epitome of the history of the currency and coinage of French money from the time of the Carlovingians till the present

The progress in the material conditions of existence is shown in the new meaning of *viande* (and the English *meat*), which from 'food' in general came to mean '*the* food *par excellence*' derived from the flesh of animals Progress in general education is attested by the word *librairie*, which during the Middle Ages signified 'library' (Mod F 'bibliothèque'), but now a 'bookseller's shop.' There is nothing more fascinating than the study of these changes in meaning, which revive the long vanished past

346 PSYCHOLOGICAL MODIFICATIONS —Next to the above changes, brought about by external modifications, come those introduced by the language into various words to express ideas and facts that are unchanging

With every nation there exists a certain number of abstract ideas or of simple permanent emotions which know of no change, of concepts which have no reason for modifica-

tion, because these ideas, emotions, and concepts correspond to permanent conditions of the mind and soul. And yet the expressions of these ideas, concepts, and emotions have been subject to change. Here we are brought into contact with those mysterious deep lying causes which reveal to us the mode of feeling of a people One example will suffice to demonstrate both the character and importance of this study

When we compare the French preposition *a* with the English preposition *to*, we find that originally both words denoted the idea of direction from one point towards another In the figurative use of the English *to*, this relation is always felt and present to the mind, its transformations may be represented by a straight line But, while English has remained faithful to the first image called up by the preposition, the French mind, with the suppleness and mobility characteristic of the genius of the people, wanders complacently away through the by-paths of subtle analogies, and says not only 'aller *a* Paris,' but 'être *a* Paris,' 'se mettre *au* lit,' 'travailler *a* la lumiere d'une lampe,' 'courir *a toute* force' 'se battre *a* l'épee,' 'l'homme *au* manteau rouge,' &c In English various prepositions, *to, in, into, by, at, with*, &c, would be used for the single word *a*.

The same remark applies to a host of words, both of Learned and of Popular formation, whose variations in meaning reflect the genius and the turn of mind of the people that use them.

III Philological Conditions.

347 NEOLOGISMS —How does a newly coined word or meaning make its way into a language? How does it find its proper place therein?

If a new word pleases the circle of persons who hear or read it for the first time, it may spread little by little

among an ever-widening public, and become the fashion; then, if it corresponds with any lasting idea or feeling, it is likely to maintain itself in the language

Now the centres of formation are innumerable Fashionable society (*la societe elegante*), the political world, the army, the workshop, country life, &c , as many as are the separate groups of people and occupations, so many are the different centres of neologisms

Of these neologisms, the fancies of the moment appear, only to die Others, such as technical terms, hold their ground for a longer or shorter time in the circle where they were born, live even for long years or centuries in that narrow world without ever leaving it Others break their bounds, steal into wider circles, and sometimes, favoured by circumstances, gain civic rights in the common speech and help to enrich its treasury Among these last we must note such neologisms as answer to a general want, and, created on many sides at once, spring in full panoply from a thousand brains These are the favoured daughters of fortune As a rule, the more limited the circle in which these expressions are used, the smaller is their chance of survival A neologism is a plant which, in order to live, must needs strike root into the greatest possible number of minds

Once adopted by general usage, neologisms obtain civic rights, the metaphors become consecrated, and can be no longer changed When, for instance, it was necessary to find a name for large plates of glass (Fr *tables de verre*), they might have been called *tables*, as being great tables of glass, or *verrieres*, being made of *verre*, or *reflecteurs*, since they reflect images, they were actually compared to sheets of frozen water (nappes d'eau *glacee*), and have been called *glaces* The metaphor was admitted, henceforth it could no longer be changed.

What then should be our conduct in regard to neologisms? Should we accept them or reject them

indifferently? To answer this question we must first draw a distinction between *literary* neologisms and *popular* neologisms

348 LITERARY NEOLOGISMS.—The literary neologism is the work of the author, who creates a new word or uses an old one in a new sense at his own risk and peril. He must be able to justify the liberty he has taken with the language by the value of the neologism. The word must be the clearest, strongest, most picturesque expression of the idea to be represented. Under such conditions the neologism will deserve to live.

349 POPULAR NEOLOGISMS.—A popular neologism, when expressing a new fact, is legitimate and should be immediately accepted. But, should it only express an existing fact *in a different way*, we must resist its introduction as long as we can, and only give way when it has been adopted by the majority. The people are sovereign in matters of language, their errors even, once adopted, become law. But to the revolutionary forces, which are sweeping on the Popular language only too fast, we must oppose the respect for tradition, for the most precious interests of the literature are at stake.

From this point of view the language offers numerous subjects for research and study. One of the most fertile is that of figures of speech. From the various occupations of the people there have grown up by usage whole series of metaphors, expressions displaying picturesqueness and ingenuity in greater or less degree, which reveal the turn of mind and habits of thought of the people. Sport has given to French *abois*, *acharner*, (être a l') *affût*, *ahurir*, *amadouer*, *amorcer*, *appât*, *battue*, *bejaune*, *blottir*, (aller sur les) *brisees*, *butor*, *curee*, *dresser*, *emerillonne*, *filet*, *fureter*, *herisser*, *hobereau*, (rendre) *gorge*, *gorge* (chaude), *hagard*, *gibier*, *leurre*, *limier*, *mais*, *parquer*, *ramage*, *sacre*, *serres*, *sûler*, O F *ciller* (le faucon), whence *dessiller*, *tanière*, *vol*

(oiseau de haut, de bas vol), &c Navigation has given *aborder, s'affaler, ancrer, appareiller, arriver, bourrasque, caler, chavirer, demarrer, embarquer, échouer, equiper, filer* (*to track*), (veiller au) *grain* (*to look out for squalls*), *piloter, sonder, virer.*

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIETY OF WORDS

350 Contagion —351 Reaction —352 Struggle for existence —353 Synonymy —354 The three classes of synonyms

We think not in isolated ideas, but in judgements, which are combinations of ideas, consequently in language we have recourse to combinations of words that follow the movements of thought Hence arise all kinds of actions exercised by words on one another

350 Contagion —By the custom of the language one word may be habitually associated with another The latter gradually penetrates the former, and saturates it with its own signification so as in time to give it a new value Thus, the partitive substantives *pas* and *point* have passed from a positive to a negative signification from being associated with *ne*; in this way also *aucun, personne, guere,* came to express the contrary of their primitive meaning (see Book IV, § 483)

The source of contagion need not be a word *expressed.* From a current phrase a new signification may arise affecting some word of the phrase and changing its value *Avec* expresses a relation of contiguity *se promener avec quelqu'un, avec un paquet sous le bras* It comes to possess the sense of *malgre* (*despite*): *avec toute sa science, il a echoue* (*with all his science he has failed*); the complete idea

would be '*avec toute sa science, il aurait dû reussir, et il a échoue*' (*with all his science he should have succeeded, and he has failed*)

The first meaning of *pour* is 'for, because of' *il se promène pour le plaisir qu'il y trouve* In the sentence, '*Il ne se promene pas pour le plaisir qu'il y trouverait,*' which is equivalent to 'il ne se promene pas alors qu'il pourrait ou devrait le faire pour le plaisir qu'il y trouverait,' the meaning of the preposition has already undergone some change, and it has come to have the meaning 'in spite of' in *Pour agreable que soit la promenade, il n'en reste pas moins a la maison* (*for all the pleasantness of the walk, he stays at home*) It is the same in Corneille's line

'Pour grands que soient les rois, ils sont ce que nous sommes,'
(*Cid*, act 1, sc 3)
('*For all their greatness*, kings are what we are')

It is by the arrangement and combination of terms that the language comes to evolve unexpressed senses and new shades of meaning It is by this same joint action of the phrase as a whole that the author can exert a personal action upon words, change their significance, and give them a whole series of new meanings

351 REACTION —Even apart from sentences, words may react upon each other in various ways Thus words united by some relation of form or meaning receive by a rebound, as it were, the meanings or uses which are the property of only one of them

Oriental pearls are celebrated for their lustre Hence *perle orientale* takes the sense of *perle brillante*, and, *oriental* having now the sense of 'lustrous,' *orient* by the recoil comes to receive a corresponding sense of 'lustre,' and we say *l'orient d'une perle*

Les Indes Occidentales—the West Indies—was the early

[1] [Notice the parallel transformation in sense of the English *for*]

name given to America, and, by opposition, India proper gained the name of *Indes Orientales*, the East Indies.

In the last century the adjective *noble* was applied to those birds of prey that were used in hunting, the other birds of prey, by simple antithesis, came to be called *ignobles*

A word may come to possess a double meaning, and according to the context convey either a given idea or its counterpart Thus *bourgeois*, a burgess, a middle-class citizen, will be alternately a name of honour or contempt according to the intention of the speaker, who may contrast it either with the peasant or the noble.

Again, the different senses of the radical may react on the proper senses of its derivatives and transform them *Aperitif* in medicine is an *aperient*, an opening medicine that clears away obstructions Popular usage has made it an *appetizer*, as 'opening the orifice of the stomach' (Walter Scott)

Again, there may be a confusion between two words wrongly associated *Mignard* has acted on *miniature*, a painting in red lead (*minium*), and changed it into 'minute painting', *souffreteux*, from the O F. *souffraite* (*famine*), is wrongly referred to *souffrir*, and has come to mean 'habitually ailing'

However, these reactions of words on one another are relatively rare. Mostly words of the same family run their individual course, each going its own way unaffected by whatever accidents may befall the other members *Meurtre* (*homicide*) retains its etymological signification, which is lost in *meurtrir* (*to bruise*) *Avaler*, originally to cause to go 'down vale,' 'down stream,' has assumed a new meaning, 'to swallow,' but *aval* (*down-stream*), *ravaler* (*to put down again, to take down*), *ravalement* (*pulling or taking down, depreciation*, &c), have not been affected thereby'

[1] [The phrase *Avalez-vous !* has been heard from a *diligence* guard in the sense of *to get down*]

Garnement has forgotten its primitive sense given by its radical *garnir* and assumed a quite different and peculiar meaning[1] *Ouvrer* (*to work*) has become obsolete, while its derivatives *ouvrier, ouvrage, ouvrable*, are preserved. The cause of this is that words owe their individual existence to man's intellect Speech evolves from ideas and not from words; and the former are independent of the latter The relationship which may exist and unite words into groups according to their form has nothing in common with the groups of ideas which it is their function to express.

352 STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE —The struggle for existence is manifest in the history of words

Down to the 16th century the preposition *en* expressed all the relations of the modern *dans*, which was not then in use By the side of *en* was used *dedans*, which was at the same time an adverb and a preposition *En*, in combination with the article *le, la, les* (contracted into *ou, es*), was lost in the 16th century and was replaced by *dans le* and *dans les* (Book II, § 199, 4) *Dans* being in this case followed by the article, it assumed a definite signification, and by opposition *en* took a more and more indefinite one On the other hand, *dedans*, which was both adverb and preposition, became useless as a preposition, and, from the 17th century, only retained the function of an adverb Thus it was that these three words ended by having their several functions restricted and limited (see Book IV, § 468)

Take now the group *ouïr, entendre*, and *comprendre* *Ouïr* (Lat. **audire**), *to hear*, gradually became obsolete towards the 16th and 17th century, it was replaced by *entendre* (Lat **intelligere**), which had the meaning *to understand*. *Entendre* having thus assumed the meaning of *ouïr*, it was

[1] *Garnement* originally meant *that which protects* (*garnit*), hence *accoutrement*, and hence *soldier* The phrase *mauvais garnement* became habitual, and, with the ellipse of *mauvais, garnement* now means a disreputable person

necessary to replace it in the sense of **intelligere**, and so the language introduced *comprendre*, *comprendre* properly means *to grasp, or seize, and hold the whole*, to which sense that of **intelligere** was henceforward added

It is in the Learned formation of words that the struggle is especially apparent. It is easy to see the competition which arose between popular and foreign words, and how the latter gradually contracted the domain of the former The idea of *swimming* was expressed in Old French by the verb *nouer*, from the Latin **natare**, and that of *sailing, navigating*, by *nager*, from the Latin **navigare** *Nouer* (*to swim*) having disappeared, the verb *nager* came to signify both **navigare** and **natare**. Then the verb of Learned formation, *naviguer*, penetrates into the language, and robs *nager* of its etymological sense, leaving it only the later meaning of **natare**, which it had previously inherited from *nouer* The language offers many similar facts

353 Synonymy — At first sight there is something paradoxical in the co-existence of words possessing the same meaning But a little reflection shows that in a well-constructed language each word has its proper function, and that there are no *perfect* synonyms No doubt in the French language, as in others, we find many different terms to designate one and the same object A given plant, or implement, or industrial product, has, it may be, five or six or eight different names, but these names find their proper uses in different places or in different trades Each group of men employs but one single term for the same purpose It is true again that the way in which the literary language has flooded the popular language has brought into French a host of doublets and synonyms, and that, taken by themselves, these expressions for the most part designate exactly the same thing But the very fact that one of the two series belongs to Popular language, and the other to

the Learned didactic language, is enough to show that there is a difference of employment, if not of shade, between them.

As a matter of fact there cannot be permanently in ordinary language two perfect synonyms, unless one be all but out of use, if two are employed at the same time the perfect synonymy cannot last long, the language will not load itself with a useless burden, and will lighten itself either by getting rid of one of the terms altogether, or by giving it a new sense.

354 THE THREE CLASSES OF SYNONYMS —Synonyms may be divided into three classes

1 *The same word takes two different forms by the accidents of etymological formation*

Take for example the verb *plier*

In Old French the present indicative was conjugated *Je plie, tu plies, il plie, nous ployons, vous ployez, ils plient*, the present subjunctive *que je pli, que tu plis, qu'il plit, que nous ployons, que vous ployez, qu'ils plient*, the imperative *plie, ployons, ployez*, in the rest of the conjugation the radical was *ploy-* So with *prier* and *proier, noier* (*a*) (*to say no,* Lat **negare**), *noier* (*b*) (*to drown,* Lat **necare**)

At the end of the Middle Ages the language found itself embarrassed with these double forms, and made them into two series of verbs *plier* and *ployer*, *prier* and *proyer, nier* and *noyer* (*a*), and *nier* and *noyer* (*b*) Of these three last verbs the language suppressed one of the two forms in each case as useless, keeping *prier, nier* (*a*), and *noyer* (*b*) As the language kept both forms of the first verb, it gave them different functions.

Plier, to fold, to double an article by folding one of its surfaces against another

Ployer, to bend an object which offers resistance

Similarly phonetic *doublets,* such as *chaise* (*chair*) and *chaire* (*seat of office*) from **cathedra**, *col* (*collar*) and *cou* (*neck*) from **collum**, came to be used with different meanings[1]

[1] See Appendix I, on 'Doublets,' p 562

To this group belong a number of doublets of which some may be traced back to Popular Latin, others to the Learned formation or foreign languages

Ex *securite* and *sûrete* (Lat **securitatem**).

fragile and *frêle* (Lat **fragilem**).

rigide and *raide* (Lat **rigidum**)

châsse (*reliquary*, and hence *setting*) and *caisse* (*case, box*) (Prov **caisso**, from Lat **capsa**)

champ and *camp* (Ital **campo**, from Lat **campum**).

table and *tôle* (*sheet iron*) (Walloon **taule**, from Lat **tabula**).

dame, duegne (Sp **dueña**, from Lat **domina**)

It is only exceptionally that these phonetic doublets are now synonyms

2 *The radical is modified by different affixes or by different syntactical constructions*

Thus (*a*) *porter*, to carry, take, *apporter*, to bring, *prononcer*, to pronounce, *enoncer*, to enunciate, *courber*, to bend, *recourber*, to bend back, *malhonnête*, dishonest, rude, *deshonnête*, immodest, *regle*, a rule, *reglement*, a regulation, *cœur*, heart, *courage*, bravery

(*b*) *attaquer quelqu'un*, to attack, *s'attaquer a quelqu'un*, to fasten on to any one, *forcer a faire* and *forcer de faire*, to compel to do[1], *courir a l'ennemi*, to rush upon the foe, *courir le cerf*, to hunt the stag, *sortir d'un lieu*, to leave a place, *sortir un objet*, to take out a thing, *monter au premier*, to take up (as well as, to go up) to the first floor, *monter l'escalier*, to go upstairs, *monter un cheval*, to ride a horse, *monter un magasin*, to fit up a shop

In the majority of cases the affix or the construction gives us the key to the synonymy

Take *porter* and *apporter* You say *portez-lui ce journal*, but not *apportez lui ce journal* Why? The difference must come from *à*, which indicates a motion of coming and not

[1] There does not appear to be any distinction of sense between the two forms, but in modern practice *a* seems to be more used for the active, *de* for the passive *forcer a faire*, *être force de faire* (see Syntax, § 450)

of going. *Apporter* is equivalent to *venir porter* (*come and carry*), just as *attirer* is equivalent to *faire venir en tirant* (*cause to come by drawing*), and as *amener* is equivalent to *faire venir en menant* (*cause to come by leading*), &c

Take *courber* and *recourber* *Re-* indicates an opposition of two terms, so that *recourber* means to bend so as to bring two ends together

Take again *regle* and *règlement* *La règle, rule,* is the rod or ruler used to draw a straight line Hence its figurative meaning the principle by which we direct our conduct *Regle* gives *regler*, *regler* gives *reglement* *Reglement* (*regulation*) is therefore 'that which serves to rule (*regler*), that by which we rule', it is the *official expression of the rule*

From this series we may pass to examples of **syntactical doublets** in which a substantive is accompanied by an adjective which takes a different meaning according as it precedes or follows the substantive

Un brave homme (an honest man), *un homme brave* (a brave man).

Un grand homme (a great man), *un homme grand* (a tall man), &c.

When the adjective immediately precedes the substantive it is qualificative, and forms with it a sort of composite locution which may take a special meaning When the adjective follows the substantive it is attributive and retains the signification it has by itself, for from a syntactic point of view it is separated from the substantive by a statement understood *un homme grand* is equivalent to *un homme qui est grand*[1]

Next come those doublets which differ only by a slight difference in their terminations

[1] [In the expression *un savant aveugle*, if *savant* is slurred with *aveugle* (*savan-t-aveugle*) it is an adjective, *aveugle* is then the substantive and the signification is 'a learned blind man' But, if we make a pause between the two words, *aveugle* will become the adjective and *savant* the substantive *un savant* | *aveugle*, i e un savant *qui est aveugle*, 'a blind scholar' —*Life of Words*, p. 133]

cerveau	*cervelle*
cours	*course*
escabeau	*escabelle* [1]

The synonymy of these can only be established by the custom of the language In this case etymology gives us no clue whatever

3 *Words differing in their etymology, and originally in signification, have come in the course of their history to overlap or coincide, so as to designate the same object*

At this point we meet with what are generally called synonyms, that is words which, though differing in their etymology and their original signification, may yet be applied to one and the same object or idea Such are .

assurer, affirmer, certifier
peine, chagrin, douleur, souffrance
attrait, charme, seduction
orgueilleux, superbe, altier, vain, vanteux
fourberie, ruse, malice
rester, demeurer, habiter, loger, &c

In order to solve the problem of these synonymies we must consult the history of the synonymous terms on the one hand, and analyze their present significations on the other By examining closely the employment of such terms we find that they present more or less important differences in shade of meaning , and that these are usually due to the original significations, some part of which is retained even in the widest divergence therefrom These words are synonyms at the point where they overlap, and may be applied to the same object , but even then each presents the object under its own peculiar aspect and with its own peculiar shade of meaning, due to the original signification

[1] It is impossible to distinguish the senses of these words briefly , consult the *Dictionnaire General* of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas

Take, for instance, the three words *guider, mener, conduire.*

Let us first consider the present usage of the language *Guider* carries with it the idea of ignorance on the part of the person requiring guidance We take a *guide* when we do not know the way A beginner must be *guided* In every acceptation of this word ignorance is implied Therefore *guider* signifies 'to take with one a person who is ignorant, who does not know'

Conduire implies direction *Conduire* is to take a person with one, directing him as his chief *un general conduit les soldats a la victoire, on conduit un dessein,* &c

Mener is to take with one a person who allows himself to be taken, a being who yields or resigns himself *On mene l'animal à la boucherie, les bestiaux aux champs*

Thus these three words all signify 'to take with one,' *faire aller avec soi* But in using the first a stress is laid on the idea of ignorance on the part of the individual who is the object of the action, in using the second a stress is laid on the idea of direction from the person who is the subject of the action, in using the third we lay a stress on the idea of impulsion passively submitted to by the individual affected by the action Such is the solution of this particular synonymy yielded by the examination of its present uses

Now, turning to history, that is, etymology, we find that *conduire* comes from the Latin **conducere**, i e **cum ducere**, in which **cum** denotes the idea of 'with' and **ducere** the idea of 'leading' 'as a leader to take with one'

History tells us that *mener* was first used with regard to the flocks or herds which the herdsman drives before him This is the primitive sense in Popular Latin, and the idea of unconscious movement, such as that of a herd of cattle, dominates the most remote of the derived meanings It is on this primitive sense that is founded the celebrated phrase *l'homme s'agite et Dieu le mene* (*Man resteth not, but God leads him*)

The word *guider* comes from the Italian **guidare**, used in the same sense The historical problem cannot here be solved through the French, but we may note that the Italian word is derived from a Germanic word whose radical signifies 'to observe, to note'

Thus it is that the exact analysis of the present significations, and the investigation of the primitive meanings of synonyms, usually assist and support one another

This method is applicable to the investigation of all cases of synonyms, and its use is, in fact, only a particular branch of a more general study A language can only be completely understood when we have arrived at the rigorous and exact determination of the meanings of the words of its vocabulary It is only through exact definitions conveying the exact determination of the senses of each term, and all the ideas that it embraces, that we can reach the treasure of the full knowledge of the language For these definitions alone allow us to follow up the relations between the figurative uses and the literal sense of the word, and to grasp the unconscious analogies and the secret instincts that guide the language in the transformations of meanings

CHAPTER III

HOW WORDS DIE

355 Historical words — 356 General terms — 357 Causes of destruction — 358 How the disappearance of words is effected

The disappearance of words is called, in the study of language, *desuetude* or disuse How and why does this disuse come about?

When words disappear we must distinguish between words which perish because they designate things that disappear, and words which give place to others while

expressing permanent ideas. In the first case there is the loss at once of a fact and of a word, and in the second there is only a change in the expression of a fact which remains

355 HISTORICAL WORDS.—Words which fall out of use with the things which they designate may be said to perish from historic causes. These we may term *historical words*. Thus a whole section of the vocabulary of the Middle Ages has disappeared because it represented things (arms, instruments, coins, garments), institutions, social facts, or ideas (of feudalism, law, learning, &c.), which disappeared with the Middle Ages.

These words can only return to life by the help of historical research, when it causes these vanished objects to reappear and recalls their names to life. Such names, resuscitated by learned investigation, enter into a limited currency within a narrow circle of learned and literary men.

Consequently there must be many names of things which have necessarily disappeared beyond recall when these names have not been preserved in written documents. When, in the discoveries due to archaeological research, such objects are brought to light, we are obliged to give them new names in our absolute ignorance of the old names that denoted them.

Another consequence is that we find in documents a number of words denoting objects of which we cannot comprehend the meanings. Thus we may know that a given word means, for instance, a weapon or a fabric, but not what kind of weapon or fabric. Hence the obscurity which attaches to certain texts of the Middle Ages.

356 GENERAL TERMS.—We have now to ask how words disappear though expressing general and durable ideas. The loss of the word is due to a loss in meaning. First comes decay and then death.

In the healthy state the signification of a word grows and developes without losing anything of its original value. *Arbre* by the side of its primitive meaning takes new meanings as in *arbre de couche* (*shaft*), *arbre genealogique*. *Corps* (*body*) in the same way became *corps de garde, corps d'armee, corps de pompe* (*the barrel of a pump*), *corps de bâtiment* (*a detached set of buildings*), &c

Éclat (*splinter, shard, a fragment struck off by a blow*), whilst preserving its primitive sense, was applied in the 15th century to a sudden noise striking the ear *eclat de voix*, in the 17th century it was applied to light *l'eclat du soleil, des couleurs* (*the brightness of the sun*, &c). These are words in the vigour of health But there are others which already begin to grow feeble, they lose in one way as much as they gain in another

	Obsolete meaning	New meaning
chapeau	garland	hat, bonnet
chetif	captive	weakly
fripon	glutton	rogue
poison	potion, draught	poison

Such is the case with *démanteler une forteresse*—we lose sight of the etymological sense 'to dis-mantle', in *sevrer* (*to wean*) we lose sight of *separer* (from the mother's breast). These are cases of the pathology of the language, since the present meanings of the word are no longer self evident, and can only be explained by a reference to its past history

Lastly, a word dies when all its significations are lost, and it is cast off as mere lumber To realize this we need only turn to the end of the chapter *De quelques usages* in *Les Caractères* of La Bruyère, or to the pages of any Old-French Dictionary

357 CAUSES OF DESTRUCTION —How do the causes of destruction act?

1 Certain words have in themselves germs of death, and in such cases the language replaces them as best it can.

(*a*) In this series may be found, first, words that were *too short or too weak in sound*, and which during the Gallo-Romanic period could not resist the destructive action of phonetic laws Thus Latin words such as *apem* (*bee*), *avem* (*bird*), *opem* (*help*), *ovem* (*sheep*), *ire* (*to go*), *edere* (*to eat*), &c, have given way either to synonyms or to derivatives that were more sonorous and resisting than the original (*abeille, oiseau, secours, brebis, aller, manger*).

(*b*) The signification of the words has often played its part in the matter. We refer to the *fading of the image* awakened by the word Popular language objects to express things in a simple manner, it prefers the use of metaphors, which by comparisons call up a set of ideas and images Now metaphors are short-lived, and wear out quickly, one of the two terms of the comparison being forgotten so that the word may be an exact representative of the object (see § 342)

Hence such substitutions as the following are made

The Latin **caput**, *chef*, was replaced by the coarse, wholly popular, metaphor of **testa** (*potsherd*), which became *tête* [cf the vulgar English *nut*] The word *chef* itself attained a purely abstract signification At the present day in the word *tête* the metaphor is no longer felt, and in the popular language *boule* (*ball*, cf English (*k*)*nob*) is used as a substitute

The Latin word **cutis** (*skin*) has been replaced by **pellis** (*pelt* or *fur*), *peau*

So **gena** (*cheek*) has been replaced by **gabata**, *joue* (properly *porringer*), **pectus** (*chest*) by **pectorina**, *poitrine* (properly *cuirasse*), **crus** (*leg*), in Spain by *perna* (*ham*), in Gaul by **gamba** (*knee-cap*), *jambe* Nowadays the people instead of *jambe* use *quille* (*skittle, nine pin*)

(*c*) Finally, many words have fallen out of use, some having become sacred, others degraded by some special application.

Urbs in Latin designated Rome alone, '*the* City,' that

is, the city *par excellence*, to designate other towns recourse was had to other words **civitatem** became in French *cite*; **villa** (*homestead, steading*) in the Merovingian era became *ville*

Verbum became a sacred word *le Verbe* (*the Word* or *Logos*). The popular tongue dared no longer give it the ordinary meaning of 'word,' but replaced *verbe* in this sense by *parabola* (*sentiment, thought*), turning this term of Christian origin aside from its own meaning, and making its French form, *parole*, the equivalent of the Latin **verbum.**

We pass to examples of the opposite order *Euphemism* arrives at a similar result through the substitution, for a word defiled by an unpleasant or gross idea, of another word which has a harmless signification, and which by a discreet allusion recalls the word we wish to avoid But, by the inevitable progress which we have analyzed, this new word is in its turn gradually penetrated by the old idea and defiled by its contact, and finally disappears, to give place in turn to another synonym which is destined to a similar fate [1]

2 Certain words are overcome by other more fortunate ones, which lay hold of their signification and, as it were, feed on their vitals, and thus cause them to die from exhaustion.

Sometimes the new word comes into use for special reasons, and takes the place of another which might have lived had it not been for the oppression of its neighbour. This is how many popular words have disappeared or changed their meanings owing to the introduction of synonyms of Learned formation which have taken up their original meanings

Popular Forms.	Learned Forms
mûrete (*ripeness*)	*maturite* (*maturity*)
frêlete (*delicacy*)	*fragilite* (*fragility*)

[1] See *The Life of Words*, p 152

geindre (*whimper, wail*)	*gemir* (*groan*)
moutier (*monastery, minster,* obs)	*monastère* (*monastery*)
franchir (*to cross* a boundary)	*liberer* (*to free*)
nager (*to swim*), &c.	*naviguer* (*to sail, navigate,* &c)

The last case cited is the most frequent, but indeed it is often difficult to see why one of two words has disappeared before the other whether the weakness of one has made the strength of the other, or vice versa The process is doubtless a complex succession of actions and reactions

358 How the disappearance of words is effected. At a given moment a generation of men begins to abandon a given word because the idea it denotes is represented by another word The coming generation will be still less familiar with it, and the time will arrive when it will be known only to the aged, who, as they pass away, will carry it with them to the grave Thus disappear provincial dialects (*patois*) and languages Let us suppose this disappearance of words to take place in the popular language except in a few districts here and there, and we get the archaisms of provincial dialects

As a consequence of this process each period has its *antiquated words*, that is words that have grown old and are not in use among the new generation, but only employed by the aged These words we term *archaic*, and unless literary action turns them back into the general stream of the language they are destined to utterly disappear

We must now point out another common kind of archaism, an unconscious one, where the primitive meanings of certain words have only survived in a few special locutions in current use, and where even in these the primitive meanings are no longer recognized

Every one knows that the preposition *en* is the synonym of *dans* But how can we explain *casque* en *tête, portrait*

en *pied*? In this case *en* has preserved the meaning of *sur* that it had in Old French *seoir* en *cheval*, that is sur *un cheval* This use of *en* is an archaism (see Book IV, § 467)

Cueillir (*to cull*) is generally understood to mean 'to pluck or pick' some natural product from a branch or the surface of the soil, however, we say *le marin cueille son cordage en rond, le verrier cueille son verre au bout de sa canne*, these archaisms may be traced back to the primitive sense of *cueillir, to collect* (colligere)

Dépit (*vexation*) signified originally *despite, disdain, contempt*—a forgotten meaning, even in *en dépit de* (*in spite of*), where it is still preserved

Hasard was originally one particular throw (*coup*) in a particular game of dice, a meaning preserved unconsciously in the expression 'c'est un *coup de hasard* (*a chance stroke*),' in which *coup* also is no longer understood

Such expressions as *règne animal, regne vegetal, regne mineral,* show the archaic usage of the word *regne* (*reign*), which may be traced back to the period when *regne* signified *royaume* (*realm, kingdom*) Thus the language contains a number of such expressions which cannot be explained by its present laws, they are simply the débris of earlier formations.

APPENDIX I

DOUBLETS

From the summary history given of the vocabulary we may now detach one very curious fact, namely, the presence in the language of a word in two or more different forms To these forms the name of **doublets** has been given, because as a rule we only find two words of the same etymology, they are also called **divergent forms**

Doublets may be classified according to their origin

1 A Popular Latin word, in consequence of the different actions of phonetic or morphological laws, has led up in some cases to different French words

cathedra { *chaise* / *chaire* } **plicare** { *plier* / *ployer* } **collum** { *col* / *cou* }

gabata { *jatte* / *joue* }

With the changes in such a Latin word, that have given rise to more than one French word, we may compare the analogous phenomenon of a single primitive signification leading up to several new significations by different modes of development

2 A word of Popular Latin in some cases became a French word at the same time that it assumed another form in a neighbouring dialect or language, and in this other form was adopted a second time by French

domina	Fr	*dame*
	Ital	**donna**, Fr (*ma*)*done*, *prima donna*.
	Sp	**dueña**, Fr *duègne*
capsa	Fr	*châsse*
	Prov	**caisso**, Fr *caisse*
tabula	Fr	*table*
	Walloon	**taule**, Fr *tôle*
episcopus	Fr	*évêque*
	Germ	**bischoff**, Fr *bishoff* (name of a beverage)

3. A word introduced through the Popular tongue sometimes appeared a second time through the Learned formation, this is the most frequent case

rationem { *raison* (Pop) / *ration* (Learned) **mobilem** { *meuble* (Pop) / *mobile* (Learned)

fragilem { *frêle* (Pop) / *fragile* (Learned) **rigidum** { *raide* (Pop) / *rigide* (Learned)

4 The Learned formation has in some cases borrowed the same word at different times in different forms

Latin **capitulum**. Learned formation, 9th century, *chapitre*, 18th century, *capitule*

5 A word of Learned formation sometimes reappears in a form borrowed from a foreign language

Latin **titulum** Learned formation, Middle Ages, *titre*, Span tilde, Fr *tilde* (= the sign ~).

6 A foreign word may present itself in two or more forms in succession

Old High German **haribergа** (army-shelter) Fr *alberge*, *auberge* (*inn*)

Middle High German **herbergа** Fr *herberge* (*shelter*, *refuge*), whence *heberger*

In the infinite multiplicity of facts that we find in the history of the French vocabulary through fifteen centuries, where words are born, die, pass from one language to another, often undergo transformations and deformations, and are exposed to countless accidents, this presence of doublets is not to be wondered at, the absence of such divergent forms would be the marvel

APPENDIX II

THE PRINCIPLES OF ETYMOLOGY

We know what are the various sources of the vocabulary

Words of Popular Latin have become the corresponding French words through changes of pronunciation which were so regular as to form the basis of the absolute laws of phonetics This first stock was enriched by means of Popular derivation and composition, by Learned formation, Latin and Greek, by borrowings from foreign languages, thus increasing enor-

mously the originally modest vocabulary of the French tongue Etymological research is but one part of the great inquiry whose aim it is to follow out all forms of the language in their historical development

In former times, before linguistics was constituted as a science, this research was usually a mere intellectual pastime, more or less ingenious or learned, and which aimed at determining, not so much whence a word came, as whence it might have come It was a domain open to all the fancies and vagaries of hypothesis At the present day it has become a rigorous science whose aim is to demonstrate, documents in hand, the derivation of each word from some other word The following rules govern this science

1 The word must be taken in its earliest form and its earliest signification, as they are found in the oldest documents where it occurs As it may have changed both in form and in sense from that time to ours, to start from the present form and meaning of the word is wilfully to throw oneself in the way of error

2 The word in its primitive form may suggest a certain hypothesis If it is supposed to be derived from the Latin, the Latin term must have followed the laws of phonetic change in its transformation into the modern form There can be no exception unless one that can itself be justified by phonetics

3 Agreement of form is not sufficient There must be agreement of sense Should the etymological signification not be that of the word in question, the deviation of sense must be justified by direct proofs, or by analogous exceptions

4 Should the word be connected with a foreign source, a historical explanation of the migration of the word into the language must be sought out This importation having taken place at some definite time and place, historical research should reveal these conditions of time and place

For instance, a Picard word might be traced to Flemish, a Gascon word to Basque, but to pretend that a given Picard word comes from Basque, or a given Gascon word from Flemish, would be such a subversion of the natural order of things that it could only be admitted on the strongest proof, on unimpeachable evidence of the path followed step by step by the foreign word Certain scholars have derived French from Hebrew, pointing out likenesses between certain French roots

and analogous Hebrew roots. These could only prove that there was a mere casual approximation of sound between the two sets of roots But to conclude therefrom that French comes from Hebrew is quite another matter First, it would be necessary to demonstrate that Hebrew had been introduced into Gaul, that the Gallo-Romans were acquainted with Hebrew, and that through consecutive changes it was transformed into French It is quite unnecessary to refute assertions of this kind

To sum up, etymological research should be founded solely on proofs derived from the history of the language, the etymologies thus found must not contradict the laws of phonetics, nor those of the general formation of words, they must strictly correspond with the primitive signification of the terms in question, they must be in accordance with the general development of the language The first appearance of a word is a historical fact which must be made out by historical proofs

This study is therefore a purely scientific process, in which imagination must give way to strict criticism, aided by trustworthy and extensive information A long course of reading of ancient texts, a thorough knowledge of the foreign languages which may have acted upon French, a sound knowledge of the Romance languages, including their most obscure dialects, a comparative method, which in the absence of direct documents is able to utilize all affinities with both languages and dialects these are what science demands from one who wishes to make a serious study of French etymology

BOOK IV

SYNTAX

INTRODUCTION

359. SYNTAX AND THE STUDY OF SYNTAX.—Words are formed to express ideas. But as we do not think in isolated ideas, but in judgements, which are combinations of ideas, we speak, not in isolated words, but in sentences. Words are therefore combined in a certain order, determined by the character of the particular language and the modes of speech which it adopts.

That part of the grammar which treats of this order of words has received the name of **Syntax**, from the Greek **Syntaxis** (combined arrangement[1]).

Syntax is consequently that part of grammar which penetrates most deeply into the analysis of thought, since it has for its object the combination of words to express thought.

It may be either didactic or historical.

In *Didactic Syntax* we set forth the laws which at present govern the combination of words.

In *Historical Syntax* we seek to explain the present usages of the language by examining former usages.

In a sentence words are connected with one another by

[1] From *σύν* 'with,' and *τάξις* 'arrangement.' The stem of *taxis* is seen in the word 'tactics.'

a series of relations which may be classed under two chief heads relations of **co-ordination** and relations of **subordination**

The former comprise all the particular relations of agreement between the substantive and the adjective, and between the subject and the verb The latter include all relations of dependence, those of subject to object, of a principal proposition to dependent or subordinate propositions [1]

In the last case, the relations may offer various degrees of complexity, as subordinate propositions may be connected with the principal ones in various degrees, while each proposition may be either simple or compound, positive or negative, direct or interrogative

The complexity of the facts of syntax is such that every element of the proposition requires to be considered in its most varied aspects and correlated with other series of facts

On the other hand, it is necessary to follow the language in its historical development

Finally, in the analysis of detail we must never lose sight of the general logical principles by which Syntax is governed

Hence our exposition of this part of the grammar must be treated from three different points of view If we merely follow the logical order, which would appear to be simple enough, we soon lose sight of the historical development, and are lost in an infinite multiplicity of details of the language If we consider each part of speech and study its historical development separately, we lose sight of the general laws of thought which govern the Syntax

If, finally, we start from Latin Syntax, and seek to follow the transformation of the sentence through the

[1] [The word *proposition* in French is used to denote a grammatical sequence of words containing the finite form of a verb The word has been used in the same sense in the translation]

course of time, until we reach the sentence in Modern French, we are checked by an endless number of scientific problems, most of which have not yet been solved

Such are the difficulties we find in our efforts for a presentment of the facts, at once scientific, clear, and precise

To solve these difficulties we should divide up our task, we should first establish the general principles of logic by which Syntax is governed, and then study each part of speech in its historical development

But these principles of logic are exposed in so many good grammars that we need only refer the student to these works[1]

We shall therefore proceed with the historical development of the Syntax of each of the parts of speech, and then consider the order of words in the sentence

[1] See Ayer, *Grammaire comparée de la langue française*, 4th edition Geneva and Lyons, 1885 [also Sweet, *New English Grammar*, part I, Clarendon Press, 1892, and Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, Macmillan & Co, 1892].

CHAPTER I

THE SUBSTANTIVE

360 The substantive

I Gender —361 The genders.

II Number —362 Plural of proper nouns —363 Plural of compound nouns —364 Plural of abstract nouns —365 Plural of concrete nouns taken in a general sense —365 a Distributive singular —366 Nouns used only in the plural

360 The substantive —I The substantive may be either the subject, the predicate, or the object of the verb **Pierre** *est bon* *Il est* **philosophe** *Aimons nos* **parents**

It may be replaced in these various functions (1) by an adjective taken substantively we have already mentioned this substitution (Book II, § 123, I, and Book III, § 305) which is becoming more and more frequent at the present day *le* **vague** *de ses pensees* (*the* **vagueness** *of his thoughts*); (2) by a pronoun (Book III, § 307) *le* **moi** *est haissable* (*the* **I** *is hateful*), (3) by an infinitive (§ 308, IV) **mentir** *est un peche* (**to lie** *is a sin*), (4) either by a present participle or a past participle taken substantively (§ 308, I and II) *les* **aboutissants**, *un* **insurgé**, (5) by an indeclinable word (§ 309) *le* **dedans**, *les* **que**, *des* **holà**, (6) by a proposition **ceux qui liront** *ce livre* instead of *les lecteurs de ce livre*

II The substantive is subject to two kinds of declension, declension in **gender** and declension in **number.**

I Gender

361 The genders —The theory of gender has been explained in the study of French morphology (Book II,

§§ 151–165). We there examined not only the origin of French genders, but also the changes in gender introduced by certain syntactic uses It was impossible to eliminate these particular cases from the study of the general theory, and in examining the forms we were obliged to work out their syntax

With regard to number, on the contrary, we find that the theory of the plural depends in most cases on syntax and not on morphology

II Number

362 PLURAL OF PROPER NOUNS —Proper nouns of every kind followed in number the rule of common nouns in the Old Language and Middle French, and all took the sign of the plural[1] This usage was preserved down to the 17th century, and the original editions of the great writers show the almost constant application of this rule to proper names of persons or countries, whether used literally or figuratively Racine still writes *comparables aux Eschyles, aux Sophocles, aux Euripides, dont la fameuse Athenes ne s'honore pas moins que des Themistocles, des Péricles, des Alcibiades qui vivoient en même temps* (*comparable to the Aeschylus', the Sophocles', the Euripides', of whom famous Athens is no less proud than of the Themistocles', the Pericles', and the Alcibiades' who lived at the same time*) (IV 360)

However, we find from that time onwards that certain writers, and especially grammarians, show a tendency to make a distinction between the cases where the personal proper name designates the individual, and those where it designates a class of individuals The authors of the *Grammaire de Port-Royal* [1660] observed that if, exceptionally, the proper names of persons are sometimes put in the plural, as in *les Cesars, les Alexandres, les Platons,*

[1] Save, in some cases, foreign names whose form in the language they came from denoted the plural Thus we find in the 16th century *les Valachi* side by side with *les Stroszis, les Médicis*

it is merely by figure of speech, in order to comprehend all persons who resemble the person whose name is used

This theory passed definitely into practice in the 18th century But, as it was in contradiction with the habits of the language, all sorts of difficulties arose, and they are still the source of vain struggle amongst grammarians.

According to the new theory, proper names of individuals and families are not in general declined in the plural; and only take the sign of the plural when they refer to the several members of a family Thus we find les *Corneilles etaient de race bourgeoise* But then why do we say *les deux Corneille etaient freres*? For what number of individuals must we begin to use the plural? On the other hand, it is said that an **s** should be affixed in the case of either a royal or an illustrious family les *Gracques*, *les Cesars*, *les Bourbons*, *les Stuarts* But at what degree of distinction does the rule begin to apply? We say, indeed, *les Bonaparte*, should we say *les deux Carnot* or *les deux Carnots*?

Again, why should the exceptions extend to the names of authors used to designate their works *avoir plusieurs Virgiles* (editions of Virgil), *plusieurs Raphaels* (paintings by Raphael), and to geographical names *il y a plusieurs Cambridges en Amerique*?

This multiplicity of clashing and mutually destructive rules, which are mostly contradicted by the practice of writers, has arisen because grammarians have ignored the tendencies of the language, and have substituted logical for grammatical rules

[The Latin scientific names of genera and species of animals and plants are not declined **Les** Blatta *sont des Insectes*, **les** Rubus *ou Ronces sont des Rosacees* Similarly foreign names of things are not declined in the plural so long as their foreign nature is felt]

363 PLURAL OF COMPOUND NOUNS —When compound

nouns are reduced by usage to simple words, there is no difficulty whatever; they are declined like simple nouns

When, on the contrary, usage has kept the component elements separate, the various kinds of composition must be considered severally in order to determine the rules for the formation of their plurals

I In juxtapositions formed of a noun and an adjective, both elements are naturally declined *des basses tailles*, (*bas-reliefs*, *barytones*), *des coffres-forts* (*strong-boxes*)

In juxtapositions formed of two nouns, where the second depends on the first (Book III, § 281), naturally the first alone is declined *des boîtes a lait*, *des moulins a vent*

In figurative juxtapositions, that is such as imply a metonymy, a metaphor, or a synecdoche, it is again evident that the several constituents must be declined as if they were taken in their literal sense *des rouges gorges*[1] (*redbreasts*), *des pieds plats* (*low fellows*), *des becs-de-cane* (*duckbills*), &c

Certain grammarians, not understanding this formation, have asserted that such words as *rouge gorge* should be indeclinable in the plural If this rule held good we should have to write *Voila deux gros mangeur* (*there are two big eaters*, *ce sont deux bonne fourchette* (*they are two valiant trenchermen*), or *quelles mauvaise tête* (*obstinate-tempers*) *que ces enfants!*—which is not the practice

II. In compounds formed by apposition both terms are declined alike, since the one term qualifies the other *des chefs-lieux*

The noun is *usually* declined in compounds formed

(1) by a verb and a noun *des chausse trapes* (*calthrops*, *gins*), *des prête-noms*

(2) by an adverb and a noun *des arriere cours*, *des avant-coureurs*.

[1] *Rouge gorge* (redbreast), *rouge aile* (redwing), *rouge queue* (redstart), having really become simple words, as we see by the change of gender [from feminine to masculine, the correct plurals should be les *rouge-gorges*, les *rougeailes*, les *rougequeues*]

(3) by a preposition and a noun: *des sous-lieutenants.*

In the first case it is sometimes necessary to analyze the idea: it is evident that the noun should remain in the singular when it designates an object which is by its nature singular *abat-jour* (*lamp-shade*), *casse-tête* (*life-preserver, puzzle*), *gagne-pain* (*livelihood*), *passe-temps, prie-Dieu,* &c.[1]

Inversely, the noun always takes the **s** even in the singular, when the idea of plurality is inherent in it *un couvre-pieds*[2] (*coverlet*), un *essuie-mains* (*towel*)

Finally, both elements are indeclinable in compounds formed of indeclinable words in set phrases *des branle-bas* (*commotions*), *des on-dit* (*rumours*), &c

364 PLURAL OF ABSTRACT NOUNS.—In general, abstract nouns do not take the sign of the plural except when used in a concrete sense *faire* **des politesses** (*acts of politeness*), or when they show the idea expressed in more than one aspect *Il y a plusieurs espèces de* **libertés**, *de* **courages**

But we must note that Latin had already a tendency to put abstract nouns in the plural *iniae, mortes, risus, odia,* &c This tendency is seen from the earliest periods of the French language

> E *endurer e grans* **cals** *e grans* **freis**
> (*Rol* l 1011)
> (And to endure great heats and great colds)

It became accentuated in the classical period 'It is noteworthy,' says Ménage, 'that poetry, being hyperbolical, delights in plurals, and that plurals contribute not a little to sublimity of speech' But it was not poets

[1] Note the peculiar exception *des gardes-chasse* (*gamekeepers*), *des gardes-malade* (*sick-nurses*), where the verb is by some changed into a substantive and given the *s* for the alleged reason that it designates a person, a keeper, *garde* always remains a verb when the composite noun designates an instrument, or an object *des garde-manger* (*meat-safes*), *des garde-robes* (*wardrobes*)

[2] The Dict. of the Academy, however, gives *un couvre-pied* without the **s**.

alone who extended this usage, it is almost a charac teristic of the prose of the 17th century We shall only quote three very curious examples from Mme de Sévigné *Il a des* **bontés** *d'Henri* IV . . *et des* **justices** *de Sylla* (*he shows* **kindnesses** [*worthy*] *of Henri* IV, *and* **justices**, *of Sylla*) (VI 208) *Mon fils a des* **besoins** *de moi tres pressants* (*my son has very urgent* **needs** *of me*) (II 505) *Les* **confiances** *a un homme qu'on croyait habile* (*the* **reliances** *on a man who was thought to be clever*) (VII 113)

The writers of the 19th century, without the same regard for nobility of diction, have carried the practice to excess, words whose idea is essentially abstract, such as *abnegation, amour propre, avidite, desesperance, desespoir, enivrement, enthousiasme, fanatisme, fluidite, infelicite, inquietude, lassitude, probite, susceptibilite, vehemence,* &c, are constantly used in the plural

On the whole, the actual boundary which in Old French separated abstract nouns from concrete nouns in respect of number tends more and more to disappear

365 PLURAL OF CONCRETE NOUNS TAKEN IN A GENERAL SENSE —Concrete nouns expressing material objects may designate either the genus or the species in *manger du* **fruit**, *fruit* designates the genus, in *manger des* **fruits**, *fruit* designates the species The language uses genus as easily as species, and this is one of the characteristics of French, we say indiscriminately *les* **blés** *ont reussi cette annee* and *le* **blé** *a reussi cette annee*

Now, when a material noun (Book II, § 132) forms part of the complement of another substantive we may be uncertain, in the absence of an article, whether it is used in a general or a specific sense in *gelee de groseille* (*red-currant-jelly*), should *groseille* be in the singular or the plural? Until the 19th century this problem was left undecided in either sense the Dictionaries of the Academy for the years 1798 and 1835 give *pâte d'amande* and

d'amandes, *gelee de pomme* and *marmalade de pommes*, *un pied d'œillets* and *d'œillet* (*a plant of clove-pink*). The grammars of the present day have established distinctions which are mostly arbitrary Usually the sense shows whether we have to deal with genus or species *de l'eau de rose*, *un bouquet de roses*, *il vit de poisson et de legumes* (*he lives on fish and vegetables*)

When the sense is not apparent, we are at liberty to leave the word in the singular, whatever the grammarians may say *Des etoffes de toute sorte* is as permissible as *des etoffes de toutes sortes* And, as a matter of fact, French generally prefers to express the genus rather than the species.

[**365a** Distributive singular

We have a case analogous to the one last dealt with when a substantive designates a number of similar objects belonging or referring singly to each and every one of people or things previously expressed *les petales des Renoncules possedent* **une écaille** *a* **la base** (*the petals of Buttercups have a scale at the base*) This use is more frequent in French than in English However, there is often a delicate distinction of idea between the singular and the plural, if it is correct to say *Les soldats français sont armes* **du fusil** *Lebel*, which is even preferable to *armes de* **fusils** *Lebel*, we can only use the plural in *ils avaient pour chasser* **des carabines** *dernier systeme* (*they had rifles of the newest pattern for sport*), the former statement involving a more general, the latter a more individual idea So we say either *mes enfants sont revenus de classe* **le tablier déchiré**, or **les tabliers déchirés**, but only *ils ont*, *ils portent*, **des tabliers déchirés** The use of the distributive singular and of the plural respectively depends on the shade of thought, to analyze which is often a very delicate task.]

366 Nouns used only in the plural — A certain number of substantives in Latin were used only in the

plural. Some of these substantives have passed into French: *annales* (*annals*), *obsèques* (*obsequies*), *ténèbres* (*shades, darkness*). French, like English, has followed the Latin tradition. In general these words express objects which are essentially either plural or collective: *affres* (*terrors*), *armoiries* (*armorial bearings*), *décombres* (*ruins*), *dépens* (*expenses*), *hardes* (*clothes*), *matériaux* (*materials*), *vêpres* (*vespers*).

We must note apart the words in *-ailles*, where it seems that the idea of plurality involved in the Latin type INTRALIA, FUNERALIA, has introduced the plural into the modern forms *accordailles* (*betrothal*), *entrailles* (*entrails*), *épousailles* (*espousals*), *fiançailles* (*betrothal*), *funérailles* (*funeral*), &c. Remark, however, that in conformity with phonetic rule these words in Old French have not the **s**. *broussaille, entraille, funeraille.*

Other nouns are used in the singular in a different meaning from that which they have in the plural: *ciseaux* (sing *chisel*, pl *scissors*), *lunettes* (sing *spyglass, telescope*, pl *spectacles*), *mouchettes* (sing *moulding plane*, pl *snuffers*). In the Old language the plural forms were preceded by the plural of *un*: *unes fourches* (O F = *gallows*, *fourche* = *fork*), *uns ciseaus* (*a pair of scissors*), *unes letres* (Mod F *une lettre*, in the sense of *a written communication*; the singular formerly designating only a *letter of the alphabet*). (Cf Book II, p 194, note 1, also below, § 379.)

CHAPTER II

THE ADJECTIVE

367 Uses of the adjective.—368 Agreement of the adjective —369 Adjective qualifying several substantives —370 Adjectives which agree irregularly, or do not agree, with the substantive —371 Agreement of adjectives qualifying other adjectives —372 Names of colour used as adjectives —373 Degrees of comparison —374 Comparative —375 Superlative absolute —376 Superlative relative

367 USES OF THE ADJECTIVE —The adjective may be replaced (1) by a substantive, without an article, preceded by the preposition **de** *une maison royale, une maison* **de roi**, (2) by a periphrase *la gent* **trotte-menue** (see Book III, p 442), *une beaute* **sans pareille**, (3) by a relative proposition *des personnes charmantes, des personnes* **qui charment**

For the first case, modern usage has established a nearly constant difference in sense between the adjective and the combination of preposition and substantive In fact, the tendency of the language has been, since its beginning, to use the combination especially as an equivalent of the adjective of kind, employed in Latin, to show (1) the *origin* **bestiae aquatiles**, Fr *quadrupèdes d'eau*, or (2) the *material* **statua argentea**, *statue d'argent*, or (3) the *animal or vegetal species* **lac asininum**, *lait d'ânesse*, **glandes quernae**, *glands de chêne*, or (4) the *time* **menses hiberni**, *mois d'hiver*, **dies festus**, *jour de fête*, or (5) the *place* **pugna Cannensis**, *la bataille de Cannes*, &c Latin had a great variety of adjective suffixes, all of which disappeared in Popular Latin before **-inum** and **-atum** Hence came in the Middle Ages a certain number of

adjectives of kind, such as· *chesnin* (*de chêne = oaken*), *fraisnin* (*de frêne = ashen*), *ivorin* (*d'ivoire = ivory*), *marbrin* (*de marbre = marble*), *perrin* (*de pierre = stone*), *terrin* (*de terre = earthen*), *ore* (*dore, d'or = golden*). In the Chanson de Roland, side by side with expressions which present the modern usage, as *hanstes* (Mod F *hampes = shafts*) **de fraisne** *et* **de pumier** (Mod F *pommier*) (l 2537), and *helmes* **d'acer** (*steel helmets*) (l. 2540), we find *hanste* **fraisnine** (l 720), **l'oree** *bucle* (Mod F *la boucle d'or*) (l 1283) For a long time *l'âge* **doré** was in use, and we still find in Malherbe *l'âge* **ferré** On the other hand, the translations of the Latin authors gave currency to a host of adjectives of kind, such as *maritime, terrestre, canin, lupin, ovin, nocturne, diurne, virginal, servile,* &c. Finally, in the 16th century certain writers, especially Rabelais, attempted to increase the number of these. But their example was not followed, and most adjectives of Learned formation introduced into the language from the 12th century onward have given way to the combination of the substantive with the preposition *de.* Many of the adjectives of kind that have survived have been utilized to express some peculiar shade of expression we say *du lait de brebis* (*ewe's milk*), but *la race ovine*, une *poule d'eau* (*water-hen*), but *la race aquatique*, on the other hand, *une plume d'or* (*a feather of gold*) and *l'âge de fer* (*the Iron Age*) exist side by side with *plume doree* (*a golden* or *gilded feather*) and *souliers ferres* (*hobnailed shoes*).

The number of adjectives of kind may increase in the language of science, it can only diminish in the current tongue, the creations of certain living writers who wish the language to grow backwards are not likely to last.

368. AGREEMENT OF THE ADJECTIVE —The Latin adjective agreed with its substantive in gender, number, and case. This rule was followed in Old French, which still possessed two cases. In the Modern language, which has

lost the idea of case, this rule is reduced to the concord of gender and number

The rule presents two kinds of anomaly. the first concerns the adjective qualifying several substantives; the second concerns certain adjectives that do not necessarily agree with their substantives

369. ADJECTIVE QUALIFYING SEVERAL SUBSTANTIVES — I When one adjective determines several singular substantives, or several plural substantives of different genders, the Old language, in conformity with Latin tradition, could freely make the adjective agree with one of the substantives, the one nearest We meet with this freedom even in the writers of the 17th century *un ordre et un habit* **particulier** (*a peculiar order and habit*) (Rac IV 405) *Joie et tristesse* **attachée** *a la vie* (*joy and sadness attaching to life*) (id VI 213) *Il y a de petites regles, des devoirs, des bienseances* **attachées** *aux lieux, aux temps et aux personnes* (*there are little rules, duties, and proprieties pertaining to* [*different*] *times, places, and persons*) (La Bruy II 95) We still use the legal phrase *certificat de* **bonne** *vie et mœurs* for a certificate of good conduct and character Malherbe was the first to lay down the modern rule the attributive adjective must be in the plural when qualifying several singular substantives, and in the masculine if these substantives are of different genders Vaugelas and the Academy both confirmed this theory (though retaining certain consecrated expressions, such as *le cœur et la bouche* **ouverte** (*open in heart and speech*), *les pieds et la tête* **nue** (*bare-head and bare-foot*)) We must therefore say —

Son honneur et sa gloire **entiers.**
Sa gloire et son honneur **entiers.**
Des dignites et des titres **mérités.**
Des titres et des dignites **mérités.**

Our present grammars also admit some few exceptions, as when the substantives are really synonymous terms, or

when they follow one another directly without a conjunction Il *a une aménité, une douceur* **enchanteresse.** But in reality these exceptions are only archaisms.

II. The Old language also had the option of using a single determinant adjective before several substantives, where each seems to require a separate determinant. and it could indiscriminately make this adjective agree with the first of the substantives or with all of them. So, even in the 17th century we have **La** *justice, probite, prudence, valeur et temperance sont toutes qualites qui . . .* (*justice, probity, prudence, valour, and temperance are all qualities that*) (Malh II 98) **L'***ingratitude et peu de soin que* . (*the ingratitude and little care that*) (id. I 286) **Ses** *domestiques, carrosses, chariots et toute sorte d'equipage* (*his servants, carriages, carts, and all kinds of equipage*) (La Rochef. III 122). We still say [in legal formulas] · *en* **mon** *âme et conscience* (literally translated in Scotland *on soul and conscience*), *en* **son** *lieu et place* (*in due time and place*), **ses** *pere et mère* (*his* [or *her*] *father and mother*). But in all other cases the present language imperatively demands the division of ideas and the repetition of determinants with each substantive, e g *La justice, la valeur, la tempérance sont* &c

The same liberty was formerly allowed when two adjectives qualified one substantive so as to designate two distinct things The Old language used indifferently **la** *langue anglaise et française* and **les** *langues anglaise et française* Modern grammarians have ruled that the adjective takes the law from the substantive instead of imposing it thereon, and that we should say **la** *langue anglaise et* **la** *française* [or *la langue anglaise et la langue française*]

370. ADJECTIVES WHICH AGREE IRREGULARLY, OR DO NOT AGREE, WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE —

Autre and **chacun** These two adjectives were freely

used in the masculine in the 17th century, even when applying to a woman

J'etais un peu honteuse
*Qu'*un autre *en temoignât plus de ressentiment* (Corn I 228)
(I was a little ashamed that another [woman than I] should display more feeling thereat)

Monsieur, vous me prenez pour un autre, *sans doute* (Rac II 172)
(Sir, you take me for someone else, no doubt)

Je marche tout comme un autre (Sév VII p 365)
(I walk just like anyone else)

In the three examples above, *un autre* refers to a woman. —*Ici les trois princesses prennent* chacun *un fauteuil* (*here the three princesses take each an armchair*) (Corn. V 426) The edition of 1660 changed *chacun* into *chacune*, and this agreement is adopted in modern usage for both *chacun* and *autre*

Demi In Old and Middle French *demi* agreed with the substantive, whether it preceded or followed it *Duze* demies *hures* (*twelve half-hours*) (Ph de Thaon, *Cumpoz*, l 2073) We find numerous examples of this in the 17th century, and La Bruyère still writes *une* demie *lieue* (II 261) But Vaugelas had already enunciated and gained acceptance for the modern rule that *demi* remains indeclinable when it precedes the substantive [though not when it follows it] It is hard to explain the reason of this distinction No doubt there was a confusion with other compounds of *mi* (*mid*) which had become either adverbs or prepositions *enmi* (*amid*), *parmi* Besides we find *demi* in Old French sometimes used as an adverb

Demi *Espagne vos vuelt en fieu doner* (*Rol* l 432)
(Half Spain he wishes to give you in fee)

Ains eussies alle bien demi *liue a pié* (Gui de Bourgogne, l 3129)
(Then you would have gone a good half-league afoot)

Malherbe, writing *des* demi *hommes*, and Racine *la* demi *pique*, *une* demi *portee*, also doubtless considered *demi* in these instances as the first half of a compound word.

Nu. In Old and Middle French *nu* also agreed with the substantive, whether it preceded or followed it. We still find this licence in the 17th century: *elle y alla* **nus** *pieds comme toutes les religieuses* (*she went there bare-foot like all nuns*) (Rac. iv. 509), Marivaux in 1733 still wrote: *Je suis* **nue** *tête* (*I am bare-headed*) (*Marianne*, 3e partie) It is in Malherbe that for the first time we find an example of the present orthography, he asserts that we may say by elision *nu-tête* and *nu jambes* instead of *nue tête* and *nues jambes*. Vaugelas and the Academy made this elision obligatory Like *demi*, **nu**, placed before a substantive, has thenceforward been considered as the first element of a compound word, and, making an integral part thereof, was therefore undeclined. The two exceptions to the rule, **nue**-*propriete* (*ownership in fee-simple*) and **nus**-*proprietaires* (*owners in fee-simple*), are real archaisms, whatever grammarians may say, who explain the agreement in this case by the fact that *nu* is here taken figuratively

Feu (*late, deceased*) This adjective, which in Old French was *fedut, feu*, came from **fatutus**, the derivative of the Latin word **fatum** (*destiny*), (he who has fulfilled his destiny, who is dead, cf **defunctus**) It originally agreed with the substantive, whatever its place might be. But in the 16th century this word was confounded with the Italian *fu* (from the Latin **fuit** = it *has been*, it *has ceased to exist*), used in the same sense, so that they came to write *le tien* **fut** *pere*, instead of *le tien* **feu** *père* (*thy late father*) In consequence of this confusion the grammarians of the 17th century decided that *feu* should be indeclinable. Some, however, were more subtle, having noticed in certain authors of importance examples where *feu* happened to precede the substantive and to be declined, they admitted that this so-called adverb should agree with the substantive when it immediately preceded it Hence the absurd modern inconsistency of writing **feu** *la reine* and la **feue** *reine*

Même. According to the present grammars, *même*, showing identity (in the sense of *same*), is always declinable When *même* modifies an adjective, a verb, or an adverb (= *only, even*), it is not declined But should it, in the sense of *even, self*, correspond to the Latin **ipse**, and expressly designate either the person or object spoken of, the matter is not so simple When it follows several plural substantives it is not declined When it follows a single plural substantive it is declined or not, at will, provided the sense would allow it to be placed before the noun Finally, when it follows a personal pronoun it is always declined. Whence comes this strange multiplicity of rules?

Même was used at will both in Old and Middle French, as an adjective (*same*) and as an adverb (*even*) As an adverb it might take the adverbial suffix *-s* (Book II, § 259) and determine, not only a verb, but also a substantive or a pronoun

Thus in the 17th century Corneille could write: *Moi* **mêmes** *a mon tour* (*even I in my turn*) (IV 235, corrected in the edition of 1660 to *Je ne sais plus moi* **même**) Vaugelas proposed a distinction for *mesme* used as an adverb 'When it is with a singular noun,' he said, 'I should like to put *mesmes* with the **s**, and when it is with a plural noun I should like to put *mesme* without the **s**, in each case to avoid ambiguity, and to prevent *mesmes*, the adverb, being taken for *mesme*, the pronoun' (I p 81). Thus, according to Vaugelas, we should write *les choses* **mesme** *que je vous ai dites* and *la chose* **mesmes** *que je vous ai dite* (*the very things*—or *thing—I told you*) Consequently, he considered it a solecism to put the **s** when *même* was an adjective and agreed with a noun or pronoun in the plural *eux-mêmes, elles-mêmes* This odd distinction was not admitted. Boileau still wrote *des discours* **mesmes** *academiques* (*even academic discourses*) (*Ép* VIII l. 58), and, on the other hand, some poets of the same period, Malherbe and

Racine, for instance, still continued to write *eux*-**même**, *elles*-**même**

Les immortels eux-**même** *en sont persécutés* (Malh I 278)
(The immortals themselves by them are persecuted)

Va, mais nous-**même**, *allons, précipitons nos pas* (Rac II 539)
(Go thou, but come, let us ourselves hasten our steps)

But the grammarians of the 18th century, in ignorance of the rule of the adverbial -s, lost their way amid examples which appeared to them self-contradictory; and, whilst decreeing generally the indeclinability of *même* as an adverb, and the declinability of *même* as an adjective, they failed to establish with precision the distinction between the cases where it is an adverb and those where it is an adjective Hence the inconsistencies of the present rules

Quel que; Quelque We must distinguish the simple adjective, *quelque*, from the compound adjective, *quel que* We shall begin with the latter

I *Quel que* The present grammarians distinguish in general (1) a conjunctive adjective *quel que* (*whatever*) in **quel qu'***il soit*, (2) an indefinite adjective *quelque* (*whatever, whatsoever*) in **quelques** *vains lauriers que promette la guerre* (*whatever barren laurels war may promise*); and (3) an indefinite adverb, *quelque* (*however*), in **quelque** *bons musiciens qu'ils soient* (*however good they may be as musicians*) We shall see that in their history these three constructions have a common origin and do not belong to different categories

Just as it now uses *tel que*, French originally used *quel que* this compound adjective, in sense corresponding to the Latin **quicunque, qualiscunque** (*whatever*), being employed in subordinate sentences to express a concession

Quel *part* **qu'***il alt* (*aille*), *ne poet* (*peut*) *mie cair* (*choir*)
(*Rol* l 2034)
(Where'er he go, he cannot fall)

In this construction *quel* is the determinant adjective; *que* is the relative pronoun (= *that*, which may be found in

analogous phrases · *malheureux* que *nous sommes*; *le sot* qu'*il est*) The adjective *quel*, naturally expressing some doubt about the nature of the subject, involved the use of the subjunctive at an early period[1]. This construction, with *quel* *que*, maintained its vigour during the whole of the Middle Ages, and is met with even in the 16th century

Le musc et l'ambre gris par quel *lieu* qu'*elle passe*
Laissent d'elle longtemps une odorante trace
(Du Bartas, *Judith*, IV)
(Where'er she passes, musk and ambergris
Long leave behind her a perfumed trace)

It still occurs in Molière *En* quel *lieu* que *ce soit* (*wherever it be*) (III 92)

But it had become rare in the 17th century, and Vaugelas opposed it 'If between *quelle* and *que* there are some separating syllables, we must then say *quelque* and not *quelle* for instance, quelque *enfin* que *puisse estre la cause* (*whatever, in fine, may be the cause*), and not quelle *enfin* que *puisse estre la cause* (I 55)'

This construction *quelque* *que*, instead of *quel* *que*, which Vaugelas advocated, had indeed made its appearance in the language at an early period

En quelque *leu* que *ele soit* (*Chev au lion*, l 4346)
(Wherever she may be)

En quelque *lieu* que *il alassent* (*in whatever place they should go*) (Villeh 13) No doubt it was introduced through the analogical action of those cases where *quel*, not determining a substantive, was immediately followed by *que* *quel qu'il soit*, *quelle qu'elle fût*, and also of such not infrequent elliptical constructions as *à quel que peine*, *à quel qu'ennui*, *qu'il eût* Consequently they began to write quel que ,

[1] We here and there find the indicative in texts of the Middle Ages *Et quels bestes que je* voloie (*and whatever beasts I wanted*) (*Chrest*, Bartsch, 256, 10), *Or chevauchiez quel part que vous voulez* (*now ride whithersoever you will*) (*Menest. de Reims*, § 383)

putting directly after *quel* the pronoun *que*, which was originally separated from it by a substantive.

Quiex que *meffaiz*
Cil las de chevaliers ait faiz (G. de Coincy, p. 497)
(Whate'er ill deeds that villain may have done to knights)

Then arose the habit of repeating the pronoun *que* quelque *part* que *j'aille* In the 17th century this new construction decidedly supplanted the older one[1].

But the latter has left some traces in the language of the present day (1) *Quel* is still necessarily separated from *que* in the idiom, which is however not much used *Quel des deux partis que vous choisissiez, vous aurez tort* (*whichever of the two sides you choose, you will be wrong*) (2) Although it is next to *que* it is still treated as if it were separate when it is the predicate of the neuter verbs *être, paraître, sembler,* &c *Quelle que paraisse sa puissance, quelle que soit sa cause* (*however may seem his power, whatever be his cause*) In this case Vaugelas would have preferred to write *quelque*

In all other cases, since the 16th century, *quel* and *que* have formed a single word, *quelque*, which at first, contrary to present usage, took the sign of the plural as well before adjectives as before substantives, of this there are numerous examples

. *et n'oser de ses feux,*
Quelques ardents qu'ils soient, se promettre autant qu'eux,
(Corn VII 400)

(And not to dare to hope as much from one's love as they from theirs, however ardent it may be)

Quelques grands principes qu'on eût a Port-Royal (*however high were their principles at Port-Royal*) (Rac IV. 501). *Quelques mechants que soient les hommes* (*however wicked men may be*) (La Rochef I 206)

But the grammarians of the 17th century established

[1] Patru [1604–1681] went further and wished to extend the repetition of *que* to all cases According to him, just as we say *quelque grand que vous soyez*, we should say *quelque* que *puisse être la cause*

a distinction for *quelque* placed before an attributive adjective. Where it refers to both a substantive and its adjective jointly, so as to suggest doubt with regard to either the species or its quality, it is declined

Mais, quelques vains lauriers que promette la guerre,
On peut être heros sans ravager la terre.

(Boileau, *Ép* 1, l 93)

(But, whatever empty laurels war may promise, one may be a hero without ravaging the earth)

If, on the contrary, *quelque* only determines the adjective and indicates degree or extent, in the sense of '*à quelque point que*,' '*à quelque degre que*,' it should be treated as an adverb and not declined **quelque** *bons musiciens qu'ils soient, ils ne pourront executer ce morceau* (*however good they may be as musicians, they will not be able to play this piece*) This is still the rule at the present day

II *Quelque* Beside *quelque* formed from the determinant *quel*, there is an adjective *quelque* formed from the Popular Latin **qualis quam**, which signifies 'several, some' It takes the sign of the plural *quelques uns* The grammarians of the 17th century arbitrarily made it an indeclinable adverb when it precedes a numeral, pretending that *quelque* has there the sense of the adverb '*environ*' (*about*) **quelque** *dix mille hommes* (**some** *ten thousand men*) But it is not rare to find a concord in the great writers even in this sense **quelques** *soixante ans* (Rac II 163).

371 AGREEMENT OF ADJECTIVES QUALIFYING OTHER ADJECTIVES —In Old and Middle French every adjective qualifying another adjective or a participle, instead of remaining indeclinable and being treated as an adverb, was declined in gender and number as if it determined a substantive, as in *une femme* **demie** *morte* (*a half dead woman*), *des œufs* **durs** *cuits* (*hard-boiled eggs*), *des perdrix* **fraiches** *tuees* (*fresh killed partridges*), *des oignons* **menus** *haches* (*fine-chopped onions*), &c. Of this practice Modern French has only retained *fleurs* **fraiches** *ecloses* (*freshly opened*

flowers), *fenêtres* **grandes** *ouvertes* (*windows wide open*), *ils arrivent* **bons** *premiers* (*they arrive well in front*). In nearly all other cases the adjective is indeclinable.

A strange rule was made for *nouveau*, which is considered as an adverb in *une fille* **nouveau**-*nee* (*a new-born girl*), and as a declinable adjective in *les* **nouvelles** *converties* (*the new* [*female*] *converts*), *une* **nouvelle** *mariee* (*a bride*), *les* **nouveaux** *venus* (*the new-comers*), under the pretence that in the latter cases the participles are true substantives In reality these expressions are archaisms like *fleurs* **fraîches** *ecloses*, &c [1]

Of adjectives used in this way *tout* calls for special notice.

Tout. When connected with an adjective or a participle *tout* (= *altogether, entirely, quite*) at first followed the common rule and was declined both in gender and number. Such was still the usage of most writers in the 17th century *Pour moi j'étais* **toute** *ebaubie* (*as for me, I was quite thunderstruck*) (Sév vii 222) *C'est* **toute** *la même chose* (*it's all the same thing*) (ibid 22) There was, however, some uncertainty. In Racine, when *tout* relates to feminine adjectives or participles, it always agrees **toute** *ecorchee* (*all bleeding*) (v 588), **toute** *interdite* (*all dismayed*) (iii. 491), when it relates to masculine plural adjectives or participles it sometimes agrees with them, sometimes not

Tes yeux ne sont ils pas **tous** *pleins de sa grandeur?* (ii 387)
(Are not thine eyes all full of its greatness?)

Vous êtes en des lieux **tout** *pleins de sa puissance* (ii 287)
(You are on a spot all full of his power)

Also in La Bruyère we find *des habits* **tous** . . *neufs* (*clothes quite new*) (i 44) side by side with *deux personnages* **tout** *différents* (*two quite different persons*) (ii 103), and *une*

[1] We must distinguish from these expressions, which are juxtapositæ, such expressions as *aigre-doux* (*acidulous*, '*bitter-sweet*'), *clair obscur* (*chiaroscuro*), *ivre mort* (*dead drunk*), where both adjectives are declined Here the two adjectives do not qualify each other, they are in apposition and equally qualify the substantive with which they are connected

île **toute** *entiere* (*a whole island*) (ii. 131) side by side with *choses* **tout** *opposees* (*things quite contrary*) (ii 148). In fact Vaugelas and most of the grammarians had ruled that *tout* placed before an adjective and signifying '*tout a fait*' (*quite, altogether, entirely*) was an adverb, and consequently they endeavoured to make it indeclinable

In the masculine singular *il est tout aimable, il est tout gracieux* (*he is quite,* or *altogether, amiable, graceful*), the pronunciation afforded no distinction between the adjective and the adverb, and *tout* was regarded as an adverb Again, in the corresponding plurals of the 17th century, *ils sont tous aimables, ils sont tous gracieux* (*they are altogether amiable, graceful*), pronunciation made no difference between the adjective and the adverb before a word beginning with a consonant, which is the more frequent case (both being then pronounced tou), hence people came to write *ils sont tout gracieux*, then the rarer case, where the following word began with a vowel, took the law from the commoner *ils sont tout aimables* replaced the earlier form This is how *tout* in the masculine was changed into an adverb

For the feminine, Vaugelas still followed the old practice *elle est toute aimable, elles sont toutes aimables elle est toute gracieuse, elles sont toutes gracieuses*, and other grammarians tried in vain to alter it. It was in the 18th century that the indeclinability of *tout* grew up in the case where it precedes a feminine adjective beginning with a vowel in *elle est toute aimable, elles sont toutes aimables,* no difference of pronunciation was at that time made between *toute* the adjective and *tout* the adverb, and henceforward *tout* was substituted in this case for *toute* and *toutes*

But the new theory was powerless before the well established pronunciation of *toute* before an adjective or participle beginning with a consonant, as in *toute gracieuse, toutes gracieuses,* and the grammarians, unable to alter custom in this point, have given the far fetched explanation

that, if the adjective *tout* was declined in this instance, it was for the sake of euphony.

However, some excellent writers have defended the old tradition as against the arbitrary rules of grammarians, and we find instances of *tout* in the adverbial sense declinable down to the 19th century

372 NAMES OF COLOUR USED AS ADJECTIVES —The modern language readily uses nouns denoting objects as indeclinable adjectives to designate colours or tints Their indeclinability may be explained by ellipsis [1]

A —A common noun representing an object possessing colour is used in apposition and becomes directly an adjective of colour *robe* **lilas**, *etoffe* **feuille morte** (*lilac dress, dead-leaf material*)

B —Similarly a common noun is used as an adjective with another adjective of colour to determine more precisely its shade *ruban* **brun-marron** (*chestnut-brown, maroon, ribbon*), *soie* **orange-clair** (*light orange silk*)

C —An adjective of colour is accompanied by a second adjective to determine its shade more precisely; and in this case the first adjective of colour is treated as a substantive, and neither is declined *une robe* **vieux-rose**, *la soie* **brun foncé** [1] (*a dull-pink dress, dark brown silk*) [2].

373 DEGREES OF COMPARISON —I Although adjectives alone by their nature admit of degrees of comparison, we not infrequently meet with substantives taking the sign of the comparative or superlative This is also quite natural, since apposition may convert them into true adjectives **les plus gens de bien** *auront l'âme ravie* (*the most upright people will be delighted in their souls*) (Corn. IX 303) *Un* **très homme de bien** (*a very upright man*) (Rac VII 136)

[I a Adverbs of manner, which so frequently have the

[1] *Traite de la Formation des Mots Composés*, ed 2, p 143, note 3

[2] But *de la soie brune*

same form as adjectives, are subject to the same syntactic rules in respect of degrees of comparison]

II. Philosophical grammarians forbid the use of the comparative and superlative of adjectives expressing absolute ideas, either (1) concrete, such as *carre, circulaire, triple, quadruple*, or (2) abstract, as *divin, eternel, excellent, unique, parfait*, &c This is to confuse logic and grammar[1]. If the writer uses these adjectives in a relative sense he may allow them degrees of comparison *mon* **plus unique** *bien* (*my most unique treasure*) (Corn III 288), *l'auteur* **le plus divin** (*the most divine author*) (Boil *Art poet* I, l 161) We say currently *plus parfait, plus impossible.*

III Synthetic comparatives and superlatives themselves in time may often lose their primitive value, and come to be considered as simple positives, they are then sometimes preceded by the sign of the comparative or superlative. In Old French we find *plus hauçor* (*hauçor* being the comparative of *haut*), in the modern popular language *plus meilleur* and *plus pire, plus superieur* and *le plus superieur*, are used

374 COMPARATIVE — In Latin the object of comparison had two constructions Either (1) the object was directly united to the comparative and put in the ablative case **doctior Petro** (*more learned than Peter*), or else (2) the object was connected with the comparative by the conjunction **quam**, and was put in the same case **doctior quam Petrus**

Both constructions passed into Old French

In the former the ablative was replaced by a periphrase with the preposition **de** *plus savant* **de** *Pierre*

Meillor (meilleur) ***vassal n ot*** (n'eut) ***en la cort*** (cour) **de** *lui* (*Rol* l 775)

(No better vassal had he in the court than him)

[1] Thus Malherbe condemns this line of Desportes

Je sors des Dieux la* plus *ainée

(I am the eldest-born of the gods)

This construction, applied to the object of any comparative, and especially to personal pronouns, subsisted until the first half of the 16th century. *Homme* **de moy** *plus grand* (Marot, 486), *nul mieux* **de toi** (*none better than thou*) (du Bellay, II. 419) Thenceforward it was only preserved in the case of numerals depending on a comparative. *plus* **d'***un* (*more than one*), *il a moins* **de** *vingt ans* (*he is under twenty years of age*)

The second construction *plus savant* **que** *Pierre*, where *que* (= *than*) represents the Latin **quam**, has subsisted intact down to the present day.

Hereon we must make certain observations.

1 Where the object of comparison is the object of a verb, or is a verbal phrase, Latin says *without* a negative **doctior quam putas** (*more learned than you think*), French says *with* a negative *plus savant que vous* **ne** *pensez, plus vite qu'il* **ne** *marche* (*more learned than you think, quicker than he walks*).

Such has been the usage since the earliest periods of the language, which expressed by this negation the consequent negative idea which is implied *tu ne penses pas qu'il est aussi savant* (*you do not think that he is so learned*)

The Modern language, since the 17th century, has to some extent reduced the use of the negative, and at the present time there is a tendency to suppress it altogether: in careless style and familiar speech it is almost completely ignored *plus savant que vous pensez*

Several cases of analogous uses of the negative must be considered·

A When the second term of the comparison consists of two nouns, Old French joined them by *ne*·

Plus est isnels (vif) *qu'esperviers* **ne** *aronde* (epervier ni hirondelle) (*Rol* l 1492)

(He is more prompt than hawk or swallow)

We find this negative in the 17th century in the form *ni il ne reste plus à parler que des choses qui servent plus aux*

délices qu'a la necessite ni *au profit* (*I have only now to speak of matters which serve rather for pleasure than necessity or profit*) (Malh II 19)

Patience et longueur de temps
Font plus que force ni *que rage* (La Font I 163)
(Patience and length of time
Do more than strength or anger)

But Racine (VI 355) regarded as incorrect the sentence of Vaugelas in his translation of Quintus Curtius *la fortune plus puissante que la raison* ni *la bonne conduite* (*fortune, more powerful than reason or good conduct*), and the present language replaces this negative by *et* or by *ou*.

B So also, where we should now use as the object of comparison either a substantive, or any other word without a negative, Old French introduced the negative, and that often with the help of the verbs *être* and *faire*

Plus est isnel (vif) *que* **nen** (n'en) **est** *uns falcons* (un faucon) (*Rol* l 1529)
(He is more prompt than is a falcon)

Plus curt (court) *a piet* (pied) *que* **ne** *fait uns chevals* (Id l 890)
(Swifter he runs afoot than doth a horse)

Both in Middle French and in the 16th century the object of comparison is accompanied by *pas* or *non pas*, or by *point* or *non point*

Pource que je confesse avoir plus estudié a rendre fidelement ce que l'autheur a voulu dire que **non pas** *a orner ou polir de langage* (*for that I confess to have studied rather to render faithfully what the author has wished to say than to adorn or polish my language* (Amyot, *Dedicace des Vies*) This construction was still in general use in the 17th century, it is often met with in Molière and Racine Vaugelas thought it very graceful, and himself wrote *J'aimerais mieux dire 'il vesquit' . que* **non pas** *'il vescut'* (*I had rather say 'il vesquit' than 'il vescut'* [Mod F *vécut*]) (I 196). Shortly after it was finally banished from the language by the Academy.

2 After *mieux*, in the sense of 'plutôt' (*rather*), the Old language generally suppressed the negation in the completing phrase, but, unlike present usage, it employed the subjunctive

Miels vuel (mieux veux) *morir qu'entre paiens* **remaigne**
(*Rol* l 2336)
(I'd rather die than that it should with pagans remain)

This is the Latin construction *potius quam* **remaneam, remaneas, remaneat** After Middle French we find the infinitive. *J'aime mieux mourir que rester*, or *que le, la, voir rester*

3. In certain cases the conjunction *que* has a double function (= *than that*), for instance in *je ne demande pas mieux qu'il vienne* (*I ask nothing better than that he should come*) This phrase is really incorrect

We say *je demande* **qu'***il soit mon ami*, in this case *que* is the conjunction (*that*) which serves to introduce the complement of the verb of desire, *demander*. Consequently, in the phrase *je ne demande pas mieux qu'il vienne, que* serves at the same time (as *than*) to introduce the object of the comparative *mieux*, and (as *that*) to introduce the proposition complementary to the verb *demander* The complete construction would be *je ne demande pas mieux que qu'il vienne J'ameroie mieus qu'un Escoz venist d'Escosse et gouvernast le pueple dou roiaume loialment* . **que que** *tu le gouvernasses mal apertement* (Mod. F *j'aimerais mieux qu'un Écossais vînt d'Écosse et gouvernât le peuple du royaume*, &c —*I would rather that a Scot came from Scotland and governed the people of the kingdom uprightly than that thou shouldst govern it manifestly badly*) (Joinv. 21)

375 SUPERLATIVE ABSOLUTE —The superlative absolute is compounded of the positive with a prefixed adverb of degree We saw (Book II, § 190) that Old French used for this purpose a number of adverbs which gave way to *très*, and that this is still in most frequent use, although

bien, extrêmement, fort, &c, are also employed. We may add the adverbs of familiar speech *fameusement* (*gloriously*), *jolument, rudement* (*jolly, awfully*), *ultra, supra-*

We must note also in Old French the construction of the positive with the preposition *sur*[1] (*above*) and as its object *autres, tous,* &c

Sur *tos* (tous) *les altres* (autres) *est Carles angoissos* (Charles angoissé) (*Rol* l 823.)

(Charles is grieved above all the rest)

This construction was retained down to the 17th century.

Mes petits sont mignons,
Beaux, bien faits et jolis **sur** *tous leurs compagnons*
(La Font 1 422)

(My little ones are the daintiest,
Finest best made, and prettiest of all their companions)

There is a similar existing use of *entre c'est une chose injuste* **entre** *toutes* (*it is the most unjust of things*)

376 SUPERLATIVE RELATIVE.—(i) The superlative relative is formed by the comparative preceded by the definite article or some other determinant *les plus beaux jardins* In the presence of another determinant, such as the possessive pronoun, the article is suppressed, and French does not say, like Italian *i miei più belli giardini* (*les miens plus beaux jardins*), but *mes plus beaux jardins* (*my finest gardens*)

This construction of the superlative relative may cause an apparent confusion with the comparative, analysis alone can show if we have to deal with a superlative or a comparative in sentences like this *les plus savants triomphent* (*the* most *learned triumph*), and *les plus savants*

[1] It occurs, also, as a pleonasm joined with the comparative *E sur altres plus delitable* (*he is more charming than* [*all*] *others*) (*Chron des ducs de Norm* 1, l 36) The construction recalls the **praeter ceteros** or **prae ceteris** of Latin **Praeter** and **prae** were replaced by **super**, we find in Suetonius **famosissima super ceteras** (*most infamous of all*) It is not rare to find this construction with the comparative in Latin

triomphent des ignorants (*the* more *learned triumph over the ignorant*)

(II.) We must distinguish two cases of the superlative relative (*A*), where the adjective precedes the substantive, and (*B*), where it follows it

A *The adjective precedes the substantive* —The article in this case determines both the adjective and the substantive. In *la plus belle chose*, *la* not only changes *plus belle* into a superlative, but also determines *chose*. Hence it follows that the substantive preceded by a superlative relative is always determined

B. *The adjective follows the substantive.*—The modern construction, *la chose la plus belle*, *les choses les plus serieuses*, where the article is repeated before the comparative, was only introduced into French in the 15th century, and was only definitively recognized in the 18th In spite of Vaugelas and the Academy, most writers of the 17th century still used the older construction, *la chose plus belle*

Chargeant de mon debris les reliques **plus** *cheres* (Rac II 519)
(Loading the dearest remnants of my ruin)

The same applied to *plus* and *moins* accompanying a verb *la chose du monde qui pouvoit* **plus** *gagner le Pape* (*the thing most likely in the world to win the Pope*) (id. IV 455). *Les discours* **moins** *serieux plaisent plus aux enfants* (*the least serious speeches please children most*) (id VI 303) The repetition of the article in such cases (i e. **les plus** *cheres*, **le plus** *gagner*, **les moins** *serieux*) which the language has gradually imposed is due to a keener and more delicate analysis of thought, to the wish to distinguish more clearly the idea of the superlative, and avoid the tendency to a confusion with that of the comparative This construction offers another advantage, in that it allows the application of the superlative relative to undetermined

nouns: *un ouvrier le plus habile du monde* (*a workman the most skilful in the world*)

(iii.) When several superlatives follow each other, at present each adjective takes the article and adverb as the sign of the superlative. The 17th century still admitted that the first adjective alone should bear the sign of the superlative *la plus grande et importante chose du monde a pour fondement la foiblesse* (*the greatest and most important thing in the world has for its foundation weakness*) (Pascal, *Pens* i 82)

Vaugelas tolerated this ellipsis only in cases where the adjectives were synonymous terms *il pratique les plus hautes et excellentes vertus* (*he practises the loftiest and most excellent virtues*), but he wishes us to say *c'est l'homme le plus riche et* le plus *liberal* (*the richest and most liberal man*), where the adjectives are not synonymous terms (II 257). The Academy and the other grammarians condemned the ellipsis even in the case of synonymy, and their decision still holds good This change of practice arose from the same cause as the preceding one, the desire to distinguish the form of the superlative more and more clearly

(iv) Modern grammarians distinguish the neuter superlative *le plus* (indeclinable, = *most*) from the masculine or feminine superlative, singular or plural (*the most*), *le plus, la plus, les plus, les plus* Compare *la rose est* le *plus belle des fleurs, c'est au matin que la rose est* le plus *belle* (*the rose is the most beautiful of flowers, it is at morn that the rose is most beautiful*) This distinction, like the two preceding ones, is the work of grammarians of the 17th century, and it was far from being observed by all the writers of that period. *Je les ai faits* les *plus courts que j'ai pu* (*I made them* [the 'asides'] *the shortest I could*) (Corn iv. 137), *il faut se servir au théâtre des vers qui sont* les *moins vers* (*in the drama you must use verses that are as little verse as possible*) (id v

309) *Vous me retrouverez toute entière comme dans le temps où vous avez ete* la *plus persuadee de mon amitie* (*you will find me wholly the same as when you were most convinced of my friendship*) (Sév VIII 371) *La personne du monde qui m'est* la *plus sensiblement chere* (*the person who is most tenderly dear to me in all the world*) (id III 335).

CHAPTER III

NUMERALS

377 Cardinal numbers — 378 Ordinal numbers

We were obliged to discuss the syntax together with the morphology of numerals (Book II, §§ 135–139), as we did in the case of nouns substantive, so that we shall have few observations to add now

377 CARDINAL NUMBERS — I We have seen (Book II, *General remarks*, p 201) that in compound numerals formed by addition the component elements were originally joined by the conjunction et, which was definitively lost only in the 18th century *trente deux*, *soixante seize*, and that it persisted as an exception before *un* in *vingt et un*, *trente et un*, &c, in *soixante et onze*, and in certain consecrated expressions

II Cardinal numbers are not declined in the plural. *Trois* un *de suite font* III For the apparent exception of *uns* used as an indefinite article before a singular noun of plural form, and also *les uns*, see Book II, p. 194, and Book IV, §§ 366, 379.

However, *vingt*, *cent*, and *mille* offer some peculiarities

Vingt and cent multiplied by a preceding number regularly took the s of the plural in Old French as well

as in the Modern language quatre-**vingts, trois cents.** Until the 18th century this agreement was admitted even when *vingt* and *cent* were followed by the addition of another numeral: *Une armee de trois* **cents** *mille hommes* (La Bruy. 1 370) The editions of the Dictionary of the Academy of 1762 and 1798 retained *neuf* **cents** *mille* Why did the grammarians of the 18th century suppress the agreement in this instance and make a rule which was condemned as well by logic as by the traditions of the language? They considered, no doubt, that the parts of the number merged into the unity of the whole, as indicated by the dropping of the conjunction *et* This explanation is erroneous The *cent* is as much determined by *trois* in *trois cent quatre* as the substantive by the numeral in *trois maisons, quatre jardins*, and the dropping of the conjunction *et* should no more prevent the expression of the plural than in such expressions as *point virgule* (= full stop and comma = *semicolon*), with the plural *points virgules*

Mille We have seen (Book II, § 136, p 199) that the Old language distinguished *mil* (singular) from *mille* (plural) *od* **mil** *de mes fedeilz* (Mod F *avec mille de mes fidèles, with a thousand of my faithful*) (*Rol* l 84), *vint* **mille** *homes* (id l 13) *Mil* has been retained in the numeration of years of an era, because it is there, of course, always used in the singular In other cases the plural form prevailed, being in more frequent use —*Mille*, as we have also said (p. 228), is the only surviving fragment of those neuter plurals that existed in the Old language, it has therefore remained indeclinable, save when it is used as a substantive (= *mile*) *trois* **milles** *d'Angleterre* (*three English miles*) However, it is not rare to find *mille* with the sign of the plural as an adjective in the Old language *Nos ferons uissiers a passer quatre* **milles** *et cinc cenz chevaus* (*we will make vessels to transport* 4500 *horses*) (Villeh 14). The grammarians of the 17th century also

remark the tendency of their time to decline *mille*, especially before a noun beginning with a vowel

III In Old French a numeral formed of unity joined to a higher number, such as *vingt et un*, did not make the substantive which it determined agree in the plural. *Trente un* **an** *regnad en Jerusalem* (*thirty-one years he reigned in Jerusalem*) (*Quat. Liv Rois*, p. 422) *Vingt et un* **an** *tot* (*tout*) *accomplie aveit* (*he was full twenty-one years of age*) (*Chron des d de Norm* l 39271) Such was the usage in the 16th century, Palsgrave lays down that one should write *vingt et un* **homme** In the 17th century the concord was doubtful, on the one hand they retained the singular in the evaluation of price and time *vingt et un* **écu**, *vingt et une* **semaine**, but the plural was accepted in other cases *vingt et un* **chevaux**, *vingt et un* **volumes**[1] Since then the intimacy of the union between the two component parts of the number has become closer, and the substantive is now always made plural, agreeing with the number as a whole Thus Modern French has solved the question which was left undecided in the 17th century, and considers the compound adjective of number ending with *un* as equivalent to a simple adjective

IV In Latin, to express a considerable indefinite number (as in the English use of *scores*, *hundreds*, *thousands*), **centum**, **mille**, and mostly **sexcenti** (*six hundred*) were employed In Popular Latin **quingenti** (*five hundred*) was also used It is doubtless to the use of the last phrase that we can trace back the indeterminate expression so frequent in Old French, *cinc cenz*[2] *cent* and *mille* were

[1] Vaugelas (1 246) says that the Court hesitated, since it said *vint et un* **an** and *vint et un* **chevaux** They did not perceive that *an* was written by mistake, because it did not differ in pronunciation from *ans* When consulted on this point, the Academy declared in favour of *vingt et un* **an** *accomplis*

[2] We may also note the former use of *iant*, considered as a substantive, to express the unit multiplied preceded by any cardinal number whatever as a multiple (without *fois*) *deux, trois, cent* **tanz** *que nuls ne pourroit*

also used. The Modern language has added *millions*, which it sometimes multiplies by *mille* in oaths: *mille millions de tonnerres!*

378 ORDINAL NUMBERS.—I. In the Modern language the *cardinal* is used for the ordinal in citing dates, pages of books, the order of succession in certain series, &c. Thus 1847 = *mil huit cent quarante-sept*, page 17 = page *dix-sept*, Henri III = Henri *trois*. In the Old language this use was almost unknown, and is hardly met with, except in dates of years. The custom of reading ordinal numbers as they are written (see Book II, p. 201) extended this use, which definitively triumphed in the above cases at the end of the 17th century. Corneille still said: le **neuvième** *de Janvier* (Mod. F. *le* **neuf** *janvier*), La Bruyère *Henri* **second**, *Louis* **onzième** (Mod. F. *Henri* **deux**, *Louis* **onze**). The proper use of the ordinal in these cases has only partially survived in *premier*: *Henri* **premier**, *tome* **premier**, *page* **première** (side by side with *tome* **un**, *page* **un**).

II. For *vingt-quatrieme* in place of *vingtieme quatrieme*, see Book II, p. 204.

dire. The modern practice in expressing the comparison with a multiple uses *plus que*, with the insertion of the negation in a verbal complement according to the general use of the comparative (§ 374, 1): *deux, trois, cent* **fois** plus *qu'on ne pourrait dire* (= 'twice, thrice, a hundred times *as many as*, or *more than*, you could say').

CHAPTER IV

THE ARTICLE

379 The article

I THE DEFINITE AND THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE — 380 Article with names of persons — 381 Article with names of nations — 382 Article with geographical names — 383 Article with concrete common nouns — 384 Article with abstract common nouns — 385 Article with nouns as attributes — 386 Omission of the article in negative and interrogative propositions — 387 Article with substantives accompanied by adjectives

II THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE — 388 The partitive article — 389 Partitive article with a determinate substantive

379 THE ARTICLE — The article in French appears under three different aspects the **definite article**, the **indefinite article**, and the **partitive article**

The **definite article** arose, as we know (Book II, § 199), from the Latin demonstrative **ille**, we saw how the gradual weakening of its signification has reduced its function to that of merely individualizing the noun following Although Merovingian Latin offers a fair number of examples of **ille** with this new function, in the *Oaths of Strasburg* it was not used once It might well have occurred in one sentence at least *Si Lodhuvigs sagrament que son fradre Karlo jurat conservat* (Mod F *si Louis* [**le**] *serment, que a son frère Charles jura, conserve*, *if Louis keep the oath which he swore to his brother Charles*), possibly the omission is due to the scribe In the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie* the article is used several times, even in some cases where Old French may omit it, as will be seen below *h Deo inimi*

(*les ennemis de Dieu*), l. 3, *les mals conseilhers* (*les mauvais conseillers*), l. 5; *la polle* (*la jeune fille*), l. 10, *le nom christien*, l. 14, &c. Thus in the 9th century the use of the definite article was consecrated and was destined only to spread.

The **indefinite article**, which is used to indicate an indeterminate object, was in the singular taken from the numeral adjective **unus, una**, (*un, une*), which from the 5th century had here and there acquired the sense of the Latin **quidam** (*a certain*) The first instance of *un* in an *indefinite* sense is furnished by the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie ad* **una** *spede* (*avec une epee*), l 22 But the use of the indefinite article was far from spreading as rapidly as that of the definite article, and this is easily understood, as it could originally more easily be dispensed with It was only from the 17th century that its use became general

For the plural of the indefinite article (with the sense of *some*) Old French sometimes used the plural of *un*, especially in the case of pairs or sets of objects, or nouns only used in the plural form (cf Book II, p 194, note 1, and § 366 above) *Uns, unes*, were at an early period replaced by the contracted article *des*, and only survived in the expressions *les uns . les autres, les unes . . les autres*.

The rules for the use of the definite and indefinite articles being nearly the same, we shall study them together

The **partitive article**, on the contrary, being formed by the article preceded by the preposition *de*, and serving to note that an object is not considered as a whole, but in some indeterminate part, requires separate consideration.

I The Definite and the Indefinite Article

380. ARTICLE WITH NAMES OF PERSONS —Individuality being the very characteristic of names of persons, they

may dispense with the article in Old French as well as in Modern French, save in certain cases

1 From the 16th century Italian family names (often gallicised) have taken the article: l'*Alighieri*, le *Corrège*, le *Tasse* But it is a mistake to write (according to present practice) *le Dante*, *le Guide*, *le Titien*, which are not in reality family names, but individual ones.

2 In the 16th century the definite article was also often used to designate well-known personages. le *Camille*, le *Tantale*, la *Niobe*, l'*Helène*, thus giving the article the emphatic value of the Latin demonstrative adjective ille, Alexander ille (*the* Alexander) The article seems to have the same sense in this sentence of Madame de Sévigné *J'en demande pardon* au *Bourdaloue et* au *Mascaron* (*I ask pardon of the* [*great*] *Bourdaloue and Mascaron* (II 100) In like manner the article is now used before the names of celebrated actresses and female singers la *Champmesle*, la *Malibran*

On the other hand, even in the 17th century the article placed before the name of a person came to show either familiarity or a shade of disdain, if not contempt. This tendency has become accentuated in the present language. In popular and country talk, however, the practice only implies familiarity [as in German]

Down to the 17th century they continued to say· le *Lazare*, la *Magdelaine* As for *Lazare*, it may originally have been treated as a common noun, owing to the adjective *lazer*, later on *ladre* (*leprous*), in la *Magdelaine*, la has a demonstrative value, as in la *Niobé*, &c

3 When the name of a person is used as a common noun it naturally requires the article le *Mecene est l'appui des Muses* (*the Maecenas* [= *literary patron*] *is the support of the Muses*), la *Venus de Praxitèle*, l'*Agrippine et* la *Cleopâtre de l'histoire sont différentes de celles du theâtre* (*the Agrippina and the Cleopatra of history are different from those of the stage*)

4. A great number of names of persons which were originally common nouns or surnames have retained the definite article *Claude le Lorrain* side by side with *Claude Lorrain* Thus it is that many names of persons, generally those denoting a nationality, have a double form. *Allemand, Lallemand, Breton, Lebreton, Français, Lefrançois,* &c They retain the article even when preceded by another article *un Lefrançois, les Lefrançois.* La Bruyère was wrong when he wrote *ces gens chez qui un Nautre* (= *Le Nostre,* a celebrated gardener) *va tracer et prendre des alignements* (*those people to whom a Le Nostre goes to trace and draw lines*) (II. 258)

381 ARTICLE WITH NAMES OF NATIONS —Old French generally omitted the article before names of nations in the plural[1], especially in the nominative case *Dient* (Mod F *disent*) *Françeis* (*the French say*) (*Rol* l 192), *Sarrazin ne sont mie doutes* (*the Saracens are no whit dismayed*) (id l 1186) To these we must add the words *Chrestiens, Païens,* which were treated as proper nouns The rule of the omission of the article applied even when an adjective accompanied the noun The practice tends to disappear from the 12th century, and by the 16th it is scarcely found except in poetry

382 ARTICLE WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES —Until the 13th century names of countries and towns were used without the article, and the same rule applied to mountains and valleys, only names of rivers of the feminine gender took the article. From the 13th century we find uncertainty in the matter, save with regard to names of towns that were originally formed from common nouns, such as *Le Havre* (*the haven*), *Lamothe* (*the mound*), &c.

[1] But when the name of a nation was used to designate a single individual the article was absolutely required *Ço dist* li *Sarrazins* (*this said the Saracen* [envoy]) (*Rol* l 147), *enveier* al *Sarrazin* (*send to the Saracen* [Sultan]) (id. l 253)

Since the 17th century, names of rivers have definitely received the article, although Corneille still wrote *le Passage de Loire* (x 106), Racine, *les bords d'Asopus* (VI 215), and Boileau, *de Styx et d'Acheron* (*Art poet* III l. 285)[1], and we continue to say *Bar-sur-Aube, Nogent-sur-Seine*, &c The same applies to names of mountains

As for names of countries, they have remained subject to numerous inconsistencies we have *histoire de France* side by side with *histoire litteraire de la France, l'empereur d'Autriche* side by side with *l'empereur du Japon*

Il vient d'Italie	but	*il part pour l'Italie*
Il va en Chine	,,	*il arrive a la Chine*
Il est en France	,,	*il est au Mexique*

We may note, however, that the omission of the article with the prepositions *en* and *de* is an archaism that is seldom found save with such names of countries as have long been current in French[2]

383 ARTICLE WITH CONCRETE COMMON NOUNS —Since the origin of the language concrete nouns have been preceded by the article This rule has been and is still subject to various exceptions

1 Certain substantives of characteristic unity have been and are still treated in the language as if they were proper nouns

Thus the word *Dieu* only takes the article when it is accompanied by a determinant le *Dieu de nos peres*, les *faux dieux* In the 17th century Pascal and Bossuet, in conformity with an old usage, used, the one *Messie*, the other *Christ*, without an article (Mod F *le Messie, le Christ*) The locutions *Diable m'emporte si, Diable soit de vous,*

[1] If we say *eau de Seine* (for *Seine-water*) it is less an archaism than a locution formed by analogy with *eau de source, eau de puits*, it is a kind of compound word

[2] [Names of places in the plural always take the definite article *dans* les *Indes*, les *Etats-Unis*, les *Vosges*]

take us back to a period previous to the 16th century, from which time *diable* has been definitely used with the article Malherbe still said *frappe de foudre* (I. 22) The Old language used the same construction with *jour, nuit, soleil, ciel, terre,* and *roi,* the last only when referring to the actual sovereign of the country, hence the long-used locution, *lieutenant de roi*

To these words we must add the religious terms *messe, vêpres, complies* Malherbe writes *Je fus hier ouir messe aux Jacopins* (*I went yesterday to hear mass at the Jacobin church*) (III 546), we may still say *attendez que vêpres sonnent, sortir de vêpres, chanter complies*

We may point out the uncertainty in the use of the definite article before the letters of the alphabet employed as substantives, we say either *A,* or *l'A, se prononce la bouche ouverte* (*A is sounded with the mouth open*)

Such expressions as *remuer ciel et terre, il ne voit ni terre ni mer,* cannot be included in the same category The absence of the article here comes from its suppression in the Old language before each of two substantives united by a conjunction, though it was expressed before either substantive when isolated It is thus that *lune,* although regularly used with an article in Old French, drops it in *soleil et lune, soleil ni lune* [cf English *Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, man and wife,* &c]

2 Substantives designating periodical phenomena such as the seasons, the months, the days, the parts of the day, and certain festivals, may be used without an article The present language employs the article before names of seasons, but continues to omit it before days of the week, ecclesiastical seasons, &c *il viendra lundi, midi sonne, demain matin, lundi prochain, Avril a ete chaud, Noel approche, Pâques est tard cette annee,* &c [but *l'Avent* = *Advent*] [Perhaps we may place here the use of *dejeuner, diner, souper,* as indicating fixed times of the day, with the prepositions of time *avant, après.*]

3. When the concrete substantive designates, not an individual or an object of a particular species, but the species itself, both Old and Middle French (like English) omitted the article There are numerous examples in the writers of the 16th century *Tabourins a nopces sont ordinairement battus tabourineurs bien festoyez* (*tabors at weddings are generally beaten tabor-players well feasted*) (Rabel II 324) This practice of omitting the article before the concrete noun taken in a general and indeterminate sense has not entirely disappeared from the language, which, however, is reluctant to use it save in negative and interrogative propositions (§ 386) In the instance of *souvent femme varie* we have a very old proverbial saying preserved unchanged On the other hand, when the noun is the object of a verb or preposition, the absence of the article is very frequent in the Old language (as in English), and the Modern language has retained many traces of this use *lâcher pied, fermer boutique, rendre gorge, perdre de vue, sortir de table, aller en bateau, aller par mer, aller a cheval,* &c In many cases the introduction of the article would change the sense of the expression and take away its character of generality and indeterminateness Thus *aller en bateau* = to go by boat, to go boating, *aller en un bateau* = to go on a boat, *sortir de table* = to leave table, *sortir d'une table* = to get up from a table

4 The article is omitted before certain concrete nouns when used as subjects in narrative

Grenouilles aussitôt de sauter dans les ondes (La Font I 173)
(The frogs at once jumped into the waves)

384. ARTICLE WITH ABSTRACT COMMON NOUNS —For the same reason as common nouns taken in a general or indeterminate sense (§ 383, 3), abstract nouns have been but slowly affected by the article Proverbs, which for the most part may be traced back to a remote period of the language, afford numerous examples of the absence of the article.

Pauvrete n'est pas vice, Noblesse oblige, Contentement passe richesse, Plus fait douceur que violence, &c True, the absence of the article may be due to a personification of virtues and vices, which, as we are aware, was a frequent process during a certain period of French literature. But, apart from proverbs, the words *nature, foi, amour, fortune,* and many others designating either states or feelings, were long used without an article Since the 17th century, analogy with concrete nouns has triumphed and introduced the article, leaving, however, numerous exceptions where abstract nouns, like concrete nouns taken in a general sense, are objects of verbs or, more especially, of prepositions *avoir courage, prendre patience, prendre peur, prendre soin, avoir faim, courir risque, entendre raillerie (take a jest), trouver moyen, tenir tête (hold one's ground), mettre fin,* &c , *agir par interêt, par peur, manquer de courtoisie, tirer de peine (set free from trouble), mettre en peine (give trouble), être en danger, en peur, donner en recompense, entrer en possession,* &c

These expressions, which offer an idea of unity to the mind and resemble compound words, were very numerous in the Old language, expressions such as *avoir temps, loisir, permission, faire guerre, oraison, recit, donner reponse, victoire, rendre mal, bien, dire raison, verite,* &c, were current. They were still in constant use in the 17th century

Il vous assure vie, et gloire et liberte (Corn v 584)
(It promises you life and glory and liberty)
dut il m'en coûter trône et vie (id vii 243)
(should it cost me throne and life)

On the other hand, we sometimes suppress the article in cases like '*rendre service*' where it was used in the 17th century *Rendons-lui* du *service* (Corn i 400)

385. ARTICLE WITH NOUNS AS ATTRIBUTES —1. After neuter verbs of being, becoming, seeming, *être, devenir,*

paraître, &c, a noun denoting an attribute generally has no article, we say *il fut, il devint roi, il est père de quatre enfants, il paraît vainqueur* Nevertheless, we may say *cet homme est un ouvrier*, as well as. *cet homme est ouvrier*

2 With an attributive substantive in simple apposition there are two cases to be considered.

A The attribute precedes. *le roi Charles* Usage appears to have been at first uncertain We find in the *Chanson de Roland* li *reis* (*le roi*) *Marsilies*, la *reine Bramimunde*, side by side with *reis Marsilies, reine Bramimunde*, &c From the 12th century the article was generally used However, certain nouns denoting title, social rank or position or condition, or a relationship, such as *roi, empereur, comte, dom, clerc, maître, prêtre, mere, sœur, tante*, continued in general to be used without the article Modern use preserves some traces of this ellipsis *Dom Mabillon, Frere Guillaume, Sœur Hyacinthe Sultan* may also dispense with the article, as in the time of Racine and La Fontaine

B The attribute follows In this case the use of the article has been general from the origin of the language, and is so still *Denys le tyran, Arcesilaus le philosophe*, &c However, we now say *Alexandre Dumas pere, Alexandre Dumas fils*, whereas in the 18th century they said *Racine le fils*

386 OMISSION OF THE ARTICLE IN NEGATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PROPOSITIONS —In a negative or interrogative proposition, conveying an indeterminate idea, the article before the indeterminate substantive is generally omitted

> *Jamais contre un tyran* entreprise *conçue*
> *Ne permit d'esperer une plus belle issue* (Corn iii. 391)
> (Never did enterprise against a tyrant planned
> Give hope of a fairer issue)

On ne voit âme qui vive (*one sees not a living soul*) *Y a-t-il*

au monde homme qui? Où trouver meilleur conseil? It is to this influence of the negation that the substantives *pas, point, mie,* owe their change of signification and function If the article had clung to them they must have remained substantives

Sans, in these constructions, behaves as a negative *Il est sans amis, il est sorti sans chapeau,* if any determinant is used with the substantive after *sans* it must be a very definite one *Il est sorti sans* son *chapeau* However, we say *il est sans* le *sou* (*he hasn't a penny*), a turn which is absolutely exceptional, and due, no doubt, to the requirements of euphony

We notice also the absence of the article in comparative sentences, such as *plus heureux qui roi,* or *que prince,* which are felt as true negative propositions (see § 374) However, as the negative is not apparent here, the occasional addition of the article is intelligible *plus heureux qu'un roi.*

387 ARTICLE WITH SUBSTANTIVES ACCOMPANIED BY ADJECTIVES — We must here distinguish the cases of the definite and the indefinite articles respectively

I *Definite article* —The language has used from its origin the article before nouns accompanied by a qualificative, save when a proper name was habitually joined to an adjective, as in the epic word-groups *belle Aude, douce France, Charlemagne,* &c. So also *Saint,* preceding a personal proper name, excluded the article *Saint Leger* We have preserved this usage as well as the use of *feu* without the article *feu Toupinel* (*the late Toupinel*) (p 583)

[The article is dropped before certain adjectives accompanying a proper name to designate a member of a family, such as *aîne, cadet, jeune Coquelin cadet, Froment jeune et Risler aîne* This is possibly by analogy with the locu-

tions with the substantives *père, fils,* &c (§ 385, B) Such adjectives may become nicknames or surnames (Book III, p 186\ ]

II *Indefinite article* —The use of the indefinite article before a substantive accompanied by an adjective is by no means strictly observed The Old French usage of dropping the article when the substantive is either a true nominative, or a grammatical nominative after a neuter verb governed by the logical subject *ce* (*it*), has no doubt been abandoned *Bon chien chasse de race, c'est grand dommage,* and *c'est chose fâcheuse,* are archaisms Since the 17th century we say **Un** *grand malheur est a redouter C'est* une *triste chose,* &c

But, where the substantive is the predicate or object of either a verb or a preposition, the present language often suppresses the article, especially when the adjective precedes the substantive, as in *vous êtes bon fils, je vous trouve honnête homme, en pareille occurrence, en vilaine posture, être de mauvaise humeur*, whereas Molière makes Alceste say *J'entre en une humeur noire* (*I fall into a black mood*) (v 449) Examples such as *mourir de mort violente, de mort naturelle,* where the article is omitted when the adjective follows, are archaisms, these idiomatic expressions having remained in the language unchanged

As in Old and Middle French, the adverb of comparison *si* (*so*) may also exclude the article *vous aviez si piteuse mine* (*you had so piteous an air*) *Je vous ai trouvé en si misérable etat* (*I found you in so miserable a state*).

Finally, certain adjectives require special comment

Tout In Old French the article might be omitted with **tout** in the plural, this usage is exemplified in *la Toussaint* (= *la* [fête de] *tous* [les] *Saints*), *toutefois* (= *toutes voies*) (*however, anyhow*), *tous deux, tous quatre,* side by side with *tous les deux, tous les quatre* In the singular the article was not so often omitted In Malherbe, however,

the ellipsis of the article, even in the singular, is fairly frequent, and such expressions as *par toute terre, en tous pays*, often occur in the 17th century

Originally, according to the Latin tradition, which placed the determinant between **totus** and the substantive (**totas illas terras**), the rule was to place the article between *tout* and the substantive which it determines, and this usage persists where the article is supplied *tout un siècle, tout le monde, tous les mois, toutes les femmes*

Mi. Old French also put the article between *mi* (*mid*), which was an adjective, and its substantive *par mi un val erbos* (*through a grassy vale*) (*Rol* l 1018), *par mi la boche* (*through his mouth*) (id l 1763) So now the preposition *parmi* (*amid*) requires that its object (which must be a plural, or at least a noun of multitude) should be preceded by the article

Même (as an adjective) and **seul** in Modern French assume, as we know, different meanings according as they are put next the article or separated from it *même* separated from the article means *self*, following it, means *same* (p 584) *Seul* may even take three different places *seule l'equite* (*only* **equity**), *l'equite seule* (*equity* **alone**), *la seule equite* (**equity alone**). These distinctions are all quite modern

II The Partitive Article

388 THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE —The special use of the article preceded by the preposition *de* scarcely became regular in the language before the 15th century Old French used *manger pain, manger fruits*, as well in the sense of bread or fruit in general as in the sense of a certain portion of bread or fruit.

However, even in Old French we already find a construction which contains the germ of the modern partitive article. Side by side with **edere panem**, Low Latin had created the phrase **edere de pane**, where **de** has a clearly

partitive sense: *manger* **de** *pain* It was this elliptical construction that was destined to give rise to the partitive article. We still say at the present day *manger un peu, beaucoup, assez, trop*—**de** *pain*, and in negative sentences *il ne prend pas* **de** *vin, il ne prend point* **de** *pain* (*he takes no wine, no bread*) Then, as in these constructions the object is mostly determined, the article made its appearance *manger* **du** *pain* = *to eat of the bread* [*here*], that is *a part of the bread* [*here*].

This construction once introduced, the article combined with the preposition—*du, de la, des*—was applied even to indeterminate objects *manger* **du** *pain* (*to eat bread* [in general]), *boire* **de** *l'eau, acheter* **des** *livres*

Lastly, its use was gradually extended so as to affect a great number of constructions which seem to have no right to it In fact, it was extended not only to direct objects, but also to indirect prepositional objects and to nominatives *travailler pour* **de** *l'argent, reussir par* **des** *efforts, se promener avec* **des** *amis,* **du** *courage est necessaire,* **des** *gens sont venus* But, where the substantive takes no article, e g the indefinite noun *aucun,* then we have the preposition *de* alone *d'aucuns pretendent* (*certain people affirm*)

There is only one case where the language was obliged to renounce, not only the combination of the article with the partitive preposition *de,* but even the preposition itself it is when the object is led up to by the preposition **de**, for instance when an intransitive verb takes *de* before its indirect object *se nourrir de* = *to feed on* We say *manger* **du** *pain, se nourrir avec* **du** *pain*, but *se nourrir* **de** *pain* The combination **de** + **du**, as in **de du** *pain*, was inacceptable.

The partitive article occurs both before names of objects which can be counted: *acheter* **des** *livres*; and before names of objects which cannot be counted, or which appear from the sense of the sentence not to be counted · *boire* **de** *l'eau, manger* **des** *fruits.* In the last case *des*

corresponds to a singular *du* · *manger du fruit*; but in the first case it corresponds to a singular *un* *acheter un livre* This curious result shows an indeterminate noun in the singular corresponding with a determinate noun in the plural, in other terms, a definite article *des* has become the plural of the indefinite article *un*

389 PARTITIVE ARTICLE WITH A DETERMINATE SUBSTANTIVE —We must distinguish between the cases where the substantive is in the plural and in the singular respectively

I *Plural*—In the 17th century the language still used the partitive article when the adjective was placed before the substantive as well as after it **Des** *grosses larmes lui tomboient des yeux* (*great tears were falling from his eyes*) (Sév ix 532) *Vous aurez passé sur* **des** *petits ponts* (*you will have passed over little bridges*) (id ii 205) But Vaugelas and the other grammarians already condemned the use of *des* in cases where the adjective precedes The partitive article has here given way in general to the simple preposition *de* **de** *petits enfants* (= *little children*), **de** *grandes filles* (*big girls*), but, when the adjective and the substantive unite to form a true compound noun, **des** is used **des** *petits-enfants* = *grand-children*, **des** *grands-parents* = *grand-parents*, **des** *jeunes gens* (*young men* or *young people*), **des** *jeunes filles* (*girls*), **des** *petits-maîtres* (*dandies*), **des** *beaux esprits*, &c

On the other hand, the partitive article has persisted when the adjective follows *des maisons neuves, des enfants obeissants*

It is very intelligible that the article should have persisted in the latter case, because when the adjective follows the substantive it forms an apposition, it is, in fact, a predicate separated from the substantive by certain terms of a true proposition understood *des livres precieux* means *des livres* qui sont *precieux*. Therefore, as regards

the article, there can be no difference between *acheter des livres* and *acheter des livres précieux*

Why, on the contrary, was the article dropped when the adjective precedes? Why do we say *acheter des livres* and *acheter de précieux livres*? It is not only, as was pointed out by Father Bouhours in the 17th century, to avoid ambiguities such as *un livre plein des bons mots de Lucien* (= *a book full of Lucian's witticisms*, or a *book of Lucian full of witticisms*), it is also because the language, in a broader spirit of analysis, considered the adjective itself a sufficient determinant In *acheter de précieux livres* the adjective *précieux*, by determining *livre*, renders unnecessary the presence of the article as a second determinant, although it was used in Middle French and in the 17th century

II *Singular.*—When the substantive determined is in the singular, the same distinction was adopted by the grammarians of the 17th century, but the dropping of the article is only strictly enforced when the substantive is taken in a general sense

Il a du *pain excellent* (*He has some excellent bread*)
Il a d'*excellent pain* (*He keeps excellent bread*).
Il boit de l'*eau claire* (*He is drinking plain water*)
Il boit de *bonne eau* (*He drinks good water*).

Should the substantive be taken in a particular sense, we use the article even when the adjective precedes *Je veux boire* de l'*excellent vin qui est dans votre cave* (*I want to drink some of the excellent wine in your cellar*)

Note, however, that the popular language has not yet admitted these distinctions, which are rather subtle although necessary for clearness of style, the people continue to say: *il a* des *grandes filles, je veux boire* du *bon vin.*

CHAPTER V

PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

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I Personal Pronouns

360 The personal pronoun as subject — I The personal pronoun as the subject in the Old language, following Latin traditions, was often omitted It was rarely expressed save when either the verb or a personal pronoun in the objective would otherwise have headed the sentence

Dist Olivers Jo *ai paiens veduz* (*Rol* l 1039)
(Said Oliver I have pagans seen)

Jo (Je *l'ai laissiet* (laissé) *en une marche estrange* (id l 839)
(I have left him in a foreign mark [district])

When, on the contrary—and such cases were very frequent—the proposition began with a direct (and not

pronominal) or an indirect object, a participial or adjective predicate, or an indeclinable word, or when it was preceded by another proposition, the ellipsis of the pronominal subject was general *Par son cors* (*corps*) *les peust* (*pût*) *delivrer de prison* (*in person he might be able to free them from prison*) (Joinv. 9). *En grant avanture de mort fumes lors* (*alors*) (*in great danger of death we were then*) (id. 11). *Envieus estes et vilains* (*envious are ye and bad*) (*Chev au lion*, l 90). *Comander vos vuel* (*veux*) *et prier* (*I wish to command and pray you*) (id l 549) *Or vous vueil faire une demande* (*now I wish to make a request of you*) (Joinv 48)

We have seen (Book II, § 193) that the gradual weakening of verbal inflexions rendered more and more imperative the presence of the nominative personal pronoun to denote the grammatical person Nevertheless, we find numerous examples of the older usage in the 16th century *Et le feray imprimer a ce que chascun y apreigne* (*apprenne*) *comme je ay faist* (*and I will print it that every one may there learn, as I have done*) (Rab 1 320) *Ny ne veux gaster* (*gâter*) *ses meurs genereuses* (*nor would I spoil his noble manners*) (Mont 1 25) *Il te gardera sous son aisle, et seras a seurete sous ses plumes* (*he will keep thee under his wing and thou wilt be in safety beneath his feathers*) (Calvin, 264) *L'autre se plaint que jaloux mary a* (*the other complains that she has a jealous husband*) (Marot, 10) In the 17th century, particularly in La Fontaine, we still meet with examples of the omission of the nominative pronoun, but these are archaisms Ever since Malherbe the use of the nominative pronoun has become an absolute rule in most constructions We must, however, note two exceptions

1 In certain impersonal phrases the pronoun *il*, as the grammatical or logical subject, is still suppressed *Tant y a que N'importe* (*no matter*) *Si bon vous semble* (*if you think proper*) *D'ou vient que . . .* (*whence comes it that*).

A Dieu ne plaise (*God forbid*) *Cinq et trois font huit, ôtez deux, reste six* (5 *and* 3 *are* 8; *take* 2 *away*, 6 *remains*) These are remnants of the primitive construction Analogy, which from the middle of the 12th century (Book II, § 198) had extended to all impersonal verbs the pronoun *il* of the personal verbs, failed to affect these expressions In the 16th century other cases of omission of this pronoun were still very frequent. But, save for the above archaisms, the omission was rare in the 17th century *De cette confusion arrive* (*from this confusion it befalls*) (Pascal, *Pensees*, I 93) *Mais a quoi sert, mes Peres, d'opposer ?* (*but what is the use, Fathers, of opposing .. ?*) (Id *Prov* XVI.) *Et quels avantages, Madame, puisque Madame y a ?* (*and what advantages, Madam, since Madam there is* [=*you are*]*?*) (Molière, VI 519) La Fontaine alone has a real predilection for this ellipsis *N'a pas longtemps* (*not long ago*) (IV 85) *Comment vous va ?* (*how goes it ?*) (VII. 128) *Non sera, sur mon âme* (*it shall not be, on my soul*) (IV 346) *Toujours fallait forger de nouveaux tours* (*it was ever necessary to devise new tricks*) (IV 302), &c

2 In compound propositions containing two consecutive verbs with one and the same subject, the pronoun may be expressed only once, i e before the first verb *J'admets et pretends* (*I believe and maintain*), *il desire et demande* (*he prays and demands*)—an archaism which the language could preserve without inconvenience, the construction being sufficiently clear But this ellipsis is scarcely tolerated save when the verbs are in the same tense, and when they are not far from each other, we should no longer, like Racine, write *Je le recueillis ici et l'ai nourri avec grand soin* (*I took him up here and have nourished him with great care*) (VI 100), nor, like Madame de Sévigné. *'Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi,' lui fit-elle, en lui riant au nez, 'voilà comment on repond aux folles,' et passe son chemin* (*'Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi,' she said to her, laughing in her face, 'that's the way to answer fools,' and goes her way*) (III 3).

II. If the Old language often omitted the nominative pronoun, on the other hand it frequently made a redundant use of the nominative pronoun of the 3rd person to recall a subject already expressed, but generally one separated from its verb **Li roys** *de France qui sot que ils estoient la,* il *s'adreça* (*the King of France, who knew that they were there, he turned*) (Joinv 85) **Les sciences** *qui reglent les mœurs des hommes* **elles** *se meslent de tout* (*the sciences that govern the conduct of men they meddle with everything*) (Mont 1 29). Even in the 17th and 18th centuries we find. **Un noble,** *s'il vit chez lui, dans sa province,* il *vit libre* (*a noble, if he lives at home, in his province, he lives free*) (La Bruy 1 326) **Les Romains** *se destinant a la guerre et la regardant comme le seul art,* **ils** *mirent tout leur esprit et toutes leurs pensees a le perfectionner* (*the Romans, intending to devote themselves to war, and regarding it as the only art, they set all their wit and all their thoughts on perfecting it*) (Montesquieu, *Grand. et Dec* 2)

III The plural pronoun *ils,* in the 16th and 17th centuries, was often used [like the English impersonal *they*] as a synonym of *on Ils demeurerent plus tard qu'***ils** *n'avoient de coustume* (*they stayed longer than they were wont*) (Noel du Fail, II 311) *J'allègue . aussi volontiers ce que j'ay veu, que ce qu'***ils** *ont escrit* (*I put forth as readily what I have seen as what they have written*) (Mont III 13) *Pour le regard de ce qu'***ils** *disent* (*with regard to what people say*) (Malh II 106).

De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit
Madame, **ils** *ne vous croiront pas,*
Ils *sauront récuser l'injuste stratageme*
D'un temoin irrité qui s'accuse lui-même (**Rac** II 295)

(I desire that our common crimes may be made known
Madam, they will not believe you,
They will have the capacity to reject the unjust stratagem
Of an angry witness accusing himself)

This is really a Latinism In Latin a verb with an indefinite subject was put in the 3rd person plural. **dicunt** (*they*

say, people say), so in Old French the 3rd person plural without a pronominal subject expressed the indefinite idea conveyed at the present time by *on* *Et mult en* **orent** (*eurent*) *grant joie par l'ost* (*and great joy had they thereof throughout the army*) (Villeh. 299) When the habit of expressing the nominative pronoun enforced itself in French, the pronoun *ils* was naturally used in this case

IV The neuter pronoun *il* (= *it*) was still in the 17th century of more general use than in the modern language, where it is now replaced as a rule by the demonstrative *ce* (§ 407) *Quand cela paraîtra, je ne doute point qu'***il** *ne donne matière aux critiques* (*when it appears, I doubt not but that it will give matter to the critics*) (Corn x 486)

A t-on jamais plaidé d'une telle methode ?
Mais qu'en dit l'assemblée ?—**Il** *est fort a la mode* (Rac ii 211)
(Did one ever plead on such a plan?
But what does the assembly say to it?—It is much in vogue)

Peut-être cela etoit-il vrai, mais il *n'etoit pas vraisemblable* (*perhaps it was true, but it did not seem like truth*) (Sév vii 199) *Goûtez bien cela,* il *est de Leandre et* il *ne me coûte qu'un grand merci* (*taste well of this, it comes from Leander, and it only costs me a 'thank you'*) (La Bruy i. 194)

The present usage only preserves *il* when the impersonal proposition is determined by some object or complement Compare *il est vrai* + *que j'ai eu tort* and *c'est vrai*, *il* + *en* + *est ainsi* and *c'est ainsi*

391 ORIGIN OF THE DIRECT INTERROGATIVE IDIOM — When the interrogation depends only on the verb the nominative pronoun is placed either (1) after the verb. *Vient* **il**? or (2) before the verb **Il** *vient*? In the latter case the tone of voice suffices to indicate the question But when the interrogation does not turn on the verb the nominative pronoun always comes after *Quand arriverez-***vous**? *D'ou viennent-***ils**? *Que faisons-***nous**? For French,

not having preserved the Latin interrogative particles, had recourse to the inversion of the subject *Viendra Pierre?* and pronouns were treated as substantives and also placed after the verb

Ço dist Rollanz 'Compainz, que faites-vous?' (*Rol* l. 1360)
(This said Roland 'Companions, what do ye?')

Gentils quens (comte), *sire vaillant hom, ou es* (es) **tu?** (id. l. 2045)
(Fair count, sir valiant man, where art thou?)

The post-position of the subject when it is a substantive has not been maintained in the case where the interrogation turns on the verb. If we still say *Quand viendra Pierre?* we no longer say *Viendra Pierre?* This latter form of phrase was already a mere archaism in the 16th century.

Las! pourra bien ceste blanche vieillesse
Porter le fais (faix) *d'une telle tristesse?*
(Th. de Bèze, *Abraham*, p. 33)
(Alas! can this white old age at all
Carry the burden of such a sorrow?)

We say *Pierre viendra-t-il?* and similarly the form of phrase still in use *Quand viendra Pierre?* may be replaced by *Quand Pierre viendra-t-il?*

Whence comes this use of the personal pronoun after the verb as its logical subject in interrogative propositions? At an early period in Old French it became habitual in interrogations to place the nominative at the beginning of the sentence.

Damoiseles *que j'ai veues*
En cest chastel dont (d'ou) *sont venues?*
(*Chev. au lion*, l. 5219)
(The damsels I have seen
In this castle, whence did they come?)

Tu *que quiers?* (*what seekest thou?*) (*Cour. Louis*, l. 512). *Et vous, qui estes?* (*and who are ye?*) (*Théât. franç.*, 146). This new form of phrase introduced by the growing tendency of French to give the sentence a uniform construction, with the subject at its head, was, on the other hand, in contradiction with the logical need of beginning

an interrogation with the verb, hence at an early period a pronoun referring to the subject already expressed was added after the verb

L'aveir Charlon est il *aparillez?* (*Rol* l 643)
(The treasure for Charles, is it made ready?)

This construction became more and more frequent from the 13th century, but gradually the true part played by the prefixed substantive, as intended to bring the subject into relief, was lost sight of The substantive was looked upon as the real subject of the verb, and the pronoun coming after, from being the real subject as it was at first, took the part of a logical subject[1].

392 SUBSTITUTION OF THE OBJECTIVE FORM FOR THE NOMINATIVE —Pronouns are either *accented* or *atonic* (Book II, § 193) In Old French all nominative pronouns were accented The writers of the first half of the 16th century still offer us many examples of this usage, although it was nearly lost in the 15th century *Pour ce que* Je *Mercure ay cogneu que* (*for that I, Mercury, have known that*) (Le Maire de Belges, 1) Tu *princesse pacifique* (*thou, peaceful princess*) (id. 2). *Je auserois jurer qu'*ilz *autres foys avoient Andoulles combatu* (*I would dare swear that they had formerly fought the Andoulles*) (Rabel II 406) Of this form the language has only retained the legal formula Je *soussigne* (*I, the undersigned*) From the 12th century, as we have seen, these nominative pronouns began to be treated as atonics or proclitics, and to be transformed into simple substitutes for the verbal inflexions, which had become too weak to express grammatical persons The nominative pronouns thus became proclitics or flexional prefixes in replacement of the lost flexional suffixes of the verb

But in many cases it is necessary to give stronger expression to the idea inherent to the pronoun, to lay stress

[1] For the periphrastic interrogative idioms so common in Modern French see §§ 416, 417

on the idea of the person who is the subject of the action. Thus from the 12th century also, that is from the time when the personal pronoun began to become atonic, the language had recourse to the accented form of the objective pronoun to express this emphasized state. Compare line 2501 of the *Chevalier au lion*

S'irons tornoier moi *et vos*
(We will go tourney, I and you)

with the two following lines of the same poem

Tu, *fet* (fit) *la dame, qui tant ses* (l 6576)
('Thou,' said the lady, 'who knowest so much')

Que il *et tuit* (tous) *si chevalier*
Venissent (l 2303)
(That he and all his knights should come)

The language is at this period wavering between the use of the accented forms of the nominative and of the objective pronoun, to mark emphasis This wavering was destined to die out, and from the second half of the 16th century the objective was definitely adopted moi, *je dis*, toi, *tu dis*, lui, *il dit*, &c [1]

The example quoted of Chrestien de Troyes, *S'irons tornoier moi et vos*, shows that when the Old language used for emphasis the accented form of the object it did not express the pronoun a second time (as in Modern French) It is in virtue of this construction that we find in the 17th century

Et nous *de qui les cœurs sont enclins aux forfaits*
Laissons languir sa gloire (La Font vi 289)
(And we, whose hearts to misdeeds are inclined,
Allow his glory to fade)

Peut-être que moi *qui existe n'existe ainsi que par la*

[1] [Compare the similar use of the objective for the nominative in popular English speech (1) after 'and,' 'than,' 'as,' &c, as the complement of the verb 'to be' 'It's him and me,' 'Better than him,' 'As good as her,' 'It s me', or 2) isolated, with the rest of the sentence understood, as in the answer to the question 'who?' 'Who's knocking?—Me']

force d'une nature universelle (*perhaps I, who exist, do so exist only in virtue of a universal nature*) (La Bruy. ii. 253) It was the same when the nominative pronoun was co-ordinate with one or several substantives *Li roys et* **nous** *qui estions avec li demourei feismes* (*fimes*) *voile* (*the king and we who had stayed with him . set sail*) (Joinv 148) *Le duc de Luynes, Noirmoustier et* **moi**, *fûmes lieutenants generaux* (*the duke of Luynes, Noirmoustier, and I were lieutenants-general*) (La Rochef ii 121)

Vous *et les miens avez merite pis* (La Font iv 350)
(You and my folk have deserved worse)

The repetition of the nominative pronoun before the verb in such cases as these came into use only in the 14th century, and, as we have seen, only by degrees, we now say *moi, j'arriverai demain*, but it is not yet obligatory in the second case, where a pronoun is co-ordinated with one or more substantives, we may still say quite correctly. *mes freres et moi arriverons demain*, as well as *mes freres et moi* **nous** *arriverons demain*[1]

393 THE PERSONAL PRONOUN AS OBJECT.—Many of the uses of the accented objective forms of the personal pronouns have been lost in the modern language All, however, appear when the construction is emphatic, as, for instance, when introduced by the phrases *c'est, est-ce c'est* **moi** *que tu appelles, c'est a* **toi** *que je pense, c'est pour* **lui** *que je travaille*, &c *Moi* and *toi* are used as the direct objects of a positive imperative *aime-***moi**, *pousse-***toi** Besides *moi* and *toi, lui, nous, vous*, and *leur* are used as the indirect objects of a positive imperative with or without a preposition · *ecris-***moi**, *ecris-***nous**, *ecris-***leur**, *pense a*

[1] In the 17th century such phrases often present only the atonic form unaccompanied by the accented, but then the pronoun must head the sentence, while the verb agrees with the pronoun only *Je me porte bien, Dieu merci, et toute la famille* (*I am well, thank God, and all the family*) (Rac vii 245)

moi, *pense à* **nous**, *pense à* **eux** (*leur = à eux*; see Book II, p 306) The insertion of *à* before the indirect object depends on whether the finite parts of the verb take the indirect object in its accented form with *à*, or in its atonic form *pense* **à moi** corresponds with *il pense* **à moi**, *ecris*-**moi** with *il* **m'***ecrit*

These distinctions were scarcely known to the Old language on the contrary, until the 14th century the accented forms were employed for both the accusative and dative, optionally with the finite parts of the verb, regularly with an infinitive or a gerundive *conseillierent* **soi** (*they deliberated*) (Villeh 24) *Il* **moi** *semble* (*me-seems*) (Joinv 406) It was not until the 16th century that the modern rule was established, but in the writers of that period we find scarcely any examples of the ancient usage They still however retained the power of using the pronoun **soi** according to the old rule, and this more frequently with an infinitive or a gerundive than with the finite parts of the verb *Pantagruel* **soy** *complaingnoit de ceste guerre* (*Pantagruel complained of this war*) (Rab II 416) **Soy** *embarquant pour faire voille* (*embarking to make sail*) (id. I. 183). This usage may also be found in La Fontaine:

> *Tant ne songeoient au service divin*
> *Qu'a* **soi** *montrer* (IV 448)
> (Not so much of divine service they thought
> As of displaying themselves)

The accented form is still in use when a verb has two co-ordinate direct objects, one at least of which is a personal pronoun, but in this case the pronoun is first expressed in its atonic form before the verb. *nous* **t'***aimons*, **toi** *et ton frere*, or *nous* **vous** *aimons*, **toi** *et ton frere*, or **vous** *et* **lui** This repetition of the pronoun has been long in use, we find it already in Villehardouin *Diex les* **nos** *laira* (*laissera*) *conquerre ensemble* **nos** *et* **els** (*God will let us, us and them, win them together*) (63) *Vos* **l'***avez tant servi et* **moi** *et* **lui** (*you have served him so well, both me and him*) (189).

But it was only gradually introduced[1]. As regards the use of accented forms with prepositions we must note—

1. That in Modern French, and indeed already in Old French, the adverbial pronouns *en* and *y* have replaced certain periphrases formed by personal pronouns preceded by the prepositions *de* and *en* (§ 399)

2 That the uses of the analytical dative (i e with the preposition expressed) are less numerous in the Modern than in the Old language In the 17th century expressions such as *parler* à moi, à toi, *attacher* à soi, *être semblable* à toi, à lui, &c , were still in vogue.

394 The reflexive pronoun soi (se)—I The reflexive pronoun soi implies the relation of identity with the subject of the 3rd person. In present usage it is only used (1) in the atonic form se, in reflexive or pronominal verbs, (2) in the accented form soi, (i) after a preposition *Chacun pour* soi, (ii) after *ne, ne que, comme, que Nul n'est prophete chez* soi *N'aimer que* soi. *Aimer son prochain comme* soi-*même* (*to love one's neighbour as oneself*)

On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi (La Font i 162)
(One often needs one smaller than oneself)

or (iii) as predicate *Il faut toujours être* soi (*a man must always be himself*) The use of the accented form soi is also restricted to a person undetermined (*on*, or an equivalent) or an inanimate object Until the end of the 17th century it was not so

Quels demons, quels serpents traîne-t-elle apres soi ! (Rac ii 124)
(What demons, what serpents, drags she in her train ?)

Il porte de l'argent sur soi (*he carries money on his*

[1] Like the nominative, the objective often occurs alone in its atonic form in the 17th century (see note, p 626)

Te confondent les dieux et toute ta sequelle ! (La Font vii 42.)
(The gods confound thee and all thy following !)

person) (La Bruy. I 69) If the following line of Corneille (III 529) does not strike us as incorrect:

Qu'il fasse autant pour soi *comme je fais pour lui*
(Let him do as much for himself as I do for him),

it is that the use of *lui* instead of *soi* would have here been impossible With the name of a thing *soi* is the rule: *L'aimant attire le fer à* soi (*the magnet attracts iron towards itself*), unless the noun is feminine and may be personified *Les maux que la guerre traîne après* elle (*the ills that war drags in her train*)

Thus the tendency of the language has been in general to restrict the use of *soi* in favour of *lui* and *elle* The modern usage is to be found as early as the 12th century

II *Se, soi,* are not exclusively singular forms, we say for instance *ces personnages* se *plaisent*, *ces* soi-*disant personnages* It would then still be correct to say as Molière did

Ce sont choses de soi *qui sont belles et bonnes* (IX 166)
(They are things which in themselves are beautiful and good)

or as Massillon did *Tant de profanations que les armes traînent toujours apres* soi (*so many profanations that arms drag ever in their train*) (*Petit Carême, Bened des drapeaux*) However, we cannot deny the present tendency of the language to substitute *lui, elle, eux, elles,* for *soi* when the subject is the name of a thing in the plural. *Les regrets que les fautes traînent apres* elles Hence, certain of our present grammarians declare that *soi* is always singular

394 a [Corresponding in function to the indefinite nominative substantive **on** (Book II, § 141) we have *se, soi,* as we have seen, used only as *reflexive* objectives The form corresponding to **on** for an object, direct or indirect, distinct from the subject, is **vous**. *le feu* **vous** *brûle* (*fire burns one*), *les coups* **vous** *font mal* (*blows hurt one*)]

395. THE PRONOUNS **le, la, les, lui, leur**—1 *Le, la, lui, leur*, as objectives relate to a *neighbouring* substantive Voyez-vous *cet* **homme**, *cette* **femme**? *Je* **le** *vois, je* **la** *vois, je* **les** *vois Mon* **père** *m'ayant ecrit, je* **lui** *ai repondu. Vos* **parents** *sont absents*, **leur** *avez-vous ecrit?*

These objective pronouns were often in Old French, and as late as the 18th century, used redundantly to give greater clearness to long sentences *Presque toutes les choses que nous estimons icy tant, et* **les** *tenons nous avoir este premierement revelees et envoyees du ciel, estoient en creance* (*nearly all those things which we esteem so much here, and hold* [*them*] *to have been first revealed and sent from heaven to us, were believed*) (Le Charron, *Sagesse*, 316) *Ce qu'il faut entendre un peu plus generalement que les termes ne semblent porter et l'etendre a la reconciliation de toute sorte de mauvaise intelligence* (*which we must understand in a somewhat more general sense than the words seem to convey, and extend* [*it*] *to the reconciliation of all kinds of misunderstanding*) (Corn 1 27) *Defaut naturel au sexe qu'on doit combattre de bonne heure et non l'entretenir et l'augmenter en s'y livrant* (*a defect natural to the sex, which one should combat betimes, and not keep* [*it*] *up and increase* [*it*] *by giving way to it*) (Rollin, *Traite des Études*, 1 ch II 2)

2 The logical neuter **le** (*it*) relates either to a neuter pronoun **ce** *que vous dites, je* **le** *comprends* (*what you say, I understand* [*it*]), or to an infinitive understood *travaillez puisque vous* **le** *pouvez* (*work, since you are able to* [*do it*]), or to a preceding proposition· *l'***affaire est autre** *que je ne* **le** *pensais* (*the affair is other than I thought* [*it*]) The last construction has been utilized to modify the sense of a certain number of verbs, the active verb having been transformed into an intransitive by the addition of the neuter *le emporter* = *to carry*, *l'emporter* = 'to carry it off,' i. e *to win* [compare 'to bring off' with the slang phrase 'to bring *it* off'].

3 In the Old language *le, la, les,* and the logical neuter *le,* as direct objects, were frequently dropped when the proposition contained *lui* or *leur* (or also *vous*) as the indirect object · *Et lors fu a toz ceste parole retraite si con l'empereore*[1] *lor ot requise* (*and then this question* [*word*] *was repeated to all, just as the emperor had required* [*it*] *of them*) (Villeh 196) This ellipsis was still very frequent in the 17th century *Le pape envoya le Formulaire tel qu'on*[1] *lui demandoit* (*the Pope sent the Formulary just as they asked* [*it*] *of him*) (Rac IV. 567) *Comme les hommes ne se degoûtent point du vice, il ne faut pas aussi se lasser de*[1] *leur reprocher* (*as men do not become disgusted with vice, so we must not weary of reproaching them* [*with it*]) (La Bruy I 105) *S'ils n'ont plus d'esprit que ne*[1] *porte leur condition* (*unless they have more wit than befits their condition*) (Id I 349). As late as the 18th century we find

Je ne suis point ingrate et je[1] *lui rendrai bien*
(Gresset, *Le Mech* Act I, Sc 2)
(I am not ungrateful, and will repay him well [for it])

This ellipsis was condemned by Vaugelas, who only authorized the suppression of the objective pronoun with an infinitive preceded by a preposition, a suppression which is still sometimes tolerated in Modern French in colloquial phrases like this *Il ne fut pas difficile de trouver un homme pour* [*le* omitted] *mettre a sa place* (*it was not difficult to find a man to put in his place*)

4 The Modern language requires that when the substantive represented by the objective pronoun is taken in an indeterminate sense the neuter pronoun *le* must be used, and never *la,* even when the substantive is feminine. Vaugelas is responsible for the following rule 'The pronoun is, as it were, a thing fixed and attached, and the noun without an article or with an indefinite article is like a thing vague and floating in the air, to which nothing can

[1] In contemporary French *le* would be inserted here

be attached' (1 p 87) This rule was far from being observed even in the 17th century ·

Permettez qu'il acheve et je ferai justice,
J'aime a la rendre a tous, a toute heure en tout lieu
(Corn III. 347)

(Allow him to finish, and I will do justice
It is my pleasure to render it to all, always and everywhere)

Je n'ai pas encore choisi de lecture, je vous la *manderai* (*I have not yet chosen a book to read, I will let you know it* [when I do]) (Sev VI 434) *Tout est tentation à qui* la *craint* (*everything is temptation to him who fears it*) (Id I 180)[1].

5 We must note, finally, a use more frequent in Old than in Modern French, where a following proposition is introduced by the neuter *le* *Henris* le *sot* (*sut*) . *que mult granz oz venoit sor lui* (*Henry knew this, that a very great host was coming against him*) (Villeh 322) *Et Diex* le *dist de sa bouche que il ont povoir de li donner a nous* (*and God said it with His mouth that they have the power to give Him to us*) (Joinv 450).

Je l'avois bien prevu que pour un tel ouvrage
Cinna saurait choisir des hommes de courage
(Corn III 391)

(I had well foreseen that for such a work
Cinna would have the capacity to choose men of courage)

Qui l'eût dit, qu'un rivage, a mes yeux si funeste,
Présenterait d'abord Pylade aux yeux d'Oreste? (Rac II 41)
(Who would have thought a shore so fatal in mine eyes
Would first present Pylades to Orestes' sight?)

II (*a*) *Le, la, les,* used as predicates agree in gender and number, but not in case, with the substantives they represent *Êtes-vous la reine?—Je* la *suis* *Êtes-vous les frères de mon ami?—Nous* les *sommes.* And not *Je suis* elle, *nous sommes* eux This strange use is due to the

[1] This other example from La Bruyère *S'il a de la laideur*, elle *ne fait pas son impression* (*if he has ugliness, it does not produce its effect*) (II 94), where we should now substitute *cela* for *elle*, shows that this use of the personal for the logical pronoun also applied where the pronoun representing an indeterminate substantive was the subject

fact that the verb *être* in French puts its predicate, when a pronoun, in the accusative Compare the sentence *Malheureux* que *nous sommes!* not *malheureux* qui *nous sommes!*

(*b*) When the pronoun is used as a predicate to replace either an adjective, a noun taken in an indeterminate sense, or a proposition, we use the logical neuter *le*. *Êtes-vous habile?—Je* le *suis* *Êtes-vous reine?—Je* le *suis* *Serez-vous satisfaite?—Je* le *serai* This rule has only been in full force since the 18th century, although Vaugelas laid it down in the preceding century Examples of *le, la, les,* used where we should now use the neuter *le,* abound in the 17th century The grammarian Restaut (1774) says that, in his time, women persisted in saying *J'ai ete malade, je* la *suis encore*, *Êtes-vous malades?—Nous* les *sommes*, and Piron, in the first edition of his *Metromanie* (1738), still wrote · •

> *J'etais indifferente et je ne* la *suis plus,*
> *Et je sais que sans vous je* la *serois encore* (Act IV, Sc 8)
> (I was indifferent, and I am so no more,
> And I know without you I should be so still)

396 USE OF PLURAL FORMS TO DENOTE A SINGULAR.— The usage of Imperial Rome introduced the tradition, perpetuated among all modern nations, of this use of the plural, called *plural of majesty* The Roman emperors, from Diocletian onward, in order to increase their importance, said *nos* instead of *ego* when speaking of themselves[1]. The example, coming from above, spread downwards, and extended the usage of the plural of the 1st and 2nd persons where the singular was alone recognized by ancient custom *Vos* is used instead of *tu* in the very earliest French texts However, it must be noted that the Old language passes backwards and forwards with much greater ease than the Modern language between *vous* and

[1] [Cicero, in his letters as well as his speeches, and the poets, frequently use *nos* for the 1st person singular But there is no classical example of the plural form for the 2nd person singular]

tu in the same dialogue, present usage only admits this variation in a few special and well-defined cases[1].

At the present day *tu* is used in the language of intimacy, affection, passion, contempt, and also by superiors to inferiors[2]. With regard to this point the correspondence of changes of usage with certain changes in manners deserves study.

By the influence of the Bible (for Hebrew only recognizes 'thouing') *tu* has been kept up in addressing God and the saints, and, in poetry, in addressing earthly powers The influence of the manners of the Court of Louis XIV led to the almost complete neglect of *tu*, &c, by Racine in his tragedies

As far as the syntax is concerned we note that, while the verb takes this formal plural from the subject, the attribute does not, but is in the singular *Vous êtes* **bon**, *vous êtes* **bonne**, although in Latin in this case it was in the plural With a real plural, the language gives no clue as to whether the singular would require *tu* or *vous vous êtes* **bons**, **bonnes**, in the plural, corresponds to the two singular forms *tu es bon, bonne*, and *vous êtes bon, bonne*.

397 EXPLETIVE USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS (ETHICAL DATIVE).—Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, corresponding to the so-called 'ethical dative' in Latin, are often used as expletives *Je vais* **te** (or **vous**) *le fustiger d'importance* (*I'll give him a sound drubbing for you*)

Prends-moi *le bon parti, laisse-la tous les livres*
(Boileau, *Sat VIII*, l 179)
(**Choose me the better** part, lay all your books aside)

[1] [Catholics use the singular form in prayers but rarely, it is universal in Protestant French religious diction]

[2] [But, once *tutoiement* is set up, it is not easily abandoned, thus servants who have known their employers from infancy in some cases 'thou' them when adult; and the same may hold for former schoolfellows, fellow-privates, &c, despite ultimate social position The use by superiors to inferiors is at present rare, and in most cases implies contemptuous intention]

*Faites-***moi** *taire ces gens-là Allons, Monsieur, faites le dû de votre charge et dressez-lui-***moi** *son procès comme larron et comme suborneur* (*Hush me those folk Come, sir, perform the duty of your charge, and draw me* [*him*] *up his indictment as a thief and a suborner*) (Mol VII 192).

On lui ha les pieds, on **vous** *le suspendit* (La Font I 201)[1]
(They bound his feet **and** hanged him up for you)

This use of an expletive, which serves in some way to emphasize the interest of the person speaking, or the supposed interest of the person spoken to, with respect to the matter in question, was already in constant use in Latin Old French recognized it, more especially with the pronoun of the 1st person

Franc chevalier, dist l'emperere Charles,
Car **m'**esliseż *un baron de ma marche* (*Rol* l. 274)
('Brave knights,' said the emperor Charles,
'Now choose you **me** a baron of my mark [district]')

However, we may point out the expletive *vous* in the locutions *es vos, es les vos* (Book II, p 308, note 3).

398. PERIPHRASTIC SUBSTITUTES FOR PERSONAL PRONOUNS —The Old language often made use of a periphrase instead of a personal pronoun Instead of *moi, toi, soi, lui*, &c, *mon corps, tes membres, son nom, sa jovente* (*jeunesse*), *sa chair, sa personne*, &c, were used.

Jo conduirai **mon cors** (corps) *en Rencesvals* (*Rol* l 892)
(I will betake myself to Roncesvalles)

S'en la merci le roi **vos membres** *ne metes*
(Ren de Montauban, 236)
(If you put not your limbs at the mercy of the king)

La **jouvente** *du roy ont tost* (tôt) *ensevelie*
(Beaud de Seb XXIII 886)
(They quickly buried the king's folk)

In these three examples *mon cors, vos membres*, and

[1] [Cf Shakespeare
'Knock me at this gate,
And rap me well'
Taming of the Shrew, Act I, Sc 2]

jouvente are mere equivalents of the pronouns *moi, vous, eux*. This usage is lost, save with the two words *corps* and *personne* in the expressions. *a* **son corps** *defendant* (*against his will*), *venir* **en personne** (*to come in person*), *parlant à* **sa personne** (*speaking to him in person*)

399 THE ADVERBIAL PRONOUNS **EN** AND **Y**.—The adverbs *en* and *y* have gradually acquired a pronominal value.

EN I The adverbial function of *en* is still to be found in cases where it recalls a whole preceding proposition, and so marks a relation of cause *Faites cela, je vous* **en** *aimerai davantage* (*do this, and I will love you the better for it*)

It is, moreover, felt in a great many expressions where *en* does not represent a special word, but expresses some vague connexion *n'***en** *pouvoir mais* (*not to be able to do more*, i e *to help it*[1]), *c'***en** *est fait* (*it's all up with it*), &c The present language has a tendency to swell the number of these locutions In the 17th century the following were still commonly used *se tenir à* (*to stop at*), *il est ainsi* (*it is so*), *demeurer là* (*to stop there*), *se prendre a* (*to take to task*), *vouloir a* (*to have a grudge against*), *avoir a* (*to have a fault to find with*), *imposer a* (*to impose upon*), &c , where we now say *s'***en** *tenir a*, *il* **en** *est ainsi*, **en** *demeurer la*, *s'***en** *prendre a*, **en** *vouloir a*, **en** *avoir a*, **en** *imposer a*, &c

II As a true pronoun **en** denotes

A Possession (= *thereof, of it*, and, in older French, *of him, of her, of them*) *J'aime Paris, j'***en** *admire les monuments* With this meaning the pronoun *en* is especially used, in the present language, to refer to nouns denoting things. This use of *en* is becoming more and more

[1] *Mais* has here the primitive sense, *more*, Lat *magis*

restricted with reference to nouns denoting persons At the present day we should hardly say

Sans l avoir jamais vu, je connais son courage
Qu'importe après cela quel en *soit le visage ?* (Corn IV 359)
(Without ever having seen him, I know his courage
What matters, after that, what his face may be ?)

Le philosophe consume sa vie à observer les hommes, et il use ses esprits a en *demêler les vices et le ridicule* (*the philosopher consumes his life in observing men, and he wears his wits in unravelling their vices and absurdity*) (La Bruy. I 127) According to the present usage we should substitute the possessive adjective for *en*, and write *a demêler* leurs *vices et* leur *ridicule.*

B The indirect object (ablative). In this case it is indiscriminately applied both to persons and things However, it is no longer used so freely as formerly in referring to pronouns of the 1st or 2nd person

Ne ne trovai (trouvai) *qui me deist* (dit)
De vos chose qui me seist (convienne)
Car il n'en savoient noveles (*Chev au lion*, l 3695)
(Nor found I there any one to tell me
Aught of you that suited me,
For thereof they knew no tidings)

Even in the 17th century we find *Quant à moi, mon Père, il* en *faut juger autrement* (*as for me, father, you must judge of me differently*) (Pascal, *Prov* 316). *Il vous aime et s'*en *est fait aimer* (*he loves you and has made himself loved of you*) (Corn VII 507) We should still say, in the 3rd person *Il l'aime et s'en est fait aimer*

C. A partitive object (= *of the kind* referred to) —The Modern language has considerably extended this use, which was rather restricted till the 17th century Old French scarcely used *en* regularly in a partitive sense, save when the proposition contained a precise numeral determination *Li* (lui) *semble bien que uns seus jors* (seul jour)

en *dure quarante* (*it seems to him that one single day lasts forty*) (Henri de Valenciennes, 556).

Se perdu aves une femme
Cent **en** *ares* (aurez), *se vous voules* (*Théât. franç.* 413)
(If one wife you have lost,
A hundred of them you will have if you will)

Save in this case, *en* was not obligatory.

Tybert comença a chanter
Une chançon tote (toute) *de Rome*
Onques (jamais) *si bele n'i*[1] *oï home* (belle n'ouït-on)
(*Rom de Renart*, br XII 524)
(Tybert began to sing
A song all about Rome
So fine a one none ever heard)

Bientôt a cet effort fais[1] *succeder un autre* (Corn x 130.)
(Soon on this effort let another follow)

Tous d'une commune voix vous nommerent, et il n'y[1] *eut pas un seul* (*all with one common voice named you, and there was not a single one*.) (La Bruy 1 36).

Note that *en*, which plays the part of a genitive when it shows possession, and of an ablative when it is an indirect object, replaces an accusative when it is partitive *Ce fruit est excellent, goûtez-***en** (*this fruit is excellent, taste some*) *Il a eleve plus de monuments que d'autres n'***en** *ont detruit* (*he has raised more monuments than others have destroyed*)[2] In such a case the noun referred to may have an attribute, which takes the place of the accusative after the verb *Avez-vous lu les drames de Shakespeare?—J'***en** *ai lu* **quelques-uns** (*I have read some of them*) This construction shows us the transition from *en* used as a genitive to *en* used as an accusative *Avez-vous lu ces livres?—J'***en** *ai lu quelques-uns*, that is *j'ai lu quelques-uns* **d'eux**. Suppressing the direct object *quelques-uns* we

[1] In these examples, modern usage would demand the insertion of *en* at this place.

[2] [The most literal rendering of this partitive *en* is our archaic *thereof*.]

have the partitive accusative · *J'**en** ai lu* The construction is altered, but not the sense

Y I The adverbial function of *y* may be found in the locutions *il y a* (*it is there = there is, there are*), *il y va de* (*it is a matter of*) The Old language preferred *il a* and *il va*, and the absence of *y* was all the more logical for *il a*, since *y* is a pleonasm when it is followed by a precise determination of place *il* **y** *a* **à Paris** In the 17th century we still find *Il m'a paru que la veritable cause est qu'***il en a** *de vrays* (*it seemed to me that the veritable cause is that there are true ones* [*miracles*]) (Pascal, *Pens* II 71). *Proces criminels où* **il ne va** *jamais moins que de sa vie* (*criminal trials, involving never anything short of one's life*) (Sév II 235) On the other hand, in the 17th century *y* was often used as a pleonasm to recall a place already named *Mille gens a la cour* **y** *traînent leur vie a embrasser* (*a thousand people at court drag their lives out there in embracing*) (La Bruy. I 316)

The adverbial function of *y* may also be found in a great number of locutions in which *y* represents rather a preceding idea than a preceding noun *Vous dependez dans une affaire du consentement de deux personnes, l'un vous dit 'J'***y** *donne les mains, pourvu qu'un tel* **y** *condescende,' et ce tel* **y** *condescend Cependant rien n'avance 'Je m'***y** *perds,' dites-vous, 'et je n'***y** *comprends rien, il ne s'agit que de faire qu'ils se parlent.' Je vous dis, moi, que j'***y** *vois clair, et que j'***y** *comprends tout ils se sont parle* (*In an affair you depend on the consent of two people One tells you 'I consent, provided So-and-so agrees to it', and this So-and-so does agree to it However, things do not progress . 'I am lost,' say you, 'and I can't make it out, it is only a matter of getting them to talk together' I tell you that I do make it out, and that I understand it all they have talked together*) (La Bruy I 333) Compare the locutions *n'y voir goutte* (*to be all in the dark*), *vous n'y êtes pas* (*you don't understand*, lit *'you're not in it'*), &c.

II As a true pronoun *y* stands for a noun preceded by a preposition, and does duty for an indirect object (dative) The modern language tends to restrict the application of *y* in its various uses to nouns denoting things. Already Vaugelas blamed the phrase *J'ay remis les hardes de mon frère a un tel afin qu'il les* y [for lui] *donne* (*I handed over my brother's clothes to such a person for him to give them to him*), and, he added, 'it is quite a common fault with our courtiers' (I 177) It was also the custom of many writers *Il n'y a homme au monde qui soit a vous si veritablement que j'y suis* (*there is no man in the world so truly yours as I am*) (La Rochef III 138) *Rien ne peut me distraire de penser a vous, j'y rapporte toutes choses* (*nothing can distract me from thinking of you, I refer everything to you*) (Sev VI 318) *Un vieillard . est un tresor inestimable, il est plein de faits , l'on* y *trouve l'histoire du siecle* (*an old man is an inestimable treasure, he is full of facts, in him we find the history of the century*) (La Bruy II 54) We also note in the 17th and 18th centuries the use of *y* for a noun denoting a person, preceded by the preposition *avec* or *chez Je vois Madame de Villars* [equivalent to *je vais chez*], *et je m'*y *plais parce que . (I visit Madame de Villars, and I like being there because)* (Sev II 66) *On se fait un plaisir de vivre avec eux et on ne veut pas* y *être enterre* (*one takes pleasure in living with them* [actors], *and one is unwilling to be buried with them*) (Voltaire, *Letters*, 18 *July*, 1762)

Thus *en* and *y* in the Old language were applied indifferently both to persons and things The language has a tendency to restrict their use to nouns denoting things, and we have here a fresh instance of this distinction which the language draws, for pronouns, between words denoting persons and words denoting things [thus tending to form a true neuter gender] This distinction is absolutely unknown as far as substantives and verbs are concerned, it is strange that it should have been gradually adopted for personal and relative pronouns.

II Possessive Pronouns

400. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES —We have seen (Book II, § 202) that little by little the language distributed into two series, and applied to two different uses, the possessives, according as they were accented or atonic. The accented pronouns have become substantive pronouns *le mien, le tien, le sien , la mienne*, &c , *les miens, les miennes*, &c The atonic pronouns have become adjective pronouns *mon, ton, son , nos, vos, leurs , ma, ta, sa , mes, tes, ses*, &c

The accented forms were used in the Old language both as attributives and as predicates

As attributives they were put either before or, more rarely, after the substantive, whether it stood alone or was accompanied by a determinant (definite or indefinite article, demonstrative, or numeral) *en mien pays, le mien pays, un mien pays, ce mien pays, ces deux vostres amis*, &c This use, very frequent in the first half of the 16th century, only survives as an archaism in the 17th , we find it especially marked in Racine's *Les Plaideurs* and in La Fontaine , it was, moreover, condemned by all grammarians of the period It survives only in *un mien ami, ces miennes choses*, of familiar style The loss of this use can but be regretted In most cases where the Old language used accented forms, it is impossible for the present language to render their complete sense by the simple atonic forms , *un mien ami* (*a friend of mine*) is quite different from *mon ami* (*my friend*), and must be rendered by a periphrase, *un ami a moi*, or *un de mes amis*[1] (*one of my friends*). *Aucune vostre entreprise* (*no undertaking of yours*) is now rendered by *aucune entreprise de votre part* The idea expressed by the accented possessive is also expressed at the present

[1] This periphrase is already to be found in Old French *Lors me dist uns de mes mariniers* (*then one of my mariners said to me*) (Joinv 320)

day by the adjective *propre* (*own*) sometimes used with the atonic possessive *ma propre expérience* (= *my own experience*, O. F. *la mienne experience*)

The use of accented forms without an article for the predicate was also regular in the Old language *'Dient-il voir* (Mod F *vrai*) *que la garde de l'abbaie est* **moye**?'—*'Certes, sire, fiz je, non est ains* (*mais*) *est* **moye**' *Lors dist li roys 'Il puet* (*peut*) *bien estre que li eritaiges est* **vostre** (*'Do they say truly that the patronage of the abbey is mine?'—'Surely, sire, it is not, but mine,' said I Then said the king, 'It may well be that the heritage is yours'*) (Joinv 676–77)

In the 16th century, however, the grammarians Palsgrave and Garnier demanded the substitution of the periphrases *à moi, à toi, a lui,* &c, for the possessive pronouns, and the following phrase of Rabelais shows us the two modes *Voire mais ce champ n'est pas* **tien,** *il est* **a moy** *et m'appartient* (*but, in sooth, this field is not thine, it is mine, and belongs to me*) (II 427) In the 17th century the old usage was almost entirely lost, and is only to be found in some familiar locutions The present usage for the predicate is, then, to prefix the article to the accented possessive pronoun (e g *le mien*), or to replace it by the prepositional dative (e g *a moi*)

401 POSSESSIVE REPLACED BY THE ARTICLE —In the present language the possessive adjective is replaced by the article when the possessive idea is already clearly expressed· *Il a mal a* **la** *tête* **La** *jambe me fait mal. Il s'est coupe* **le** *doigt* In the Old language, and as late as the 17th century, no hesitation was felt in using the possessive adjective in this case, but it may be noted that the active or simple verb was used with the possessive, instead of the reflexive or pronominal verb with the article. *Il frotte* **ses** *mains* (La Bruy. II. 135), and not *Il se frotte* **les** *mains.* So *Un homme superstitieux, après avoir lave* **ses**

mains [Mod F. *s'être lave les mains*], *se promène une grande partie du jour avec une feuille de laurier dans* **sa** [Mod. F *la*] *bouche* (*a superstitious man, after washing his hands, walks about a great part of the day with a laurel leaf in his mouth*) (id 1 65) The present construction appears as early as the 12th century

Vers terre tint le *chief* (la tête) *enclin* (*Chev au lion*, l 3962)
(Towards the earth he held his head inclined)

Although Palsgrave, in the 16th century, held that *il me lava* **les** *mains* and not *il lava* **mes** *mains* should be definitively adopted, the modern usage only triumphed in the 18th century Later, somewhat subtle distinctions were made for the ellipsis and the use of the possessive respectively Compare *se couper les cheveux* (*to cut one's hair*) and *couper ses cheveux* (*to cut off one's hair*), *se former le goût* and *former son goût*, &c

402. USE OF THE POSSESSIVE OF THE 3RD PERSON —I The Latin **suus, sua, suum,** referred either to a single possessor, or to more than one *mater amat* **suos** *liberos* (*the mother loves her children*), *matres amant* **suos** *liberos* (*the mothers love their children*) This construction has survived in both Spanish and Portuguese It occurs here and there in Old French

Li soleil e la lune perdirent **ses** *clartez* (*Rom d'Alix* 23)
(The sun and moon lost their brightness)

But it was not retained, *son, sa,* were reserved for a single possessor, and for more than one recourse was had to **illorum**, *leur La mère aime* **ses** *enfants*, *les mères aiment* **leurs** *enfants.* We have seen (Book II, p. 306) that down to the 14th century *leur,* according to its etymology, had remained indeclinable, as in **leur** *amis* Traces are still to be found of this indeclinability of *leur,* and its consequent force as a demonstrative, in Malherbe, and even in the translations of Racine's youth

II In Latin this possessive **suus** only referred as a rule to a possessor mentioned in the same clause as the possessed object, or to one who was the subject of the principal sentence Otherwise, instead of **suus** the genitive of the pronoun of the 3rd person was used The phrase, 'I saw this man (*or* these men) and admired his (*or* their) talents,' would be rendered in Latin, 'I saw , and admired the talent of him (*or* of them)'

This distinction was not quite unknown to the Old language, owing to its retention until the 16th century of the power of replacing the possessive adjective by the periphrases *de moi, de toi, de lui,* &c Thus, for the 3rd person were avoided many ambiguities necessarily brought into the present language by the use of *son, sa, ses Car elle avait consenty apres sa defense le deshonneur* **de luy** (*for she had consented to his dishonour, after his forbiddal*) (*Cent Nouv* 1 30) *Et si vous voulez avoir la bonne grace* **d'elle**, *je vous conseille de vous faire amy et serviteur* de **luy** (*and if you would gain the good graces of her, I advise you to make yourself a friend and servant of him*) (*Heptameron*, 1 348)[1] This last sentence would have no sense if *son* and *sa* were substituted for *de lui* and *d'elle* according to modern syntax, to render it clear it would be necessary to express the possessors by substantives Compare this passage of La Bruyère *Il descend du Palais, et trouvant au bas du grand degre un carrosse, qu'il prend pour le sien, il se met dedans, le cocher touche et croit remener* **son** *maître dans* **sa** *maison* (*he goes out of the Palace, and, finding at the foot of the great staircase a carriage which he takes for his own,*

[1] This construction occurs but very rarely in the 17th century, and we must distinguish it from that in which the periphrase *de moi, de toi,* &c, instead of *mon, ton,* &c , is brought about by the sequence of a substantive co ordinate with the pronoun *J'assembleray les iniquites* **de vous** *et de vos peres* (*I will gather together your and your fathers' iniquities*) (Pasc *Pensées*, 1. 224) In the Modern language we generally use the possessive adjective in this case, putting a demonstrative pronoun before the co-ordinated possessive substantive vos *iniquites et* **celles** *de vos peres.*

he gets in, the coachman whips up and thinks he is taking **his** *master back to* **his** *house*) (II 8).

On the other hand it might be thought from the construction *j'aime Paris et j'***en** *admire les monuments* (*I love Paris and admire its monuments*), where *en* is the equivalent of *de lui*, that French has retained a trace of the Latin rule forbidding the use of the possessive when the possessor is not mentioned in the proposition It is not so The rule which requires the use of the pronoun *en* when the possessor is a thing mentioned in another proposition is of recent application (see § 399, II, p 636). Although already formulated in the 17th century by the grammarians of Port-Royal, it was little observed by the great French writers, Voltaire did not hesitate to write

Mais la mollesse est douce et **sa** *suite est cruelle* (*Zaire*, Act I, Sc 2)
(But indolence is sweet, and its results are cruel)

Even at the present day this rule is often broken, and is subject to many exceptions.

403 POSSESSIVES RELATING TO ONE OR MORE SUBSTANTIVES —There are two cases to be considered (1) We have seen (§ 369, II) that in the Old language a single possessive could be used before several substantives, being made to agree either with the first of these or with them all This use has survived in the phrases *en* **mon** *âme et conscience*, **ses** *pere et mere* The present language, however, prefers in such cases to express the possessive adjective before *each* substantive *il avait* **son** *cheval et* **sa** *voiture*

(2) When two or more possessives refer to a single substantive, they were allowed to precede it in the Old language, and down to the 16th century we find *le mien et sien pere* In the present language only a single possessive is allowed to precede the substantive *mon pere et le sien* (*my father and his*)

404 USE OF POSSESSIVES IN THE OBJECTIVE SENSE —

We must finally note the use of the possessive as indicating an objective genitive (see Book III, § 281, 2) When Racine says (II 299) *j'irai semer partout* **ma** *crainte* (*I will go sow my fear everywhere*), *ma crainte* does not signify *my fear* as in '*my house*,' but '*the fear of me*'

This use of the possessive was fairly extensive in the Old language, and even in the 17th century was more so than it is at present Malherbe, who twitted Desportes for having written *eut-il pitie de* **ma** *fatalite* (*had he pity on my fatal misfortune*), himself writes **son** *mepris* = *contempt for her* (I 39); **ton** *amour et* **ta** *crainte* = *the love and the fear of thee* (I 72) The Modern language is more cautious in its use However, we still say *a mon aide* (*to my help*), *a sa suite* (*following him*), *en mon honneur* (*in my honour*), *à son égard* (*with respect to him*), where the possessive adjective represents the object of the transitive verbal idea contained in the substantive *Venez a mon aide* is the equivalent of *Venez m'aider*, *il a fait cela en mon honneur* of *il a fait cela pour m'honorer* In other cases the possessive adjective does not represent the object of a verb, and can only be explained by the ellipsis of a phrase or proposition *a mon endroit* (*in my place*), *avoir de ses nouvelles* (*to have news of him*), *porter son deuil* (*to be in mourning for him*), &c The same applies to such sentences as *Il est bien de* **sa** *personne* (*he is of good appearance*), *Ce que vous avez ecrit a* **son** *sujet* (*what you wrote about him*), and also to *Cela sent* **son** *vieillard*, **son** *vieux temps* (*this has a scent of* [= *suggests*] *the old man, the ancient time*, sc of its author or origin), and to the popular expression, *faire* **son** *malin* (*to play the* [lit *his*] *clever fellow*) In all idioms of this kind, the possessive takes the place of a whole proposition, this being different in different cases.

III Demonstrative Pronouns

405 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES —We have seen (Book II, §§ 207, 208) how, in the old declen-

sion of the demonstratives, the forms of the nominative were lost and replaced by those of the accusative at the end of the 14th century, and how in the 15th and the 16th centuries the forms of the dative were also reduced in the compounds of iste and of ille with ecce, so that through one reduction after another the iste family at last came to represent only the demonstrative adjective, and the ille family only the demonstrative substantive *ce* or *cet, ces*, in the masculine, *cette, ces*, in the feminine, on the one hand, *celui, celle, ceux, celles*, on the other

In the Old language, when the *cest* family and the family of *cel, celui*, had alike both substantive and adjective functions, each family had its proper definite value. the former pointed out objects that were near, the latter objects at a distance But, both families being thus reduced, and having acquired, as we saw, new and distinct grammatical functions, the Modern language had recourse to a new process to express the ideas of nearness and distance, by adding the adverbs *ici* and *la*, and *ici*, which survives in popular speech, was reduced in this use in the common language to *ci* Thus as adjectives we use *ce livre-ci, cette feuille-ci, ces choses-ci, ce livre-là, cette feuille-là, ces choses là*, as substantives *celui ci, celle-ci, ceux-ci, celles-ci*, and *celui-là, celle-là* We may add the neuter *ce*, which gives *ceci, cela* (in familiar language *ça*). Owing to this change of function, the language arrived at such phrases as cet *homme est* celui *dont je vous parle*, which signifies etymologically. this *man is* that *one of whom I speak to you*

406 The pronoun celui —1 *Celui* before a genitive replaces a preceding substantive *le livre de Pierre et* celui *de Paul* In this case in Latin the substantive was itself either understood, or repeated · *the life of man is shorter than* of *crows*, or *than* the life *of crows* Such too was the usage in Old French *E mes piez fait ignels cume* (*comme*) de *cerf* (*and maketh my feet fleet as* [*those*] *of a hart*)

(*Quat. Liv Rois*, 208) *L'yaue devenoit aussi froide come* de *fonteine* (*the water turned as cold as* [*that*] *of a spring*) (Joinv 189) *Et lors je pris le pan de son seurcot et* deu *seurcot le* [Mod F *du*] *roi* (*and then I took the skirt of his surcoat and of the king's surcoat*) (id 36) So also in the 17th century *ma femme et mes enfants ne me laisseroient pas hasarder ma foi et mon honneur et mon repos, et* de *ma famille* (*my wife and children would not let me risk my faith and my honour and my peace, and* [*those*] *of my family*) (La Rochef III 242) *Cette province est un bel exemple pour les autres et surtout* de *respecter les gouverneurs* (*this province is a fine example for the rest, and especially* [*one*] *of respect for governors*) (Sév IV 207) *Pleurer tous franchement et sans autre embarras que* d'*essuyer ses larmes* (*for all to weep frankly without other embarrassment than that of wiping away their tears*) (La Bruy I 137)

The Old language could also express this relation by the article (Book II, § 199, 2) *E seueid* (*suivit*) *les males* (*mauvaises*) *traces sun pere e sa mere, e* les *Jeroboam* (*and he followed the evil ways of his father and his mother, and those of Jeroboam*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 342) *Je n'i vi cotes brodees, ne* les *le roi ne* les *autrui* (*I saw there no embroidered coats, neither those of the king nor those of any one else*) (Joinv 25) This peculiar use of the article was not quite lost in the popular speech in the 16th century H. Estienne notes that in his time they said les *d'Henri* (for *those of Henry*, Mod F *ceux d'Henri*), and we still say *Meml*-le-*Roi*, *Villeneuve*-la *Guyard*

Nevertheless, the use of the demonstrative also was not unknown in the Old language Thus Joinville, who, as we have just seen, sometimes follows the Latin syntax and sometimes has recourse to the article, uses no less frequently the demonstrative pronoun *Se logea entre le flun* (*fleuve*) *de Damiette et* celui *de Rexi* (*he settled between the river of Damietta and that of Rexi*) (191) But the use of the demonstrative has only become truly regular from the 18th century.

2. *Celui*, in the present language, can only be used absolutely, that is, without the particle *-ci* or *-la*, when immediately followed either (1) by a genitive *celui de Pierre*, or (2) by a relative proposition *celui qui vient* The Old language used it absolutely, under all circumstances Down to the 15th century it might be either subject, predicate, or object **ceulx** *furent prins* (*these were taken*) (*Jeh de Paris*, 13) *Avec* **celuy** *se festoya le grand empereur Osiris* (*with him feasted the great emperor Osiris* (Le Maire de Belges)

In the 16th century this licence was lost save in two cases, and *celui* could only be used absolutely

(*a*) When *celui* was separated from a relative pronoun by an intervening phrase R Estienne said that it was incorrect to write *celui-la est homme de bien qui* , and held that we should write *celui est homme de bien qui* (*that man is an upright man who*) A century later Vaugelas decided the contrary, and only admitted *celui-là est homme de bien qui* In fact, this is the most frequent construction in use during the 17th century **Celui-là** *n'est pas raisonnable a qui le hasard fait trouver la raison* (*he is no reasonable man who owes his reasonableness to chance*) (La Rochef 1 76), **celui-là** *est bon qui fait du bien aux autres* (*he is good who does good to others*) (La Bruy 1. 169). Certain grammarians of the period, finding this construction harsh, extolled another, which has triumphed, and consists in making the relative proposition immediately follow the demonstrative **celui qui** *est homme de bien* Of the old use of *celui* absolutely, separated from the relative proposition, one trace has remained it is allowed when the intervening portion of the sentence is formed by either an adjective or participle [or adjectival phrase] *Votre exemple, et* **celui** *si genereux qu'a donne votre lettre Ma lettre, et* **celle** *ecrite par mon ami, qui vous sera remise* (*Your example, and that most generous* [*one*] *set by your letter My letter, and that written by my friend, which will be handed to you*)

On the other hand, in the 16th century and during the first half of the 17th, to find *celui-ci* and *celui-là* immediately before a relative proposition was not infrequent

Or entre tous **ceux-là qui** *se mirent a table*
(Régn *Sat X*, v 279)
(Now of all those who took their places at table)

La Fontaine is almost the only author of the second half of the 17th century who has recourse to this use of *celui-ci, -là*, which is now dead

(*b*) When *celui* was accompanied by an adjective, a participle, or some other determinant not followed by a relative proposition Modern grammarians blame such expressions as: *ajoutez ce service a* **ceux** *deja rendus* (*add this service to those already rendered*) The present rule prescribes that *ceux deja rendus* should be replaced by a relative proposition after the demonstrative (*ceux* **qui sont déjà rendus**[1]), but it is far from being universally accepted In the popular speech and in easy style the ancient usage is still followed

3 *Celui qui* (O F *cil qui* or *cel qui*) had frequently, until the 17th century, (*a*) with *comme*, the general sense of *une personne* (*he who, one who*, pl *they who, people who*, corresponding to the Latin *quippe qui*), (*b*) with a negative, the general sense of *pas une personne* (*no one who*)

(*a*) *Li cuens de la Marche,* **come** (*comme*) **cil qui** *ne le pot amender* (*the Count of the Mark, as one unable to remedy it*) (Joinv 103) *Ils marcheoyent en desordre* **comme ceux qui** *cuidoyent* (*croyaient*) *bien estre hors de tout danger* (*they marched in disorder, as if thinking themselves out of all danger*) (Mont 1 45) *Elle vous parle* **comme celle qui** *n'est pas savante et elle vous ecoute* **comme celle qui** *sait beaucoup* (*she speaks to you as one who is not learned, and listens to you as one who knows much*) (La Bruy II. 92) The verb may even be in another person

[1] [Or by the repetition of the substantive *aux services deja rendus*]

than the 3rd **comme celui qui suis** *autant jaloux des droits de . .* (*as one that is* [lit *am*] *as jealous of the rights of .*) (Mont III 2) *Je le dis* **comme celuy qui y estois** *present* (*I speak of it as an eye witness*) (Pasquier, *Recherches*, VII 6) Thus Bossuet is justified in writing *Je suis* **celui qui suis** (*I am That I am*) This construction is still used in familiar locutions *Il fait* **celui qui** *ne comprend pas Elle fait* **celle qui** *est sourde* (*He plays the man who does not understand. She plays the deaf woman*)

(*b*) **Ni ad** (*avait*) **ioel qui** *un sol* (*seul*) *mot respondet* (*Rol* l 3540)

(There was none there who answered one single word)

Car il **n'i a celi qui** *autant n'aint* (*aime*) *sa vie* (*for there is no one who does not love his life as much*) (Joinv 628). **Il n'y eut celluy qui** *ne beust vingt cinq ou trente muys* (*muids*) (*there was none that did not drink twenty-five or thirty hogsheads*) (Rabel I 320) **Il n'y avoit celui qui** *ne prevît une prochaine rupture avec la famille de Lorge* (*there was no one who did not foresee an early rupture with the de Lorge family*) (Saint-Simon, vol 28, p 279).

4 *Ceux* followed by a genitive was very often taken absolutely in the sense of *'les hommes, les gens'* (*the men, the people*), and this use survives

E **cil** (ceux) *d'Espaigne s en claiment tuit* (tout) *dolent* (*Rol* l 1608)

(And those of Spain complain, full of grief)

Cil *de Venise* (*the men of Venice*) (Villeh 49). **Ceus** *dou chastel* (*the people of the castle*) (Joinv 536) **Cil** *de son conseil* (*his councillors*) (id 678) *Il s'etend merveilleusement . sur le combat celebre que* **ceux** *de Lacedemone ont livre aux Athéniens sous la conduite de Lysandre* (*he dwells wonderfully on the famous battle which the men of Lacedaemon fought with the Athenians under the leadership of Lysander*) (La Bruy I. 49). And in Fénelon **Ceux** *de Crotone ont perdu contre lui deux batailles* (*the men of Crotona lost two battles against him*) (*Telem* IX). The present language

makes a more limited use of this construction **ceux** *de la ville*, **ceux** *de Paris* (*townspeople, Parisians*).

407. THE NEUTER PRONOUN **ce** —1 **Ce** *in the nominative* is used without a correlative before the verb *être*, either (1) to recall the logical subject *vous avez tort*, **c'***est evident*, or (2) to announce the logical subject **c'***est une vilaine chose que l'orgueil*, **ç'***a ete la cause de bien des erreurs*, &c. The very old language often avoided the use of this pronoun for the subject, and its use hardly became regular before the 13th century On the other hand, the Modern language has extended it at the expense of *il*, which, as mentioned above, was used down to the 17th century in many cases where we use *ce* (§ 390, IV) The modern rule for the impersonal use of the verb *être* is to use il for the subject where the impersonal proposition is determined by a complement, **ce**, where the proposition is left undetermined or absolute Thus we say **c'***est bon*, **c'***est vrai*, and no longer il *est bon*, il *est vrai*, but il *est vrai que la terre est ronde*

In the preceding constructions the use of the neuter is obvious This does not apply to the expressions *c'est moi*, *c'est mon pere*, where [as in the English *it is I*, *it is my father*] the verb is followed by a noun denoting a person, or by a personal pronoun In Latin the logical subject was not introduced by the neuter demonstrative, this subject, whether a noun denoting an object or a person, was introduced by a demonstrative agreeing with it in gender, number, and case **ce** *sont les qualites de la vieillesse* was rendered by the equivalent of **celles** *sont les qualites de la vieillesse*, **eae** (not **id**) *sunt virtutes senectutis* This construction was not unknown to the Old language, the phrase **cis** *estoit vrais Fiz Dieu* (*that man was true Son of God*) (Joinv 797), where *cis* agrees in gender, number, and case with *Fiz*, would now be rendered by **c'***était le vrai fils de Dieu*, where *ce* is neuter But this construc-

tion, though retained in the other Romance languages, is rare even in Old French, and moreover in the Latin of the early Middle Ages we find phrases such as. **hoc** *sunt villas nostras*, an expression equivalent to the present French construction [For the locutions *ce sont, ce furent*, &c, see on the number of the verb, § 459, VII, p 786]

The construction we have just analyzed is used in French to emphasize one of the terms of a principal proposition by changing it into a relative proposition Where the Latin has **Darium vicit Alexander**, the French has **C'est** *Darius que vainquit Alexandre*, where Latin uses **Alexander Darium vicit**, French uses **C'est** *Alexandre* **qui** *vainquit Darius* [so in English. *it was Darius whom Alexander conquered, it was Alexander who conquered Darius*], this emphatic construction rendering what in Latin could be expressed by the order of the words

Again, this *ce* is used emphatically when it recalls a substantive placed at the beginning of a phrase, and used as the subject of the verb *être* **Le talent** *ou il excellait le plus*, **c'***etoit dans la conduite des âmes* (*the talent in which he most excelled was the direction of souls*) (Rac iv 474) *Tout ce qu'il a pu souhaiter pendant le cours d'une longue vie,* **ç'***a été de* (*everything that he could desire during the course of a long life was to*) (La Bruy i 272) This emphatic construction, of rare occurrence in the Old language, was far from being so frequent in the 17th century as it is at present Vaugelas,—and his way of thinking was that of the writers of his time,—did not allow the use of this redundant **ce**, save when the subject was far removed from the verb *être* In the 18th century they still said *ce qui me frappoit le plus* **étoit** *de voir* Moreover, even the present language only demands *ce* imperatively in the case when the verb *être* is followed by a plural substantive *ce qui l'accable* **ce sont** *ses malheurs* But in this case also the *ce* was not indispensable in the 16th and 17th centuries *ce que j'ai d'ailleurs* **sont** *seulement quelques accessoires* (*what I have, more-*

over, are only some accessories) (Amb Paré, *Avertiss. au lecteur*, 1 10), *ce qui plaît aux hommes* **sont** *ses lumières* (*what pleases men are her* [*St Theresa's*] *lights*) (Pascal, *Pensees*, II 51)

With other verbs *ce* is now hardly used, save in two locutions with neuter verbs used impersonally *ce semble, ce peut être vrai* In the 17th century, *ce vient, ce vint,* were currently employed, and these are still retained in the popular speech

Old and Middle French, on the contrary, used *ce* as the subject of any verb

Ço senefiet pais e umilitet (*Rol* l 73.)
(It signifies peace and humility)

Quant **ce** *fu fait* (*when it was done*) (Joinv 278) *Et se* (*si*) **ce** *ne vous plait à faire* (*and if it does not please you to do it*) (id 453) In these cases we should now replace *ce* by *cela.*

Another frequent use of *ce* as a subject with any verb, retained till the 16th century, and leaving some traces in the 17th, consisted in making it introduce a proposition

Ço *peiset mei que ma fin tant demoret* (*Alexis*, 92 e)
(It burdens me, that my end so long delays)

Comment **ce** *pourroit estre que li roys peust* (*how it could be that the king should be able*) (Joinv 426) In this case *il,* as we have seen (§ 390, IV), now always replaces *ce,* but it is far from having the same introductory value, and is simply used as the grammatical subject to the verb.

2 **Ce** *in the accusative* The Old language used the neuter *ce* as the object of either verbs or prepositions Although in the 16th century *cela* had begun to replace it, *ce* was not quite lost in the 17th century *ce dit-il, ce dit-on, outre ce, a ce faire, en ce faisant,* and also *ce* summing up a preceding proposition[1], were used currently, despite

[1] In legal and official diction we still find *Et* **ce** *conformement a* (*and this in conformity with*) *En vertu de* **ce** *que dessus* (*in virtue of this* [= *the fact*], *that above* .)

Vaugelas and the Academy *Sur ce* (*hereupon, thereupon*), *pour ce faire* (*to do this*), *ce faisant* (*doing this*), have survived. With the same usage are connected the adverb *cependant* (lit *this pending*), and the locutions *parce que, de ce que*, &c. In these locutions the *ce* may be explained by the fact that the Old language introduced a subordinate proposition by the demonstrative pronoun

Ço *sent Rollanz que la mort li est pres* (*Rol* l 2259.)
(This Roland feels, that death to him is nigh)

Ce *je ne vueil que nulz face jamais bien* (*I do not wish that any should ever do good.*) (Joinv 445)

This use of *ce* as the object of a verb was soon abandoned; but as the object of a preposition it was long retained when preceding a relative proposition introduced by *que*.

Sonent mil graisles por ço *que plus bel seit* (*Rol* l 1004)
(A thousand clarions ring, that it may finer be)

Hence we still find in the 17th century the locutions *à ce que*[1], *à cause de ce que, avec ce que, pour ce que, sans ce que*, and, at the present day, *parce que, de ce que*, where *ce* has lost its primitive value of introducing a following proposition

Finally, the present language still employs *ce* as the direct object of all verbs, provided that it is the antecedent of a relative pronoun *Je fais ce que je veux* (*I do what I please*) The Old language, on the contrary, down to the 17th century, frequently used the relative or interrogative pronoun without the antecedent *ce*, either as the direct object, or to sum up the preceding proposition. Such was still the usage in the 17th century *Voila* qui *ne se peut contester* (*this is what cannot be contested*) (Sév. vii 199). *Je lui demandai* que *c'etoit* (*I asked him what it was*) (id iv. 88) *Vous êtes sans doute devenu impatient,* qui *est une qualite inseparable des poetes* (*you have doubtless become impatient,*

[1] *A ce que* had the sense of *afin que*, which it has retained as a law term à ce qu'*il n'en pretend a cause d'ignorance* (to the end that *he may not allege on the ground of ignorance*).

a quality inherent in poets) (Rac VI 393). *L'on me mande que vous n'avez plus guère de fièvre,* **dont** *je me réjouis* (*they tell me that you have scarcely any more fever, at which I am delighted*) (La Rochef III 101) Cf § 410 below.

408 THE USE OF **ceci** AND **cela** —*Ceci* (*this*), *cela* (*that*), in accordance with their etymological meanings may express an antithesis They are used, *ceci* to designate objects near at hand, *cela* to designate objects at a distance *Prenez* **ceci, cela** *est moins bon* (*take* **this, that** *is not so good*)

But they may also be used without any idea of antithesis; they then indicate a present fact or a thing spoken of, or about to be spoken of **Ceci** *ne me plaît pas* (*this does not please me*). *Ils ont* **cela** *de commun que* (*they have this in common,* &c) But usually *ceci* designates what precedes, and *cela* what follows [and *ceci* and *cela* retain their primitive sense of nearness or distance (in the sentence) in comparing or contrasting two antecedents, so *ceci* = the *latter*, *cela* = the *former*] For the use of *cela* (*ça*) as a logical subject instead of *ce*, see p 654

In interrogative sentences we sometimes find *ceci, cela,* written in two words *Qu'est-***ce là** *que je vois? Sont-***ce là** *nos gens?* We find also the *ce* repeated *Qu'est-***ce ceci**? *Qu'est-***ce cela**? These latter forms tend, however, to disappear *Cela* preceding a relative proposition, and accompanied by a negation, may also be written in two words (*ce* and *la* then changing places), we say indifferently *ce n'est pas* **cela** *que j'ai demande* and *ce n'est pas* **là ce** *que j'ai demande* (*it is not that that I asked for*)

409 THE ADJECTIVE-PRONOUNS **ce, cet, cette, ces** —The demonstrative adjectives *ce, cet, cette, ces,* are also construed in the same manner with the adverbs *ci* and *la* We have seen (Book II, § 208 **a**, 4) that *ci* in Middle French and down to the 17th century was frequently replaced by *ici*, Vaugelas preferred to say *cet homme* **ici** to *cet homme-***ci**. *Ici* still survives, in this use, in certain provinces

The demonstrative value may be weakened in these adjectives and then their function becomes reduced in consequence to that of an article. This, however, occurs less frequently in the present language than in the Old language, where the article was nearer to its demonstrative origin, and consequently could more easily be replaced by the pronoun, we however still write **ce** 10 *mars*, **ce** 2 *juin*, in dating letters In the 17th century we find occasionally *ce jour d'hui*, Vaugelas did not venture to find fault with *il m'a fait* **ce** *bien de me dire* for *il m'a fait* **le** *bien de me dire* (*he did me the kindness to tell me*) In certain patois of the North, Picard, Walloon, &c, we still meet with this merely determinant value of the demonstrative adjective

IV Relative Pronouns

410 Qui, que —The relative pronoun is either atonic or accented

(1) The atonic *nominative* is *qui* (*who*) *l'homme* **qui** *est venu*, the atonic *accusative* is *que* (*whom*) *l'homme* **que** *j'ai vu*

The atonic *qui* and *que* always relate to an antecedent expressed, either a substantive or a pronoun *C'est* **Pierre,** *c'est mon* **ami qui** *vient, c'est* **moi qui** *l'ai fait C'est* **toi qui** *es maître Je l'aperçois* **qui** *vient Je* **la** *vois* **qui** *s'avance.* **Il** *est,* **le** *voila, dans la chambre,* **qui** *attend* We may see by these examples that the pronominal antecedent of the pronoun **qui** is accented in the 1st and 2nd persons, and atonic in the 3rd person only But, by slightly modifying the preceding propositions, we may say. **Vous** *êtes ici plusieurs* **qui** *m'attendez*, **nous** *sommes deux voyageurs* **qui** *vaquons a nos affaires*, where the relative relates to the atonic pronouns *vous, nous,* used as subjects of a principal proposition

The antecedent of *qui* or *que* may also be either (1) a demonstrative pronoun **Celui qui** *regne dans les cieux, Je sais* **ce qu'***il* [= **que** *il*] *en est*, (2) a relative or interroga-

tive pronoun **Quoi que** *vous ecriviez*, **Qu'***avez-vous* **qui** *vous trouble?* or (3) an adjective or a participle used as a predicate **Infortunés que** *nous sommes!* **Arrivé qu'***il fut, il se mit a la besogne* (*as soon as he arrived he set to work*).

Down to the 17th century the antecedent might also be a complete proposition *Je me sens oblige . de decouvrir un mystère de votre conduite* **que** *j'ay promis il y a longtemps* (*I feel myself obliged to disclose a mystery in your behaviour, which I promised* [*to do*] *long since*) (Pascal, *Prov* 260) *Je ne veux pas surpasser la mere de Chantal,* **qui** *serait proprement vouloir aller par dela paradis* (*I don't want to surpass Mother Chantal, which would be wanting really to rise above Paradise*) (Sév VII. 217) *Elle jure par le Styx,* **qui** *est le plus grand et le plus terrible jurement des Dieux* (*she swears by the Styx, which is the greatest and most awful oath of the gods*) (Rac V 101)

(*Je*) *ne le verrai, que je crois, de ma vie* (Rac II 217)
(I shall not see it while I live, I think)

The present language requires the antecedent proposition to be summed up by the neuter demonstrative **ce** before the relative *qui* or *que*, e g *Elle jure par le Styx,* **ce qui,** &c , but the old construction has survived in **qui** *plus est,* **qui** *mieux est,* **qui** *pis est* (*what is more, better, worse*), **que** *je sache*[1] (*that I know = to my knowledge*)

(II) Accented, the relative pronoun is an adjective when accompanying its antecedent, and a substantive when alone without an antecedent The present usage follows, with

[1] In Middle French and the 17th century we frequently find, owing to a phonetic confusion between these two words, *qui* for *qu'il* before an impersonal verb *Et suis esmerveille* **qui** *ne se soit encore trouvé roy, ni prince, ni seigneur* (*and I am astonished that there should not yet have been found king, prince, or lord*) (Des Périers, *Recr Nouv* II 291) *Il faut accepter et recevoir ce* **qui** *lui plaît de vous donner* (*you must accept and receive what it pleases him to give you*) (Sév X 63) *Vous avez la plus fertile imagination* **qui** *soit possible de concevoir* (*you have the most fertile imagination that it is possible to conceive*) (La Bruy II. 815)

restrictions, the ancient usage, according to which the relative *qui*, accented, was declined as follows

Nominative *qui* (*l'homme* qui *est venu*),

Indirect object case *cui* (*l'homme* cui *je parle*);

Direct object case *cui* and *que* (*l'homme* cui or que *j'ai vu*).

Qui used as a substantive, that is, without an antecedent, was also declined Qui *vivra, verra* Cui *vous parlez vous ecoutera* Cui *vous aimez vous aimera* In the course of the Middle Ages the pronunciation of the forms *cui* and *qui* became identical, and *qui* alone has survived

This accented pronoun *qui* is still used in the present language, as well as in Old French, as a substantive in the nominative case But this use is limited to certain set phrases Qui *vivra, verra* Qui *m'aime, me suive* So that in general, as subject, the atonic relative pronoun cannot be distinguished from the accented relative pronoun.

As the indirect object, *qui* is used as an adjective after a preposition *l'homme à* qui *je parle*, *l'homme de* qui *je me plains* But the present language only allows this use when the antecedent is a noun denoting either a living being, or thing personified Thus it no longer seems correct to say *la chose a* qui *vous devez faire attention, le point sur* qui *il faut réflechir*, this was allowed till the 17th century *Et n'oubliez rien, s'il vous plaît, de ces tendres paroles, de ces douces prieres, et de ces caresses touchantes a* qui *je suis persuade qu'on ne sauroit rien refuser* (*and forget, if you please, none of those tender speeches, those sweet prayers, those tender caresses, to which I am convinced that it would be impossible to refuse anything*) (Mol VII. 160) The rule of Vaugelas, which allowed *qui* only for persons and for things personified, triumphed almost definitively in the 18th century When the antecedent is a noun denoting a thing, *lequel* (combined with a preposition if necessary) and *dont* are used Even the use of *qui* with a noun denoting a person as antecedent tends to be more and more restricted.

Vaugelas thought that one should say *J'ay envoye un courrier exprès au retour* **duquel** *je verray* . (*I have sent a courier expressly, on whose return I will see* . .), not *au retour* **do qui.** Already in the 17th century *dont* and *duquel* were at any rate no less frequent than *de qui*, and at the present day *auquel, par lequel, sur lequel,* are often substituted for *a qui, par qui, sur qui* We now write indiscriminately *l'enfant* **à qui,** or **auquel,** *tout cede sera malheureux*

But as a substantive *qui* is still regularly used for persons and things personified in the objective case, direct, indirect, or prepositional [1] *je sais* **qui** *je choisirai* (*I know whom I will choose*). *Je n'ignore pas a* **qui** *j'ai affaire* (*I am not ignorant whom I have to deal with*) In this case *qui* (like the English *who*) may be the object of the first verb and subject of the second. *Aimez* **qui** *vous aime* (*love whoso loves you*), *Je m'en rapporte a* **qui** *veut bien entendre* (*I appeal to* **whosoever** *will hear*), or the object of both verbs *Je ne sais* **qui** *vous voulez dire* (*I don't know* **whom** *you mean*),. *Vous trouverez a* **qui** *parler* (*you will find your match*)

Finally, we note three archaic uses of *qui*

A Repeated at the beginning of two or more co-ordinate and consecutive propositions it had, and still has (but less frequently than in the Old language), the sense of *les uns les autres* [2] (*some* . . *some,* or *others*) *Les medecins ont raisonne là-dessus comme il faut, et ils n'ont pas manque de dire que cela procedoit,* **qui** *du cerveau,* **qui** *de la rate,* **qui** *des entrailles,* **qui** *du foie* (*the doctors reasoned about it in proper fashion, and of course said, some that it came from the brain, some from the spleen, some from the intestines, some from the liver*) (Mol VI 95)

[1] For names of objects see *quoi*, § 411

[2] A comparison with the other Romance languages suggests the view that *qui* has here an interrogative value However, this construction remains obscure, and no satisfactory explanation of it has yet been given

B. Down to the 17th century *qui* followed by a verb in the 3rd person singular might have the sense of *si on* (*if one*) French authors teem with instances of this expression, whose loss is to be regretted It has survived in *comme* qui *dirait* (*as* if one *were to say*), also in the proverb: *Tout vient a point* qui *sait attendre* (*everything comes in time if one knows how to wait*), changed by a modern deformation into *Tout* à qui *sait attendre* (*to him who knows how to wait*)

C Very frequently in the Old language we meet two relative propositions following each other, where the first relative is accusative and the second may be nominative or accusative, we shall first consider cases in which the second relative is nominative *Ce* que *je crois* qui *ne plaist mie à Dieu* (*what I think is not at all pleasing to God*) (Joinv 22). *Celuy* que *l'on lui a dit* qui *lui faisoit la villanie* (*he who* [lit *whom*] *they told him was doing him the baseness*) (*Les quinze joyes de mariage*, p 76) This construction is common among the great writers *Cinq propositions equivoques* qu'*on doutoit* qui *s'y trouvassent* (*five equivocal propositions which they doubted were found there*) (Rac iv 486) *Cette Madame Quintin* que *nous vous disions* qui *vous ressembloit* (*that Madame Quintin who* [lit *whom*] *we told you resembled you*) (Sév ii 289) *J'ai reçu le traité de Mouron* que *je crois* qui *sera tres avantageux* (*I have received Mouron's agreement which I think will be very advantageous*) (La Rochef iii 38) *Il s'est fait valoir par des vertus* qu'*il assuroit fort serieusement* qui *etoient en lui* (*he asserted himself by virtues which he very seriously maintained were in him*) (La Bruy. i. 336) Even in the 18th century *Voici cette epître* qu'*on pretend* qui *lui attira tant d'ennemis* (*here is the letter which is said to have gained him so many enemies*) (Volt, *Commentaire sur l'Excuse à Ariste*)[1]. This construction, despite its convenience, has disappeared where the second pronoun is

[1] Instead of *qui*, we often meet with *que il* *Uns Alemans* qui *on disoit* qu'*il avoit esté* (*a German, who they said had been*) (Joinv. 96) This construction was still in use in the 17th century

nominative, it survives when this is accusative *Les fautes* **que** *j'ai suppose* **qu'***il ferait* (*the mistakes which I supposed he would make*) The following example from Joinville (665), *Pour l'amour* **que** *il orent* **veue que** *li rois m'avoit* **moustree** (*montree*) (*because of the love which they had seen the king had shown me*), shows, by the agreement of both participles, that we have to deal with two relative pronouns, and that this construction is different from the following, where *que* in the second proposition is a conjunction *La maison dont je sais* **que** *vous êtes propriétaire*

411. Quoi —We have seen (Book II, § 211) that *quoi*, O F *queid, quei*, taken from the Latin interrogative **quid**, had acquired a relative function in passing into French, as well as an interrogative As a relative it was sometimes used in Old French, and very often, from the 14th century, as the neuter object of a preposition, to represent nouns denoting things In the 17th century it was constantly employed in this way *Tous ces millions de* **quoi** *l'Italie est la receleuse* (*all these millions of which Italy is the receiver*) (La Rochef ii 441) *La principale chose a* **quoi** *je me suis attache* (*the chief thing to which I have applied myself*) (Rac ii 473) *M de Longueville ouvre la barricade derriere* **quoi** *ils etoient retranches* (*M de Longueville opens the barricade behind which they were intrenched*) (Sév. iii 135) *Les choses avec* **quoi** *il est permis de faire fond* (*the things on which it is allowable to rely*) (La Bruy i 374) *Auquel*, &c would now be used here (see § 412, II) The use of *quoi* with a proper noun as its antecedent was more rare *Li dus* (*le duc*) *de Bourgoingne de* **quoi** *je vous ai parle* (*the Duke of Burgundy, of whom I have spoken to you*) (Joinv 559) *Les Esseniens de* **quoy** *parle Pline* (*the Essenes of whom Pliny speaks*) (Mont iii 5) [*Qui* would now be used here for *quoi*, see § 410, ii]

In the present language *quoi* is scarcely used with an antecedent except when this antecedent is an indeterminate noun such as *chose, rien, ce.* *Il n'est rien* **à quoi** *je ne me soumette* (*there is nothing to which I would not submit*) *C'est en* **quoi** *vous vous trompez* (*that is where you are mistaken*) Besides such cases, *quoi* is used absolutely as a neuter indeterminate relative *Il n'a pas de* **quoi** *payer* (*he has not wherewithal to pay*) *Obeissez, moyennant* **quoi** *on vous pardonnera* (*obey, in consideration of which you will be forgiven*)

412 Lequel —The compound pronoun *lequel* appears to be unknown to the Oldest French It seems to have come into use towards the 13th century, its use extended notably from the 14th to the 15th century, but from that time to the present day it has become more and more restricted

I This development naturally took place at the expense of *qui* and *quoi* *Et la royne* (*reine*) *sa femme,* **laquelle** *estoit de la maison d'Anjou* (*and the queen, his wife, who was of the family of Anjou*) (Commynes, 493) *Car il y alloit a la reputation*[1], **laquelle** *les courtisans ne peuvent bonnement desguiser* (*for he went by his reputation, which courtiers cannot well disguise*) (Des Pér II 189) *Les troys aultres le suyvirent excepte Eudemon* **duquel** *le cheval s'enfoncea le pied droict* (*the three others followed him except Eudaemon, whose horse stuck his right foot .*) (Rabel I 137) Even in the 17th century, although the expression seemed growing antiquated, we find *Il n'y avoit que ceux de cette famille* **lesquels** *pussent exercer la sacrificature* (*there were only the members of that family who could perform the sacrificial rites*) (Rac III 591) *Je n'avois point lu celle qui parle de Monsieur du Daugnion l'humeur* **duquel** *je trouve fort extravagante et son procede insolent* (*I had not yet read the one* [*letter*] *that speaks of Monsieur du*

[1] [The editor of the text quoted suggests that *réputation* is a mistake for *representation* = *air, appearance*]

Daugnion, whose humour I find very extravagant, and his behaviour insolent) (La Rochef III. 73) *L'eloquence* [*est*] *un don de l'âme,* **lequel** *nous rend maîtres du cœur des autres* (*eloquence* [*is*] *a gift of the soul which renders us masters of the hearts of others*) (La Bruy I 143)

The influence of Latin studies, carrying increasing weight from the 14th century, brought about more definite uses of *lequel*

(1) With a participle, present or past, to form an absolute phrase corresponding with the Latin ablative absolute.

> **Lesquels entrez** *dedans la maison grande*
> *De leur Seigneur, en brief dire leur vient*
> (Marot, p 521)
> (Who having entered within the great house
> Of their Lord, shortly there came to them)

(2) Between a preposition and an infinitive *Pour* **laquelle** *guerre appaisier* (*to appease which war*) (Joinv 681) *Pareil exemple avons-nous de Tite Live, pour* **lequel** *veoir et ouyr* (*a similar example have we in Livy, to see and hear whom*) (Rabel II ch 18)

(3) To introduce a subordinate proposition beginning with any conjunction *Et tenoient ladicte* (*ladite*) *ville Anguerran de Bournonville et un chevalier* **lesquels** *pour ce qu'ils avoient tenu la ville contre le Roy la ville fut pillee* (*and did hold the said town Anguerran de Bournonville and a knight who since they had held the town against the king . the town was pillaged*) (Al Chartier, *Hist de Charles VII* p 29) *Quelques formes penibles,* **lesquelles** *pourveu qu'on oublie par discretion, non pas par erreur, on n'en a pas moins de grace* (*some troublesome forms, which, provided one forgets them through discretion, not error, one has no less goodwill therefor* (Mont I 13)

Most of these constructions may still be found occasionally in the 17th century

II Present custom has restricted the use of *lequel* to the following uses —

(1) After a preposition, especially when it relates to nouns denoting things. *la table sur* **laquelle** *j'écris*

(2) For the objective genitive of a noun governed by a preposition *l'homme à la recherche* **duquel** *il court* We shall see that the Old language favoured *dont* in this case

(3) In order to avoid ambiguity of expression *l'homme qui m'a parle de cette affaire,* **lequel** *est* where the use of **lequel** (or **laquelle**) instead of *qui* shows that the relative refers to *homme* or *affaire,* as the case may be

(4) As an attributive adjective with a substantive · *dix mille francs,* **laquelle** *somme vous sera remise* This use, which was very frequent in the 17th century, tends to grow obsolete Here we now prefer to repeat the antecedent, or to use a second substantive in apposition therewith, before the relative *qui* (or *que*) **somme qui** *vous sera remise.* So, instead of saying with La Rochefoucauld *après* **lequel** *temps on lui baillera un passe-port* (*after which time he will be handed a passport*) (III 104), we should use the demonstrative adjective preceded by the conjunction *et et apres ce temps*, again, instead of *jusques a mercredi* **auquel** *jour il doit partir* (*till Wednesday, the day he is to start*) (III 116), we should say *jour qu'il doit partir* or *jour ou il* . &c.

413 Dont (*of* or *from whom* or *which*, *whence, whereof, wherefrom, wherefore*) —This pronoun, taken from the Latin **deunde**, is, according to its etymology, an interrogative or relative adverb of place, and signifies 'whence,' 'from what place' It had retained this adverbial function in Old French *Fist David a lui Ki* (*qui*) *es tu?* **Dont** *vienz e u ou*) *vas?* (*Said David to him, 'Who art thou? Whence comest and whither goest thou?'*) (*Quat Liv Rois,* 115), and kept it down to the 17th century

> *Et du mont Quirinal et du mont Aventin,*
> **Dont** *il l'auroit vu faire une horrible descente*
>
> (Corn v 579.)

(And from Mount Quirinal, and from Mount Aventine, whence they [the Senate] would have seen their [the mutineers'] dreadful descent)

Rentre dans le néant dont *je t'ai fait sortir* (Rac II 503)
(Return into the nothingness from which I made thee rise)

Deux Pères de l'Eglise dont *sa seconde proposition etait tiree* (*two Fathers of the Church, from whom his second proposition was taken*) (Id IV 464)

However, Vaugelas and the Academy only authorize its use in this adverbial sense to note descent or origin *la race, la maison,* dont *je sors.* In other cases they require that d'où should replace *dont* *Le pays* d'où *je reviens* *La maison* d'où *je sors est peu habitee* This is the present usage

The adverbial function recurs in the frequent use of *dont* in Old French to express causal relation *il tomba malade* dont *tost après il mourut* (*he fell sick, whence soon after he died*) (Commynes, 469) *Au bout de quelque temps, vint encore ung autre avertissement* dont *le gouverneur, brus lant de l'amour de son maistre, luy demanda conge de le chasser* (*at the end of some time came yet another warning . wherefore the governor, burning with love of his master, asked him leave to dismiss him*) (*Heptam* II 96)

Autour de moy je ne vey (vis) *que les boys*
Dont *maintefois t'appellay Pierre, Pierre* (Marot, p 95)
(Around me I saw only the woods,
Wherefore often I called thee Pierre, Pierre)

On the other hand, from the origin of the language we see *dont* used with the function of a compound relative pronoun and serving to imply all relations indicated by the preposition *de*

Illi en ortet (l'exhorte), dont *les non que chielt* (ne lui chaut en rien), *Qued* (qu') *elle fuiet* (fuie) *lo nom christiien* (*Eulalie*, l 13)
(He her exhorts, whereof she nothing recks,
That she should flee the name of Christian)

Tant i avrat (aura) *de besanz esmerez* (épurés),
Dont *bien porrez* (pourrez) *vos soldeiers loer* (soldats louer)
(*Rol* l 132)

(So many besants of fine gold there will be,
Wherewith well your soldiers you may hire)

Le blanc osberc (haubert) **dont** *la maile est menue* (id l 1329)
(The hauberk white, of which the mesh is fine)

Dont was also used to denote other relations which we now express by different prepositions with the relative We still find in the 17th century traces of this liberty *L'inquietude* **dont** *vous m'ecrivez n'est pas une petite marque de votre amitie* (*the anxiety of which you write to me is no small mark of your friendship*) (Corn x 478). *Ils ont mis du canon sur les hauteurs,* **dont** *ils ont rase les deux tours* (*they have set cannon on the heights,* **wherewith** *they have razed the two towers*) (La Rochef III 175) *Les Religieuses lui parloient avec tout le sens froid et la gravite* **dont** *un archevêque auroit dû parler* (*the nuns spoke to him with all the calmness and gravity* **with whioh** *an archbishop might have spoken*) (Rac IV 579) *Certaines couleurs changeantes, et qui sont diverses selon les divers jours* **dont** *on les regarde* (*certain changing colours which are different according to the various lights* **in whioh** *they are looked at*) (La Bruy I 298)

Lastly, according to the present usage *dont* cannot be used as the complement of a noun which is itself preceded by a preposition we say *l'homme a la reputation* **duquel** *vous voulez nuire* (*the man to whose reputation you wish to do harm*), and not *l'homme dont a la reputation vous voulez nuire*, nor *l'homme dont vous voulez nuire à la reputation* This rule was not yet in force as late as the 17th century

Il est des nœuds secrets, il est des sympathies
Dont *par le doux rapport les ames assorties*
S'attachent l'une a l'autre (Corn IV 444)

(There are secret ties, there are sympathies,
Through whose sweet bond congenial souls
Cling unto one another.)

Je ne vous les donne point dans le même ordre que je vous ai donne le Cid et Pompee, **dont** *en l'un vous avez vu les vers espagnols et en l'autre les latins que j'ai traduits ou imites* (*I do not give them to you in the same order* [*of ideas*] *in which I gave you the 'Cid' and 'Pompey,' in one of which you saw Spanish verses, in the other, Latin ones, which I translated or imitated*) (Id IV 132)

L'objet de votre amour, lui, **dont** *a la maison*
Votre imposture enlève un puissant heritage (**Mol** I 430)
(The object of your love, he from whose house
Your imposture withdraws a great estate)

414 Où [*whither* or *where*, used pronominally in *wherein, whereon, whereby, whereto, whereat*] —Like *dont*, the pronoun *ou* (Latin **ubi**) is of adverbial origin And in fact the present language hardly makes use of it save with its etymological signification [of place] *l'endroit* **où** *je vais,* **d'où** *je viens,* **par où** *je passe,* **jusqu'où** *je puis aller*[1]

The use of *ou*, down to the 17th century, was much more extensive

1 It was used as well with reference to persons as to things

Pour Bertain **ou** *tant a* (ou il y a tant) *de biauté*
(*Berte*, l 1615)
(Save only Bertha, in whom is such beauty)

il aymoit une dame **ou** *jamais n'avoit pense* (*he loved a lady of whom he had never thought before*) (*Heptam* II 51) *Voila la doctrine de Vasquez* **où** *vous renvoyez vos lecteurs pour leur edification* (*that is the doctrine of Vasquez to whom you refer your readers for their edification*) (Pascal, *Prov* 202) *Ce fils* **où** *mon espoir se fonde* (*this son on whom my hope is based*) (Mol I 198). *Les Égyptiens sont les premiers* **où** *l'on ait su les règles du gouvernement* (*the Egyptians were the first among whom the rules of govern-*

[1] In the 17th century they even said *l'endroit* **vers où** *je puis aller*

ment were known) (Boss, *Hist un*, III. 3). *Il a trois ou quatre fils* **où** *son cœur s'interesse bien tendrement* (*he has three or four sons in whom his heart is very tenderly interested*) (Sév III 73) *Il peut haïr les hommes en général* **où** *il y a si peu de vertu* (*he may hate men in general, in whom there is so little virtue*) (La Bruy II 22)

2 With a noun denoting a thing, *où* could not only replace, as at present, the pronoun *lequel* preceded by a preposition of place, but also the pronouns *lequel* or *quoi* preceded by various prepositions without any definite relation of place *Fois et creance estoit une chose* **ou** *nous deviens bien croire* (*faith and belief were a thing whereon we ought indeed to believe*) (Joinv 45). *Porter patiemment les inconvenients* **où** *il n'y a point de remède* (*to bear patiently the inconveniences wherefor there is no remedy*) (Mont I. 25).

D'ou me vient ce bonheur **où** *je n'osois penser?* (Corn II 173)
(Whence comes to me this joy on which I dared not think?)

Rallumez cette ardeur **où** *s'opposoit ma mère* (Id V 207)
(Revive the zeal wherein my mother opposed me)

La Bretagne et la Bourgogne me paroissent sous le pôle **où** *je ne prends aucun interêt* (*Brittany and Burgundy seem to me to be under the pole, wherein I take no interest*) (Sév II 158) *J'aimerois bien mieux être à lire le Tasse,* **où** *je suis d'une habilete qui me surprend moi-même* (*I would far rather be reading Tasso, wherein I am of a skill that surprises myself*) (Id II 285) *Un engagement* **où** *il n'est pas propre* (*an engagement for which he is not fit*) (La Bruy I. 157) *Ce genre d'ecrire* **où** *je me suis applique* (*this mode of writing to which I have applied myself*) (Id II 437). *Il se voit dans les histoires force gens* **d'où** *la plupart ont suivi le chemin de courir au devant des conjurations* (*in histories we see many folk . most of whom have taken the course of forestalling the conspiracies*) (Mont I 23) *Qui a gagne un procès,* **d'où** *on lui a compte une grosse somme* (*who has won a lawsuit for which he was paid a large sum*) (La Bruy. I 269). *Je viens*

tout a l'heure de recevoir des lettres **par où** *j'apprends que mon oncle est mort* (*I have just received letters whereby I learn that my uncle is dead*) (Mol VI 119), &c

Vaugelas (I 173) thought this use of *ou* both elegant and convenient he preferred *le mauvais estat* **où** *je vous ay laisse* (*the bad state in which I left you*) to *le mauvais etat* **auquel** *je vous ay laisse*, saying that the latter pronoun 'is usually so harsh in all its cases that our language seems to have provided for this by giving us certain words that are softer and shorter to put in its place, like *ou* in this example' He was right, and the restriction of the use of *où* to its etymological sense since the 18th century is a matter for regret.

415 THE RELATIVE ADVERB **que** (*that*) —The relative pronoun is sometimes replaced by the adverb *que* [cf. Eng *that*], especially to indicate time *La derniere fois* **que** *je le vis* (*the last time that I saw him*) *Le jour* **qu'***il naquit Y a-t il longtemps* **que** *vous êtes ici?* &c. Herein *que*, we see, is equivalent to the relative governed by a preposition

These expressions are the remnants of a more widely used construction of the Old language, and were employed in other relations than those of time[1] *Il les tendroit as* (*tiendrait aux*) *us et as costumes* **que** *li empereur les avoient tenuz* (*he would keep them to the uses and customs that the emperor had kept them to*) (Villeh 280) *Nous sommes ou* (*dans le*) *plus grant peril que nous fussions onques mais* (*jamais*) (*we are in the greatest danger that we ever were*) (Joinv 204) *Mais qui voudroit dire que la Greque et Romaine eussent tousiours ete en l'excellence* **qu'***on les a veues*

[1] Even to express a relation of time the language used *que* with greater freedom than at present *Depuis que nous savons l'heure* **que** (Mod F *a laquelle*) *vous receves vos lettres* (*since we know what time you receive our letters*) (Sév VIII 506) *Pour un an qui est le temps* **que** (Mod F *pendant lequel*) *vous aves afferme le Buron* (*for one year, which is the time that you have farmed Le Buron*) (id VII 518)

du tens d'Homere et de Virgile (*but who would say that Greek and Latin had always been in that perfection in which they were seen in the time of Homer and of Virgil*) (Du Bellay, 1 9). *Mercure gagne aussitôt le ciel avec la même vitesse* **qu'**il etoit descendu (*Mercury at once gains the sky with the same speed that he had descended*) (Corn v 276)

Me voyoit il de l'œil qu'il me voit aujourd'hui? (Rac II 63.)
(Did he view me with the same eyes that he views me to day?)

Je mets les choses au rang **qu'***elles doivent être* (*I put things in the order that they ought to be* [*in*]) (Sév III 480) *Je ne puis me resoudre a finir ma lettre avec toute la ceremonie* **que** *je dois* (*I cannot make up my mind to conclude my letter with all the ceremony that I ought*) (La Rochef III 228). Vaugelas blamed the use of *que* for *avec* followed by a relative (*laquelle*) in the sentence *dans la confusion* **que** *d'abord elles se presentent a elles* (*in the confusion in which they first showed themselves to them*) Ménage also blamed these verses of Malherbe (1 159)

Que de la même ardeur **que** (Mod F *dont*) *je brûle pour elle*
Elle brûle pour moi

(That with the same flame wherewith I burn for her
She burns for me)

The popular speech has preserved this very convenient and lively use of *que*, which has been lost to the literary language save in the few archaisms indicated above.

On the other hand, it is this same relative adverb which must be recognized in the phrases *c'est à vous* **que** (= *à qui*) *je m'adresse*, *c'est de vous* **que** (= *dont*) *je parle* Down to the 13th century the compound relative itself was constantly used *Je m'assure que vous aurez de la peine vous-même à reconnoître que c'est a vous . . à* **qui** *je dedie cet ouvrage* (*I feel sure that you yourself will have some trouble in recognizing that it is to you that I dedicate this work*) (Corn. v 291) *C'est a vous* **à qui** *je me fie* (*it is you in whom I trust*)

(Sév IX 299). *C'est du fils du duc de Grammont . . .* **dont** *je veux parler* (*it is the son of the Duc de Grammont of whom I wish to speak*) (Id VIII 30) Side by side with this construction, where both antecedent and relative are indirect objects alike, the 17th century recognized another which it used with equal freedom, making the antecedent the predicate of *c'est*

C'est votre illustre mere **à qui** *je veux parler* (Rac III 655)
('Tis your illustrious mother to whom I wish to speak)

What is the origin of this *que*? It must no doubt be regarded either (1) as a neuter pronoun which has extended its meaning, or (2) as the relative *que*, so often used in Old French as a nominative with a masculine or feminine noun denoting either a person or a thing for its antecedent (Book II, § 209), and as an accusative replacing the pronoun *cui* designating a person or persons.

V Interrogative Pronouns

416 Qui —In Latin the distinction between the relative and the interrogative pronouns, *qui* and *quis*, was so feeble that it was wholly lost in Romanic (Book II, § 210) The interrogative pronoun designating persons is exactly the same as the relative pronoun used absolutely All that we have said of *qui* without an antecedent is applicable to the interrogative The passage from the one to the other is visible in the sentences quoted above, such as *Vienne* **qui** *voudra* (*come who will*), and in the following. *Ils disputent a* **qui** *l'emportera* (*they dispute as to who will win the day*), and certain grammarians even consider these constructions as depending on the syntax of the interrogative For the relative used absolutely (§ 410, II), and hence for the interrogative, to designate persons, we have only the form *qui* **Qui** *êtes-vous? De* **qui** *me parlez-vous? Pour* **qui** *me prenez-vous?* **Qui** *cherchez-vous?* Down to the 17th century the language used the form *qui* to designate things as well as persons **Qui** *rend les tyrans*

si sanguinaires ? C'est le soin de leur seurete (*What renders tyrants so sanguinary ? 'Tis the care for their safety*) (Mont II. 27) **Qui** *bailla le consulat au fils de Ciceron que la memoire de son père ?* (*what gave the consulate to Cicero's son but the memory of his father ?*) (Malh II. 121)

Après ce coup, Narcisse, a **qui** *ne dois-je attendre ?* (Rac. II 288)
(After this blow, Narcissus, what may I not expect ?)

Qui *fait l'oiseau ? c'est le plumage* (La Font I 143)
(What makes the bird ? 'tis its plumage)

Qui *fait cela en eux et en nous ? Ne serait-ce point la force de la verité ?* (*What effects this in them and in us ? May it not be* [= Can it be other than] *the force of truth ?*) (La Bruy II 248)

This use was not quite lost, but *qui* cannot now be used to designate things without the help of a periphrasis It is indeed the need of making a distinction between the antecedents of persons and of things that has caused the introduction of such circumlocutions as **qui** *est-ce* **qui, qu'***est-ce* **qui** **qui** *est-ce* **qui** *frappe à la porte ?* (**who** *is knocking at the door ?*), **qu'***est-ce* **qui** *m'arrive ?* (**what** *is happening to me ?*)

417 Que, quoi — The forms *que, quoi,* represent the Latin **quid** (Book II, § 211), *que* being the atonic, and *quoi* the accented form They refer to things, without distinction of gender

1. *Que,* the atonic form, can never be preceded by a preposition. It is used in the accusative (1) for the direct object **que** *dites-vous ?* (2) as a predicate of quality with *être, devenir* **qu'***êtes-vous ?* **que** *devient-il ?* (3) as the logical subject of an impersonal verb **que** *vous faut-il ?* **que** *vous en semble ?* or (4) finally, by a curious extension, as a substitute for *a quoi, pour quoi, combien* **que** [= *à quoi*] *sert la science sans la vertu ?* (*what is the use of knowledge without virtue ?*) **Qu'** [= *pourquoi*] *avez-vous à gemir ?* (*what have you to groan for ?*) **Que** [= *pourquoi*] *n'obeissez-*

vous? (*why do you not obey?*). **Que** [= *combien*] *je suis malheureux!* (*how unhappy I am!*) We have here an absolute use of the accusative

The periphrase *qu'est-ce qui* of which we have spoken (§ 416) has by analogy led up to the locution *qu'est-ce que*[1]. **Qu'***est-ce* **que** *vous cherchez?* Popular custom lengthens this out into *Qu'est-ce que c'est que* ? equivalent to *Quelle chose est la chose laquelle est cela que* ? (*what thing is the thing which is that which* ?)

2 *Quoi*, being the accented form, occurs after prepositions *C'est a* **quoi** *je pense De* **quoi** *s'agit il?*

Old French sometimes used *quoi* as the direct object **quoi** *ferai-je?* This use has disappeared except before a monosyllabic infinitive, **quoi** *faire?* **quoi** *dire?* (*what is to be done, said?*) being still employed alongside of **que** *faire*, que *dire?* Before a polysyllabic infinitive or a finite verb **quoi** is replaced by the atonic *que* **que** *penser*, que *ferai-je?*

However, the chief modern use of *quoi* (other than the above), is its employment absolutely, either as an interrogative or an exclamation *Qu'y a-t-il?* **Quoi?** (*What's the matter? Eh?*) **Quoi** *de plus beau!*

418 Quel, lequel—1 The modern language distinguishes an interrogative adjective *quel*, used as an attributive **quel** *âge avez-vous?* (*what age are you?*), or as a predicate **quel** *est-il?* (*what is he?*)—from an interrogative substantive-pronoun *lequel* **lequel** *des deux preferez-vous?* (*which of the two do you prefer?*)

This distinction dates only from the 18th century The Old language, in fact, used *quel* equally as a substantive-pronoun and an adjective *Quant il venoit devant le rei si*

[1] We find traces of this periphrase in Old French **Que** *est ço* (*ce*) **que** *est avenud* (*arrive*) *a Saül?* (*what is this that hath happened to Saul?*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 34) **Quel** *est ço firent li altre* (*les autres*), que *faire devum* (*devons*)? ('*What is it*,' *said the others*, '*that we should do?*') (id 20)

li solent li reis demander · Sur **quels** *as ui curud (couru)? (when he came before the king, the king was wont to ask of him, 'Against whom hast thou gone to-day?')* (*Quat Liv Rois*, 107) *Retournons a nostre propos* **Quel**? *dist Gargantua ('Let us return to our subject' 'Which?' says Gargantua)* (Rabel I 54)

Quels *de vos diamants me faut il lui porter?* (Corn IV 319)
(Which of your diamonds must I take to him?)

Quel *de vous, Ô grands dieux, avec tant de furie*
Veut détruire tant de beauté? (Mol VIII 371)
(Which of you, O great gods, with so much rage
Wills to destroy such beauty?)

We may note, however, as late as Lamartine

Quelle *de mes tristes pensées*
Avec les flots n'a pas coulé? (*Harmonies*, II 5)
(Which of my sad thoughts
With thy waves has not flowed?)

The use of *quel*, even as an adjective, was not in the Old language quite identical with that of the present day Now it designates the nature of the person or thing, and is a simple equivalent of the pronoun *qui* **quels** *sont-ils?* now signifies the same thing as qui *sont-ils?* Accordingly we frequently find, from the 17th century, *qui* occurring as a predicate instead of *quel*

Entre tant d'animaux, **qui** *sont ceux qu'on estime?* (Boil *Sat* v 30)
(Among so many beasts, which are those we esteem?)

So, too, we very frequently find *qui* substituted for *quel* in indirect questions *Pour juger* **qui** *est le bien d'une chose (to judge what is the virtue of a thing)* (Malh II. 587) *Que le lecteur apprenne* . **qui** *sont les principaux des Grecs (that the reader may learn who are the chief of the Greeks)* (Rac VI. 198). *Si vous observez avec soin* **qui** *sont les gens qui ne peuvent louer (if you note carefully who are the people who cannot praise)* (La Bruy I. 235)

Quel also refers, in the present language, to order or place **quel** *âge avez-vous?* **quelle** *heure est-il?* Old and Middle French frequently used for this purpose the adjective *quant* *Et a* **quanz** *ans enfant sont en aage por terre tenir?* (*and at how many years are children of age to hold land?*) (Beaumanoir, xv 1)

On the other hand, down to the 17th century *quel* designated quality also, and hence corresponded exactly with the Latin **qualis**

Quelle fut sa réponse! *Et* **quel** *devins-je Arcas?* (Rac III 153)
(What was his answer! And how did my face turn, Arcas?)

Il faut regarder **quel** *est un prince et non* **quels** *ont ete ses peres* (*you must look at what a prince is, and not what his fathers have been*) (Id VI 296) *Vous savez* **quels** *ils sont* (*you know what they are*) (La Rochef III 120) *Il s'insinue dans un cercle de personnes respectables et qui ne savent* **quel** *il est* (*he insinuates himself into a circle of worthy persons who do not know what he is*) (La Bruy I 165) The present language in this case usually replaces *quel* by *que* in direct questions, and by *ce que* in indirect questions *Que devins-je? Vous savez ce qu'ils sont*

2 *Lequel* as an interrogative, like *lequel* as a relative, only penetrated into use towards the 13th century Formerly it was used equally as an adjective and as a pronoun thus La Fontaine still says *L'auteur a voulu eprouver* **lequel** *caractere est le plus propre pour rimer des contes* (*the author has wished to test which form is fittest for the rhyming of stories*) (IV 4) At the present day the interrogative *lequel* is always a pronoun, and designates more especially persons or things selected from a class determined either by what precedes or follows *Voici deux livres* **lequel** *desirez-vous?* **Lequel** *des trois avez-vous vu?*

In the Old language *lequel* was freely used [absolutely] as a neuter in the sense of *what thing?* *Or vous demant je, fist-il,* **lequel** *amenez mex, ou que vous fussies mesiaux*

(*lepreux*) *ou que vous eussies fait un pechie mortel* ('*now I ask you,*' *said he,* '*which of the two you would like better, either to be leprous or to have committed a deadly sin?*') (Joinv. 27) *Or regarde doncques . . lequel des deux tu esliras* (*now just see . . which of the two you will choose*) (Alain Chartier, *Le Curial*, p. 395) This usage, which was not unknown in the 17th and 18th centuries, seems now to have become antiquated.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB

419 THE VERB.—The grammarians of Port Royal have defined the verb as *a word which expresses affirmation.* They reduce all verbs to a proposition formed by the verb *être*, the so-called 'substantive verb,' and a present participle. They thus recognize but one verb, the substantive verb, which essentially affirms the existence of the relation between the subject and its attribute.

This theory has dominated the whole teaching of grammar almost down to the present day, it is still the basis of the so-called 'logical analysis' of the sentence in French. The theory is false, for it is contradicted by the historical development of languages and by the analysis of the facts.

As far as we know, in no language whatever does a verb arise as a combination of the verb 'to be' and an attribute. The verb 'to be,' on the contrary, seems to have been one of the latest abstract products of language. In certain languages it is almost or completely unknown. If we consider Latin and the Romance languages alone, we see no trace of a periphrase like this having preceded the simple forms

On the other hand, let us see the value of the analysis put forward Is it correct to say that *le soleil brille* is equal to *le soleil est brillant*? Here, *brillant* is either an adjective of quality or a present participle If *brillant* is an adjective, it expresses a quality, and not an act, *le soleil est brillant*, then, expresses quite a different thing from *le soleil brille* If *brillant* is a present participle, and denotes an action *le soleil est brillant*—that is, at this moment—whence comes this property of the participle to denote the action, if not because this participle itself comes from a verb?

It is therefore a vicious circle to turn *brille* into a verb of affirmation *est*, and a participle of action *brillant*, whose sole value lies in its coming from the verb

As we have already seen, the function of a verb consists in expressing action, and it expresses this by the help of various modifications, which, considered as a whole, constitute what is called **conjugation** We shall define the verb as *a word which, by various inflexions, expresses what mode of activity is presented by either the persons or objects spoken of*

For activity presents itself in various aspects Sometimes the subject is considered as performing, sometimes as suffering the action this difference is expressed by the **voices** The conditions of this action may vary in diverse ways or manners, called **moods** The action in these various moods may present itself at various moments of time Hence a collection of inflexions which constitute the **tenses** Lastly, this activity, with its variety of voices, moods, and tenses, is expressed in relation to definite grammatical persons These are called the **persons of speech**, and these persons again vary in **number** We shall have then, in the syntactic study of the verb, to consider **voice, mood, tense, person, number**

SECTION I —*The Voices*

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420 VOICES AND VERBAL FORMS — There are two voices the **active** voice and the **passive** voice Each comprises five forms the **transitive**, the **intransitive**, the **pronominal**, the **impersonal**, and the **periphrastic** Of these five forms the three first are closely related to one another, the fourth is a special form of expression which may be assumed by any of the three first forms, lastly, the fifth is a form of expression which may be assumed by any of the other four

I Active Voice

421 THE ACTIVE VOICE — The active voice is that in which the action is considered as performed by the subject the subject acts, that is, is *active*

422 TRANSITIVE VERBS — The transitive verb expresses an action, the object of which (when it has one) is a noun or a pronoun directly connected with the verb without the help of a preposition (expressed or understood) The action passes direct to the object without any intermediary *Pierre frappe Paul*

The relations of the verb with both subject and object are varied

1 The indirect object denoting the *instrument of the action* may become by personification or metaphor the sub-

ject of the verb *Pierre a frappé Paul d'un bâton.* **Le bâton** *qui a frappé Paul* This occurs with the verbs *charger, coiffer, emouvoir, encombrer, garnir, habiller, irriter, meubler, munir, remuer, toucher,* and many others From these metaphorical constructions, as well as from the construction of the pronominal verb which we shall study later on, follows the consequence that the past participle may have three different origins *Coiffé d'un chapeau* may refer to a man (1) *qui a été coiffé d'un chapeau par quelqu'un* (*whom some one has covered with a hat*), (11) *qu'un chapeau coiffe* (*whom a hat covers*), (111) *qui se coiffe d'un chapeau* (*who covers himself with a hat*)

2 Direct and indirect objects may exchange places, the direct becoming indirect and *vice versa*, one or other in the new construction may even be suppressed But this change does not take place without affecting more or less deeply the signification of the verb *Charger un fardeau sur ses épaules* (*to load a burden on one's shoulders*) becomes *charger ses épaules d'un fardeau* (*to load one's shoulders with a burden*) Similarly we say

Assurer quelqu'un de son aide (*to assure a person of one's help*)
Assurer son aide à quelqu'un (*to assure one's help to any one*)

Changer un livre de place (*to shift a book from its place*)
Changer la place d'un livre (*to change the place of a book*)

Débarrasser la table des plats (*to clear the table of the dishes*)
Débarrasser les plats de la table (*to clear the dishes from the table*)

Dépouiller quelqu'un de ses vêtements (*to strip some one of his clothes*)
Dépouiller ses vêtements (*to take off one's clothes*).
Dépouiller l'artifice (*to unveil* or *put off the artifice*).

Derober quelqu'un de quelque chose (archaic) (*to rob some one of something*)
Dérober quelque chose à quelqu'un (*to take away something from some one*)

Quitter (Mod F *acquitter*) *quelqu'un d'une dette. Envoyez-moi cet habit et ces bijoux de Philémon,* je vous quitte *de la personne* (*send me that coat and those jewels of Philemon's, I hold you quit of his person*) (La Bruy I 160)
Quitter une dette à quelqu'un (*to remit a debt*) hence, by extension, the sense 'to abandon' or 'leave' *quitter l'empire, quitter le monde*

3 Another modification consists in rendering the verb factitive

The original meaning of *accompagner* is 'to go in company with any one,' as in *il les accompagne partout*, it signifies also 'to put or send in company with' · *il accompagne cette ode d'une autre petite* (*he accompanies this ode with another little one*) (Rac VI 43)

Accoutumer had in former times the sense of 'to make customary to oneself, to practise the use of' *L'après-dîner nous avions accoutumé de nous assembler sous quelques arbres* (*after dinner we were accustomed to gather together under some trees*) (D'Urfé, *Astree*, I 6, p 351) *Saint Paul cite ici selon les Septante comme il avoit accoutumé* (*Saint Paul here quotes from the Septuagint as was his practice*) (Bossuet, *Hist Univ* II 20) Even at the present day in the past participle we have *a l'heure accoutumee* (*at the accustomed hour*) It has now taken the sense of 'to bring any one to practise,' *to accustom a person accoutumer les enfants a l'obeissance* (*to accustom children to obedience*)

Allaiter signified in Old French, 'to suck' *Fist des tuire les humes* (*hommes*), *les femmes, les petiz, les alaitanz* (*had the men, the women, the children, the sucklings destroyed*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 88) At an early period it became factitive with the sense 'to suckle'

Apprendre, literally speaking, means 'to lay hold of, to seize, to apprehend' (and hence 'to learn') It is used in this primitive sense in *apprendre sa leçon* Old French used it in a factitive sense = *to make to learn, teach*, taking the person taught as the direct object, Vaugelas still wrote *Oiseaux qu'ils ont appris a chanter toutes sortes de ramages* (*birds that they have taught to sing all kinds of strains*) (*Quinte Curce*, VIII 9), and we still say *personne mal apprise* (*ill bred person*)[1]

Approcher signifies *devenir proche* (*to come near*) *Rien n'approche en rigueur la loi* (*nothing approaches the law in strictness*) It may also be equivalent to *faire devenir proche* (*to bring near*) *Approchez la chaise*

Égaler signifies 'to be equal to' *le total égale dix francs*, and also 'to make equal' *la mort egale tous les hommes*

The original meaning of *eloigner* was 'to become distant' *N'orent mie eslongie* (*n'eurent pas éloignée*) *la ville plus d'une liue* (*they had not left the town more than a league distant*) (Villeh 406) It signified at the same time, as at the present day, *rendre eloigne* = 'to make distant,' 'to remove' *eloignez cette chaise*

4 The transitive verb may express the action absolutely, without passing it on to an object This was a property of the Latin verb which French has developed *boire du vin, il aime a boire*,—*chanter un air, il chante bien*,—*ecrire une lettre, il ne sait pas ecrire* An unlimited number of examples of this use might be quoted

A more or less frequent employment of this absolute form may transform the transitive into an intransitive, thus we have the transitive in *decider une question*, the absolute use in *je n'ose decider*, the intransitive use in *decider d'une affaire* (*to decide about an affair*) Certain verbs have thus passed totally or partially from transitive

[1] The English *to teach* has both the obsolete and the modern uses of *apprendre* as a synonym of *enseigner apprendre un oiseau a chanter* (obs) (*to teach a bird to sing*) , *apprendre une chanson a un oiseau* (*to teach a song to a bird*)

to intransitive *Ignorer une chose. Pour que nul n'en ignore —Penser quelque chose Penser à quelque chose*

Such are the principal remarks we have to make on the nature of the transitive verb Observation and analysis will discover others

423. INTRANSITIVE VERBS — It is impossible to say *a priori* when the action presents itself in the transitive or the intransitive form, the analysis of the idea contained in the verb cannot enlighten us on this point It is only a custom of language, and not a habit of thought, which decides whether the object of the action shall be connected with the verb by a preposition or not This is why a given verb may be transitive in French when the corresponding verb is intransitive in Latin, and, again, why any transitive verb may become intransitive, and *vice versa*, according to our standpoint in regarding the verbal action

Before we examine these changes we must mention a fact to which we shall revert below—the use of the auxiliary with intransitive verbs Intransitives form their compound tenses with the auxiliary *avoir* or *être*, according as they denote either the action itself, or the result of the action, respectively At the present time a few are construed only with the auxiliary *être aller, arriver, decider, echoir, eclore, mourir, naître, venir*, some with either of the two auxiliaries, according to the idea we wish to express *cesser, demeurer, echapper, passer, accourir, apparaître, disparaître*, &c, a still larger number only with the verb *avoir courir, croître, dormir, marcher, vivre, succomber*, &c Before this stage was reached usage varied greatly, the Old language had far more freedom and was mainly influenced in each particular case by the train of thought

424. PASSAGE FROM THE INTRANSITIVE TO THE TRANSITIVE —Let us now consider what changes an intransitive verb may undergo

1 The intransitive becomes directly transitive by a new conception of the action *aider a quelqu'un, aider quelqu'un*; *approcher de, approcher comencent la rivage a aprochier* (*they begin to approach the shore*) (Villeh. 172); *contredire, croire, à quelqu'un, contredire, croire quelqu'un*[1];—*courir vers, sur quelqu'un* (*to run towards any one*), *courir le cerf* (*to run after*, i e *hunt, the stag*),—*fuir d'un lieu* (*to flee from a place*), *fuir un lieu* (*to shun a place*),—*servir a quelqu'un* (*to be of use to some one*), *servir quelqu'un* (*to serve some one*), —*user de quelque chose* (*to use a thing*), *user quelque chose* (*to wear out a thing*), &c Some verbs are intransitive when used absolutely, transitive with an object *bouder* (*to sulk* or *sulk with*), *gronder* (*to grumble* or *scold*), *siffler* (*to whistle, hiss*).

In this passage from the intransitive to the transitive the verb may sometimes stop half-way Thus *coûter* and *valoir* are intransitive verbs in the literal sense, and transitive in a figurative sense In *le livre coûte* or *vaut cinq francs, cinq francs* is an adverbial complement, and not a direct object, whilst figuratively, in *les peines que ses travaux lui ont coûtees, les dignites qu'ils lui ont values* (*the pains which his works have cost him, the dignities they have won him*), both verbs become transitive, the one being equivalent to *imposer* (*to put upon*), the other to *rapporter* (*to bring in to*), and consequently the past participle agrees with the antecedent object (§ 458, III)

Further on (§ 435) we shall see intransitives used in the passive voice as if they were transitives

2. The language may change intransitives into transitives by giving them a factitive sense. Thus *mourir* in Old French has the sense of *faire mourir* (*to kill*), especially in the past participle *Il aimeroit miex* (*mieux*) *que li Sarrazin les eussent tous* mors *et pris* (*he had rather that the Saracens had killed and taken them all*) (Joinv 302),

[1] In the foregoing verbs the senses of the transitive and intransitive forms are hardly distinguishable.

perir had the sense of *faire perir* (*to destroy*) *ne* **perissons** *la grant honor* (*let us not destroy the great honour*) (Villeh 198), *tomber* that of *faire tomber*

Et les tombe autor de sa roe
Du sommet envers en la boe
(*Rom de la Rose*, l 5616)

(And [Fortune] makes them fall around her wheel
From the top down into the mire)

Modern Popular French has retained this factitive sense of *tomber* (especially = *to throw* in wrestling) Similarly also *arrêter* (*to stop*), intransitive in Old French (and still so used, but only in the imperative, *arrêtez!*), has become a factitive transitive in *arrêter quelqu'un* (*to arrest* or *stop any one*) Another instance is found in *le travail cesse* and *cesser le travail* The verbs *descendre, desesperer, monter, passer, sonner, sortir,* and a great number of others, essentially intransitive, have become through the factitive sense transitives, we say *descendre, desesperer,* &c, *quelqu'un, quelque chose,* meaning 'to cause a person to descend, despair,' &c

3 The intransitive may assume the appearance of a transitive when it is followed by a substantive used as a direct object, and derived from the same stem, or expressing a kindred idea This use of the intransitive with a *cognate accusative* was a frequent proceeding in Latin. **vitam tutiorem vivere** (*to live a safer life*), **justam servitutem servire** (*to serve a lawful servitude*), **insanire similem errorem** (*to be mad of a like error*). It was extremely frequent in Old French poetry, which delighted to give every verb, whether transitive or intransitive, an objective from the same stem, and to say *donner grans dons, armer d'une armure, morir de mort, hair de haine,* &c Hence we find in Chrestien de Troyes

Que que il son conte contoit (*Cheval au lion*, l 61)
(While he told his tale)

Jors (jours) *i sejorna, ne sai quanz* (id l 47000)
(Days he sojourned I know not how many)

Tous cuide (tel croit) *avoir*
Le jeu joe (joué) *qui puis le pert* (*Erec* l 5924)
(One thinks to have played out the game, who later loses it)

In Modern French this usage belongs only to the elevated style *combattre le bon combat, il a vecu sa vie, dormez votre sommeil, riches de la terre* (*sleep your slumber, rich ones of the earth*) (Boss, *Orais fun de le Tellier*) It is also found in certain familiar locutions *jouer un jeu d'enfer* (*to play recklessly high*), *dormir un somme* (*to take a nap*), &c

4 Intransitives may become transitive with a direct object expressing the cause of the action Already in Latin we find **lacrimare, plorare aliquid** (*to weep, to mourn something*) So *pleurer sur la mort de quelqu'un* has led to *pleurer la mort de quelqu'un* Hence verbs essentially intransitive, such as *lamenter, plaindre, soupirer*, &c, are construed with a direct object So we say of bugle-calls *sonner la charge, sonner la victoire* The expressions *crier merci*, and *crier une marchandise, crier un bulletin*, take us back to the time when *crier* was used transitively for the same reason

This use occurs also with verbs expressing a sensation In Latin we have **olere vinum** (*to smell of wine*), **sapere herbam** (*to taste of grass*), in French we say *embaumer la rose, sentir le tabac*, &c This use has extended figuratively to other transitive verbs *empester, empoisonner, l'ail*[1]

Lastly it occurs with verbs expressing motion to denote (1) the place where the motion takes place *courir* (*les rues, un danger*), *monter* (*l'escalier*), *passer* (*la rivière*), or (2) the kind of motion *aller* (*le galop, le trot, le pas*) in Old French, *ce cheval va l'amble* is still used in Modern French We may note that, as certain intransitive verbs are construed with the auxiliary *être*, we arrive at the

[1] [But *goûter* is never used in this way, *sentir* being used instead, *sentir le vinaigre* may mean either *to taste* or *to smell of vinegar*]

construction. *il est alle son chemin* (Mod. French, = *he is gone his way*), *il est passe la mer* (Old French).

5 An intransitive may become transitive by composition *courir par les champs, parcourir les champs*,—*monter sur quelque chose, surmonter quelque chose*,—*passer sur quelqu'un, surpasser quelqu'un*, &c In this French follows the tradition of Latin we have here a tendency, and not a law, for many compounds of intransitives remain intransitive, like *contrevenir contrevenir a la loi*, and, if Old and Middle French used *survivre quelqu'un*, Modern French uses *survivre à quelqu'un*

Summing up, we see that to change, either really or apparently, the intransitive into the transitive, French has recourse to various processes In the case of some verbs we find most of these processes used simultaneously Thus *monter* gives *monter un objet* (transitive factitive—in the sense of *to mount a drawing*), *monter la montagne* (transitive by repetition of the stem), *monter l'escalier* (transitive by indication of the place) —The original sense of *sonner* (*to sound*) is given in *la cloche sonne* (*the bell sounds*), the derivative transitive senses may be found in *sonner la cloche, la cloche sonne l'heure, la cloche sonne un son fêle, la trompette sonne la charge, sonner quelqu'un* (*to ring up a person*). These various changes are not made mechanically, but are induced by the constant living action of thought, which handles the language as it will

425 Pronominal verbs —Grammarians divide these verbs into **essentially pronominal** and **accidentally pronominal** This division, although useful in practice, is yet artificial, and tells us nothing of the inner nature of the pronominal verb. It is only by mere chance that some verbs are 'accidentally,' others 'essentially' pronominal, a verb may in the history of the language pass from one class to the other Thus, in Old French, *absenter quelqu'un* was used to mean *to keep a person away*, and even

in the beginning of the 17th century we find *De toi il m'auroit absentee* (*he would have kept me away from thee*) (Hardy, *Theagène et Cariclée*, 1ère journée, iv 1), so, *adonner quelqu'un a quelque chose · A raison de quoy il le fault tous jours adoner à ce qui est le meilleur* (*for which reason one must always direct it* [*the mind*] *to what is best*) (Amyot, *Pericles*, 88) Montaigne wrote *Nous repentons, mocquons, escrions, enquerons* (*we repent, mock, exclaim, enquire*) (ii 12), &c [Hence it is a misnomer to call *s'absenter, se repentir*, &c., *essentially* pronominal] We must therefore seek another basis for subdivision, and we divide pronominal verbs into two classes the **pronominal proper**, or **subjective**, and the **pronominal improper**, or **reflexive**

426 PRONOMINALS PROPER, OR SUBJECTIVE PRONOMINALS —These are verbs in which the reflexive pronoun has a merely *subjective* value

(1) It is a fact peculiar to Romance languages (and which may doubtless be traced back to Popular Latin) that they can conjugate intransitive verbs, which themselves express a complete action, with a reflexive pronoun, whose sole purpose is to set in a clearer light the intimate and spontaneous character of the action

Thus in Old French we have *il crie* and *il se crie*, *il ecrie* and *il s'ecrie*, *il apparaît* and *il s'apparaît*, *il disparaît, il se disparaît*, *il deut, il se deut* (*he complains, grieves*), *il dort, il se dort*, *il evanouit, il s'evanouit*, *il hâte, il se hâte*, *il craint, il se craint*, *il doute, il se doute*, *il tait, il se tait*; *il vit, il se vit*, *il meurt, il se meurt*, *il pense, il se pense*, *il va, il se va*, *il fuit, il s'enfuit*, &c

All intransitive verbs could be conjugated in this double form Thus *taisir* (*taire*) **Tais**, *Oliviers* (*be silent, Oliver*) (*Rol* l 1026), *Franceis* **se taisent** (*the French say no more*) (id. l 217),—*pasmer* (*pâmer*) *quant vit* **pasmer** *Rollant* (*when he saw Roland faint*) (id. l 2222), *sor son cheval* **se pasmet** (*he faints on his horse*) (id l. 1988),—*perir senz*

vus (*sans vous*) *ne puis* **perir** (*without you I cannot die*) (Bartsch, *Chrestom* p. 218), *la creshentes* **se perit** *entre vos mains* (*Christianity perishes in your hands*) (Joinv. 61),—*dormir · li abbes de Cheminon* **dormoit** (*the abbot of Cheminon slept*) (id. 121), *toutes les fois qu'elle* **se dormoit** *en son lit* (*every time that she slept in her bed*) (id 121), —*entrer Si* **s'en entra** *en une chambre* (*he entered into a chamber*) (Villeh 186),—*penser Il* **se penserent** *que* (*they bethought them that*) (Joinv 219), &c So we still find in the 17th century *s'apparaître, se disparaître, s'éclater, s'eclore*, side by side with *apparaître, disparaître, eclater, eclore*

We may particularly note certain verbs of motion, which are in this case preceded by the adverb *en* (meaning *away*) *aller, s'aller* (obs), *s'en aller , fuir, se fuir* (obs), *s'enfuir , courir, se courir* (obs), *s'en courir* (arch.), &c

Finally we may note that these intransitive pronominal verbs could, like simple intransitives, be followed by an indirect object *jouer avec quelqu'un, se jouer avec quelqu'un* (*to trifle with anyone*), *se jouer de quelqu'un* (*to make sport of anyone*)

(2) Following the pattern of the last constructions, certain transitive verbs have also been changed into pronominals and now take an indirect object which in the transitive construction would have been the direct object

apercevoir quelque chose—s'apercevoir de quelque chose
aviser ,, ,, —*s'aviser* ,, ,,
moquer (O F [1]), *railler* —*se moquer, se railler de quelquelqu'un* *qu'un*

These expressions, apparently so odd, arose from analogy with intransitive verbs used with the subjective pronoun *se*

Thus, originally *jouer* was intransitive, and we still say *jouer avec quelqu'un*, it has given as subjective pronominal *se jouer avec quelqu'un, se jouer de quelqu'un.* Now it is on the model of intransitive pronominals like this that the

[1] *Moquer* was formerly a transitive verb, and is still used transitively in the phrase *il est moqué de tous.*

transitive pronominals have been formed Consequently it would be a grave error to explain such expressions as *s'apercevoir d'une chose* by making the pronoun *se* the logical direct object of the verb *S'apercevoir d'une chose* is not equivalent to *apercevoir soi d'une chose*, which is nonsense When Malherbe says *se dedaigner de quelque chose* (*to think a thing unworthy of oneself*) (Malh II 185), he constructs the idiom on the pattern of *se jouer de quelqu'un*, so as to give a stronger subjective idea to the verb *dedaigner* It is because the pronoun *se* has here the semblance, not the reality, of a direct object, that the true direct object must be changed into an indirect object

Such is the true history of these pronominal verbs, their introduction into usage is only due to the extension of the type, originally formed by the language for the intransitives, to transitive verbs also

As the pure intransitives when expressing the result of the action may be conjugated with the auxiliary *être*, it is not surprising that intransitive pronominals, which specially express the result of the action, are also conjugated with *être* The old forms were *il evanouit*, *il est evanoui*, we now say, still using the auxiliary *être*, *il s'evanouit*, *il s'est evanoui* Naturally this construction was extended and applied to the transitive pronominals, formed on the model of the intransitive pronominals *il s'est aperçu de la chose*

Of course in this construction the participle agrees with the subject Since there is no difference between *il est evanoui* and *il s'est evanoui*, and in the former construction the participle agrees with the subject, the same concord was bound to occur in the latter

Thus the Old French forms were

Sing	*il est evanois* [1]	Plur	*il sont evanoi*
	il s'est evanois		*il se sont evanoi*

[1] The *s* being the symbol of the nom sing as well as of the accus plur, see Book II, § 176

This rule had no exception. In pronominal transitives created on this pattern the construction is the same, and the participle agrees with the subject

427 PRONOMINALS IMPROPER, OR REFLEXIVE VERBS AND RECIPROCAL VERBS — Pronominal improper or reflexive verbs are either transitive or intransitive, according as the action which they denote passes directly (without a preposition), or indirectly (with a preposition), to an object, which in this particular case is identical with the subject

Pierre frappe Paul —*Pierre se frappe* (direct object).
Pierre nuit a Paul —*Pierre se nuit* (indirect object)

In certain cases there is a double subject and the action is reciprocal, then the verb is called a **reciprocal**

Pierre loue Paul et Paul loue Pierre —*Pierre et Paul se louent* (direct object)
Pierre nuit à Paul et Paul nuit à Pierre —*Pierre et Paul se nuisent* (indirect object)

The conjugation of reciprocal verbs being indistinguishable from that of reflexive verbs, there is no need to treat them separately

Reflexive pronominals offer no peculiarity save in their compound tenses

The use of the auxiliary *être* in the compound tenses of these verbs seems surprising We say *J'ai loue Pierre*, but *je me* **suis** *loue*, **j'ai** *nui a Pierre*, but *je me* **suis** *nui* Why this change of auxiliary ? The use of the auxiliary *être* is not primitive, if we may judge by the numerous examples of the use of *avoir* in old texts. *s'ad* (*s'a*) *a Deu comandet* (*he has commended himself to God*) (*Alexis*, 58, c), *il se* **out** *desafubled* (*he had taken off his garments*) (*Quat Liv. Rois*, p. 75, note 1), *s'a et vestu et chaucie* (*chausse*) (*he both clad and shod himself*) (*Amis et Amiles*, l. 2321), &c. But at an early period the language confused the con-

jugation of reflexive pronominals with that of subjective pronominals.

Sempres morrai mais chier me sui *vendus*
(*Rol* l 2053)
(Soon shall I die, but I have sold myself dear.)

Vengiez m'en sui, *mais n'i ad traïson* (id l 3778)
(I avenged myself of this, but there was no treason)

The two classes, in fact, were identical in all the simple tenses e g *je me dors, je me dormais, je me dormirai*, a subjective pronominal, *je me mors, je me mordais, je me mordrai*, a reflexive pronominal This identity was carried on to the compound tenses, and led to *je me suis, je m'etais, je me serai mordu*, just as they said *je me suis, je m'etais, je me serai dormi* The confusion was such that the language came to use the auxiliary *être* in the compound tenses of any verb that happened by the hazard of syntactical construction to be preceded by a reflexive pronoun, even when it was neither a subjective nor a reflexive pronominal For instance in the 17th century we find on the one hand *il veut partir, il peut partir*, on the other *il se veut promener, il se peut promener*[1], the pronoun *se* here belonging to the infinitive following Now, in compound tenses, whilst in Modern French we say both *il a voulu, il a pu partir*, and *il a voulu, il a pu se promener*, the 17th century said *il a voulu, il a pu partir*, but *il s'est voulu, il s'est pu promener* *Il semble que Dieu se* soit *voulu jouer dans la construction de l'univers* (*it seems as if God wished to disport himself in the construction of the universe*[2]) (Rac vi. 283)

Et Mignot aujourd'hui s'est voulu surpasser
(Boil *Sat III.* l 124)
(And Mignot wished to day to surpass himself)

This analogical action extended yet further Since, with subjective pronominals, as we have seen, the participle agrees with the subject, the same construction will be found with the reflexive pronominals. Thus we have in

[1] Mod F *Il veut, il peut se promener*
[2] From a note on the Commentaries of Proclus on Plato.

Old French · *il s'est loez, il se sont loé* (Mod. F.: *il s'est loué, ils se sont loues*), the participle agreeing with the subject. This agreement with the subject even held good when the second pronoun was the indirect object and the pronominal verb was followed by a direct object *Il s'est donnez* (sing) *un colp*; *il se sont donne* (plur) *des cols*[1]

Thus, in all these cases, whatever the function of the verb, whether it was a subjective or a reflexive (or reciprocal) pronominal, and whether, in the latter case, there was a single direct object, the reflexive pronoun, or two objects, the one direct, the other indirect, the participle agreed with the subject The auxiliary used being *être*, the form and not the sense determined the concord In Modern French all these relations have been changed, as we shall see when dealing with the theory of the participle (§ 458, III, 3, p 774)

428 THE ASSIMILATION OF THE TWO CLASSES OF PRONOMINAL VERBS —The second class of pronominals having been assimilated to the first, there has resulted a series of consequences which we must now elucidate

I. Most of the intransitives, properly so called, could at one time be construed either with or without the reflexive pronoun *il tait, il se tait, il court, il se court* or *s'en court.* Similarly, certain transitive reflexive pronominal verbs may dispense with the reflexive pronoun and change from transitives into intransitives The following alternative forms are or have been used ·

La lune se leve	side by side with	*la lune leve* (arch).
le malade s'affaiblit	,,	*le malade affaiblit*
l'heure s'approche	,,	*l'heure approche*
le pays s'arme	,,	*le pays arme* (arch).
les revenus s'augmentent	,,	*les revenus augmentent*
la glace se fond	,,	*la glace fond*

[1] In Mod F the participle is in this case indeclinable *il s est donne un coup, ils se sont donne des coups.* (See § 458, p 779)

le cœur se gonfle side by side with *le cœur gonfle.*
se partir d'un lieu (arch) ,, *partir d'un lieu*

II After certain verbs such as *faire, laisser, croire, entendre, voir,* &c , we often use an intransitive verb in the infinitive without the addition of the reflexive pronoun *faire taire quelqu'un* (*to make a person hush*), and not *faire se taire* We have here the primitive use of *taire* before the subjective pronoun made its appearance By assimilation, the reflexive pronominals when following the same verbs have lost the reflexive pronoun

Le temps qui s'avance
Me **fait précipiter** *en cette extravagance* (Corn iv 291)
(Advancing time
Hurries me into this outrageous act)

The former original construction with intransitive verbs is exemplified in

Ceux que l'opinion **fait plaire** *aux vanites* (Malh i 296)
(Those whom opinion makes delight in vanities)

Je **vois évanouir** *ces infâmes portraits* (Corn ii 503)
(I see these shameful pictures disappear)

On en a vu qui ont sape de grands empires, et qui les ont **fait évanouir** *de dessus la terre* (*such* [*evils*] *have been seen as have undermined great empires and made them vanish from above the earth*) (La Bruy i 366) *Ce palais ces jardins vous* **font récrier** *d'une premiere vue sur une maison si delicieuse* (*this palace, these gardens, at first sight make you exclaim at so delightful an abode*) (id i 271)

The later construction, dropping the pronoun, by assimilation to the former, is seen in *Cela m'a* **fait ébahir** (*it took me aback*) (Malh. iii. 115) ,

C'est peu de **laisser assoupir**
La ferveur du plus saint desir,
Par notre lâchete nous la **laissons éteindre**
(Corn viii 107.)

('Tis little that we let the fervour of the holiest desire drowse, by our sloth we let it die out)

Je la **laisse expliquer** *en tout ce qui me touche* (Rac ii 305)
(I let her speak out in all that touches me)

However, here and there after the verbs in question we do meet with examples where the infinitive is preceded by the pronoun, but usually the pronoun is put in to avoid ambiguity or to meet the exigencies of versification.

Contemporary French, yielding to an excessive scrupulousness and analytic sense, strives to emphasize the distinction between the pronominal and the simple intransitive forms In certain consecrated phrases it allows, as we have seen above, the use of the infinitive without the reflexive pronoun *faire taire, faire souvenir, laisser aller,* &c, but in general, where no fixed tradition exists, writers prefer sacrificing liveliness of expression to precision of shade. they prefer to say *voir se lever, se coucher, le soleil,* rather than *voir lever, coucher, le soleil*

III A final consequence of the assimilation of the two classes of pronominals is the use of the past participle with an active signification The past participle of intransitive verbs may be used absolutely in the active sense. We have thus, in the 17th and 18th centuries, *le héros est expire,* and hence *un heros expire*, and at the present day *un bail expire, six mois expires*, *il est evanoui,* and hence *une personne evanouie* This licence occurs naturally in subjective pronominals which are only intransitives *elle s'est repentie, les filles repenties* Analogy has extended it to reflexive pronominals *une personne appliquee, fâchée* (the participles being equivalent to *qui s'applique, qui se fâche*), *une femme decidee, resolue, une fiancee,* &c

There is, however, a slight difference of sense between the participles of reflexive pronominals and of subjective pronominals The former naturally express an habitual state, the latter the result of the action In the exceptional case of the subjective pronominal *s'empresser,* if we compare the two phrases *une personne qui s'est empressee* (*one who has hurried, or taken pains*), and *une personne empressee* (*eager, painstaking,* &c.), we see that, in order to make the

participle express a persistent state in the latter, the language was obliged to alter the etymological signification which it has in the former.

429 IMPERSONAL VERBS[1]—I **Impersonal** verbs state facts without referring them to a determinate subject Whilst personal verbs present an action in relation to the person or the object which produces it, the impersonal verbs express an action without any relation to this cause *il pleut, il neige, il grêle*

French has inherited this construction from the Latin, which used certain verbs in this way to express the phenomena of nature **pluit** (*it rains*), **grandinat** (*it hails*), **lucescit** (*it dawns*), &c Again in imitation of Latin, French has extended this construction to personal verbs And the Old language was even richer than the Modern, as well in impersonals proper as in verbs used impersonally The following have been lost *il anuite* (*it is night*), *il aserit, avesprit* (*it is evening*), *il abelit, siet* (*it pleases*)[2], *il loist* (*it is lawful*), *il afiert* (*it befits*), *il membre* (*it comes to mind*), *il deut* (*it hurts*), *il haite* (*it gives pleasure*), &c In the 17th century the following were still used *il me chaut* (*it matters to me*), *il conste* (*it is established* [that]), *il mevient* (*it turns ill*), *il m'ennuie, il m'apparaît, il me deplaît,* and *il me souvient* side by side with *je me souviens* [*Il ne m'en chaut, il me souvient,* though archaisms, are not infrequently used at present]

Latin also used the passive impersonally **dicitur** (*it is said, on dit*) In Old French this construction was used even down to the 17th century (*Il*) *pense être gueri, pour ce qu'il lui est bien amende* ((*he*) *thinks to be cured because matters are much amended with him*) (Malh II 560)

Il fut danse, saute, balle (La Fontaine, IV 60)

[1] These are sometimes called **unipersonal** because verbs of this nature are only used in the 3rd person singular This name refers only to the outward guise of the word, whilst the term *impersonal* expresses the very essence of this kind of verb, which points out facts without connecting them with any person or real subject

[2] *Il sied* survives in the sense *it befits*

We should now say · *on dansa, sauta.*

[For the use of the verb impersonally with the indefinite substantive *on*, to replace the passive of transitive verbs, see § 434]

Finally, it is not only transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs that are used impersonally, pronominal verbs also assume this form Compare

Plusieurs consequences **s'ensuivent** and **Il s'ensuit** *plusieurs consequences* (*several results follow* and *there follow several results*)

Un homme **s'est montré** and **Il s'est montré** *un homme* (*a man appeared* and *there appeared a man*)

Des gens **se trouvent** and **Il se trouve** *des gens* (*people are found* and *there are found people*)

II Of the impersonal verbs, those expressing natural phenomena are complete in themselves and require no determinant to complete the thought *Il pleut* The others, being mostly personal verbs used impersonally, generally require some determinant, which is either a substantive as complement or direct object, or an infinitive, or a proposition *Il faut quelqu'un ici Il me plaît d'agir ainsi Il me semble que vous vous trompez* Even the true impersonal verbs when taken figuratively may be followed by an object *Il pleut des balles* (*it rains bullets*)

In Latin the object of impersonal verbs was put in the accusative or the ablative **Pluit sanguinem** or **sanguine** So, in Old French, it was usually put in the accusative case Consequently **balles** in *il pleut* **des balles** must be considered as an accusative The established form did not admit any other construction for the logical subject *des balles* than that of the direct grammatical object

When the object designates a person, it is regularly in the dative *Il* **me** *plaît*, *il* **lui** *convient*, &c We sometimes, however, meet with the accusative in Old French *Convint* **l'empereor** *Henri et sa gent que il laissast la voie*

(the Emperor Henry with his people was obliged to quit the way) (Villeh 480)

Qui plus fera de maus, plus le *faura* (faudra) *boulir*
(*Bastars de Bullon*, l 509)
(Whoso doth more evil deeds, the more must he boil)

III Like the object, the subject of the impersonal verb is purely a grammatical one We have already seen (Book II, § 198) that this impersonal pronoun *il* was introduced into use fairly late, and Old French long used the expressions *pleut, i (= y) a gens* At the present day it occurs with all impersonal verbs, save in a few expressions such as *Que vous en semble?* (*what do you think of it?*), *Qu'importe?* (*what matter?*), *Plaise a Dieu !* (*please God!*), *De cinq ôtez trois, reste deux* (*take three from five, two remains*) A particular case of this construction is presented by the verb *avoir* In Popular Latin we already have **habet hominem** (*it has a man = there is a man*) In Old French the corresponding phrase exists with the logical subject also in the accusative *a home* Gradually the habit arose of introducing the adverb *i = y* (*there*)

D'Afrique i ad un African venut (*Rol* l 1550)
(From Africa there has come an African)

E tante hanste i ad fraise e sanglentc (id l 1399)
(And so many a shaft (spear) there was broken and bloody)

It was in the 12th century that *i a* became *il i a* Through the Middle Ages the three constructions *a, i a, il i a*, lived side by side Since the end of the 16th century the last has triumphed, but the first remained in the adverb *pieça* (= *piece a = a little while ago*), still in use in the 16th century, and in the living word *naguere* (= *il n'i a guère*), meaning *not long ago, recently*, the second has remained in *tant y a que*

IV The impersonal verb changes into a personal one in two ways

(1) The logical subject becomes the grammatical subject. *Les canons* **tonnent** *Les balles* **pleuvent** *de tous côtes*

(2) The impersonal becomes a factitive personal in an intransitive or transitive sense.

Pour moi qu'en santé même un autre monde étonne
Qui crois l'âme immortelle, et que c'est Dieu qui **tonne**
(Boileau, *Sat I* l 160)
(For me, whom even in health another world alarms,
Who hold the soul immortal, and that thunder comes from God)

Notre homme
Tranche du roi des airs, **pleut**, **vente** *et fait en somme*
Un climat pour lui seul (La Font II 13)
(Our good man
Plays the king of the skies rains, blows, and makes in fine
A climate for himself alone)

La neige **neigeait** *sa lumiere* (*the snow snowed its light*) (Chateaubriand, *Mem* xi)

V Certain impersonal verbs require special notice

Être at first was used impersonally only with an adjective or a past participle *Il est beau*, *il est advis* The number even of predicates that could be so used was limited It is only from the 12th century that **être** has been used impersonally with a substantive, either to denote existence *il est un Dieu*, or to note relations of time *il est midi*, *il est temps*, *il est l'heure de partir*, &c

Falloir (O F **faillir**) was used down to the 13th century as a personal verb, as the equivalent of *manquer* (*to lack, to be short of*), it has still this sense and use in the proverb 'Au bout de l'aune faut le drap (*the cloth runs short at the end of the ell*) It was in use as an impersonal from the 12th century, with this meaning

Qu'il n'i failloit ne fers ne clos (clou) (*Chev au lion*, l 753)
(That there should lack nor [horse]shoe nor nail)

From the idea of 'lacking' came that of 'being requisite or needed' *L'argent lui faut*, *money fails him*, came to mean *money is necessary to him*, *he needs money*

As this change progressed, the language lost its impersonal verb *estovoir*, *il estuet* (= *to be needed*), and *falloir*, *il faut*, replaced it However, it was at first used only with

substantives, it was only from the 14th century that forms like *il faut que je fasse, il me faut partir*, were allowed.

The primitive sense of 'lacking' still lives in such locutions as *il s'en faut de beaucoup* followed by *que* with the subjunctive, &c (*it is far short* [*of being*, &c]), *il s'en faut peu* (or *de peu*) *que*

Faire was early used impersonally when followed by an adjective

Il le feroit bon *aler querre*
(*Chev au lion*, l 6605)
(It would be the right moment to go seek him)

This use continued in the language

Qu'il fera dangereux *rencontrer sa colere!* (Corn IV 336)
(How dangerous will it be to meet his ire!)

Il ne fait *pas bien* sûr, *a vous le trancher net,*
D'epouser une fille en depit qu'elle en ait (Mol IX 186)
(It's not very safe, to tell you in plain words,
To wed a maiden in her own despite)

Il nous feroit beau *voir, attaches, face a face,*
A pousser les beaux sentiments (id VI 393)
(It would be pretty to see us, face to face,
Striving to utter fine sentiments)

We say similarly *Il* **fait cher** *vivre a Paris* (*it is dear to live in Paris*), &c

430 PERIPHRASTIC VERBS.—The periphrastic is that verbal form in which we substitute for a simple verb, throughout its conjugation, a periphrase formed by an auxiliary and a tense of this verb

There are two kinds of periphrase, according as the verb is in the participle or gerund, or the infinitive

431 PERIPHRASE FORMED BY AN AUXILIARY AND A PARTICIPLE OR GERUND.—The following auxiliaries occur:

(1) **Être**, which was currently used in Old and Middle French

Por Dieu vos pri que ne **seiez** (soyez) **fuiant** (*Rol* l 1473)
(For God's sake I pray you not to flee)

Vos avez tuit jure que . . se uns en volost estre encontre, que vos li **seriez aidant** (*you have all sworn that, if any wished to oppose him, you would help him*) (Villeh. 260) *Ils* **sont assaillans**, *vous estes deffendeurs* (*they attack, you are defenders*) (Alain Chartier, *Quadr* 415)[1] It fell into less frequent use from the 16th century onward, although H Estienne finds it graceful, and in the 17th century it is hardly found except in Voiture *Dans l'innocence ou ils estoient, ils* **furent** *quelques mois* **jouissans** *tranquillement de ce plaisir* (*in the innocence in which they existed, they were some months peacefully enjoying this pleasure*) (II 65). Nowadays this idiom is only admissible, either when the participle has the function of an adjective *il est vivant*; or to express continuity of action (see **aller**)

(2) **Aller.** The use of **aller** combined as an auxiliary with the gerund (in the sense of 'to go on') persisted down to the 17th century

Les plaisirs nous **vont décevant** (Malh I 286)
(Pleasures go on deceiving us)

Mais a la fin, ma douleur s'augmentant,
*Je vis le mal qui m'***allait tourmentant** (Voit I 513.)
(But at length, my pain increasing,
I saw the ill that went on tormenting me)

Quel malheur me **va poursuivant?** (Corn x 40)
(What misfortune goes on pursuing me?)

Vous voyez . comme en tous lieux la mort **va prenant** *ceux qu'il plaît à Dieu* (*you see how in all places Death goes on taking those whom it pleases God*) (Sév VIII 225). Vaugelas (I 313) admitted this idiom, but only where there is a visible motion to which *aller* might be applied · *La riviere* **va serpentant** (*the river goes winding*). This theory has prevailed in the modern language.

[1] [This construction, possibly of Celtic origin (distinct from the English progressive present), occurs in Irish and Scotch dialect. *They* **are** *all, dear baby,* **belonging** *to thee* (Walter Scott).]

(3) **Venir** Like *aller*, *venir* was used to form periphrastic verbs, especially with the gerund of verbs of motion:

E Bramimonde **vient corant** *contre lui* (*Rol* l 2822)
(And Bramimonde comes running up towards him)

S'en **vindrent** *mout honteusement* **fuiant** *parmi le poncel* (*they came away very shamefully flying across the bridge*) (Joinv 246) This construction is still found in the somewhat antiquated expressions. *Il vient, il s'en vient, il s'en retourne chantant*, &c

(4) **Rendre** followed by a past participle was often substituted for a simple verb in Middle French, and even as late as the 17th century

Elle **rend** *pour jamais vos dessems* **avortés** (Rac I 411)
(It makes your designs abortive for ever)

C'est que l'amie est d'un orgueil qui la **rend révoltée** *contre les ordres de l'autre* (*it is that the friend is of a pride that makes her rebellious against the orders of the other*) (Sév IV 23) *Rendre* is now almost always followed by adjectives only, to form in this way the equivalent of a simple verb: *rendre heureux, content, net*, &c

(5) We must also note other periphrases, now obsolete, formed by synonyms of *être* with a past participle *La chose* **devient faite** (*gets done*), **vaut faite** (*is as good as done*), **s'en va faite**, &c

Mais aujourd'hui que mes années
Vers leur fin **s'en vont terminées** (Malh I 210)
(But to-day, when my years
Are drawing to their end)

La conjuration **s'en alloit dissipée**,
Vos dessems **avortés**, *votre haine* **trompée** (Corn III 426)
(*The conspiracy was all but broken up*,
Your plots baffled, your hatred foiled)

432 PERIPHRASE FORMED BY AN AUXILIARY AND AN INFINITIVE — Periphrases in which the verb is in the infinitive are different in character from the preceding ones; they are seldom equivalent to a simple verb, because

here the auxiliary expresses a definite idea of modality The principal auxiliaries so used are · *aller, venir, faire, devoir*

(1) **Aller** This verb followed by an infinitive expresses in the literal sense the physical motion to perform elsewhere an action in the immediate future **allez** *lui* **porter** *ce message* (*go bear him this message*) It is only figuratively that it expresses the proximate accomplishment of an action, without any idea of motion (= to be going to, to be about to)

Nous **n'allons** *point de fleurs* **parfumer** *son chemin* (Rac I 549)
(We are not going to scent his path with flowers)

So *s'en aller Un de ses fils* **s'en va mourir** *encore* (*still another of his sons is about to die*) (Sév III 462)

Ce triomphe heureux qui **s'en va devenir**
L'eternel entretien des siecles a venir (Rac III 171)
(This happy triumph which is about to become
The eternal theme of centuries following)

However, in the 17th century *aller* with an infinitive sometimes fulfils the function of a simple verb *On me croyait trop raisonnable pour* **m'aller souvenir** (*they thought me too sensible 'to go and remember'*[1]) (La Rochef II 448) So even in the present language this periphrase with a negation merely indicates abstention. **N'allez pas** *l'irriter par votre obstination* (*don't go and irritate him by your obstinacy*[1])

(2) **Venir** This verb followed by a simple infinitive denotes the goal of an action *Je suis* **venu** *vous* **voir** (*I am come to see you*) It denotes, when followed by a prepositional infinitive (1) with *pour*, the aim of the action *je suis* **venu pour** *vous* **voir**, but (2) with *de*, a very recent past. *il* **vient de sortir** (*he has just gone out*) **S'en venir de sortir**, &c, is used in the same sense (= *to have just gone out*, &c)

[1] [We give the English equivalent quoted, despite its purely colloquial use for its striking parallelism in sense, though not in style, to the French.]

(3) **Faire** combined with an infinitive very frequently fulfilled the function of a simple verb in Old French. *il* **fait tendre** *son arc* was the equivalent of *il tend son arc* (cf. the English, *I do stretch my bow*) So.

Merci, pere, dit il, or me faites entendre (*Ren de Mont* I 355)
('Have mercy, father,' said he, 'now do hark to me')

Et me proient (*prient*) *que je lor* **face moustrer** (*fasse montrer*) *le roi* (*and pray me that I do show them the king*) (Joinv 566) In these two examples *me faites entendre* and *face moustrer* express no more than *entendez-moi* and *montre*

This construction disappeared from Middle French, henceforward the language used *faire* with an infinitive only to form factitive verbs, as *faire acheter, faire croire, faire venir*, &c

(4) **Devoir** followed by an infinitive denotes more or less clearly an obligatory future with various shades of meaning —(*a*) absolute necessity *Les hommes* **doivent mourir** (*men* **must die**), (*b*) moral obligation *Les enfants* **doivent respecter** *leurs parents* (*children* **should respect** *their parents*), (*c*) an attenuated order *On* **devrait planter** *des arbres le long de la route* (*trees* **ought to be planted** *along the road*), (*d*) intention *Je* **dois aller** *demain a la campagne* (*I* **am to go** *to the country to-morrow*), (*e*) indeterminate future *Il* **doit partir** *demain* (*he* **is leaving** *to-morrow*), (*f*) supposition *C'est lui qui* **doit avoir fait** *cela* (*it is he who* **must** (*or* **is supposed to**, cf German *soll*) **have done** *that*), (*g*) simple belief *Il* **doit être incapable** *d'une mauvaise action* (*he* **must be incapable** *of a bad deed*), (*h*) likelihood *Ces choses-là* **ne doivent pas être** *rares* (*those things* **cannot be** *rare*)

(5) Finally we may note certain other periphrases, such as those (*a*) with **vouloir**, denoting will or wish for a future action, in *Je* **veux partir** (*I want to go, I mean to go*), (*b*) with **pouvoir**, denoting a mild affirmation, in. *Il* **peut**

être *midi* (*it may be twelve o'clock*); (*c*) that with **être pour**, denoting in Middle French, and still in the 17th century, a possible or probable future (cf note, p 748):

Monsieur, je ne **suis** *pas* **pour** *vous désavouer* (Rac II 178)
(Sir, I am not prepared to contradict you)

II Passive Voice

433. THE PASSIVE VOICE.—I The passive voice expresses the action as suffered by the subject and caused by the object. We have seen (Book II, § 213 b) how the double system of the passive conjugation in Latin, being too complicated for the Romance nations, became reduced, and was replaced by a periphrastic conjugation formed of the past participle and the auxiliary *être* We shall see further on what consequences followed from this substitution.

II The passive infinitive is sometimes rendered by the active, and the object from which the action emanates may be followed by the preposition *de*, as with a true passive This takes place

(1) With a simple infinitive, after the verbs *faire, laisser, entendre, voir*, &c *Je le ferai voir de tous* (*I will make it be seen by all*); *je l'ai laisse prendre* (*I let it be taken*). In the syntax of the infinitive (§ 449, II p. 740) we shall see the delicate process by which the language succeeds in distinguishing the active and passive senses with this infinitive: *Je* **l'***ai vu prendre* (= *I saw it taken*) and *Je* **lui** *ai vu prendre ce livre* (*I saw him take this book*)

(2) With a prepositional infinitive generally expressing the aim or end *Je suis à plaindre* (*I am to be pitied*). *Il est à desirer que . . .* (*it is to be desired that . . .*). *Il est fait à peindre* (*he is made* [*i e fit*] *to be painted*).

(3) After adjectives *facile à faire, agréable à lire, vin prêt à boire* (*easy to do, pleasant to read, wine ready to drink*[1]).

[1] [The English idiom here is exactly parallel to the French.]

In Middle French we also find *un spectacle digne* **de voir** (*a scene worthy to be seen*). Now we say *un spectacle digne* **d'être vu**

434. PASSIVE OF TRANSITIVE VERBS — It is in the transitive form that the passive voice, like the active, develops itself most completely In this case the subject undergoes the action of the object which causes it. *Paul est frappé par Pierre.* The passive of forms other than the transitive occurs only in special uses

Transitives in the passive voice are divided into two classes according as they express (1) a momentary action, e g *battre, frapper, manger, tuer,* &c , or (2) a more or less continuous action, e g *aimer, haïr, louer,* &c We have seen how the Latin passive was transformed in Romanic, and came to be conjugated periphrastically in all its moods and tenses with the auxiliary *être* and a past participle expressing an accomplished fact. The transformation has entailed this curious consequence, that when the agent is not expressed it is not possible in either the present, imperfect, or future tense of the passive to express the action as going on, but only as completed Latin says in the active voice **Petrus caedit Paulum** (*Peter strikes Paul*), and in the passive **Paulus caeditur a Petro** (*Paul is being struck by Peter*) This expression is untranslatable into French when the agent is not expressed, we are forced to have recourse to the active transitive locution [used impersonally], and say *on frappe Pierre,* instead of *Pierre est frappé*, with verbs which express a more or less continuous or persistent action there is not the same defect *il est aimé, il est estimé,* are both the precise equivalents of *on l'aime, on l'estime,* and of the Latin passives **amatur, aestimatur.** Here the beginning of the action already past and its continuation are merged

It follows that certain verbs of the first class may pass into the second when the action is considered as habitual

La Revue des Deux-Mondes **est lue** *par toute l'Europe* (*the Revue des Deux-Mondes is read by all Europe*) In this case *est lue* answers exactly to *on la lit*, because it denotes an habitual action. In the phrase · *Il veut surprendre l'ennemi, mais il est vaincu,—est vaincu*, in its literal sense, expresses the action as quite completed, but in this line of Corneille

Qui veut mourir ou vaincre est vaincu rarement
(Whoso wishes to conquer or die is rarely conquered)

est vaincu is the precise equivalent term of *on le vainc*, because it has here the sense of habitual conquering.

Another important consequence drawn from the preceding analysis is that the past participles of verbs of the first class may cease to denote the action itself, and only express the result of the action, so as to become simple adjectives, whilst the past participles of verbs of the second class, expressing continuous action, always carry this notion of continuity of action and cannot become mere adjectives In the following line

Du temple orné partout de festons magnifiques (Rac III 605)
(Of the temple throughout adorned with splendid wreaths)

orne signifies 'which has been at some time adorned'. it is an adjective, so with *composé* in *L'homme est compose d'un corps et d'une âme* (*man is composed of a body and a soul*). On the contrary, *aimee, estimee*, which always express continuous action, cannot be adjectives in *Cette personne est aimee, estimee de tous* (*this person is loved, esteemed by all*).

435. PASSIVE OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS.—The passive is only found with a certain number of intransitive verbs which are well on their way to become transitive. *obéir à quelqu'un* · *vous* **serez obéi**, *vivre cette œuvre* **a été vécue**, *boire à la sante votre santé* **fut bue** (Sév III 402), *répondre a une lettre*: *lettre* **répondue** (an official term).

436 PASSIVE USE OF REFLEXIVE VERBS.—The reflexive is used to replace the passive with verbs which cannot take the present tense of that voice. *Ces marchandises ne* **se vendent** *pas* is the equivalent not of *ces marchandises ne sont point vendues* (*these goods are not sold*), but of *on ne vend point ces marchandises* (*they do not sell these goods*); this expression dates only from Middle French and its use is at the present day more restricted than at its origin, between the 14th century and the 18th, on the contrary, the reflexive might be followed by a complement expressing the cause of the action *Par laquelle œuvre se pourra* **congnoistre** *la grandeur du prince* (*by which work may be known the greatness of the prince*) (Comm. 3).

Avant que son destin **s'explique** *par ma voix* (Rac III 616)
(Before his destiny is expounded by my voice)

Tout se fit par les prêtres (*everything was done by the priests*) (Id V 207) *Ses desseins* **s'affermiroient** *par l'éloignement de la cour* (*his designs would be strengthened by the removal of the court to a distance*) (La Rochef II 309)

[The reflexive can now only be used in the passive absolutely, or with a complement of manner, time, or place *ces pommes se vendent bien, cher, a midi, ici, cela se fera par mon entreprise*]

437. PASSIVE OF IMPERSONAL VERBS — The passive impersonal is especially used either with transitive or with intransitive verbs (of the intermediate kind, § 435), in constructions which in the active voice would take the nominative *on* *Il* **a été** *mal* **parlé** *de vous* *Il* **a été rapporté** *certaines choses sur son compte* (*You have been ill spoken of—There have been reported certain things about him*) This construction, which was in general use in the 16th and 17th centuries (§ 429), is becoming antiquated

We have seen (§ 436) that the personal reflexive is used as a passive; the impersonal reflexive is similarly used as a passive: *Il* **se trouve** *qu'il a raison* (*it is found* [i e. *turns*

out] *that he is right*). *Il* **se raconte** *des choses étranges sur son compte* (*there are told strange things about him*).

438 PASSIVE OF PERIPHRASTIC VERBS — The passive appears in these verbs when the participle joined to the auxiliary is the past and not the present. Instances of this are rare in the present language, they were more frequent in Old French, for example with the verb *aller*: *La chose* **s'en va faite** (*the thing's about to be finished*)

Mais aujourd hui que mes années,
Vers leur fin **s'en vont terminées** (Malh i 210.)

(But now that my years, approaching their end, are about to close)

Or with the verb *tourner* *la chose* **tourne finie** (*the thing is about to end*) The popular language still has recourse to this old construction *la messe* **s'en va dite** (*mass is about to be over*).

SECTION II.—*The Moods*

439 Moods

I INDICATIVE — 440 Indicative mood

II IMPERATIVE — 441 Imperative mood

III SUBJUNCTIVE — 442 Subjunctive mood — 443 Subjunctive in simple propositions — 444 Subjunctive in subordinate propositions — 445. Subjunctive in substantive propositions — 446 Subjunctive in adjective propositions — 447 Subjunctive in adverbial propositions.

IV INFINITIVE — 448 Infinitive mood — 449 Simple infinitive — 450 Prepositional infinitive.

439 MOODS — Moods are the various aspects in which verbal action is presented There were three moods in Latin the **indicative**, the **imperative**, and the **subjunctive**, to these the **infinitive** may be added, which is less a mood than a verbal noun, since in its various tenses the action is presented impersonally and indeterminately; it is only, then, speaking in a general sense that we can give it the name of *mood* The above moods exist also in French.

Grammarians have added a fifth to these moods, the **conditional**, an aspect of the verbal action which Latin

rendered either by past tenses of the indicative or by the subjunctive We shall see that the conditional is but half a mood, and springs from the indicative.

I Indicative

440 INDICATIVE MOOD —The *indicative* is the mood of reality and expresses a real fact, or an affirmative or negative judgement, in a declaratory or interrogative aspect, at a period of time which may be present, past, or future, in a proposition either simple or subordinate We shall see (§ 442 *et seq*) in what cases it is replaced by the subjunctive

II Imperative

441. IMPERATIVE MOOD —The *Imperative* is the mood of necessity and points out an action as ordered or desired, the tone of voice determines in which of these two senses this mood should be taken **Faites** *ceci, je l'exige* **Faites** *ceci, je vous en prie*

The imperative, having no proper 3 sing or 3 plur, borrows these from the subjunctive *qu'il vienne, qu'ils partent* The 1 and 2 plur are borrowed from the indicative, except in four verbs which borrow these persons from the subjunctive These verbs are *être, avoir, savoir, vouloir Veuillons* and *sachons, veuillez* and *sachez*, are old forms of the subjunctive.

The infinitive is sometimes substituted for the imperative (in general directions, receipts, notices) **Prendre** *tant de grammes de cette potion Ne point* **faire** *telle chose* (*Take so many grammes of this potion Do not do such or such a thing*). Old French also used the infinitive in the sense of the imperative, but only in the negative, and addressed to a single person only

Sire compainz, amis, **nel dire ja** (*Rol* l 1113)
(Sir comrade, friend, **say it no more**)

Ne **quider** (*croyer*) *pas, bel sire, que tus voz fiz seient ocis* (*do not think, my lord, that all thy sons are slain*) (*Quatr. Liv Rois*, 166). In Modern French, on the contrary, the infinitive replaces the positive as well as the negative imperative, the order may be addressed to several persons, and it is indefinite in character. **prendre** *tant de grammes* is equivalent to *qu'on prenne*, &c. Consequently there is no relation between the old construction and the new.

Nor can we approximate this modern usage with the locution that was so frequent in Old French, where the infinitive, preceded by *or* and the preposition *de*, served as an imperative *or du bien faire, or de l'aler, or du ferir*, the infinitive being used substantively with an ellipsis of the imperative *pensez* (*bethink yourself*) *or* (*pensez*) *de l'aler, du ferir* (= *go! strike!*[1]).

Lastly, the future is substituted for the imperative to show absolute command *Vendredi chair ne* **mangeras** (*thou shalt not eat flesh on Friday*) This use was known to Old French.

III Subjunctive

442 SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD —The *subjunctive* is the mood of possibility As its name shows, it essentially belongs to the compound sentence and therein is the mood of the dependent or subordinate proposition (**sub-junctus**, *placed under*) It often occurs, however, in simple propositions

443 SUBJUNCTIVE IN SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS —I The subjunctive is used in the 3rd person present with the function of an imperative *qu'il parte, qu'il vienne* In this

[1] [It is probable that in the special modern use so frequent in public notices (e g *traverser le pont au pas*, *ne pas jeter des ordures sur la voie*) a word expressing command or desire, like *prière de*, *ordre de*, is understood, it is expressed in the negative *défense d'afficher* = *stick no bills*]

case, in the Old language it was not usually preceded by the conjunction *que*, and the usage still existed in the 16th century *Sire*, **souvienne** *vous des Atheniens* (*Sire, remember the Athenians*) (Mont 1 9) *Ny le plus jeune* **refuse** *à philosopher, ny le plus vieil s'y* **lasse** (*neither let the youngest shun philosophising, nor the oldest weary himself therein*) (id 1. 25) The absence of the conjunction is still noted in some archaic locutions **sauve** *qui peut, qui m'aime me* **suive**, &c

II The present subjunctive is still used in the 3rd person to denote a concession **Aille** *qui voudra* (*go who will*) **Écrive** *qui voudra* (*write who will*) **Advienne** *que pourra* (*come what may*) *Vous le voulez?* **soit**! (*you wish it? so be it* [*very well*]!) *Si sage* **soit-il** (*however wise he be*). In this case the language nearly always adheres to the ellipsis of the conjunction *que*

III In the 1st person the subjunctive serves to denote a softened affirmation in some consecrated expressions *Je ne* **sache** *rien de si beau* (*I know nothing so beautiful*) *Il n'est pas venu, que je* **sache** (*as far as I know*)

IV The subjunctive is also used with an optative function to denote a desire, or wish, in the present, imperfect, and pluperfect

In the present tense the Old language used the subjunctive in all the persons, and usually without the conjunction *que*, in the case of the 3rd person, used without *que*, the subject followed the verb This construction survived in the 17th and the 18th centuries

Je **meure**, *en vos discours si je puis rien comprendre*
(Corn IV 167)
(May I die if I can understand anything of what you say)

Car **veuille** *ou non son maître, il faut qu'il le lui vende*
(La Font V 259)
(For whether his master will or no, he must sell it to him)

Tombent *sur moi du Ciel les plus grands châtiments*
(Mol II 311)
(May the heaviest punishments fall on me from Heaven)

Si pendant un quart d'heure
Vous suivez ce dessein, c'est beaucoup, ou je **meure**
(Destouches, *Irrésolu*, Act IV, Sc 1)
(If you follow up this intention for a quarter of an hour, may I die if it is not a long time)

Nous **préservent** *les cieux d'un si funeste abus!*
(Volt *Brutus*, Act II, Sc 4)
(The heavens preserve us from so fatal a wrong!)

In the present language the subjunctive is scarcely used as an optative in the 1st and 2nd persons except with the verb *pouvoir* **puisse-je, puisses-tu, puissions-nous** *reussir*. In the 3rd person the locution is still common, but the conjunction *que* must always be used *Que cela vous serve de leçon!* (*may that serve you as a lesson!*) The exceptions to this rule are archaic expressions *Dieu vous* **garde**! *Dieu me* **soit** *en aide!* **Fasse** *le ciel!* **Vive** *la France!* &c (See § 492 a, V, p 841)

In the imperfect and pluperfect the subjunctive with the subject following may also have the function of an optative, especially in exclamatory sentences **Plût** *a Dieu qu'il en fût ainsi!* (*would to God that it were so!*) **Fussions-***nous hors de danger!* (*would that we were out of danger!*)

La peste de ta chute, empoisonneur du diable!
En **eusses-***tu fait une a te casser le nez!* (Mol V 464)
(Plague on thy fall, thou devilish poisoner,
Would thou hadst had one that would break thy nose!)

444 SUBJUNCTIVE IN SUBORDINATE PROPOSITIONS — Subordinate propositions are divided into **substantive, adjective,** and **adverbial,** according as they fulfil the function of a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb

In *je souhaite qu'il* **guérisse** (*I wish that he may recover*), *qu'il guerisse* is equivalent to a substantive (*sa guerison, his recovery*), it is a substantive proposition.

In *un bienfait* **qu'on reproche** *est sans valeur, qu'on*

reproche is equivalent to an adjective (= un bienfait *reproche* est . .), it is an adjective proposition.

In *je partirai* **quand vous voudrez** (= je partirai *au moment fixe par vous*), *quand vous voudrez* is equivalent to a complement of circumstance, it is an adverbial proposition

We shall now study the rôle of the subjunctive in these three kinds of proposition

445. SUBJUNCTIVE IN SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSITIONS.—The verb in a dependent substantive proposition is sometimes put in the indicative, sometimes in the subjunctive.

I With verbs of **belief** or **declaration**, such as *dire, affirmer, juger, confesser, protester, soutenir, convenir, se souvenir, penser, croire, se douter, s'apercevoir, prevoir, esperer, admettre, promettre, jurer*, &c, and periphrases such as *être certain, être sur, il est certain, il est vrai*, &c, the verb in the dependent proposition is usually put in the indicative[1], because it denotes a real fact or one taken as such *Je crois qu'il* **dit** *vrai* (*I think that he tells the truth*) *Il affirme qu'il* **est** *venu* (*he affirms that he came*) *Vous pensez qu'il* **a** *menti* (*you think that he lied*)

But if the verb of belief express a doubt or uncertainty the verb of the dependent proposition is put in the subjunctive *Supposons que cela* **soit** (*suppose that it be so*). *J'admets qu'il* **vienne** (*I allow that he may come*) *Je veux bien qu'il* **ait** *tort* (*I admit that he may be wrong*)

It is for this reason that down to the 18th century a certain number of declaratory verbs now regularly construed with the indicative were often construed with the

[1] When the principal verb refers to a future action, the subordinate verb is put in the future if the principal is in the present, in the conditional if the principal is in the imperfect *Je crois qu'il* **viendra** *Je croyais qu'il* **viendrait** Here the conditional belongs to the indicative mood, it is a future in the past (see p. 757)

subjunctive; these were especially the verbs *croire* (O. F. *cuidier*), *dire*, *estimer*, *penser*, *soupçonner*, *tenir*, &c.

*Lors cuidai je que il n'*eust
Reison ne parler ne seüst (*Chev au lion*, l 325)

(Then I thought that he had lost his reason and knew not how to speak)

Cil de Moab penserent que l'ewe (*l'eau*) fust *ensanglentee* (*the Moabites thought that the water was stained with blood*) (*Quat. Liv Rois*, 354) *J'ay leu qu'un philosophe nommé Petron estoyt en cette opinion que* feussent *plusieurs mondes soy touchans les uns les aultres* (*I have read that a philosopher named Petronius was of opinion that there were several worlds touching one another*) (Rab II 464) *Philostrate tient que* soient *dents, non cornes* (*Philostratus holds that they be teeth, not horns*) (Id III 119)

La plus belle des deux je crois que ce soit *l'autre*
(Corn IV 151)

(The fairer of the two, I think to be the other)

Vous croyez qu'un amant vienne *vous consulter?* (Rac II 60)
(Do you think that a lover comes to consult you?)

Vous pensez qu'approuvant vos desseins odieux,
Je vous laisse *immoler votre fille a mes yeux?*
Que ma foi, mon amour, mon honneur y consente?
(Id III 218.)

(You think that, approving your odious designs,
I would let you sacrifice your daughter before my eyes,
That my faith, my love, my honour would consent?)

Cette lettre, Monsieur, qu'avecque cette boîte
*On pretend qu'*ait *reçue Isabelle de vous* (Mol II 395)

(This letter, Sir, which they say Isabel received from you with this box)

Un Bas-Breton me dit qu'il pensoit que les etats allassent *mourir* (*a Bas-Breton told me that he thought the Estates were about to die*) (Sév II. 356) *Vous diriez qu'il* ait *l'oreille du prince* (*you would say that he had the ear of the prince*) (La Bruy I 370) We may say generally that, in the case of a certain number of verbs, in the Old as well as

in the present language, the mood used really depends on the shade of thought implied.

When the principal proposition is negative and the negation is denoted by the adverb *ne*, in Old and Modern French alike, the subjunctive is used, unless there is no doubt about the reality of the action: *Je ne crois pas qu'il* vienne (*I don't think he is coming*), but *Il ne sait pas que je* suis *son ami* (*he does not know that I am his friend*)

Should the principal verb be negative by nature, e g *douter, nier, disconvenir, desesperer, dissimuler,* &c, it governs the subjunctive *je conteste, je doute qu'il en* soit *ainsi* *Ignorer* alone governs sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive, according to the sense *Il ignore que la terre* tourne (indic) (*he does not know that the world goes round*), but *J'ignorais qu'il* fût *arrive* (*I did not know that he had arrived*) *Ne pas ignorer* (= *savoir*) and *ne pas nier* (= *admettre*), which in the 17th century were still construed with a second *ne* and the subjunctive, are now construed without this second *ne* and with the indicative On the other hand, *il se peut faire que* could be construed in the 17th century with the indicative · *Il se peut faire que leur ressentiment* part *de quelque zele, mais peu eclaire* (*it may happen that their resentment comes from some kind of zeal, but* [*that*] *little enlightened*) (Pasc *Prov* 186) *Il se peut faire que celui qui m'a conte cette aventure n'*a *pas retenu exactement* (*it may be that he who told me this adventure did not exactly remember*) (Rac iv 336) Consequently even with verbs denoting uncertainty the language of the French Classics may use the indicative The thought presented as doubtful in the first member of a period suddenly assumes a character of reality, and the subordinate becomes a sort of principal proposition.

If the principal proposition be interrogative the subordinate must be put in the indicative or in the subjunctive, according as the person putting the question is certain or uncertain of the answer *Sais-tu bien que l'affaire* réussit *?*

(*do you know that the business is succeeding?*), but *Croyez-vous que l'affaire* **aille** *bien?* (*do you think that the business will do well?*)

Finally, also, if the principal sentence is conditional, the proper use of the indicative and the subjunctive respectively depends entirely upon the sense *Si vous croyez que je* **puisse** *vous être utile*, or *que je* **puis** *vous être utile* (*if you think I* **may** *be useful*, or **can** *be useful to you*).

To sum up, all these particular cases, both in Old and in Modern French, are included in this one general rule. declaratory verbs govern the indicative unless the form of the principal proposition implies a doubt [1] or uncertainty.

II With verbs of **will**, such as *vouloir*, *aimer*, *préférer*, *desirer*, *prier*, *exiger*, *consentir*, *permettre*, *défendre*, &c., since the realization of the desire expressed is more or less uncertain, the use of the subjunctive has been general throughout the history of the language [2]:

Por Dieu vos pri que ne **soiez** *fuiant* (*Rol* l 1473)
(For God's sake I pray you that you do not flee)

Mais Dieus ne vuelt qu'il **soit** *mors ne vencus* (id l 3609)
(But God wills not that he be dead or vanquished)

To these verbs may be added certain **declaratory** verbs,

[1] In Old French it sometimes happens that the oblique narration introduced by *que* after a declaratory verb is abruptly replaced by the direct narration *Et apres dist Agolans que Se ma gent est vaincue, je prendré bapetesme* (*And after said Agolans that If my people are conquered I will take baptism*) (Turpin, i 12)

[2] Instead of the subjunctive, however, we not infrequently find in Old French, either (1) the imperative *Vous pri et admoneste que, soit en compaignie soit a table,* **gardez-vous** *de trop habondamment parler* (*I pray and warn you, whether in company or at table, keep yourself from speaking too abundantly*) (*Ménagier de Paris*, i 178), or (2) a negative infinitive

Ne te sai plus que enseignier,
Mes doicement te voil prier
*Que de tot ço riens n'***oblier**. (*Troie*, l 1743)
(I know not what more to teach you,
But wish gently to pray you
That of all this you nought forget.)

such as *dire, écrire, prétendre, avertir, mander, crier*, &c., which by ellipsis may come to express desire, and are followed by the subjunctive *Dites-lui qu'il* **fasse** *ce qu'on a commande* (*tell him to do* [*that he do*] *what has been ordered*). Consequently the same verb may be followed by two propositions, one in the indicative mood and the other in the subjunctive mood, according to the sense *Et le dit duc de Touraine lui respondit qu'il* **feust** *le tres bien venu, et qu'il* **estoit** *venu du Royaume d'Escosse pour le trouver en France* (*and the said Duke of Touraine answered him that he was very welcome, and that he was come from the kingdom of Scotland to meet him in France* (A Chartier, *Hist de Charles VII*, 59) *Ils crioient qu'on les* **menât** *au combat, qu'ils* **vouloient** *venger la mort de leur pere , qu'avec lui ils ne* **craignoient** *rien, mais qu'ils* **vengeroient** *bien sa mort, qu'on les* **laissât** *faire, qu'ils* **étoient** *furieux et qu'on les* **menât** *au combat* (*they clamoured to be led to the combat, that they wished to avenge their father's death . , that with him they feared nothing, but that they would well avenge his death, to be let go, that they were raging, and to be led to the combat* (Sév iv 3)

The subjunctive mood seems then absolutely necessary with these verbs of desire, and in fact we find few examples of the indicative, such as *Si veult nature, droit et raison qu'elle l'en* **doit** *trop mieulx aymer* (*thus nature, right, and reason, will that she should love him much the more for it*) (Saintré, 29) *Je desire que vous* **continuez** *en moy la faveur de vostre amitié* (*I wish that you may continue in me the favour of your friendship*) (Mont ii 37)

Le ciel permit qu'un saule se **trouva** (La Font i 115)
(Heaven allowed a willow to be there)

J'attends du moins, j attends de votre complaisance
Que desormais partout vous **fuirez** *ma presence*
(Rac iii 53)
(I expect at least, I expect from your kindness
That henceforward you will shun my presence everywhere)

The reason for the presence of the indicative after these verbs of will is analogous to that given under I, above (p 716), in the case of declaratory expressions which express uncertainty

Only verbs of **decision** or **resolution**, such as *arrêter, decider, decreter, resoudre*, which to some extent belong to the class of declaratory verbs, govern the indicative, although they express will *Je decide qu'il* **partira** (*I decide that he shall start*) *La majorite décreta que Louis XVI* **serait jugé** *par la convention* (*the majority decreed that Louis XVI should be judged by the Convention*)

III Verbs of **emotion**, that is, verbs expressing a movement of the soul (either wonder or surprise, such as *s'etonner, être surpris*, joy or pleasure *se feliciter, se réjouir, être content*, grief or pain *s'affliger, se plaindre, regretter, se repentir, prendre garde, avoir peur, être desole*, &c), take the subjunctive at the present day, even when there is certainty *Je regrette que cela* **soit** *arrivé Il se plaint qu'on* **n'ait** *rien fait* The indicative only appears when the conjunction *que* is replaced by *de ce que Il se plaint de ce que vous le* **négligez** (*he complains that you neglect him*).

There was greater latitude in the Old language, in the 16th and 17th centuries we find many examples of the indicative *L'abbé fut bien aise qu'ils faisoient ceste despence* (*the Abbot was pleased that they made this expenditure*) (*Heptam* 1 243). *Je m'esbahy qu'il ne s'en est advise* (*I wonder that he did not think of it*) (Bon des Périers, *Recr Nouv* II 48). *Je rougis de honte qu'en l'âge où nous sommes, nous nous* **jouons** *d'une chose de telle importance* (*I blush with shame to think that in the time in which we live we trifle with a thing of such importance*) (Malh. II 435).

> *C'est moi qui suis marri que pour cet hyménée*
> *Je ne puis revoquer la parole donnee* (Corn II 204)
>
> (It is I who am grieved that for this wedding
> I cannot revoke the plighted word)

C'est dommage, Garo, que tu n'es point entré
Au conseil de celui que prêche ton curé (La Font II 376.)
('Tis pity, Garo, that thou hast not entered
Into the counsels of Him whom thy *curé* preaches)

Ne vous suffit il pas que je l'ai condamné? (Rac II 100)
(Does it not satisfy you that I have condemned him?)

*Je fus tout etonnee que Gourville l'***envoya** *querir* (*I was quite astonished that Gourville sent to fetch him*) (Sév II 172)
Ce m'est une honte sensible qu'a mes yeux il **a** *recherche une autre que moi* (*I am mortified that before my face . he courted another than me*) (Mol IV 212)

Verbs expressing fear were also not infrequently construed with the future and conditional

Et crient (craint) *qu'asses tost l'*occiroit (*Erec* 1 229)
(And fears lest they should slay him very soon)

Car il ne fault doubter
Qu'on ne pourroit *homme dompter*
(Chr de Pisan, *Chem de long estude*, l 3174)
(For you must not doubt that
One cannot overcome a man)

J'ay grand peur que toute ceste entreprinse **sera** *semblable à la farce du pot au lait* (*I much fear that all this enterprise will be like the farce of the pitcher of milk*) (Rab I 128) This use of the future and conditional had not yet disappeared in the first half of the 17th century

Remarks —We have still several remarks to make in order to complete our study of substantive propositions

1 Impersonal verbs and locutions denoting certainty and probability govern sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive, in accordance with the syntax of verbs of belief (p 714). *il paraît, il arrive, il résulte, il est vrai, il est évident qu'il* **a** *raison Il n'est pas sûr, il n'est pas vrai qu'il* **ait** *raison.* With *il semble,* we say according to the sense *Il me semble qu'il* **a** *raison* (*it seems to me that he is right*), or *il me semble qu'il* **ait** *raison* (*he seems to me to be*

right)[1]. But impersonal verbs expressing possibility always govern the subjunctive *il est possible, douteux qu'il* **vienne** The same rule holds with those expressing a necessity: *Il est necessaire, il tient à moi qu'il* **vienne**

However, the syntax of the mood with these expressions scarcely became fixed until the 18th century Writers in the preceding ages show much uncertainty in this respect *Et appert qu'elle ne* **soit** *pas trouvee par erreur d'ommes* (*and it is evident that it was not found by men's error*) (A Chart, *l'Esperance*, 357) *Car se bien faire est bien, il s'ensuit que mal faire* **soit** *mal* (*for if to do good is right it follows that to do evil is wrong*) (Chr de Pisan, *Tresor de la cité des dames*, folio 95) *Il se peut faire qu'il* **est** *déjà venu* (*maybe he has already come*) (Malh iv 68) *Ce n'est pas qu'il* **m'a paru** *le plus convenable* (*it is not that it* [the title] *seemed to me the most suitable*) (Rac vi 455). *Ce n'est pas qu'il* **faut** *quelquefois pardonner* (*it is not that we must not sometimes pardon*) (La Bruy. i 160) And with the future *Est-il possible que toujours j'***aurai** *du dessous avec elle, que les apparences toujours* **tourneront** *contre moi, et que je ne* **parviendrai** *point à convaincre mon effrontee!* (*is it possible that I shall always get the worst of it with her, that appearances will always turn against me, and that I shall not succeed in convicting her the brazen thing she is?*) (Mol vi 565).

2 Verbs expressing an indirect question always govern the indicative *Dites-moi quelle heure il* **est** *Dites-moi s'il* **a** *raison* Such has been the usage from the earliest times of the language.

> *N'il ne lor dist, n'il ne li demanderent*
> *Quels om* **estoit** *ne de quel terre il* **eret** (*Alexis*, 48.)
> (He neither told them, nor did they ask him,
> What man he was, nor of what land he was.)

However, we here and there find examples of the use of

[1] [The more literal translation *it seems to me that he may be right*, expresses considerably more doubt than the French.]

the subjunctive, as in Latin, down to the 16th century, and in most of these this subjunctive is the equivalent of the conditional: *Je ne voi comment elle* **puisse** *estre ferme* (*and I see not how it could be fulfilled*) (Villeh. 189). *Platon ne sçait en quel ranc il les* **doibve** *colloquer* (*Plato knows not in which rank he should order them*) (Rab. II. 157) *Et ne savoient comment ils s'en* **dussent** *chevir* (*and they knew not how they ought to manage with him*) (Le Maire de Belges, 55). As late as Molière we have *Il y a une chose qui m'etonne dans l'astrologie comment des gens qui savent tous les secrets des dieux* **aient** *besoin de faire leur cour* (*there is one thing that surprises me in astrology how it is that people who know all the secrets of the gods . . . should have any need to pay court*) (VII 396).

446. SUBJUNCTIVE IN ADJECTIVE PROPOSITIONS. — We need not examine here the adjective proposition denoting a complete proposition and equivalent to a second co-ordinate proposition *On essaya de le convaincre,* **ce qui réussit** (= *et cela reussit*) In this case the verb which follows the relative is always in the indicative

When it belongs to an isolated noun the adjective proposition may be **explicative** or **determinative.** As an **explicative** it may be omitted without the omission damaging the general sense of the phrase *Chacun a son defaut* **où il revient toujours**; and it may have the function either of a principal proposition *J'ai un ami* **que j'attends** (= *et je l'attends*), or of an adverbial proposition: *Cet eleve* **qui travaille** (= *parce qu'il travaille*) *fera des progrès.* In both cases the verb of the dependent proposition is always in the indicative

We have then only to consider the **determinative** proposition, i e one that determines or restricts the signification of the subject to which it relates: *L'élève* **qui travaille bien** *fera des progrès* (*a pupil who works well will make progress*).

In the following cases the verb of the adjective proposition takes the subjunctive.

I In a relative proposition denoting an aim or consequence, with an indeterminate substantive as antecedent *Montrez-moi un chemin qui* **conduise** *à la vérite* (*show me a road that leads to truth*) In this respect the syntax has not changed during the whole course of the language But Old French came much nearer the Latin, and employed this construction after a determinate substantive as well

Quatre homes i tramst armez
Qui lui **alassent** *décoler* (*Saint Leger*, 37)
(He sent there four armed men
To go and behead him)

Voyla que c'est de bien choisir les thresors qui se **puissent** *affranchir de l'injure* (*behold what it is, well to choose such treasures as may be saved from injury*) (Mont I 38, p 142)

II When the action is presented as uncertain or probable, as after a principal sentence which is negative in form or sense, or after one which is interrogative, conjunctive, or conditional

Ce bloc enfariné ne me dit rien qui vaille. (La Font I 258)
(This floury block to me bodes nothing good)

Trouvez quelqu'un qui **sache** *comme moi raisonner de ces choses* (*find a man who is able to reason like me about these things*) *Il y a peu d'hommes qui* **soient** *capables de chercher et de trouver la vraie gloire* (*there are few men who are capable of seeking and finding true glory*) *Qu'y a-t-il qui vous* **fasse** *peur?* (*what is there to frighten you?*) *Si c'est une chose qui se* **puisse** *faire, elle sera faite* (*if it is a thing that can be done, it shall be done*)

Such has been the constant practice. However, it can easily be understood that according to the point of view of the writer the verb will take either the indicative or the subjunctive. Compare the following examples: *Qui est*

celui qui meure *sans quelque regret?* (*what man is there that dies without some regret?*) (Malh. II 157).

Quel conseil croyez vous qu'on doit *suivre?* (Rac III 69a)
(What counsel do you think should be followed?)

Seigneur, qu'a donc ce bruit qui vous doit *étonner?* (Id. III 160.)
(My lord, what's in this sound to frighten you?)

III. Similarly, when the determinative proposition relates to a superlative or to the adjectives *seul, unique, premier, dernier*, the practice has always been to put it in the subjunctive, unless the proposition expresses an absolute reality *C'est le meilleur homme qu'on* puisse *trouver* (*he is the best man to be found*), but *Achetez les meilleurs vins que vous* trouverez (*buy the best wines you find*) *C'est la seule, l'unique place où vous* puissiez *aspirer* (*it is the only place to which you could aspire*), but *C'est l'unique, la seule, la première, la dernière fin que l'on* doit *se proposer* (*it's the only—first—last—end one ought to set oneself*)[1] Here again we may note occasional divergence between the syntax of the 17th century and present usage

Voulois ce que Dieu veut, est la seule science
Qui nous met *en repos* (Malh I 43)
(To wish what God wishes is the only knowledge to set us at rest)

Il est le seul des poètes qui sait *parfaitement ce qui convient au poete* (*he is the only poet who knows perfectly what is right for the poet*) (Rac V 488). *Je crois que c'est le seul de sa famille qui* a *l'âme tendre* (*I think he is the only member of his family who has a tender soul*) (Id. VI 477) *Il admirera l'armee navale la plus belle qu'il* est *possible* (*he will admire the finest naval force possible*) (Sév IX 142) *Cette pratique . bannit l'eloquence du seul endroit où elle* est *en sa place* (*this practice . banishes eloquence from the only spot where it is in its place*) (La Bruy II. 184).

[1] [In both II and III the subjunctives of *pouvoir, devoir*, &c., followed by the infinitive in French, often correspond to the English supine]

447. SUBJUNCTIVE IN ADVERBIAL PROPOSITIONS.—The adverbial proposition may express (1) a circumstance of **place**: *Allez où vous voudrez*; (2) a circumstance of **time**, either simultaneous with the action in the principal sentence *Je ferai cela quand vous viendrez*, posterior. *J'ai fait cela après qu'il est parti*, or anterior *Je ferai cela avant qu'il ne vienne*, (3) a circumstance of **cause**, introduced by *parce que, puisque*, &c., (4) of **aim**, introduced by *afin que, pour que*, &c, (5) of **condition**, introduced by *au cas que, pour peu que, à moins que, pourvu que*, &c; (6) of **concession**, introduced by *quoique, bien que, soit que*, &c., (7) of **result**, introduced by *de manière que, sans que, trop . . pour que, si bien que*, &c, or finally (8) of **comparison**, introduced by *comme, de même que, comme si, autant que, plus que, moins que, plus plus*, &c.

I. **Propositions of place.**—In propositions which denote a circumstance of place, the mood used has invariably been and is the indicative *Allez ou vous* **voudrez** *Il est bien ou il* **est**

II **Propositions** of time.—The conjunctions which introduce these propositions are of two kinds

(*a*) Some express a **positive fact**, and consequently govern the indicative. These are. *lorsque, quand, comme, aussi longtemps que, tant que, apres que*, &c However, in Middle French *comme*, under the influence of the syntax of the Latin **cum**, was construed with the subjunctive. *Comme tous* **eussent** *souppe* (*when all had supped*) (Commynes, 36). *Comme le prieur des Augustins nagueres se* **pourmenast**, . *il fut rencontre* (*as the prior of the Augustinians was walking about lately he was met*) (*Cent Nouv* 1 38) *Comme ils le* **priassent** *de leur vouloir ecrire des lois* (*as they prayed him to be good enough to write laws for them*) (Amyot, *Lucullus*, 291) *Comme quelques-uns . . le* **priassent** *de se retirer* (*as some of them . . . prayed him to retire*) (Malh IV. 208).

(*b*) Others express, on the contrary, a **fact more or less uncertain**, as *jusqu'a ce que* (O F *jusque, tresque, decique*) and *avant que* (O. F *primes que, ainz que, ainçois que*). With *avant que* the subjunctive was in general obligatory in the Old as it is in the Modern language, with *jusqu'à ce que* the indicative is often found both in Old and Middle French

Ensemble furent jusqu'a Deu s'en **ralèrent** (*Alexis*, 121)
(They were together till they returned to God)

Le reis Salomon . prist sa fille, si la menast a la cited David, de ci que il **out** *parfait sun palais e le temple nostre Seignur* (*King Solomon took his daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had finished building his own palace and the temple of our Lord*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 233) *Iusque à ce qu'il* **rencontra** *un chevalier* (*until he met a knight*) (Rab 1 160) The indicative in these examples may be explained by the fact that the action is considered as real For an action which is considered as uncertain, it is not rare to find in Middle French the future instead of the subjunctive *Jusqu'a ce que le conte* **s'adressera** *a les ramentevoir* (*until this story comes to recall them*) (Le Maire de Belges, 52)

III **Propositions of cause** —Propositions of cause are construed with the indicative, unless they are introduced by *non que, ce n'est pas que Je suis venu parce que tu l'***as voulu** (*I came because you wished it*) *Je viendrai puisque vous le* **désirez**. But *Non que je le* **veuille** (*not that I wish it*) *Ce n'est pas que nous le* **désirions** (*it is not that we decree it*). This was the practice in the Old language, save for *comme*, which in Middle French was construed with the subjunctive in imitation of the Latin *Car comme les Atheniens et leurs alliés ensemble* **eussent** *pris grand nombre de prisonniers barbares . . les alliés par honneur lui defererent la preeminence de départir le butin* (*and as the Athenians and their allies had together taken*

a great number of barbarian prisoners . . . the allies conferred on him the distinction of allotting the booty) (Amyot, *Cimon*, 286).

IV **Propositions of aim or end.**—As in Latin, the mood used with propositions that denote an aim or purpose, which is in its nature more or less uncertain, is the subjunctive

Sonent mil graisle por ço que plus bel seit (*Rol* l 1004)
(A thousand clarions ring that it may finer be)

The *pour ce que* of Old French (§ 472, III) was replaced by *pour que*, which from the 14th century has divided with *afin que* the task of introducing final propositions *Afin que* was still written *à fin que* in the 17th century

In Old French the conjunction *que*, by itself, could introduce a final proposition

Prist l'olifan, que *repruece n'en ait* (*Rol* l 2263)
(He took the olifant [horn], not to have reproach.)

On the other hand after *pour ce* the conjunction *que* might be omitted

Nel di por ço *des voz n'ait la martirę* (id l 591)
(I do not say it meaning [*it* for that] that none of your men will be cut to pieces)

Por ce *le fist ne fust aparissant* (id l 1779)
(For this he did it [that] it should not show)

The future has sometimes been used exceptionally instead of the subjunctive *C'est assavoir, afin que quand les subjets de nos dits tres hauts Princes* **entendront** . . *l'illustrité de leurs Princes ancestres* (*it is in sooth that when the subjects of our said exalted Princes shall hear the illustriousness of their princely ancestors*) (Le Maire de Belges, 5)

V **Propositions of condition**—These are mostly introduced by the conjunction *si* (O F *se*)

(*a*) When the sentence expresses a fact which is not doubtful, the subordinate proposition, if a single one, is in the Old language, as well as in the present language, in the

indicative: *Avertissez-moi s'il* **vient.** *Je serai content si vous* **restez**[1] When, however, there are two conditional propositions instead of one after *si*, two cases have to be considered in Modern French If the second conditional proposition is not preceded by *que*, its verb is put in the indicative: *S'il vient et vous* **voit** *S'il venait et vous* **disait.** But *que* may be inserted before the second proposition, and the mood then used is the subjunctive *S'il vient et qu'il vous* **voie**[2] *S'il venait et qu'il vous* **dît** In Old French *que* was not inserted, but the subjunctive was used in the second proposition in all cases

Se il se muevent et il me **soit** *conte,*
Perdut avrez mon cuer (*Gaydon*, l 668)
(If they stir, and it be related to me,
You will have lost my heart)

Se vos li mandiez . et li **donisiez** *la seigneurie de l'ost, assez tost la prendoit* (*if you summoned him . and gave him the command of the army, he would take it soon enough*) (Villeh , 41)

(*b*) Where, on the contrary, the sentence expresses a doubtful fact, Modern French differs in many respects from Old French Most of these divergences may be explained by the fact that in Old French the subjunctive and the conditional were not yet differentiated (§ 454)

For hypothetical phrases, Modern French offers four combinations

(1) Imperfect indicative conditional present *Si j'avais, je donnerais* (*if I had, I should give*)

(2) 1st pluperfect indicative conditional past *Si j'avais eu, j'aurais donné* (*if I had had, I should have given*)

[1] In Latin when the principal verb was in the future the subordinate verb was also put in the future We here and there find this construction in Old French, especially in translations

[2] [Curiously enough, the French text presents an example in this very sentence '*Toutefois s'il y a deux propositions . . apres* si, *et que la seconde* soit *precedee par* que']

(3) 2nd pluperfect indicative . . . pluperfect subjunctive. *Si j'eusse eu, j'eusse donne* (same meaning).

(4) Imperfect indicative . . . imperfect indicative · *Si je bougeais, on me tuait* (*if I had moved, I should have been killed*)[1]

(1). The first combination, *Si j'avais, je donnerais*, was only introduced into the language in the 12th century, before which they hesitated instead between two constructions (i) Both verbs were put in the imperfect subjunctive

S'il fust *leials, bien* resemblast *baron* (*Rol* l 3764)
(Had he been loyal, he had true noble seemed)

or (ii) the subordinate was in the imperfect subjunctive and the principal in the conditional

Se veissons *Rollant, ainz qu'il fust mors,*
Ensemble o lui i donriions *grans colz* (id l 1804)
(If we saw Roland before he were dead,
Together with him we should deal great blows)

These two constructions were still in use in the 16th century Of the first we may quote *Se je le* sceusse, *je ne le* demandasse *pas* (*if I knew it I should not ask it*) (*Heptam* 1 258) *Si* feust *condition a laquelle je peusse obvier, je ne me* desespererois *pas* (*were it a condition that I could avoid, I should not despair*) (Rab. ii 147) The second may be found in Malherbe *J'ai reçu votre livre . . . Quelle vivacite d'esprit . . n'y ai-je point reconnue! Je* dirois *quelle saillie! si en quelque endroit il y* eût *des reprises d'haleine . . .* (*I have received your book What liveliness of wit have I not found there! I would say what onrush*[*es*]*! were there any intervals to take breath*) (Malh ii. 427)

In Old French we sometimes also find the conditional present in both propositions

Se tu ja le porroies *a ton cuer rachater*
Volentiers te lairoie *ariere retorner* (*Fierabras*, l 623)
(If thou couldst ransom it from thy heart,
I would willingly let thee return back)

[1] [As a variety of the last, we note
(4a) Imperfect indicative . 1st pluperfect indicative.]

This construction is also found in the 17th century: *J'ai à vous dire . . . que, si vous* **auriez** *de la repugnance à me voir votre belle-mere, je n'en* **aurois** *pas moins a vous voir mon beau-fils* (*I have to tell you . . that if you* [*should*] *have any aversion to see me your mother-in-law, I should have no less to see you my son-in law*) (Mol VII. 146).

(2) and (3). The second combination, *Si j'avais eu, j'aurais donne*, was used in Old French, but not frequently, it scarcely became developed until Middle French, and the same applies to the third combination, *Si j'eusse eu, j'eusse donne* Until the 14th century the following were the principal combinations used to express a hypothesis not realized in the past

(*a*) Imperfect subjunctive instead of the past conditional used in both parts of the sentence

S'i **fust** *li rois, n'i* **oussons** *damage* (*Rol* l 1717)
(Had the king been there, we had had no hurt there)

Se Diex ne **amast** *ceste ost . . . ele ne* **peust** *mie tenir ensemble* (*if God had not loved this army, it could not have held together*) (Villeh. 104)

(*b*) Pluperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition, with the imperfect subjunctive used instead of the past conditional in the principal proposition.

Et s'il **fust** **venus** *plus par tans*
Ne **trovast** *pas de si grant sans*
Les gens, ne de tel volentet (*Dolopathos*, p 407)
(And if he had come earlier
He had not found the people so well-intentioned,
Nor having such a wish)

(*c*) Imperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition and pluperfect subjunctive in the principal *Li roys . . . se* **fust** *bien* **garantis** *es galies, se il* **vousist** (*voulût*) (*the king . . might well have gone into safety on the galleys, had he wished*) (Joinv 306).

(*d*) 2nd pluperfect indicative in the subordinate proposition and pluperfect subjunctive in the principal.

Se tut le mont **aveies** *as povres* **départi**,
La croix **eüsses prise** (*Vie de St Thomas*, l 2871)

(If thou hadst shared all thy worldly goods among the poor,
Thou wouldst have taken the cross)

Most of these combinations and others, into the details of which we need not enter, existed in the 15th century, and even in the 16th.

We may, however, note here the construction with *si* and the past conditional which survives in the 17th century *S'ils* **auroient** *aymé ces promesses spirituelles . ., leur témoignage n'eust pas eu de force* (*if they had loved these spiritual promises . . . their witness would have had no strength*) (Pascal, *Pens* 1 252)

(4) The fourth of the existing combinations, *Si je bougeais, on me tuait*, is identical in sense with the second and third ones, it is equivalent to *Si j'avais bouge, on m'aurait tue*, or *Si j'eusse bougé, on m'eût tue* This construction is found, though very rarely, in Old French, it gives a greater vivacity

Destruite **estoit** *la vile se conrei n'en* **preneit** (*Rou*, 1, p 52, l 413)
(Destroyed was the town if no precautions were taken)

Instead of the imperfect indicative in both propositions, the imperfect indicative was frequently used in the principal proposition with the pluperfect subjunctive in the subordinate *Tuit* **estoient** *perdu, se ce ne* **fust** *li cuens* (*all would have been lost had it not been* (*for*) *the count*) (Joinv 296) In this example *fust* has the function of a pluperfect subjunctive, and is equivalent to '*y eût été*'

Pyrrhus **vivoit** *heureux s'il* **eût pu** *l'écouter* (Boileau, *Épît* 1 1 88)
(Pyrrhus had lived happy if he had been able to listen to his advice)

Instead of the imperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition we may find the 1st pluperfect indicative (4*a*) *Si j'***avais dit** *un seul mot, on vous* **tuait** (*had I said a single word, they would have killed you*).

VI. Propositions of concession—(1) In the present language, all conjunctions and conjunctive locutions which indicate concession require the subjunctive, except *quand* and *quand même*, which are construed with the conditional. We say *Quand même tu* **aurais** *fait cela* (*even if you had done that*), but *quoique, bien que tu le* **veuilles** (*although you wish it*). This usage was far from being so strict until the 17th century, and the indicative is frequently found with *quoique, bien que, encore que, malgré que*, locutions which indeed were but of late introduction into the language. Malherbe held that both constructions should be preserved, *bien que vous* **fussiez** and *bien que vous* **fûtes**, the former for doubtful suppositions, the second for positive facts. Thus we have the indicative in:

La mienne, quoique aux yeux elle **n'est** *pas si forte* (Mol III 251)
(Mine [hand], although to the eye it seems not so strong)

L'ambassadeur presenta sa lettre au Roi, qui ne la lut pas quoique le Hollandois **proposa** *d'en faire la lecture* (*the ambassador presented his letter to the king, who did not read it, though the Dutchman proposed that it should be read*) (Sév II 454)

Ménage blamed Vaugelas for writing *quoique quelques-uns* **seraient** *d'avis* instead of *quoique quelques uns* **soient** *d'avis*.

The subjunctive was enforced only when the conjunction was understood, as was the case when two concessive propositions were in opposition

Voeillet *o non, tot i laissat son tens* (temps) (*Rol* l 1419)
(Will he or no, each leaves there his life)

Mais soit *cette croyance ou fausse ou veritable* (Corn III 514)
(But be this belief or false or true)

And the present language requires that the two alternatives should be preceded by the conjunction *que* **qu'***il veuille ou non*, or that there should be a repetition of *soit que*: **soit que** *cette croyance soit fausse,* **soit qu'***elle soit vraie*

The subjunctive was and is enforced when by omission of the conjunction the concessive proposition is changed into an independent proposition:

Ne vous contraignez point **dût** *m'en coûter le jour,*
Je tiendrai ma promesse . (Corn. vi 426)
(Force not yourself, should it cost me my life,
I'll keep my promise)

(2) The idea of concession, instead of being marked by conjunctions expressed or understood, may be marked by *qui que, quoi que,* followed by a verb, by *quelque* or *tout* accompanied by a substantive or adjective followed by *que*, by *si, pour, tant,* &c, accompanied by an adjective or adverb followed by *que* These various constructions all require the subjunctive, except *tout . . que,* which governs the indicative *Qui que vous* **soyez** *Quoi que vous* **disiez** *Quelque part que vous* **soyez** *Pour sage qu'il* **soit** (*wise though he be*) But *Tout sage qu'il* **est** (*wise as he is*). In the Old language also the subjunctive is mostly used Exceptions are rare[1], and arise mostly from an imitation of Latin syntax, which in this case required the indicative:

Donet as povres ou qu'il les **pot** *trover* (*Alexis*, 19)
(Gives to the poor wherever he could find them)

[1] In the numerous examples in Old French of *lequel que,* followed by the future or conditional, we have not concessive propositions, but simple relative propositions Thus as late as Malherbe we find *Il aura dent pour dent, ou œil pour œil, lequel qu'il* **voudra**, *c'est a dire rien pour rien* (*he shall have eye for eye, tooth for tooth, whichever he pleases, that is to say, nothing for nothing*) (III 55) When, on the contrary, *lequel que* has a concessive sense it governs the subjunctive *Mais lequel des deux qui* **vienne**, *qu'il tâche surtout de venir seul* (*but, whichever of the two comes, let him try above all to come alone*) (J J Rousseau, *Letter to du Peyrou* 8 Sept 1767) We have the same thing in sentences like the following.

Et dist Chevaliers, or alés
Quel part que vous onques **volés**
(Chrest de Tr., *Percev*, l 8261)
(And said, 'Knights, now go
Whithersoever you please.')

Quel part qu'il se **turnout** (*tourna*), *ses adversaires surmontout* (*surmonta*) (*wherever he turned he overcame his adversaries*) (*Quat. Liv Rois*, 52)

S'il n'est bon courtisan, tant frise **peut**-*il être* (Regnier, *Sat* XII l 13)
(If there be no good courtier, however curled [his hair])

VII **Propositions of consequence or result.**—The mood in propositions of consequence is sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive The indicative is used if the consequence is in the past. *Il a reçu tant de coups qu'il en* **est mort** The subjunctive is used if the consequence is in the future *Faites en sorte que l'on ne vous* **voie** *pas* (*act so that you may not be seen*) Such has been the practice throughout the whole history of the language Sometimes, however, though rarely, we find the future instead of the subjunctive to denote that the consequence is to come *Je trouveray assez façon que chacun vous* **aydera** (*I will find ways enough for each one to help you*) (Saintré, 75) *Je feray en sorte vers mon frere, que sa teste* **sera** *tesmoing* (*I will so act to my brother that his head shall be witness*) (*Heptam* l 291) Old French often omitted the conjunction *que*

L'empereor tant li donez aver
N'i ait Franceis qui tot ne s'en merveilt (*Rol.* l. 570.)

(Give so much wealth to the emperor,
That there be no Frenchman who does not altogether marvel)

VIII **Propositions of comparison**—We saw (§ 374, 2, p 595) that after *mieux* in the sense of *plutôt* in the Old language *que* was used with the subjunctive, while the infinitive is used in the Modern language.

On the other hand with *pour peu que*, and down to the 17th century with *si peu que*, the indicative was used·

Charles chancelat, por poi qu'il n'est **chaus** (tombé). (*Rol* l 3608)
(Charles staggers, a little more and he had fallen)

Si peu que j'ai d'espoir ne luit qu'avec contrainte (Corn. III 522)
(The little hope I have shines but constrainedly)

With *comme si* Old and Middle French very frequently used the subjunctive

A l'eglise se fist porter
Come se il ne **peust** *aler* (*Rou*, l 604, p 31.)
(He had himself borne to church
As if he could not walk)

Comme si ce **fust** *marchandise malaisee que reprehensions et nouvelletez* (*as if reprehension and new devices were merchandise hard to come by*) (Mont 1 25).

In all other cases the mood is invariably the indicative

IV Infinitive

448 INFINITIVE MOOD —The *infinitive* is the verbal substantive This accounts for its being freely construed with the article in Old French

Ja li **corners** *ne vos avreit mestier* (*Rol* l 1742)
(Now to blow the horn would be no help to you)

Va bone femme, a tun ostel dormir, si te desenivreras par **le dormir** (*go, good woman, and sleep at thy house, and sober thyself by sleeping*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 4). *Et luy souvint comment a* **son departir** *n'avoit dict a dieu a la dame* (*and he remembered how at his leaving he had not said goodbye to the lady*) (Rab 1 334) Pascal, in the 17th century, still writes **les marchers, les toussers, les éternuers** (*walkings, coughings, sneezings*), and La Fontaine **le manger, le dormir,** *et* **le boire** (*eating, sleeping, and drinking*), and we have preserved traces of this construction in *un être, des vivres* ('*vivers*,' *victuals*), *le devoir, le repentir*, &c , but in these words the infinitive has renounced the verbal idea and French has never gone so far as Italian and used *le se repentir* (*il pentirsi*).

It is owing to this substantive function of the infinitive that it may be used as a nominative, predicate, or direct object. **Mentir** *est une honte.* **Souffler** *n'est pas* **jouer.** *J'aime mieux* **travailler** Down to the 17th century it could

also be used as an indirect object and even be co-ordinated as such with an ordinary substantive by the conjunction *et*· *Son salut dépendoit* **de** *lui* **plaire** (*his safety depended on pleasing her*) (Rac II 487). *On ne parle plus que de guerre* **et de partir** (*nothing is talked of now but war and departing*) (Sév III 18). *A force de goût* **et de connoître** *les bienséances* (*impelled by taste and the understanding of etiquette*) (La Bruy II 221)

449 SIMPLE INFINITIVE.—I The simple infinitive (i e., the infinitive not introduced by a preposition) occurs after the declaratory verbs *croire, s'imaginer, savoir,* &c , after some verbs of feeling, e g *aimer mieux, préférer, désirer*, after verbs of motion *aller* (*être* in the sense of *aller*[1]), *courir, accourir, descendre*, after some auxiliary verbs, *aller, devoir, vouloir, pouvoir* (§ 432), after the verbs *daigner, faillir, manquer, penser, oser, sentir, laisser, voir, faire*, and the prepositions *voici, voila*, which contain the verb *voir*. *Voici venir le printemps* (*here* [= *now*] *comes the spring*)

The present practice resembles that of Old French in some respects, and differs in others It resembles it in this way, that, unlike Middle French and the language of the 17th century, it makes use of the preposition when the infinitive is the real subject of a verb *Il est beau* **de mourir** *pour la patrie*. In fact Old French in this case had the choice between the simple and the prepositional infinitive Side by side with sentences on this model. *N'est mie petite chose* **estre** *gendre le rei* (*it is no light thing to be son-in law of the king*) (*Quat Lw Rois*, 72), many such phrases may be found with the preposition *a* or *de* *Et fu granz merveille* **a regarder** (*and it was a great marvel to behold*) (Villeh 236) *Ce estoit trop laide chose* . . **de soy enyvrer** (*it was too ugly a thing* . . . *to make oneself drunk*) (Joinv. 23). A few impersonal verbs only, as *il estuet* (O. F.

[1] [In all the compound tenses (*j'ai été a Paris*, &c) and in the preterite (*je fus à Paris*), the latter is very archaic.]

= *there is need*), *il convient*, &c., were generally construed with the simple infinitive. Between the 14th and the 18th centuries there was, on the contrary, a tendency to employ only the simple infinitive *Pour quoy est necessaire* **se pourveoir** *d'amys* (*wherefore it is needful to provide oneself with friends*) (Commynes, 39) *Puis que vous plaist me* **faire** *tant d'honneur* (*since it pleases you to do me so much honour*) (Rab II 204) *Le plus aspre et difficile mestier du monde . . c'est* **faire** *dignement le roy* (*the hardest and most difficult craft in the world is to play the king worthily*) (Mont III. 7). *Pourquoi ne sera il pas capable de le connoistre et de l'aymer en la maniere qu'il lui plaira* **se communiquer** *a nous?* (*why shall he* [*man*] *not be capable of knowing and loving Him in the way in which He shall be pleased to communicate Himself to us?*) (Pasc, *Pens* I 286).

*Et c'est n'*estimer *rien qu'*estimer *tout le monde* (Mol v 447)
(And to esteem all the world is to esteem nothing)

When occurring as the object, the simple infinitive, on the contrary, was used in Old as well as in Middle French more widely than in Modern French In the 17th century the simple infinitive was still allowed as the object of *prier*, *promettre*, *demander*, *tenter*, and *feindre* The list of verbs governing this construction would be a very long one for previous centuries Similarly in the 17th century the comparative locutions *à moins que*, *mieux que*, *plutôt que*, were regularly followed by the simple infinitive; while at the present day they require the preposition *de*. There is still, however, some hesitation with *aimer mieux que* (*to prefer*) (*il aimerait partir mieux que rester*, or *que de rester*).

II. The verbs of feeling, *sentir*, *entendre*, *voir*, and even *laisser* and *faire* construed with the infinitive, give us the type of expression called the **infinitive proposition**, i e. a proposition where the noun or pronoun that accompanies the infinitive is its subject. This form, which is in constant use in Latin (the subject of the infinitive being

put in the accusative case), often occurs in Old French, especially in translations, and it was sometimes even preceded by a preposition *Et lour donna rentes* **pour elles vivre** (*and he gave them incomes for them to live*) (Joinv 725) It becomes more and more frequent in the 15th and 16th centuries with all kinds of verbs of belief or desire, as in Latin *Par ce moyen il luy sembloit* **le Roy estre affoibly** *de la tierce partie* (*by this means it seemed to him that the king would be weakened by a third* [*of his power*]) (Comm 80) *Il luy feut respondu qu'ils demandoient* **les cloches leur estre rendues** (*he was answered that they asked for the bells to be given back to them*) (Rab 1 68). *Vegece veut* **l'homme de guerre estre nourri** *aux champs* (*Vegetius wishes the warrior to be bred in the fields*) (Noel du Fail, 1 7). Similarly, as late as the 17th century *Il se trouve* **assez de vaillants hommes être prêts** *à toutes occasions d'épandre leur sang* (*enough brave men are found to be ready on every occasion to shed their blood*) (Malh. II 472)

La voyant si pâle, il **la crut être morte** (Corn 1 233)
(Seeing her so pale, he thought her to be dead)

This construction has been limited in the Modern language to the verbs of feeling quoted above, it calls for the following observations

The subject of the infinitive is not necessarily in the accusative, but may be in the dative *Je* **l'ai** *entendu parler* (*I heard him speak*); *Je* **les** *ai vu venir* (*I saw them come*) (*le, les*, accusatives, are the logical subjects of *parler, venir*). *Je* **lui** *ai entendu dire* (*I heard him say*), *Je* **leur** *ai vu faire telle chose* (*I saw them do*, &c.) [*lui, leur*, datives, are the logical subjects of *dire, faire*].

When the subject is in the accusative the sentence may present the following types. (1) *Il le fait perir* (*he makes him perish*), the infinitive being intransitive (2) *Il le fait avouer son crime* (*he makes him avow his crime*), the infinitive being

transitive, and with an object expressed (3) *Il le fait tuer* (*he has him put to death*), the infinitive being active in form, passive in sense

When the subject is in the dative, *Il lui fait tuer* (*he makes him kill*, i e *someone else*), the dative may easily be explained as follows Consider the sentences *Je lui donne un livre*, *Je lui vois un livre entre les mains* (*I see a book in his hands*) In these sentences *lui* is in the dative. The second naturally leads up to this new sentence *Je lui vois* lire *un livre* (*I perceive him to read a book*) In this last sentence the notion of the dative has disappeared, although the form is modelled on the preceding phrase, and *lui* appears as the logical subject of the action expressed by *lire*.

Such, then, are the two starting-points of the constructions to be examined, where we find, on the one hand, *the infinitive of a transitive verb having a passive signification with an active form*, on the other, *the dative* lui *renouncing its etymological function and assuming a new one*

(1) *Construction with the accusative.*—In *il le fait perir* (*he makes him perish*), the pronoun *le* is both the direct object of *fait* and the subject of *perir* It follows that in compound tenses the participle fait ought to agree with the object when this precedes it So we find in the 17th century

Qui ma flamme a nourrie et l'a faite *ainsi croître*
(Which has nourished my flame, and made it thus grow)

Although Malherbe (iv 278) reproaches Desportes for this concord, we still read in Montesquieu *La simplicité des lois les a* faites *souvent meconnaître* (*the simplicity of laws has often made them misunderstood*), and this tradition has persisted in popular speech [although it has been lost in literary French].

In Old French, corresponding to *il le fait avouer son crime* (*he makes him avow his crime*), *il le fait tuer* (*he makes* (i e. *lets*) *him be killed*), we have in the perfect tense

il les a **faits** *avouer leur crime, il les a* **faits** *tuer* Consequently there would have been no difference in the inflexion of the participle in the two sentences *La femme que j'ai* **entendue** *chanter*—*La chanson que j'ai* **entendue** (Mod F **entendu**) *chanter* *Entendu* would have been declined in both cases, because the subject of the infinitive in either case is the object of *entendu* *J'ai entendu la femme chanter*—*J'ai entendu la chanson être chantee* It is this construction that we must recognize in the following lines, which would otherwise be inexplicable

> *Par les traits de Jehu j'ai vu* percer *le pere*,
> *Vous aves vu les fils* massacrés *par la mere* (Rac III 614)
> (I saw the father pierced by Jehu's arrows,
> You have seen the sons massacred by the mother

They are equivalent to *j'ai vu le pere* **être percé** *par les traits de Jehu*, &c If we modify the sentence and say *Mon pere que j'ai vu percer par*, &c, here also *percer* is equivalent to *être perce*, and **vu** will have for its object the relative *que*, representing *mon pere* With an object of another gender and number, it is evident that **vu** would have been declined *Les freres que j'ai* **vus** *percer par les traits de Jehu*, *La chanson que j'ai* **entendue** *chanter par cette artiste*

As we shall see below (ii), the grammar of to-day no longer permits a construction of this kind However, the new rule has not affected the verb *laisser*, and in the case of this verb the grammarians sometimes make the participle agree with the preceding object, sometimes leave it undeclined

(ii) *Construction with the dative*—There are two types of this construction · *il* **lui** *fait perir* and *il* **lui** *fait avouer son crime* In the former the verb is intransitive and without any object, in the latter the verb is transitive and accompanied by an object

There are no longer any examples of the construction *il lui fait périr*, in which the active infinitive would have the

function of a passive But it existed in Old French, and has left numerous traces in Modern French, with **faire**. *Vous l'entendez, Monsieur, je ne* **lui fais** *pas* **dire** (*you hear her, sir, I don't make her say* [*it*]) (Dancourt, *Les Bourgeoises a la mode*, Act IV Sc 6), with **laisser**:

Faites votre devoir et **laissez faire aux dieux** (Corn III 312)
(Do your duty and let [things] be wrought by the gods)

The type *il* **lui fait** *avouer son crime* is a frequent idiom in both the Old and the Modern language *Je ne le* **lui fais** *pas* **dire** (*I don't make him say it*)

Je me **laissai conduire à cet aimable guide** (Rac III 176)
(I let myself be led by this kind guide)

The subject of the infinitive may be understood, the sentence offering then the primitive construction without showing whether the subject is in the accusative or the dative *Les marchandises qu'on a fait vendre* (*the goods which they made* [*some one*] *sell*), *Les paroles qu'il a entendu dire* (*the words which he heard* [*some one*] *say*) In the present language the feeling for this construction is almost lost, as may be seen in the rules for the concord of the past participle With the verb *laisser* usage is uncertain, with other verbs, *voir, entendre*, &c, the concord varies according to the construction[1] With *faire* the participle is not declined Whence comes the difference? Probably from the greater or less facility of using the verb in the passive voice Formerly *Elle a ete laissee chanter*; *Elle a ete entendue chanter*, were used, and such phrases might still be used But *Elle a ete faite chanter* is inadmissible

Thus *faire* has been considered as forming one with the following infinitive, the combination being equivalent to a simple factitive verb By the end of the 16th century the invariability of the past participle of *faire* with the

[1] [The participle agrees if its immediate complement is the preceding noun or pronoun, it is invariable if its immediate complement is the infinitive *nous les avons* **vus** *courir*, *les soldats que j'ai* **vu** *massacrer*]

infinitive had become a fixed rule Thus the line of Olivier de Magny,

Ainsi le ciel l'a faite *naître*,
(So heaven let her be born,)

contains a solecism, and the language now uses this verb periphrastically to form factitives

Faire is also used with the infinitive in the expression *Il ne fait* que *parler*, que *jouer*, &c (*he does nothing but talk, play*, &c.). How is this use to be explained? According to some the infinitive is here a substantive, and this construction offers one of the most curious examples of the persistence of the substantive use of the infinitive in the Modern language, but it may be objected that in this construction what is felt in the verb is an infinitive and not a substantive. According to others the infinitive keeps its full verbal value, while *faire* has an intensive function analogous to that of the English *to do* (*I do play*) Some examples have been cited of this English expression in Old French, but they are contested, and neither explanation can be accepted without reserve

Again, the language makes a distinction in the use of the infinitive according as its subject is in the accusative or the dative When the infinitive is used absolutely there is a tendency to put its subject in the accusative · *Je* le *laisse faire*, *Je* le *fais travailler*, *Je* le *vois venir* We no longer say currently, like Corneille *Laissez faire* aux *dieux* *Laissons*-lui *faire* has become *laissons*-le *faire*

When, on the contrary, the infinitive is followed by a direct object, its subject is more often put in the dative *Laissez*-lui *faire son devoir*, *Je* lui *vois commencer un grand travail*. *Je* le *vois commencer un grand travail*, although it occurs, is not so good Compare the two phrases *Je* l'*entends chanter*, *Je* lui *entends chanter une chanson*

450. PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE —Here French and the other Romance languages diverge from Latin. What the

Latin expressed by the declension of the gerund has from the Romanic period been rendered by the infinitive preceded by a preposition The prepositions so used are numerous *à, de, pour, sans, jusqu'a,* &c The most important are *a* and *de* Practice has varied greatly with regard to the use of the preposition *a* before the infinitive, it was especially used in the Old language *commencer, esperer, tenter, essayer* **à** *faire* Later, from the 13th century, the use of *de* increased at the expense of *à* However, modern usage often hesitates still between the two prepositions

De + infinitive —The development given by the language to *de* has resulted in making this preposition a sort of sign of the infinitive In many cases its only function is to announce this mood *De* retains its proper value (1) when the infinitive is the complement of a noun or an adjective[1] *le desir* **de** *vaincre, desireux* **de** *vaincre,* (2) when the verb or the adverb which precedes it governs the preposition *de accuser quelqu'un* **d'***un crime,* **d'***avoir commis un crime* [Eng *of*], *louer quelqu'un* **d'***un travail,* **d'***avoir fait un travail* [Eng *for*], *loin, près* **du** *depart, loin, près* **de** *partir* [**de** not translated in English], *hors* **de** *la maison, hors* **de** *le battre, il ne pouvait le traiter plus mal* [Eng *of*]

But *de* seems to have lost all its proper signification in (1) *Il est honteux* **de** *mentir,* (2) *Il aime mieux travailler que* **de** *sortir,* (3) *Il me demande* **de** *venir,* (4) *Grenouilles* **de** *sauter* (*frogs* [began] *to jump*), (5) **De** *dire s'il eut tort ou raison, je ne sais* In these five cases the preposition **de** introduces the infinitive its use corresponds with that of the English preposition *to,* but is more variously developed Whence comes this usage? The Old language will explain it

Where we now say *La paix est une belle chose, Le mensonge est une chose honteuse,* in Old French they used *Bonne chose est* **de** *paix, Chose honteuse est* **de** *mensonge,*

[1] [The English *of* in the corresponding *desire of doing*]

that is · *Bonne chose vient de paix* (*a good thing comes of peace*); *Chose honteuse vient de mensonge* (*a shameful thing comes of untruthfulness*) As the substantive could be replaced by an infinitive, the Old language used *Chose honteuse est* **de mentir**, *Honte est* **de mentir**, and with the pleonastic attribute *ce* accompanying the verb *être* *C'est honte* **de mentir** (*it is shame to lie*) In this last form the proper sense of *de* was weakened, the language saw in this expression a new construction, and *ce* was soon replaced by *il* (§ 390, IV, p 622) *il est honteux* **de mentir**

Thus it was that in the construction examined the preposition *de* lost all its etymological significance, and became the mere sign of the infinitive Hence the extension that we note in the foregoing examples *Il aime mieux travailler que* **de** *sortir* *Il fait plus que* **d'***obeir* Here the language still uses the simple infinitive also *Il aime mieux travailler que sortir* (*he prefers working to going out*)

The expressions (3), (4), and (5), on the previous page, must be further considered

In *Il lui demande* **de** *venir*, *venir* is the direct object of *demande* (being comparable to *un service* in *Il lui demande un service*), the preposition *de* simply serves to soften the juxtaposition of the two verbs In the phrase *Il* **le** *prie* **de** *venir*, which has been modelled on the type of *Il* lui *demande* **de** *venir*, the language comes to construe a transitive verb with two uncoordinated direct objects

In *Grenouilles* **de** *sauter* we find the construction called 'infinitive of narration' or *historic infinitive* It is generally explained by supposing an ellipsis '*Grenouilles entreprennent de sauter*', the explanation is wrong, for no ellipsis could give a satisfactory account of this idiom As a matter of fact it comes from Latin, which uses the historic infinitive in the same way, and the preposition *de* has here no other function than that of introducing the infinitive

In **De** *dire s'il eut tort ou raison, je ne sais, de* only serves

to announce the infinitive, as we see from the direct construction *Je ne sais dire s'il eut tort ou raison* This mode of expression, where the infinitive is placed either as the subject or object at the beginning of the sentence, has become antiquated. It was, on the other hand, in very frequent use down to the 17th century **D'***appeler les mains ennemies, c'est un conseil un peu gaillard* (*to call on hostile hands is a somewhat light-hearted counsel*) (Mont. I 23). **De** *m'en deffaire, je ne puis* (*get rid of them, I cannot*) (id III 9) **De** *les appeler heretiques, cela n'y a nul rapport* (*to call them heretics, has nothing to do with it*) (Pasc , *Prov* 348)

. **De** *faire flechir un courage inflexible,*
De *porter la douleur dans une âme insensible,*
D'enchaîner un captif de ses fers étonné
C'est la ce que je veux (Rac III 33a)
(To make an inflexible courage yield,
To bring pangs into an insensible soul,
To fetter a prisoner wondering at his chains
'Tis this that I desire)

We next consider the use of the various prepositions other than *de* with the infinitive

À + infinitive —The preposition *à* is used before the infinitive after verbs denoting a tendency, purpose, or aim · *inciter, encourager, exhorter, aimer* **à** The construction with the infinitive is usually the same as with substantives. *contribuer* **à** *faire reussir une affaire,—* **à** *la reussite d'une affaire*

In the Old language a much greater use was made of the preposition *a*, but in face of the increasing use of the preposition *de* the preposition *a* became restricted with growing precision to the expression of tendency In the 17th century the respective uses of these prepositions were debated and the grammarians became entangled in endless distinctions It is impossible here to point out all the variations of custom with regard to this point since the 17th century We say, or have said, in-

differently · *commencer, essayer, continuer, demander* à *faire* and de *faire*; *s'efforcer, s'engager, s'occuper* à *faire* and de *faire*

The verbs *contraindre, forcer, obliger*, are remarkable, since in the active voice they are followed by *à* *forcer, obliger, contraindre* à , and in the passive they are followed by *de* *Il est force, contraint, oblige* de

The preposition *à* denotes also, as we shall see (§ 462, V, 2), among other relations the means, the instrument *se battre* à *l'épee*, *travailler* à *la machine*, *un moulin* à *vent* We also find *à* followed by the infinitive, with the same signification. *On croirait,* à *vous entendre, que vous êtes seul maître ici* (*one would think, to hear you, that you are sole master here*)

À *vaincre sans peril, on triomphe sans gloire*
(By conquest without danger we triumph without glory)

We may here point out the special construction where *a* + the infinitive is used as an attribute with the function of the passive future participle *C'est* à *craindre* (*it is to be feared*) *Il est* à *croire* *Ce n'est pas* à *dedaigner* *C'est un proces* à *ne jamais finir* ('tis *a law suit never to be ended*) Here, as we have seen (§ 433, II), the active voice stands for the passive

Again, *a* + the infinitive may be (1) the complement of an adjective, in the active sense *Je suis prêt* à *vous entendre* (*I am ready to listen to you*) *C'est un homme prêt* à *tromper* Or (2) the complement of an adjective, in the passive sense *Le vin est prêt* à *boire* (*the wine is ready to drink*, i e *to be drunk*) *C'est un homme facile* à *tromper* Or (3) the complement of certain verbs, in the passive sense *Il y a tout* à *esperer* (*everything is to be hoped*) *Je vous le laisse* à *faire* (*I leave it to you to do* [i e *to be done*]) *Ce que j'ai* à *faire* *Cela donne fort* à *penser* (*that gives much matter for thought* [= *suspicion*])

Après + infinitive —*Apres* in Old and Middle French was used with either the present or the perfect infinitive

après *écrire*, **après** *avoir ecrit* The present is now only found in a few locutions, such as **après** *boire*, **après** *dîner*, present usage requires the perfect infinitive, which may usually be rendered into English by the gerund: *après* **avoir bu** = *after* **drinking**

We sometimes find in the 16th century, especially in Rabelais, the ellipsis of *après* before a perfect infinitive *Pantagruel* **avoir** *entierement* **conquesté** *le pays de Dipsodie, en icellui transporta une colonie de Utopiens* (*Pantagruel, [after] having entirely conquered the country of Dipsodia, transported thereinto a colony of Utopians*) (II. 15)

Depuis + infinitive — *Depuis* until well into the 17th century was used before the perfect infinitive *Depuis* **avoir** *vestu nostre chair* (*after clothing on our flesh*) (Calvin, *Inst* 374), **Depuis** *avoir connu feu Monsieur votre père* (*since I knew your late father*) (Mol VIII 170) It is no longer used with the infinitive

Par + infinitive —*Par*, denoting the means or instrument, was still currently used in the 17th century before the infinitive

La nuit des temps! nous la saurons dompter
Moi **par** *ecrire et vous* **par** *reciter* (La Font VI 90)
(The night of time! we shall be able to conquer it,
I by writing, and you by declamation)

Je rendois mon voyage inutile **par** *être trop court* (*I should have made my journey useless by being too short*) (Sév IX. 188) *Vous le serez davantage par cette conduite que* **par** *ne pas vous laisser voir* (*you will be more so by this conduct than by not letting yourself be seen*) (La Bruy I. 248)

This construction only persists in Modern French in two cases, after the verbs *commencer* and *finir*: *il commence* **par** *dire* (*he commences by saying*), *il finit* **par** *avouer* (*he ends by confessing*)

Pour + infinitive.—*Pour* before the infinitive has one of two meanings it expresses the **aim** or the **cause.**

When expressing the aim it points to a future action

The language has not changed in this use of *pour*: *il a travaille, il travaille, il travaillera* **pour** *reussir* (*in order to succeed*). *Afin de* may here be substituted for *pour* In the locution *quand il fut* **pour** *partir* (*when he was about to start*[1]), *pour* with the infinitive is equivalent to a real active future participle (= Lat *iturus fuit*)

When expressing **cause** *pour* is at present only used with a perfect infinitive *Il est puni* **pour** *avoir desobei* (*he is punished for having disobeyed*) Down to the 17th century it could be followed in this sense by the present infinitive *Ne meprisez point un homme* **pour** *avoir des parents que la fortune n'a pas beaucoup favorises* (*despise not a man for having parents whom fortune has not greatly favoured* (Malh. II 77). *D'autres vont à la charge* **pour** *n'oser demeurer dans leurs postes* (*others go to the charge through not daring to stay at their posts*) (La Rochef I 116, note) *Un homme d'esprit, et qui est ne fier, ne perd rien de sa fierte et de sa roideur* **pour** *se trouver pauvre* (*a man of intelligence who is born proud loses nothing of his pride and stiffness for happening to be poor*) (La Bruy I 230)

In Old French, *pour* followed by the infinitive had also the sense of *dût-il, dussent-ils* (= *should he, they*)

> *Ja* **por morir** *ne vos en faldrat nuls* (*Rol* l 1048)
> (Now even to [should they] die, none shall fail you)

En + infinitive —*En* is now only used before the gerund **en** *parlant* We find, however, some examples of *en* before the infinitive in the Old language **en guarder** *les tues paroles* (Mod. F *en gardant tes paroles*) (*by observing thy words*) (*Psaut d'Oxf*, 118)

Other prepositions + infinitive —The prepositions *sans, entre, jusqu'a* (the latter containing the preposition *à*), are also used before the infinitive; they call for no special comment

[1] [*When he was for starting* is current in the same sense in Irish English, and has not the meaning of 'in favour of' that the form possesses in standard English Cf p 705]

Section III —*The Tenses.*

451 Tenses of the verb —452 Tenses of the indicative —452 a The conditional —453. Tenses of the imperative —454 Tenses of the subjunctive —455 Tenses of the infinitive —456 Participles —457 Active participle —458 Passive participle

451 Tenses of the verb — The tenses are divided according to their form into two corresponding series **simple** tenses and **compound** tenses

Simple Tenses.		Compound Tenses		
		Indicative Mood		
Pres	*Je chante*	Perfect	*J'ai chanté*	*Je suis tombe*
Impf	*Je chantais*	1st Plupf.	*J'avais chante*	*J'etais tombé*
Pret	*Je chantai*	2nd Plupf	*J'eus chante*	*Je fus tombe*
Fut	*Je chanterai*	Fut Perf	*J'aurai chante*	*Je serai tombé*
		Conditional Mood[1]		
Pres	*Je chanterais*	Past	*J'aurais chante*	*Je serais tombe*
		Imperative Mood		
Pres	*Chante*	Perf	*Aie chanté*	*Sois tombe*
		Subjunctive Mood		
Pres	*Que je chante*	Perf	*Que j'aie chante*	*Que je sois tombe*
Impf	*Que je chantasse*	1st Plupf	*Que j'eusse chante*	*Que je fusse tombé*
		Infinitive Mood		
Pres	*Chanter*	Perf	*Avoir chante*	*Être tombe*
		Participles		
Pres	*Chantant*	Perf	*Ayant chante*	*Étant tombé.*

It will be seen that certain verbs are construed in their compound tenses with the auxiliary *être*, these are all intransitive verbs[2] At the present time the use of one or other auxiliary is almost settled[3] A certain number of

[1] The question as to whether the Conditional belongs to a distinct mood is discussed in § 452 a

[2] See, with regard to the compound tenses of the different kinds of pronominal verbs, §§ 426, 427

[3] Cf § 423

intransitive verbs are construed only with the auxiliary *avoir*, a certain number only with *être*, others with both auxiliaries · with *avoir* to denote the **action**, with *être* to denote the **state**. Custom has not always been so fixed In Old and Middle French it was freer, and most of the intransitive verbs could be construed with either auxiliary, according to the thought to be expressed There, also, *avoir* was generally used to denote the **action** and *être* to denote the **state** ·

J'ai alle	and	*Je suis alle*,
J'ai tombe	and	*Je suis tombe*,
J'ai sorti	and	*Je suis sorti*

As late as the 17th century the choice was freer than now; but from that period we find the grammarians limiting this freedom and enunciating the principles which were destined soon to triumph The people, however, continue to say as in Old French *j'ai tombe, j'ai monte*

We shall now consider the function and signification of the different tenses

452 TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE — In the indicative mood, the action presented takes place in the present, in the past, or in the future

I PRESENT —(1) The present tense expresses the action as being performed at the moment of speaking *Le voici qui* **vient** (*here he comes*) *Vous* **écrivez** (*you are writing*)

By extension the present may serve to express the past if one wishes to render the action more vivid, the narrator, reverting in spirit to the past, seems to be present at the action, and to describe what he remembers just as if it were happening before his eyes, this is called the **historical present** *On* **cherche** *Vatel* , *on* **va** *a sa chambre, on* **heurte**, *on* **enfonce** *la porte, on le* **trouve** *noye dans son sang, on* **court** *a Monsieur le Prince qui fut au desespoir* (*they seek Vatel they go to his chamber, they knock, they*

break in the door, they find him drowned in his blood, they run to Monsieur le Prince who was in despair) (Sév. II 189).

Old and Middle French went further · they freely mixed up present and past tenses in the same sentence *Et maintenant* **traient** *a la terre ferme . . et* **pristrent** *port devant un palais* (*and now they* **draw** *to dry land and* **took** *harbour before a palace*) (Villeh 134). *Si* **sacque** *son espee . a deux mains et* **trancha** *le Cervelat en deux pièces* (*he* **draws** *his two-handed sword, and* **cleft** *the Sausage in two*) (Rabel II 414) Some examples of this licence may still be found in the 17th century *Mes pères ne* **répondent** *rien, et sur cela mon disciple de M le Moine* **arriva** (*the fathers* **answer** *nothing, and thereupon my disciple of M le Moine* **arrived**) (Pasc, *Prov* 10) In the present language this mixture of tenses is hardly to be found, save (*a*) with the declaratory verbs *dit-il, fait-il, ajoute-t-il*, &c, interpolated in a direct narration, (*b*) with such locutions as *peut être, naguère, voila*, which contain a present tense of which the signification has become effaced in course of time; or (*c*) in the verbal expressions *qu'est-ce que, c'est que, qui sait, n'est-ce pas, n'importe*, and also *c'est* in *c'est lui qui a fait cela*

(2) The present is also used to express (*a*) a general truth *L'homme* **propose** *et Dieu* **dispose**, or (*b*) an habitual action or state *Je* **lis** *tous les jours une heure* (*I read an hour every day*). *Ils se rencontrèrent pres de la ville qu'on* **appelle** *Cesaree* (*they met near the town which they call Caesarea*) However, we find some uncertainty in Old French when the proposition preceding is, as in the last example, in a past tense The following sentence contains a curious mixture of tenses *Après chevauchierent a une cité que on* **apele** *Corone, qui sor mer* **estoit** (*after, they rode to a city which* **is** *called Corona, which* **was** *on the sea*) (Villeh. 330).

(3) The present may express (as in English) a future which is, or is considered, as very near. *Je vous* **suis** *a l'instant* (*I am with you directly*) *Mon frere* **part** *la semaine prochaine*

[(4) Finally, the present is used to express the duration of the action into the present from a specified time: *Il y a deux ans qu'il* est *veuf*, *je l'*attends *depuis neuf heures* (*he has been two years a widower*, *I have been waiting for him since nine o'clock*) Compare the corresponding use of the imperfect (p 753)]

II Past.—The past is expressed by several tenses, because the past action may be considered at different moments of duration, either by itself, or in relation to some other action which is either anterior or posterior to this past action Latin had three tenses, imperfect, aorist (or perfect), and pluperfect, to render the relations of the past. French has preserved these three tenses [1] and has added to them a perfect, a 2nd pluperfect, and a conditional (see Book II, §§ 215-218)

(1) *Imperfect*.—The imperfect expresses an action taking place at the same time as some other past action *il* jouait *pendant que j'*écrivais (*he was playing while I was writing*) The second action may be understood *C'*était *par une belle journee de printemps*

By a natural extension it is also used in narration to express a frequent or habitual action *Il* faisait *une promenade tous les matins* (*he took a walk every morning*)

These two uses of the imperfect no doubt existed from the earliest times of the language *Samedis* estoit, *nous* feismes *la premiere procession* (*it was Saturday*, *we made the first procession*) (Joinv 129).

> *Ou est Otons e li cuens Berengiers,*
> *Ive et Ivories que j'*aveie *tant chiers?* (*Rol* l 2405)
> (Where is Otho, and Count Berenger,
> Ivo, and Ivorie, whom I held so dear?)

But down to the 15th century we far oftener find the preterite than the imperfect, in both cases, and especially

[1] The French 1st pluperfect corresponds in sense though not in form to the Latin pluperfect, a periphrase, as we know, having replaced the simple form used in Latin

in reference to an enduring fact · *Ensi se partirent del port, . . et li jorz* **fu** *bels et clers* (*thus they quitted the port, and the day was fine and bright*) (Villeh 119) *Et par les messaiges envoia li rois . . . une tente . . qui mout cousta, car elle* **fu** *toute faite de bone escarlate* (*and by the messengers the king sent a tent, which cost much, for it was made all of good stuff*[1] (Joinv 134) *La premiere enseigne dont il la cogneut estoit un livre ancien dont la couverture* **fut** *de coleur obscure* (*the first sign by which he knew it was an old book, the binding of which was of dark colour*) (Alain Chartier, *l'Esp* 282) In very old French, instead of the imperfect or the preterite, the simple pluperfect (since lost), corresponding in form with the Latin pluperfect, was used.

Bel **avret** *cors, bellezour anima* (*Eulal* 1 2)
Elle colpes non **avret**, *porv nos coist* (id 1 20)

The Modern French equivalents are *Elle* **avait** *un beau corps, une âme plus belle* —*Elle n'***avait** *pas de fautes, pour cela elle ne brûla pas* (*Fair had she body, and a fairer soul* —*She had no faults, therefore she did not burn*) Yet *avret* is the equivalent of the Latin pluperfect **habuerat** and signifies etymologically '*avait eu*' (*had had*)

[The imperfect may also denote an action in the past, extending from or during a specified time up to the time spoken of *il etait la depuis midi, depuis six mois* (*he had been there since noon, for six months*) In such cases it corresponds with the English pluperfect (See corresponding use of the present, p. 752)]

Lastly, we note another construction of the imperfect, peculiar to the language of the 16th and 17th centuries In Classical Latin the present and past conditional were rendered by the imperfect and perfect indicative with verbs of obligation or possibility *Pompeius* **erat** *deligendus* (*Pompey should have been chosen*) *Deleri exercitus* **potuit**

[1] [Not necessarily scarlet, it might be white]

(*the army might have been destroyed*). The imperfect has the function of a conditional in *il* **falloit** *s'enquerir qui est mieux sçavant, non qui est plus sçavant* (*we ought to inquire who is the better learned, not who is the more learned*) (Mont. i. 24, p. 73) *Le cardinal Mazarin ne* **devoit** *jamais l'abandonner* (*Cardinal Mazarin ought never to have abandoned him*) (Rac v. 88) *Maint*[1] *est un mot qu'on ne* **devoit** *jamais abandonner* (*'maint' is a word which ought never to have been given up*) (La Bruy ii 206)[2]

For the use of the imperfect after *si*, with the function of a conditional, see below, p 760

(2) *Preterite and Perfect*—The **preterite** expresses the past absolutely, it presents the action as beginning, going on, and ending at a moment in the past, without any reference to the present time *j'***écrivis** *hier matin* (*I wrote yesterday morning*) The perfect, on the contrary, expresses a past action in its relation to the present moment, and one whose consequences are going on at the moment of speaking *j'***ai fini**, *j'***ai mangé** (*I have eaten*), that is, 'I am —at present—in the state of a person who has eaten.'

Such is the theory of these two tenses In practice it is far from being carried out in the present language. In fact, when the perfect is followed by a direct object its signification is weakened, and it indicates a past absolute *J'***ai mangé** *mon pain* (*I ate my bread*) Moreover, in easy style and conversation, when it is not followed by an object it takes the place of the preterite, the latter having now only a literary use, which it is destined soon to lose altogether

As a matter of fact the distinction between these two tenses was not a sharply established one even in the Old

[1] [The word *maint*, though condemned by the Academy, has returned into use since La Bruyère, see note in the edition quoted]

[2] We also find the present used as a conditional *il* **est** *a desirer qu'on cherchât une fin aux ecritures* (*it would be desirable to seek some limit to written proceedings* [*in law*]) (La Bruy ii. 185)

language[1]. Thus we see, on the one hand, the preterite used instead of the perfect in *Si revenrons a Henri . qui* a **sejorné** *a Panphyle trosque a l'entree de l'iver Et lor* **prist** *conseil* (*We shall return to Henri who stayed in Pamphylia until the beginning of winter And he took counsel*) (Villeh 402), on the other hand we find the preterite constantly replacing the perfect *Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo* **jurat**[2], *conservat* (*if Louis keeps the oath, which he swore* [i e *has sworn*] *to his brother Charles*) (*Oaths of Strasb*) *Sachiez nos ne* **venimes** *mie por vos mal faire, ainz* **venimes** *por vos garder* (*know that we came* [i e *have come*] *not to harm you, but we came* [i e *have come*] *to guard you*) (Villeh 146) This latter substitution was much more frequent than the former The preterite was thus used not only to represent the past absolute, but also to denote a past in relation with the present This confusion continued in Middle French It was only from the 16th century that it was attempted to regulate the proper respective uses of these tenses Taking

[1] In the epic style in particular, the preterite and perfect were used indifferently, especially when the past was preceded by a present tense

Oliviers montet desoure un pui halçor,
Guardet sour destre par mi un val erbos,
Si veit venir cele gent paienor
Sin **apelat** *Rollant son compaignon* (*Rol* l 1017)
(Oliver mounts upon a higher knoll,
Looks on his right through a grassy valley,
He sees this host of pagans coming,
Then called Roland his companion)

Lor oirre apresteni, n'i ont *plus* **demoré**,
Congie demendent, es chevaus **sont monté**
(*Aym de Narb* l 1564)
(They make ready their journey, and stayed there no more,
They ask leave, and mounted their horses)

Il garde avant, vit *un espie forbi,*
*Il s'***abaissa**, *maintenant l'a* **saisi** (*Gir de Viane*, 95)
(He looks in front, and saw a furbished pike,
He stooped, now he has seized it)

[2] [*Jurat* = *juravit* (Lat. juravit)]

the view that the perfect (*passe indéfini*) represented a past action indefinitely, and that the preterite (*passe défini*) represented an action which had taken place during a period not only past, but anterior to a certain moment, the grammarians created an imaginary 'rule of twenty-four hours' (*règle de vingt-quatre heures*), there had to elapse the interval of at least one night between the moment of speaking and the past action to give the right of using the preterite. This was an artificial rule, and it has not prevented this tense, which was so extensively and generally used in Old French, from daily losing ground, and even disappearing from the spoken language.

(3) *1st and 2nd Pluperfects.*—The **first pluperfect** expresses an action which is completely past in relation to another which is also past: *Il* **avait dîné** *quand je suis venu* (*he had dined when I came*). If, on the contrary, the action is considered as only just finished in relation to another past action, the 2nd pluperfect is used: *Quand* **j'eus dîné**, *je partis* (*as soon as I had dined, I went away*). This somewhat subtle distinction was also almost unknown until the 13th century, the special function of the 2nd pluperfect was not yet fully established, and it was constantly used instead of the 1st pluperfect.

Li reis Marsilies **out** *son conseill* **finet**,
Sin apelat Clarun de Balesguet (*Rol.* l. 62.)
(King Marcilius had finished his council,
Then he called Clare of Balesguet.)

We not infrequently see one or other of these tenses used also instead of the preterite or even the imperfect. The use of the 2nd pluperfect for the preterite was especially frequent in the Middle Ages.

L'emperere le vit, si'st encontre leved
Et **out trait** *son chapel, parfont li at clined*
(*Voy. de Charlem.* l. 145.)
(The emperor saw him, and rose to meet him
And doffed his hat, profoundly bowed to him.)

Onques n'en osat hoen en cest mostier entrer,
Se ne li commandat o ne li oi rovet (id 1 150.)
(Never durst man enter this church
Unless I commanded or asked him.)

452a THE CONDITIONAL.—A. *Function of the conditional as a* **tense.**—The conditional present, considered as a tense, that is the 'future in the past,' is only used in Modern French—(1) in subordinate propositions *Je ne savais pas qu'il* **viendrait** *hier Il annonçait ce qu'il* **serait** *un jour* Or (2) in propositions apparently absolute, but which are in reality subordinate, the principal one being understood *Perrette rêvait tout haut elle* **vendrait** *son lait,* **achèterait** *des poules,* **vendrait** *ses œufs au marche,* &c (*Perrette dreamed aloud she would sell her milk, buy fowls, sell her eggs at the market,* &c)

Deux Compagnons, presses d'argent,
A leur voisin fourreur vendirent
La peau d'un Ours encor vivant,
Mais qu'ils tueroient bientôt, du moins a ce qu'ils dirent
C'etoit le roi des ours, au compte de ces gens
Le marchand a sa peau devoit faire fortune,
Elle **garantiroit** *des froids les plus cuisants*
On en pourroit fourrer deux robes plutôt qu'une
(La Font 1 427)

(Two comrades, for money being pressed,
To a furrier close by did sell
The skin of a bear while still alive,
But whom they soon would kill, or so they said
Their estimate ran he was the king of bears,
And with his skin the merchant's fortune would be made,
'Twould guard against the bitterest cold
Twould line two robes [they said] as soon as [*lit* sooner than] one)

In these examples a principal proposition is understood '*Perrette se disait qu'elle vendrait son lait,* &c' '*Ils disaient que le marchand devait faire fortune, qu'elle garantirait . . et qu'on pourrait fourrer* . &c.' Here we have to deal with the conditional, not as a *mood,* but as a *tense* This may be replaced approximately by a periphrase

formed from the imperfect of *devoir* with the infinitive *Elle* **garantirait des froids** or *Elle* **devait garantir** *des froids* Thus compare the preceding line

Le marchand a sa peau **devoit faire** *fortune*

Whenever the conditional may be replaced by this periphrase formed by the imperfect of *devoir* with an infinitive, we have to deal with the conditional tense and not the mood

In its temporal significations the conditional has a compound tense, *J'aurais chanté*, which presents the same characteristics. With the simple conditional two actions, both past, are presented, and the second action, expressed by the conditional, is in the future with regard to the first *Je ne savais pas qu'il viendrait* With the compound tense three actions are presented in *Je ne savais pas qu'il aurait fini quand vous viendriez* (*I did not know he would have finished by the time you came*), we can distinguish the actions of *savoir*, of *finir*, and of *venir*, all three past The remotest is that expressed by *savoir*, and the other two are in the future in relation to it, but of these the action of *finir* is anterior to that of *venir*, it is a pluperfect in relation to the action of *venir* This is why this action is expressed by the tense which is improperly called conditional past If we change to the past the phrase *Je sais qu'il aura fini quand vous viendrez* (*I know that he will have finished when you come*), we shall have *Je savais qu'il aurait fini quand vous viendriez* (*I knew that he would have finished when you came*)

B *Function of the conditional as a* **mood**—The conditional expresses not only a past action, which is in the future in relation to a more remote action in the past, it also expresses a mode of future action Take the two phrases *Il partira demain s'il a de l'argent* (*he will go to-morrow if he has money*) *Il partirait demain s'il avait de l'argent* (*he would go to-morrow if he had money*) The

conditional in the second sentence expresses the same idea as the future in the first, but presents the action as doubtful.

Why should this future of doubt be expressed by the same tense as the future in the past, i e why should *je partirais* (= *je partir avais, j'avais à partir*) express this future of doubt? It must not be supposed that this latter use has arisen from the former It is derived directly from the Latin, which, having neither tense nor mood to express the conditional, had to render it by the subjunctive or the indicative Thus of the past tenses of the Latin indicative, **cantabam** (*I was singing*), **cantavi** (*I sang*), **cantaveram** (*I had sung*), the two first were also used in the same sense as the French *je chanterais*, the last in the sense of *j'aurais chanté* Consequently the periphrase **cantare habebam** was equivalent not only to *je chanter avais, je chanterais*, that is *j'avais a chanter* (future in the past), but also to *j'aurais a chanter, je chanterais* (conditional mood). The sense of the latter construction was rendered obvious to the mind by the conditional proposition beginning by *si* that regularly accompanied it *Il partirait s'il avait de l'argent* But in many cases the proposition beginning by *si* is replaced either (1) by a principal proposition *Ne venez pas, il vous frapperait* (which is equivalent to *Si vous veniez, il vous frapperait*), *À l'entendre, on croirait* (equivalent to *si on l'entendait, on croirait*), or (2) even by a complement of circumstance *À bout d'efforts, il se decouragerait*, &c In some cases again (3) the condition is not expressed at all *Je voudrais être ecoutée* (*I should like to be heard*) (*si je le pouvais* being understood) This last construction gradually led to the effacement of the conditional idea in such phrases as . *Oserais-je l'avouer?* (*dare I own it?*), *Nieriez-vous le fait?* (*would you deny the fact?*), *On dirait que vous êtes malade* (*you seem to be ill*), where the form of the conditional indicates a simple supposition Finally it comes to denote merely a softened form of affirmation in *Je ne*

saurais que vous dire (*I do not know what to say to you*), *Je voudrais dire un mot* (*I should like to say a word*), *Je vous souhaiterais beau temps* (*I wish you fine weather*); *Il se pourrait qu'il vient* (*it is possible that he is coming*)

All these uses are derived from the fundamental function of the conditional, that of expressing a past, present, or a future action depending on a condition.

In conditional phrases, according to present usage, the verb of the principal proposition is put in the conditional and that of the subordinate proposition in the imperfect preceded by *si Je* **partirais** *si je* **pouvais** Here we have the use of the imperfect already noted (§ 447, V, p 728) to express not a past action, but a present or future conditional action *Je partirais aujourd'hui si je le pouvais* ('mais je ne le puis aujourd'hui' being understood) *Je partirais demain si je le pouvais* ('mais je ne le pourrai pas demain' understood).

Herein the Modern language diverges from the Old, Old French to express this idea used either *je partisse demain si je pusse*, or *je partirais demain si je pusse*, or *je partirais demain si je pourrais*, putting the proposition of condition either in the imperfect subjunctive or in the conditional. Some traces of this last construction have been preserved in the use of the conditional past *Je serais parti aujourd'hui si je l'eusse pu* is used side by side with *si je l'avais pu* (*I should have gone away to-day if I had been able*) As late as the 17th century a few writers used the conditional as in the Old language, in order to render certain special shades of meaning

Que te sert de percer les plus secrets abîmes,
Où se cache à nos sens l'immense Trinité,
Si ton intérieur, manque d'humilité,
Ne lui saurait offrir d'agréables victimes? (Corn VIII 31)

(What avails thee to pierce the depths most concealed
Where the Trinity immeasurable is hidden from our ken,
If thine inner self, through lack of humbleness,
Can offer it no pleasing sacrifice?)

Lui saurait is used and not *sait*, the better to accentuate the uncertainty. The simple phrase would be: *Que te sert de percer . . si ton âme ne sait . . ?*

> *Si d'un sang trop vil ta main* **seroit** *trempee,*
> *Au defaut de ton bras, prête-moi ton epée* (Rac III 344)
> (If thy hand would be stained by blood too vile,
> Then, failing thine arm, lend me thy sword)

These lines are generally explained as due to an ellipse. *et si tu crois que ta main serait trempee*, but as a matter of fact there is no ellipse, for here the conditional suffices of itself to express the condition with the implication of doubt We also find such phrases as *Je meure si je* **saurois** *vous lire!* (*may I die if I can read you!*). In this last case we have a new use of the conditional instead of the present indicative to express in a softened form a doubtful action *'Faites ceci —Je ne* **puis**, *je ne* **sais** *' 'Faites ceci.— Je ne* **pourrais**, *je ne* **saurais** *'* Now it is this new function of the conditional merely to soften expression which was transferred by Corneille and Racine into conditional propositions introduced by *si*, as in *Si ta main seroit trempee*, instead of *Si ta main etait* In such cases, then, the verb of the principal proposition must be in the present and not in the conditional

Thus, to sum up, the verb of a proposition of condition depending on a subordinate sentence introduced by *si* is, in general, in the present or the future indicative if the verb of the subordinate proposition is in the present *Je pars, je partirai, si je puis*, it is in the conditional if the verb of the subordinate proposition is in the imperfect *Je partirais si je pouvais* In the first case it is also sometimes put in the conditional to express a particular shade of doubt In the Old language the verb of the subordinate proposition was also put in the imperfect subjunctive or in the conditional, as well as that of the principal *Je partirais si je pourrais Je partirais si je pusse Je partisse*

si je pusse. This use of the subjunctive will be explained below (pp. 764, 765)

To conclude the theory of the conditional, we have a word to say about the conditional past

Just as the conditional present corresponds to the future, so the conditional past corresponds to the future perfect: *Il aurait reussi, s'il avait étudie* (*he would have succeeded if he had studied*), the 'success' is in the future in relation to the 'study,' and both are past *Je n'aurais jamais fini, si je disais tout* (*I should never have finished if I said* [i e *were to say*] *all*), the action of 'finishing' is here in the future, but past in relation to that of 'saying,' which is also in the future

The conditional past may be replaced, as we have seen, by the pluperfect subjunctive when it refers to a past action. *Il eût réussi s'il avait etudie* Finally, by a singular extension the conditional past comes to express a kind of negative future conditioned by an action which did not take place *Si on avait voulu, il s'en* **serait allé** (*if they had wished he would have gone away*)

We will now conclude the indicative mood (§ 452)

III Future. — The expression of the future is not subject to the same restrictions as the past For the future is the unknown, whilst the various moments of the past are preserved in the memory

The simple future expresses the action in a time that is to come *J'écrirai demain* The relation of two future actions, when the first mentioned is subsequent to the second, is expressed after a fashion by a periphrase **J'aurai à écrire** *quand il viendra*[1] When it is concurrent with the second, both are expressed by the simple future **J'écrirai** *quand il viendra* So there is no special tense for the future corresponding to the imperfect for the past[2].

[1] [Or by using the future for the subsequent, and the future perfect for the anterior, action *J'écrirai quand il sera venu*]

[2] [Owing to the faculty of using the present in English with a future

If the first action is anterior to the second, the first is expressed by the future perfect (*futur antérieur*), the second by the future. **J'aurai écrit** *quand il viendra*

Thus, to render these various relations of time between two future actions, French has only created a special form for a future action anterior to another future action. Sometimes one of the two actions is understood *J'aurai peu suivi* (*quand il parlait* understood), *Vous aurez oublié votre argent* (*quand vous êtes parti* understood[1]) But often the ellipsis of the second proposition is so complete that the future perfect, like the conditional, comes to denote nothing more than a softened affirmation

453. TENSES OF THE IMPERATIVE —The theory of the tenses of this mood is inseparable from the theory of the mood itself; we refer, therefore, to its treatment above (§ 441).

454. TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE — The subjunctive has four tenses the present and the perfect on the one hand, the imperfect and pluperfect on the other

The tenses of the subjunctive correspond both to tenses of the indicative and of the conditional They correspond to present and past tenses of the indicative after certain verbs these require the verb in the subordinate proposition to be put in the subjunctive rather than the indicative, either in order to convey certain shades of meaning, or owing to the survival of grammatical usages prevalent at various periods in the history of the language We have already noticed this correspondence of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative with the tenses of the subjunctive (§ 445).

signification after *when, before, after,* &c , we can readily express the different senses required *I will write when he comes, I shall be writing when he comes, I shall have written when he comes*]

[1] [The closest translation of this future is *I must have been inattentive, You must have forgotten your money*]

On the other hand, the subjunctive being the mood of possibility, and hence implying an idea of futurity, we cannot be surprised to find a correspondence between its tenses and those of the future and conditional To the following sentences, containing *savoir* in the principal sentence:

Nous ne savons s'il viendra,
" " " *sera venu,*
Nous ne savions s'il viendrait,
" " " *serait venu,*

correspond the sentences containing *douter* in the principal sentence

Nous doutons qu'il vienne,
" " " *soit venu,*
Nous doutions qu'il vînt,
" " " *fût venu.*

And in these the following tenses correspond:

Subordinate Sentence	Principal Sentence
present subjunctive	future indicative
perfect subjunctive	future perfect indicative
imperfect subjunctive	present conditional
pluperfect subjunctive	past conditional

In this correspondence of tenses we note the agreement of the imperfect and pluperfect of the subjunctive with the present and the past conditional, a strange fact that needs explanation

We have seen (Book II, § 216) that the imperfect of the Latin subjunctive **cantarem** (used also as conditional) was lost in the popular language, and was replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive **cantassem** (used also as a conditional past). Through this disappearance of **cantarem** the French *chantasse* came from the first to possess four significations, two corresponding to the Classical Latin **cantassem** (*j'eusse chanté* and *j'aurais chanté*), and two due to an extension

of its functions (*que je chantasse, je chanterais*). These four significations were preserved in the Old language, the two former do not exist in Modern French, which would no longer say:

*Se jo t'*sousse *la jus soz le degret* (*Alex* 98)
(If I had known thee there below the step)

Sem creisses, *venuz i fust mis sire,*
Ceste bataille oüssums (eussions) *faite e prise* (*Rol* 1 1728)
(If you had believed me, my lord had come here,
This battle we should have fought and won)

Se Diex ne amast *ceste ost, elle ne* peust *mie tenir ensemble* (*if God had not loved this army it could not have held together*) (Villeh 104) *Et li firent dire que se ne* fust *por l'honour du roy, que ils les* feissent *noier* (*and they sent him word that had it not been for the honour of the king they would have had them drowned*) (Joinv 455) This usage survives in the 17th century with the verb *devoir* only

Mais puisque son dedain, au lieu de le guerir,
Ranime ton amour qu'il dût *faire mourir,*
Sers-toi de mon pouvoir (Corn 1 304.)

(But since his disdain, instead of curing it,
Revives thy love, which it should have killed,
Make use of my power)

Otherwise it was seldom used from the 14th century on, and was totally lost in the 17th century The imperfect subjunctive used as a conditional past and as a pluperfect subjunctive was replaced by the periphrases created in the Gallo-Roman period *j'eusse chanté, j'aurais chanté*

There remain to be considered the two significations that Gallo-Romanic gave by extension to **cantassem** as a substitute for the lost **cantarem**

Je chantasse in both Old and Middle French was the current expression both for the imperfect subjunctive and the conditional present. We need not quote examples of

this form for the imperfect subjunctive, as it is still in use. We quote examples in which it is used for the conditional present.

S'il fust leials bien **resemblast** *baron* (*Rol* 1 3764.)
(Had he been loyal, true noble would he seem)

Si je le **sceusse**, *je ne le* **demandasse** *pas* (*did I know it I should not ask it*) (*Cent Nouv* 1 258) *Il est peu d'hommes qui* **osassent** *mettre en evidence* (*there are few men who would dare to display*) (Mont 1 56) *Je ne crois pas pourtant qu'il* **fût** *permis de l'ecrire ainsi* (*I do not, however, think that it would be permitted to write it so*) (Vaugelas, II. 171) This use has, however, now become archaic

In independent propositions this imperfect is now preserved in two cases

(1) When the nominative of the verb follows, this inversion replacing an ordinary conditional phrase

Coûtât-il *tout le sang qu Helene a fait repandre*,
Dussé-je *apres dix ans voir mon palais en cendre*,
Je ne balance point (Rac II 54)

(Did it cost all the blood that Helen caused to flow,
Should I after ten years see my palace in ashes,
I do not hesitate)

(2) In the pluperfect subjunctive with the function of a conditional past *j'***eusse aimé** for *j'aurais aime*

[The imperfect subjunctive has fallen into almost complete abeyance in standard conversational usage, and is generally replaced by the present subjunctive where another construction cannot be employed In literary French it is used as sparingly as possible, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons. See § 447, V, at end[1].]

455 TENSES OF THE INFINITIVE — The infinitive has

[1] [. Il serait interessant d'etablir que le passé défini et l'imparfait du subjonctif ont disparu de la langue française (A Darmesteter, *De la Creation Actuelle des Mots Nouveaux dans la Langue Française*, 1877)]

two tenses, the present and the perfect. The present may fulfil the function of a present, imperfect, or future indicative, or of a present conditional, according to the sense of the principal verb The infinitive in .

il croit voir	is equivalent to		*qu'il voit*;
il croyait, il a cru, il avait cru, voir	,,	,,	*qu'il voyait*;
il espere venir	,,	,,	*qu'il viendra*,
il a espere, il avait esperé, venir	,,	,,	*qu'il viendrait.*

The perfect infinitive may fulfil the function of a perfect or pluperfect indicative, of a future perfect, or a conditional past, according to the tense of the principal verb The infinitive in .

il croit avoir vu	is equivalent to		*qu'il a vu*,
il croyait, il a cru, il avait cru, voir	,,	,,	*qu'il avait vu*;
il espère être venu	,,	,,	*qu'il sera venu*,
il esperait, a espere, avait espere, être venu	,,	,,	*qu'il serait venu*

456 PARTICIPLES —There are two participles, the **active** (so called **present**) **participle** and the **passive** (or **past**) **participle**

The active participle may be present *chantant*, or past *ayant chante* The passive participle is in the past, *chante*, unless it expresses an action which lasts or continues It may become an adjective when, expressing a momentary action, it drops the notion of time and so comes to express the result of the action (e.g. *des fleurs fánees = faded flowers*).

457 ACTIVE PARTICIPLE AND GERUND —The active past participle being composed of a present participle and a passive participle, *ayant chante*, it comes of course under the

treatment of the present participle Only the present form *chantant* need here be considered

With this form, corresponding with the Latin **cantantem**, was confused the Latin gerund **cantandi, cantando, cantandum** The gerund was indeclinable in the oldest French, the present participle, on the contrary, was declinable from the origin of the language, whether expressing an action or a state, the history of the declinability of the form in *-ant* is neither more nor less than the history of the struggle of the present participle with the gerund.

I. **Gerund.**—(1) It is to the gerund that we must refer the construction, now so common, of *en* with the verbal form in *-ant*, either alone or followed by an object *en marchant, en lisant un livre*

Down to the 17th century we find in this sense the gerund alone much oftener than the prepositional gerund

Asez est mielz que morions combatant (*Rol* l 1475)
('Tis better far we should whilst fighting die)

Si com lisant *trovons* (*while reading we find*) was a current expression in Old French.

Et les peuples, voyant *ce qu'ils n'auroient pu croire*,
Reconnurent sa gloire (Corn IX 115)

(And the people [through] seeing what they could not have believed,
Recognized his glory)

Crut flechir un vieux chat, implorant *sa clemence* (La Font III 214)
(Thought to move an old cat [by] entreating his mercy)

Compare the consecrated phrases *donnant donnant* (*give and take*), *generalement parlant, chemin faisant*

So, too, after the verbs of motion, *aller* and *venir* *il s'en va chantant* (§ 431) side by side with *le mal va en augmentant.*

When the gerund has a direct object the latter follows; this was not the case in very old French, which placed

the gerund after its direct object, whence the locution (*en*) *chemin faisant*

In Old French the gerund might be preceded, not only by the preposition *en*, but by any other preposition **à** *joie faisant*, **de** *la teste perdant*, **par** *pais faisant*, **parmi** *droit faisant*, **pour** *mort menaçant*, &c We have only preserved some remains of these constructions. **à** *son corps defendant* (*against his will*), (**à**) *argent comptant* (*for ready money, cash down*)

Moreover, the gerund, being considered as a veritable substantive, could be preceded by a determinant, either article, adjective, or pronoun, demonstrative, or possessive Hence we still find in Modern French *en* **son** *vivant* (*in his lifetime*), *sur* **son** *seant* (*sitting up*), *a* **mon** *escient* (*to my knowledge*), *a* **bon** *escient* (*knowingly*).

(2) Side by side with the prepositional gerund we find the simple gerund (i) as the object of a verb *faire semblant* (*to make a show*), a locution which may be traced back to the earliest times of the language, and was in constant use (like *faire entendant* [=*to make it understood*], which has been lost), or (ii) as the attribute of a substantive expressed or understood, and forming with this an absolute proposition

L'arbre tombant, ils seront devores (La Font i **220**)
(On the tree falling they will be devoured)

[*Vous* understood] *etant sûr que vous avez raison, vous gagnerez votre cause* (*being sure that you are in the right, you will win your case*) The case where the substantive is understood is rare in the present language It was not so as late as the 17th century *Elle ne faisoit autre chose jour et nuit que lever les mains au ciel, ne lui* **restant** *plus aucune esperance de secours de la part des hommes* (*she did nothing day and night but raise her hands to heaven,* [*there*] *remaining to her no longer any hope of help from men*) (Rac iv 466)

Après une grande secheresse **venant** *à pleuvoir il s'en prend au ciel* ([*it*] *coming on to rain after a great drought . he takes heaven to task*) (La Bruy 1 67)

II **Present participle.**—(1) Side by side with the gerund was the present participle, always declinable, but this participle, in conformity with its etymology (the Latin present participles in *-ans, -ens*, having no distinction of form for masculine and feminine), was not at first declined for gender, whether it denoted the action or the state *chantant* was masculine and feminine singular *chantanz* was masculine and feminine plural In Old French we have *une mere* **aimant** *son enfant Des meres* **aimanz** *leur enfant.* However, as early as the 12th century the feminine form begins to appear *Les femmes vindrent encuntre le rei Saul* **carolantes** *e* **juantes** *e* **chantantes** *que Saul out ocis mil, e David dis milie* (*the women came to meet Saul, rejoicing and playing, and singing that Saul had slain a thousand and David ten thousand*) (*Quat. Liv Rois*, 70) Similarly, in the 16th century *Ces filles de Scedase,* **plorantes** *a l'entour de leurs sepultures et* **maudissantes** *les Lacedemoniens* (*these daughters of Scedasus weeping around their graves, and cursing the Lacedaemonians*) (Amyot, *Pelop* 168) We may, however, add that the agreement in gender was much more rare than the agreement in number It is oftener met with in the poets than in prose writers, and Palsgrave asserts, also in the 16th century, that the present participle could not have a feminine in prose In the 17th century there is the same uncertainty If Madame de Sévigné writes *Je vous trouve si pleine de reflexions, si stoicenne, si* **méprisante** *les choses de ce monde* (*I find you so full of reflections, such a stoic, so looking down on the things of this world*), Vaugelas would have one write *Ces femmes* **buvans** *de la limonade* (II. 154), and rules that the feminine should be used for the participles of intransitive verbs only.

However, alongside this struggle between the two forms of the declinable present participle, the gerund in its turn was exercising its influence and gradually extending its domain Already in the Old language the participle of an intransitive verb, when denoting the action, was generally replaced by the gerund, that is, the indeclinable form Moreover, the gerund expressed only the action, whilst the present participle expressed either the action or the state. It was then by a natural impulse that the language was driven to the absorption by the gerund of the present participle expressing the action This absorption was facilitated by the preservation of the archaic form of the present participle, which, when not declined in gender, was usually undistinguishable in pronunciation from the gerund However, it was only in 1679 that the Academy made the rule that (1) the form in *ant* should remain undeclined when denoting an action *un homme, une femme, des hommes, des femmes* **errant** *dans les bois* (*a man*, &c, *wandering in the woods*), and that (2) it should agree both in gender and number when denoting a state *J'ai vu une tribu* **errante** *de Bohemiens* (*I have seen a wandering tribe of gipsies*) Thus the former distinction of the present participle and the gerund was suppressed and replaced by the present distinction between (1) the indeclinable present participle and (2) the declinable verbal adjective

Most of the authors of the 17th century, writing before the promulgation of this decree, made the present participle agree in number, whether the verb was transitive, intransitive, or reflexive, and whether the active participle was present or past · [*Je*] *qui devois choisir des sujets plus* **répondants** *au goût de mon auditoire* (*I who ought to have chosen subjects answering better to the taste of my audience*) (Corn IV 279)

. *Les canons* **quittants** *leurs usages farouches* (id x 106)
(The cannon, deserting their cruel use)

Et plus loin, des laquais, l'un l'autre s'agaçants,
Font aboyer les chiens et jurer les passants.
(Boileau, *Sat* VI l 37)

(And further on, lackeys, teasing one another,
Make the dogs bark and passers-by swear)

Les morts se ranimants *à la voix d'Élisée* (Rac III. 613)
(The dead, reviving at Elisha's voice)

Le loup reprit 'Que me faudra-t-il faire?—
—Presque rien, dit le chien donner la chasse aux gens
Portants *bâtons et* mendiants' (La Font I 7a)

(The wolf returned 'What shall I have to do?'
'Scarce anything,' said the dog, 'to give chase to folk
Carrying sticks and begging')

L'autre extremite est celle ou arrivent les grandes âmes qui ayants *parcouru tout ce que les hommes peuvent sçavoir, trouvent qu'ils ne sçavent rien* (*the other extremity is that which lofty souls come to, who, having traversed all that men can know, find that they know nothing*) (Pasc, *Pens* I 126).

Even in the 18th century the rule was far from being unanimously accepted Hence the contradictory examples utilized by the grammarians of the period to establish their rules of impossible subtlety Hence also the traces in the present language of the former declinability, either in number *les* allants *et* venants, *les* ayants *droit, les* tenants *et* aboutissants, &c, or in gender *Toute affaire* cessante, *loi* tendante *a* , *maison* appartenante *a tel ou tel* [mostly in legal phraseology]

(2) Among the participles classified in the category of verbal adjectives some deserve particular note

(*a*) In *personne bien* portante, *a jour* ouvrant, *a portes* fermantes, &c, the participle is really derived from a pronominal reflexive verb (*se porter, s'ouvrir, se fermer*, &c.)

(*b*) In *couleur* voyante (*staring colour*), *ecole* payante (*paying school*), *chemin* roulant (*road fit for wheeled traffic*), *rue* passante (*busy street*), *seance* tenante, *cafe* chantant, the participle present is, in the mind, the predicate not of the preceding substantive, but of a substantive that is

understood 'a colour that *you* must see, a school where *you* pay, a road where *vehicles* roll, a street where *people* pass,' &c

458 PASSIVE PARTICIPLE —I. **The participle used without an auxiliary** In this construction the participle is declined as an adjective We must, however, except the participles *approuve, attendu, ci-inclus, ci-joint, excepte, non compris, ôte, passe, supposé, vu,* which, when they precede the substantive, do not change in gender or number (*Je vous envoie ci-joint deux lettres*) *Hormis* (formerly *hors mis*) has even become a preposition These exceptions were only introduced gradually, they did not all exist even in the 17th century However, there existed the tendency to make the proposed participle into a neuter adjective for a reason that we shall elucidate immediately in discussing the construction of the participle with the auxiliary *être*

II **The participle conjugated with the auxiliary *être*.** —When used with the auxiliary *être,* the participle is declined, whether it belongs (1) to the passive of a transitive *Ces marchandises ont ete* **vendues**, or (2) to the past of an intransitive *Elles sont* **tombées**

In the Old language the participle construed with *être,* when placed before the substantive, might often not agree with it

> *Car des dames est* avenu
> *L'aventure* [feminine] *dont li lais fu*
> (Marie de Fr , *Eliduc,* l 25)
> (For to ladies happened
> The adventure which the lay was about)

This irregularity may be explained by the substantive coming after , as its exact form and hence its gender has not yet been revealed to the person speaking, the participle is not declined We shall see a similar fact explained by the same cause in discussing the number of the verb (§ 459, VI,

p 785), and the indeclinability of the above-mentioned participles, *approuve, attendu,* &c, placed before the substantive, is accounted for in the same way

III **The participle conjugated with the auxiliary** *avoir*—When the past participle is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir*, it is subject in the Modern language to rules which grammarians have vied with one another in complicating In the oldest French the participle does not combine with the auxiliary, it is quite distinct from it, has preserved its passive value, and consequently is usually treated as an adjective, and agrees with its object, whatever its place may be

Tot est mudez, **perdude** *at sa color* (*Alex* 1)
(He is all changed, hath lost his colour [i e turned pale])

It was only from the 12th century that the participle truly began to blend with the auxiliary, to take an active function, and it was the latter which was destined gradually to prevail in time over the passive From then down to the 16th century, in consequence of this double function, *j'ai* **écrite** *la lettre* and *j'ai* **écrit** *la lettre*, *la lettre que j'ai* **écrite**, *la lettre que j'ai* **écrit**, were used indiscriminately The following passage of Ronsard (II 117) shows this freedom:

Mignonne, allons voir si la rose
Qui ce matin avoit desclose
Sa robe de pourpre au soleil
A point perdu *cette vespree*
Les plis de sa robe pourprée
Et son teint au vostre pareil

(Sweet, let us go see if the rose,
Which this morning had unfolded
Her purple robe before the sun,
Hath not lost this vesper tide
The folds of her empurpled robe
And her complexion like to yours)

Generally speaking, the only case in which it was the rule for the participle to agree was when the object was placed between it and the auxiliary *J'ai la lettre* **écrite**

In fact, if *avoir* was considered as in itself a verb, the participle kept its passive value and was an adjective, and therefore was obliged to agree *La lettre que j'ai* **écrite** was equivalent to 'the letter which I have—there at hand—written'; *J'ai la lettre ecrite* was equivalent to 'I have—there—the written letter' The turn of expression is precisely similar to that in the following phrases *Elle a les cheveux* **longs** *Il a la tête* **nue** Consequently the Old language made no difference between *Il a sa barbe* **rasée** and *Il a* **rasée** *sa barbe*

If, on the contrary, *avoir* was considered as a mere auxiliary, which, added to the participle, formed a periphrase having the function of a simple past tense—if *j'ai ecrit* was the simple equivalent of the Latin **scripsi**—the participle did not agree *Il a* **écrit** *la lettre La lettre qu'il a* **écrit** *Il a* **rasé** *sa barbe* Each of these apparently compound tenses in that case expressed a verbal idea as simple as *il ecrivit, il rasa*

Such was the syntax of the past participle conjugated with *avoir*, down to the 16th century However, when the object followed, a natural tendency existed to unite the participle with the auxiliary, and consequently to leave it undeclined *Il a* **écrit** *a son frere une lettre* After saying the words *Il a ecrit*, we do not yet know what will be the nature of the object, and consider *a ecrit* as the equivalent of *ecrivit* Hence the tendency to leave the participle indeclinable when the object follows

On the other hand, the participle necessarily agreed in expressions with the object preceding, like the one below, archaic since the 18th century, but still much used in the earlier part of the 17th

Aucun etonnement n'a leur gloire **flétrie** (Corn III 323)
(No sudden fear has tarnished their glory)

Here the participle had to agree just like the adjective in *Il a la tête* **nue** Hence arose a tendency to make the participle agree when it was preceded by the object

This twofold tendency was exaggerated by the grammarians of the 17th century, who declared that the participle must always be declined when the object precedes Herein they were wrong, for if in the phrase. *j'ai la lettre ecrite, écrite* is declined, it is not because *lettre* precedes the participle, but because it separates it from *avoir*, and consequently leaves *avoir* its full verbal value, and gives *ecrit* the function of an adjective It was then an error to apply the same rule to *la lettre que j'ai ecrite*, where *j'ai ecrit* formed in the 17th century, as it does now, a periphrase equivalent to a simple tense At the most, the participle should have been declared declinable when it was separated from the verb by several complements of circumstance, as in *La lettre que j'ai* sur sa demande et après mûre réflexion **écrite** (*the letter which I have, at his request, and after full reflexion, written*)

Erroneous or no, this rule of making the participle agree with the preceding object took root in the majority of cases, so that from the second quarter of the 18th century it was adopted by writers generally However, in the 17th century it was subject to numerous strange restrictions Thus the participle did not agree if the subject of the verb came after it·

La, par un long recit de toutes les miseres
Que durant notre enfance ont **enduré** *nos peres* (Corn III 392)
(There, by a long story of all the woes
That during our childhood did endure our sires)

Ces tristes vêtements ou je lis mon malheur
Sont les premiers effets qu'ait **produit** *sa valeur* (id III 166)
(This mourning garb, in which I read my misfortune,
Is the first result his valour hath produced)

Quelle raison a **eu** *la nature de me la donner telle ?* (*what reason had nature to give it such to me ?*) (Pasc, *Pens* I 43) Again, we find the following odd differences of concord *La joie que cela m'a* **donne**, but *la joie que cet accident m'a* **donnée**, and *Le commerce de cette ville l'a* **rendu** *puissante*,

but *nous nous sommes* **rendus** *puissants. Elle s'est* **trouvé** *guerie,* but *ils se sont* **trouvés** *guéris*

The grammarians of the 18th century tried to bring order into this chaos and established rules which, although more simple than those of the 17th century, are still not free from complexity.

(1) *The participles of transitive verbs* agree with the object when it precedes *Je les ai* **vus** This general rule has particular applications

A *Combien d'erreurs il a* **commises** *La foule des curieux que ce spectacle a* **rassemblés** *Un de mes amis que j'ai* **visité** *hier* (here *un de mes amis* = *un ami a moi*)

B. *Le peu d'efforts qu'il a* **faits** *lui a été utile* (here *le peu d'efforts* = *les quelques efforts*) *Le peu d'efforts qu'il a* **fait** *l'a empêche de reussir* (*le peu d'efforts* = *le manque d'efforts*) (see § 459, I, p 781)

C *Il a cueilli des cerises et en a* **mangé** (*and has eaten* **some**) *Combien Dieu en a-t il* **exaucés**! (*how* **many** *of them has God granted!*) *Autant de maux qu'ils en ont* **soufferts** (*as* **many** *evils as they have suffered*). *Il en a* **mangé** *de ces poires* The present tendency of the language is to leave the participle undeclined when the preceding object is represented by the pronoun *en*

D *La chose est plus serieuse que je ne l'avais* **cru**[1] The same holds for the participles *dû, pu, su, voulu,* which contain an ellipsis, and really come under Series F

E *La lettre que j'ai* **cru** *que vous ecririez* (*the letter which I thought that you would write*)[2]

F *The participle is followed by an infinitive.*—In the Old language the concord was general, and the participles used

[1] [The *le* in *l'avais cru* refers not to *la chose* but to the infinitive locution **être sérieuse** implied Compare *Est-elle bonne? Oui, je* le *crois*]

[2] [The *que* here seems, while introducing *j'ai cru* to be felt as the object not of *j'ai cru* but of *vous ecririez*]

in sentences derived from *j'entends chanter l'actrice* (*I hear the actress sing*) and *j'entends chanter la romance* (*I hear the song sung*) were treated similarly Hence we find

En mi le vis li ad faite *descendre* (*Rol* l 3920)
(Half through his face he made it [the sword] descend)
Que li rois out roveiz *noier* (*Brut de Munich*, l 4040)
(Whom the king had asked to slay)
Qui ma flamme a nourrie et l'a faite *ainsi croître*
(Which has fostered my flame and made it thus grow)

In the above line of Desportes, Malherbe (iv 278) corrected *faite* to *fait*, but Maupas, a grammarian of the period, maintained that, in speaking of a woman, one could say *je l'ai* vu *parler* or *je l'ai* vue *parler* indifferently Montesquieu still writes *La simplicite des lois les a* faites *souvent meconnaître* (*the simplicity of laws has often made them misunderstood*[1])

In the simple construction of the Old language *la romance que j'ai* entendue *chanter*, *chanter* was used as the equivalent of a passive, *être chantee* the Modern language has lost this simplicity

The verb *faire* in the construction here dealt with has been considered as an auxiliary, and its past participle *fait* has become indeclinable in every case *Les edifices qu'il a* fait *abattre* *Les gens qu'il a* fait *pendre* Popular French, faithful to old tradition, still uses the form *L'eglise qu'il a* faite *bâtir*

For other verbs, the past participle is declined when the preceding object is really the object of the participle and the subject of the infinitive *La personne que j'ai* entendue *chanter*, it is not declined when the preceding object is,

[1] We may note, however, in the 17th century the contrary practice of not declining the participles followed by an infinitive and treating them as ordinary participles *Beaucoup de poemes que nous avons* vu *réussir sur nos theatres* (*many poems which we have seen succeed in our theatres*) (Corn i 63)
Les a-t-on vu *marcher parmi vos ennemis?* (Rac iii 530)
(Have they been seen marching amid your enemies?)

according to the new point of view, the object of the infinitive, which is itself the proper object of the participle. *La romance que j'ai* **entendu** *chanter*

However, usage is uncertain with regard to the participles *eu* and *donne*, when they are followed by a prepositional infinitive These are sometimes treated like the other participles, sometimes like *fait La romance qu'on m'a* **donné** or **donnée** *à chanter, que j'ai* **eu** or **eue** *a chanter*

(2) *The participles of intransitive verbs*, with a few exceptions in the Old language, have always been indeclinable However, some intransitive verbs may, when used figuratively or with a cognate object (§ 424, I, III, IV), become transitive *Les enfants qu'il a* **pleurés** *Cette partie de ma vie, je ne l'ai point* **vécue** In this category may be included the rules concerning *coûte, pese, valu*, which are not declined in their literal sense, but are generally declined when used in a figurative sense

In Old French some examples may be found of the agreement of the participle *ete*, as if it were conjugated, as, logically, it ought to be, with the auxiliary *être Les plus aagez, qui en Espaigne avoient* **estez** (*the oldest, who had been in Spain*) (*Jehan de Paris*, 113)

(3) *Past participle of pronominal verbs.*—We saw (§§ 426, 427) that in the Old language the participle of pronominals always agreed with the subject, whether the verb was subjective or reflexive, even when the pronoun *se* was in the dative (the verb being followed by a direct complement). Such was still the rule in the 17th century

Nous nous sommes **rendus** *tant de preuves d'amour* (Corn I 245)
(We have exchanged so many proofs of love)

Princesse, en qui du ciel les merveilleux efforts
Se sont **plus** *d'animer ses plus rares tresors* (id VI 294)
(Princess, in whom the wondrous workings of heaven
Have delighted to give its rarest treasures life)

Ils se sont **donnés** *l'un et l'autre une promesse de mariage* (*they gave each other a promise of marriage*) (Mol VII 195)

The rule ought still to be given in this form for subjective pronominal verbs, which, as we have demonstrated (§ 426), are either intransitives or else transitives construed like true intransitives The present enunciation of the rule[1] by a false analysis regards the auxiliary *être* in compound tenses of pronominal verbs as the equivalent of *avoir*, if this holds good for reflexive pronominals (*il s'est* **frappé**, *ils se sont* **frappés**), it is in contradiction with the nature of subjective pronominals, and grammarians are then unable to explain the agreement in *ils se sont* **aperçus** (*de*), *elle s'est* **jouée** (*de*) As a matter of fact the agreement in these verbs arises from the syntax of Old French

(4) *Participles of impersonal verbs* —In the impersonal expression *il y a un homme*, '*un homme*' was considered in Old French equally as the direct object and as the logical subject of the verb Consequently the participle of an impersonal verb might agree or not, according to the light in which it was taken Thus Pasquier (*Recherches*, VI 15) writes *Quand quelque faute y eust* eue (*when some mistake there had been*) But from the 16th century the substantive following an impersonal verb has only been treated as its subject, we say, therefore *Les chaleurs qu'il a* fait, because *Les chaleurs qui ont ete faites* would no longer be admissible

[1] [The ordinary form of the rules of French grammarians for these verbs may be summarised as follows (I) Both with *essentially reflexive* (subjective pronominal) and *accidentally reflexive* (reflexive and reciprocal pronominal) verbs 'the auxiliary *être* is used instead of *avoir*' (II) With the essentially reflexive verbs the participle always agrees, 'because the direct object (*se*) precedes' (III) With accidentally reflexive verbs the participle agrees when it is not followed by a direct complement, *se* being then a preceding direct object *Elle s'est piquee au doigt* But the participle is indeclinable when a direct complement follows, *se* being in that case a dative *Elle s'est piqué le doigt* There remain one or two other points for discussion, see the curious inconsistencies noted at the bottom of p 776]

Section IV —*Number and Person of the Verb.*

459 Number — 460. Person

459 Number —The verb agrees in number with its subject The usage in this matter has not changed during the whole course of the language. We have, however, the following remarks to make on the use of number

I When the subject is a collective noun, the verb is now always put in the singular, contrary to the rule of Latin syntax, which allowed the plural *Turba* **ruit** or **ruunt** (*the crowd rushes*, or *rush*) In Old French, as in Latin, the plural was very frequent *Li reis cumendad que li clergie alast devant le ost e* **loassent** *Nostre Seignur* (*the king commanded that the clergy should go before the host and praise the Lord*) (*Quat Liv Rois*, 341, 10) *Ensi se* **herbergierent** *l'ost des François* (*thus sheltered themselves the army of the French*) (Villeh 137)

Car icel gent si **font** *lor vis*
Amegrir (*Rom de la Rose*, l 436.)

(For this people make their countenance
Wax lean)

From the 16th century it was the rule that every collective used by itself should govern the verb in the singular

When, however, the collective is partitive, either the singular or the plural may be used after it (1) the singular if the collective itself impresses the mind *La foule des affaires l'***accable** (*the abundance of affairs overwhelms him*), (2) the plural if the complement of the collective is more in view *Une foule de gens vous* **diront** (*abundance of people will tell you*) So with *le peu de*, which is taken as singular when it signifies 'the lack of,' and as plural when it signifies 'the small number of' (see B, p 777) Some collectives, such as *la plupart, le plus grand nombre, une infinité de, beaucoup*, &c, always require the plural. These distinc-

tions were unknown in Old French. In the 17th century the plural was still generally used:

Un million de traits, un million de fleches,
Tomberont *a vos deux côtes* (Corn IX 329)
(A million darts, a million arrows,
Will fall on either side of you)

Une partie des princes **sont revenus** *de l'armee* (*some of the princes have returned from the army*) (Rac. VII 129) *La guerre engendre beaucoup de maux, entre lesquels* **sont** *le grand nombre d'historiens* (*war breeds many evils, among which are the great number of historians*) (id VI 320) *Tout ce que nous connoissons de courtisans nous* **parurent** *indignes de vous être compares* (*all the courtiers that we know seemed unworthy to be compared with you*) (Sév V 531) Vaugelas, in fact, proclaimed as an absolute rule that one should only say *une infinite de gens* **croient**, because *gens* is in the plural, the agreement being determined by the complement of the collective At the beginning of the 18th century the French Academy decided that, side by side with *un grand nombre d'ennemis* **parurent**, we might say *un grand nombre d'ennemis* **parut** Hence arose the rules, quoted above, made for the purpose of determining the cases where the singular or the plural should be used respectively

II No less subtle distinctions have been established with respect to *un* with a partitive plural as its complement followed by a relative proposition Should we say *Il est un de ceux qui* **a** *le mieux reussi* or *qui* **ont** *le mieux reussi*? From the point of view of the meaning of the sentence, the singular is obviously incorrect, but in Old French and down to the 18th century no hesitation was felt in putting the verb of the relative proposition in the singular, that is, making the concord with *un* and not with the real antecedent of *qui*[1] *Li uns des meillours chevaliers*

[1] [The same difficulty exists in English, though the plural is correct The difficulty may be generally turned in translation by avoiding the relative construction]

qui **fust** *en l'ost* (*one of the best knights in the army*) (Joinv 275). *L'une des plus saintes communautes qui* **fût** *dans l'Église* (*one of the saintliest communities in the Church*) (Rac IV 527) *Un grand seigneur qui est un des hommes du royaume qui* **représente** *le mieux* (*a great noble, who is one of those who live* (lit *lives*) *in the greatest state in the kingdom*) (Montesq, *Lettr pers* 74) Even at the present time this irregularity may be found amongst many writers, and moreover the Dictionary of the Academy still allows the use of the singular side by side with the plural At bottom, the explanation lies in the attraction exercised by the principal on the relative proposition

III The subject, although in the plural, may be sometimes considered as a unity instead of as a plurality by the person speaking, hence the use of the singular in such sentences as *Cinquante mille francs* **est** *une grosse somme*, where however the use of the singular is generally tempered by the introduction of the neuter *ce Cinquante mille francs, c'***est** *une* . . . Compare the following examples

Trois generacions **chei**
En infer, et en terre ausi (*St Graal*, I 2103)
(Three generations [of angels] fell into hell and on to the earth also)
Et deux ans, dans son sexe, **est** *une grande avance* (Mol VI 165.)
(And two years is a great advance, in her sex)

Quatre ou cinq mille ecus **est** *un denier considerable* (*four or five thousand crowns is a tidy penny*) (Id VII 332) *Cinquante domestiques* **est** *une etrange chose* (*fifty domestics is a strange thing*) (Sév VI 401) *Il est vrai que ces deux bouts de la terre ou nous sommes plantés* **est** *une chose qui fait frémir* (*it's true that these two ends of the earth where we are planted is a thing that makes one shudder*) (Id VI 316)

IV In the Modern language several associated subjects in the singular govern the plural of the verb The singular is, however, allowed when these subjects are not united by the conjunction *et*, and form a gradation or climax or a synonymy *Son courage, son intrepidité* **excite** *l'admiration.*

Une parole, un sourire, un regard **suffit** This is really an archaism In fact until the 18th century it was the general practice, even when the subjects were united by *et*, to make the verb agree with the nearest, i. e. with the last, if they preceded, with the first when they followed it *L'empereres Henris et l'oz des François se* **loja** (*the emperor Henry and the army of the French encamped*) (Villeh. 492) *Une lenteur et une infortune qui les* **exposoit** *a la risee de toute l'Europe* (*a sluggishness and a lack of fortune which exposed them to the laughter of all Europe*) (Rac v 261) *Un peu d'esprit et beaucoup de temps a perdre lui* **suffit** (*a little wit and plenty of time to lose is enough for him*) (La Bruy i 185) *Le chastel* **esgarda** *l'empereres et sa genz* (*at the castle looked the emperor and his people*) (Villeh 471) *Je ne veux point vous dire l'emotion et la joie que m'a* **donnée** *votre laquais et votre lettre* (*I won't tell you the emotion and the joy that your footman and your letter gave me*) (Sév iii 409) *De la* **vient** *le soudain assoupissement et cette mort* (*hence comes the sudden drowsiness, and that death*) (La Rochef iii 163) Malherbe, who scoffed at the use of the singular in the verses of Desportes, makes use of it himself, and Vaugelas timidly suggests the use of the plural only when the substantives are of quite different meanings

There is another exception to the rule in the present language, when the subjects are united by *ou* or *ni* The verb is put in the singular if the action produced by each subject is considered separately, i e where the alternative is one of exclusion, the verb may be put in the plural where the alternative is one of accident or indifference, this applies to *ni l'un ni l'autre* and *l'un et l'autre l'un et l'autre se dit ou se disent L'un ou l'autre*, however, always requires the singular These distinctions did not exist in the 17th century · *Le bonheur ou le malheur* **vont** *d'ordinaire à ceux qui ont le plus de l'un ou de l'autre* (*good fortune or ill usually go to the very people who have most of one or the other*) (La Rochef. i 233). *Le dégoût ou l'antipathie ne*

sauroient *nuire* (*disgust or antipathy could not harm*) (La Bruy II 145).

Sans que ni vos respects, ni votre repentir,
Ni votre dignité vous en **pût** *garantir* (Corn IV 66)

(Without the respect due to you, or your repentance, or your dignity, being able to save you therefrom)

V We may also note the case of attraction by a plural predicate on the verb *être*, which is sometimes put in the plural although its subject is in the singular There are frequent examples in the 17th century *L'épisode, selon Aristote, en cet endroit,* **sont** *nos trois actes du milieu* (*the episode, in Aristotle's sense, at this place, is our three middle acts*) (Corn I 47) *Tout cela* **sont** *de beaux compliments* (*all that is fine compliments*) (La Rochef III 100)

VI A peculiar case of the number of verbs is that found in such sentences as *il* **vint** *trois personnes*[1] At first sight we might think that the singular in this case is owing to the presence of the impersonal pronoun *il*, this would be an error, for Old French dispensed with the pronoun, and yet sometimes put the verb in the singular before a following plural subject

Parmi Paris en **vat** *trois paire* (Ruteb I 195)
(Through Paris there go three peers)

Ne l'en **demoura** *que sept cens* (*there remained of them but seven hundred*) (Joinv 147) This singular may still be found in the 17th century

De tous côtés lui **vient** *des donneurs de recettes* (La Font II 224)
(From every side come to him givers of recipes)

N'eût **été** *les miserables fragments qui en ont couru* (*had it not been for the wretched fragments of it which have circulated*) (Boileau, *Lutrin, Au Lecteur*) We still say **Sera-***ce vos amis qui vous defendront?* and not *seront ce.* The speaker, putting the verb before the subject, is not yet conscious

[1] [In English the plural is now used, but this was not always so Cf Kellner's *Syntax*, pp. 47, 48]

enough of the plurality expressed by the latter to bring it out in the form of the verb, hence the use of the singular (cf § 458, II, p. 782) But even in Old French the verb, when placed before a plural subject, was put in the plural more frequently than in the singular, and, oddly enough, the introduction of the pronoun *il* for a long time did not prevent the verb from remaining in the plural *Il* **sont** *quatre* (*there are four*) (*St Thomas*, l 170), *Il se* **partent** *de la ville de Calais six des plus notables bourgeois* (*there go forth from the town of Calais six of the most notable burgesses*) (Froiss iv 57) Here the pronoun is used merely to introduce the subject, and has no influence on the number of the verb. The examples of the plural become more and more rare from the time of Commynes (1445 ?–1509), and the present use of the singular verb was established gradually

VII We have only now to explain the inconsistent concords in the constructions *c'est moi*, *c'est nous*, *ce* **sont** *eux*. In Old French both the person and number of the verb were governed by the logical subject following rather than the grammatical subject ce We find, then, *ce* being considered as the predicate *ce* **suis** *je*, *c'es tu*, *c'est il*, *ce* **sommes** *nous*, *c'estes vous*, *ce* **sont** *ils*

Si demanda '*Qui estes vous ?*'
Et il respont '*Ce* **somes nous**'
(*Rom de Renard*, br iii l 227)
(He asked, 'Who are you?'
And they answer, 'It is we')

Se c'estes vous, sel dites
Mais ce ne **sui** *je mie* (*Berte*, l 2502)
(If it is you, say so
But it is not I at all)

This construction was still in use in the 16th century But there existed a second construction, in which *ce* was considered as the subject and the following substantive or pronoun as the predicate: *c'est moi*, *c'est toi*, . . . *c'est nous*,

c'est vous, c'est eux, and this latter triumphed in the 16th century Nevertheless, by an inexplicable inconsistency, the grammarians of the 17th century, who admitted *c'est nous, c'est vous*, replaced *c'est eux* by *ce sont eux* *C'est eux* has, however, remained in the popular language In the written language, *c'est*, referring thus to a subject in the 3rd person plural, has only remained (1) when it is followed by two subjects of which the first is singular and the second is in the plural *C'est la gloire et les plaisirs qu'il a en vue*, and (2) to indicate the time *c'est dix heures qui sonnent* The usage with regard to this point has been established slowly In the teeth of the grammarians the authors of the 17th and 18th centuries made regular use of *c'est* *Puisque c'est eux qui en demeurent d'accord* (*since it is they who are agreed about it*) (Sev viii 1) *Ce n'est pas seulement les hommes a combatre, c'est des montagnes inaccessibles, c'est des ravines et des precipices d'un coste, . c'est partout des forts elevez* (*there are not only men to combat, there are inaccessible mountains, there are ravines and precipices on one side, there are everywhere elevated forts*) (Bossuet, *Orais fun de Conde*).

Ce n'étoit plus ces jeux, ces festins et ces fetes (Volt, *Henr* X)
('Twas no longer those games, those festivals and feasts)

Even at the present day certain authors have no hesitation in putting *c'est* before a plural substantive

460 PERSON —In the present language, the rule is that the verb of a relative proposition takes the person of the antecedent to the relative pronoun *C'est moi qui ai fait cela* *C'est toi qui l'as voulu*, &c However, should the antecedent be followed either by a determinative or a predicate, the verb may take the person of the determinative or predicate equally well with that of the antecedent *Vous êtes les seuls qui se plaignent* or *qui vous plaignez*. In the Old language, and even down to the 18th century,

the free use of the 3rd person existed even where the antecedent stood alone

Je ne vois plus que vous qui la **puisse** *défendre* (Rac III 196)
(I see but you left able to defend her)

Vous conjurant d'ôter de votre esprit que ce soit moi qui **ait** *tort* (*beseeching you to remove from your mind* [*the idea*] *that it is I who am in the wrong*) (Sév I. 511) Even when there were subjects of different persons, including a pronoun of the 1st or the 2nd person, the verb was put in the 3rd *Vous aimerez mieux que moi, ma paroisse et ma terre vous* **rendent** *hommage* (*you will prefer that I, my parish, and my estate should do you homage*) (Sév VII 209). *Un proces que ni moi ni mes juges n'*ont *jamais bien entendu* (*a suit that neither I nor my judges have ever properly understood*) (Rac II 142).

CHAPTER VII

INDECLINABLE WORDS

461 Indeclinable words

I The Prepositions —462 *À* —463 *Avec* —464 *Avant* (*devant*, &c) —465 *Contre* —466 *De* —467 *En* —468 *Enz* (*dans, dedans*) —469 *Fors* or *hors* —470 *Outre* —471 *Par* —472 *Pour* —473 *Puis* (*depuis*) —474 *Pres* (*presque, apres*) —475 *Riere* (*arrière, derriere*) —476 *Sans* —477 *Sous* (*dessous*) —478 *Sur* (*dessus*) —479 *Vers* (*envers*)

II Negation —480 *Non* —481 *Ne* —482 *Ni* —483 Semi-negative words —484 Emphasized negation

461 Indeclinable words —The syntax of indeclinable words comprises that of prepositions and of adverbs of negation The syntax of other adverbs belongs to that of the order of words except in relations of comparison, where it is identical with that of adjectives (§ 373) That of conjunctions belongs to the syntax of compound sen-

tences, treated already (§§ 444–447) Finally, the interjection has no syntax.

I The Prepositions.

462 À —À comes from the Latin **ad** The preposition *à* at the present day expresses a great number of relations, which in Latin were rendered, some by the preposition **ad**, others by the dative, others by the preposition **cum** (*with*), others again by the prepositions **in** (*in*) or **ab** (*from, out of*) Thus we see that the Latin preposition **ad** since it has become a French preposition has been gradually enriched with new meanings and uses

First the Latin dative disappeared and its functions (of attribution) were rendered by the preposition *à* Where in Latin we say *Dono vestem* **pauperi**, Popular Latin says *Dono vestem* **ad pauperem**, and French *Je donne le vêtement* **au pauvre** Thus the language has come to use identical expressions for two relations which the mind still clearly distinguishes *a* points out (1) simple attribution in *Je donne de l'argent* **à** *mon ami*, (2) a relation of direction in *J'envoie de l'argent* **à** *mon ami*

The distinction is still evident when the indirect object is a personal pronoun The pronoun *lui* is used as an absolute dative, as under (1), in *je* **lui** *donne une chose*; we cannot use this dative absolutely in sense (2) we say *je pense* **à lui** and not *je* **lui** *pense* This distinction, which is still living, enables us to ascertain in many instances whether the preposition **à** indicates attribution or direction

If this discrimination between attribution and direction has been preserved in French for the dative of the pronouns, it has disappeared with respect to nouns, and only a very delicate analysis will enable us to recover the primitive distinction.

In Latin, **ad** not only expressed direction towards a place, but also *proximity to* a place *esse* **ad** *portam*

(*to be* **at** *the door*) Popular Latin rapidly extended this signification to *situation in*, as in *esse* **ad** *campum être* **au** *camp* (*to be* **in** *the camp*) So the preposition *à* first indicated *motion towards aller* **à** *Rome*, then *proximity to être* **à** *la porte*, and finally *situation* or *position in il est* **à** *Rome*

These are the most important significations of the preposition *a*, from space it has been applied to time and to figurative uses We shall note below other special developments of its functions

I *Destination of Place*

(1) With motion *Aller* **à** *Rome Courir* **aux** *armes Crier* **au** *feu* In this use *a* has gradually lost ground to the gain of *dans, en, sur*, and *vers*

Je meditois ma fuite **aux** *terres etrangeres* (Rac II 519)
(I was planning my flight to foreign lands)

Il va se confiner
Aux *lieux les plus caches qu'il peut imaginer* (La Font I 92)
(He goes and shuts himself up
In the most secret places he can think of)

Accourt, se lance **à** *lui, l'abat et le dechire* (id VI 302)
(Runs up, leaps on him, throws him down and tears him)

Allant **à** *l'Amerique* (*going to America*) (id III 159) At present, before feminine names of countries, the point of arrival is denoted by *en* without an article (below, p 803)

(2) *À* indicates proximity to a place (Eng *at*) *La bataille se livra* **à** *Valmy Être* **à** *droite,* **à** *gauche,* &c

(3) *À* indicates position in a place *Il est* **à** *Paris* This usage was still more extended in the 17th century, in many cases *dans* has been substituted for *a*

Je suis jeune, il est vrai, mais **aux** *âmes bien nees*
La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des annees (Corn III 129)
(I am young, it is true, but in well-born souls
Valour does not wait for age in years)

Le retire du mal et l'affermit **au** *bien* (id VIII 602)
(Withdraws him from wrong and strengthens him in right)

M. de Grignan se résoudra difficilement a ne point passer ces trois mois **à** *sa bonne ville d'Aix* (*M de Grignan will find it hard to decide on not passing these three months in his good town of Aix*) (Sév IX 318) At the present day *à* would be replaced in the above examples by *dans*.

II. *Destination of Time*

(1) Motion towards a future time *Ajourner* **à** *huitaine* (*to adjourn to a week hence*) **À** *demain les affaires sérieuses* **À** *bientôt*

(2) Coincidence in time (Eng **at**). *On accourt* **à** *ses cris* (*at his cries they run up*). **Au** *premier signal* (*at the first signal*).

(3) Accomplishment at a time [Eng **at**, compare **to** in to-day, to-morrow] *Il se leve* **à** *six heures* (*he rises at six o'clock*) **À** *l'âge de vingt deux ans* In many cases the Modern language has suppressed the preposition and uses the accusative of time *Vous viendrez* **ce soir** *Il nous a trompés* **cette fois** *Il a fait beau* **cette année** Down to the 17th century **à** *ce soir*, **à** *cette fois*, was said. In certain cases the preposition has been changed We now say **en** *même temps* (§ 467, II, p 804), instead of **à** *même temps*

III *Destination of Purpose*

(1) Tendency towards a goal or purpose *Courir* **à** *sa perte* (*to rush to one's destruction*) *En venir* **aux** *mains* (*to come to blows*) And with an infinitive *Chercher* **à** *tromper* (*to seek to deceive*) *Aimer* **à** *jouer* (*to love to play*) It was this use that led to the construction of *a* with the infinitive of many verbs down to the 17th century, now replaced by **de** + infinitive (§ 450 ; § 466, IV) *prescrire* **à**, *rechercher* **à**, *se proposer* **à**, *trouver plaisant* **à**, &c

Again, down to the 17th century, before a noun or an infinitive *a* might play the part of *pour* [= *to* in the sense of the obsolete English *for to* before an infinitive] (§ 472, II).

Et je garde, au milieu de tant d'âpres rigueurs,
Mes larmes **aux** *vaincus, et ma haine* **aux** *vainqueurs*
(Corn III 286)
(And I preserve, amid so many rigours harsh,
My tears for the conquered and my hatred for the conquerors)

Mon cœur, accable de mille déplaisirs,
Cherche la solitude **à** *cacher ses soupirs* (id III 288)
(My heart, overwhelmed by a thousand tribulations,
Seeks solitude to hide its sighs)

Ah! que ce temps est long **à** *mon impatience!* (Rac III 495)
(Ah, how slow is the time for my impatience!)

Ne croyez pas que nous perdions un moment **à** *partir* (*do not think that we lost a moment about starting*) (Sév III 63)

(2) Construction or adaptation for a purpose (Eng *for*) *Apte* **aux** *affaires* (*fitted for affairs*) *Impropre* **au** *service* (*unfit for service*) The number of adjectives used thus with **à** was much greater in the Old language, in which *ingrat* **à**, *sevère* **à**, *indulgent* **à**, *aveugle* **à**, *cruel* **à**, &c, were employed

To the same use belong such expressions as *boîte* **à** *the, service* **à** *cafe, tabac* **à** *fumer*, &c [These are rendered in English by compounds *tea caddy* = *caddy for tea*, &c]

(3) Situation with respect to a purpose *Être* **au** *comble de ses vœux* (*to be at the height of one's aspirations*), **à** *toute extremite* (*at the last extremity*), **à** *l'abri du danger* (*in shelter from danger*)

IV *Destination of Person*

(1) Motion of attribution *Écrire, parler,* **à** *quelqu'un Gloire* **à** *Dieu Mort* **aux** *traîtres*

(2) Possession *Ceci est* **à** *moi* (*this is mine*) *Il a une maison* **à** *lui* (*he has a house of his own*)

These two relations could, as we have seen in Old French (Book III, p 400), be denoted by the objective case *Ne placet* **dame Dieu** (*may it not please the Lord God*) (*Rol* l 358) *L'ensеigne* **Carle** (*Charles's ensign*) (id l 1179) But at a very early period they were denoted by the preposition *a* However, when the sense requires that the noun denoting the thing or person possessed should be

immediately followed by the mention of the possessor, *à* is now replaced by *de le fils* **du** *roi* It is only in popular modern speech that we still have, as in Old French *La barque* **à** *Charon, la fille* **à** *Nicholas* (*Charon's boat, Nicholas' daughter*)

V *Material Destination*

(1) With motion or union *Mettre les bœufs* **à** *la charrue* (*to put the oxen to the plough*) *Ajouter une chose* **à** *une autre* (*to add one thing to another*) *Allier la modestie* **au** *merite* (*to unite modesty to merit*)

(2) With a sense of concomitance *Un char* **à** *bancs* (= *a car with benches*) *Une canne* **à** *epee* (*a sword-cane*) In this use, by extension, **à** comes to mean *avec* (*with*), and as this latter preposition not only expresses concomitance, but also both the instrument and the means, **à** has come to indicate both the instrument and the mode of action

A Instrument O F **à** *glaive,* **à** *cisele,* **à** *pois et mesure*

Vous marcherez **vers** *Rome* **à** *communes enseignes* (Corn VI 377)
(You will march towards Rome under the same standards)

Le marchand **à** *sa peau devoit faire fortune* (La Font I 427)
(With his skin the merchant's fortune would be made)

In Old French we also have *a* used in this sense with abstract nouns **à** *deuil,* **à** *force,* **à** *peine,* **à** *conseil* We still say **À** *force de soins* (*by force of care*), *il a été guéri* Hence by a new extension **à** came to denote the inherent characteristic or quality, either of an individual or an object *Berte* **aux** *grands pieds* (*Bertha Greatfoot*) *Bottines* **à** *lacets* (*lace-up boots*)

B Mode or modality[1] of the action *Aller* **à** *cheval Se sauver* **à** *la nage Acheter* **à** *credit Vêtement* **à** *la dernière mode Un moulin* **à** *vent. Un fusil* **à** *aiguille Une machine* **à** *vapeur* Old French used **à** *guise,* **à** *secret,* now replaced by **en** *guise,* **en** *secret* *À* in this sense must be rendered in various ways. (*To go* **on** *horseback To save*

[1] [Cf the obsolete English preposition *a* in *abed*, &c]

oneself **by** *swimming* *To buy* **on** *credit* *Dress* **of** *the latest fashion* *Wind-mill, needle-gun, steam-engine*)

With this usage were connected the expressions, so numerous in Old French, formed by *à* and diminutives in *ons*, which only exist in this connexion **à** *genoillons* (*on one's knees*), **à** *cropetons* (*crouching*), **à** *chevauchons* (*astride*), &c, and of which **à** [*cali*]*fourchons*, **à** *reculons*, **à** *tâtons*, have survived (cf Book II, p 378)

Such are the principal uses now presented by the preposition *à* We have only omitted one important use, because it is not a natural development of the preceding uses, but only the result of a confusion which arose in the 16th century At that period the contracted forms of preposition + article, *ou*, *es*, for *en le*, *en les* (*in* or *into the*), became obsolete, and were replaced either by *dans le*, *dans les*, or, owing to similarity of sound, by forms almost homonymous with *ou* and *es*, namely *au* and *aux*, the compounds of *à*. *Se mettre* **au** *lit* = O F *Se mettre* **ou** (*into the*) *lit* *Les etoiles brillent* **au** *ciel* = O F **ou** (*in the*) *ciel* *Être* **aux** *fers* = O F *Être* **es** (*in the*) *fers*

463 AVEC —*Avec* is etymologically an adverb, in fact it is formed from *av* (found in the *Oaths of Strasburg* in the form *ad* **Ad** *Ludher nul plaid avrat*, &c = *I will have no agreement with Lothair*), which came from the Latin **apud**, and the neuter demonstrative **hoc** (*this, it*) *Avec* then signifies properly *with this*, or *by this*

This adverbial use, which is primitive, is to be found in every period of the language

Encalcent Franc e l'emperere **avuec** (*Rol*) 3626)

(The Franks give chase, and the emperor with [*i e* also])

Ne diroit on pas *à moi* **aveo** *peut estre, de m'en taire?* (*would they not say to me also perhaps to be silent upon it?*) (Mont 1 56)

Il avait dans la terre une somme enfouie,
Son cœur **avec** (La Font 1. 345)
(He had buried a sum of money in the earth,
His heart therewith)

It is still so employed in familiar speech But from the earliest times *avec* has taken, by extension, the function of a preposition. In Old French it expressed the concomitance of two persons *Être* **avec** *quelqu'un* (*to be with someone*) Then along with the obsolescence of an old preposition *od* or *o*, which had all the present significations of *avec*, and which also came from the Latin **apud**, the preposition *avec* took its place and expressed the concomitance of objects *Prendre ceci* **avec** *cela* (*to take this with that*), and hence the mode, the instrument, or material used *Parler* **avec** *courage* (*to speak with courage*) *Agir* **avec** *prudence* *Frapper* **avec** *un bâton* (*to strike with a stick*). *On obtient tout* **avec** *de l'argent* *Bâtir* **avec** *du fer* (*to build with iron*) *Carreler* **avec** *de la brique* (*to pave with bricks*) *Dejeuner* **avec** *du cafe* (*to breakfast on coffee*) We must note the peculiar use of *avec* after *de* (for separation or distinction) with the verbs *connaître, distinguer, separer, sortir*, &c

*A connoître un pourpoint d'***avec** *un haut-de-chausse* (Mol IX 107)
(To know a doublet from a pair of breeches)

Originally *avec* took an adverbial *s*, and, the group *avecs* being rather harsh, a euphonic *e* was interpolated between the *c* and *s*, so that it was written *aveques, avecques, avekes*. the simple form *avec* and the lengthened form *avecques* co-existing These two forms were preserved until well into the 17th century We find the form *avecque* without the *s* at this time, before words beginning with a consonant, because the *s*, no longer heard, had dropped in pronunciation It also occurred before words beginning with a vowel, but then, the silent *e* being elided, the form became identical in pronunciation with *avec* In the second half of the 17th century *avecques* is hardly ever used, save in poetry, to gain an additional syllable in the line It disappears entirely in the 18th century

464. AVANT (DEVANT, &c) —*Avant* comes from the

Popular Latin **avante**, formed by **av** (**ab**) and **ante**. **Ante** itself has been preserved in *antan* (**ante annum** = *last year*) · *Les neiges d'antan* It had derivatives *ains, ainçois,* or *ançois,* which have dropped out of the modern language

Avant is either an adverb or a preposition. In Old French it is nearly always an adverb, expressing a relation of priority in space *aller* **avant** A reminiscence of this use is preserved in the modern *aller, penetrer plus* **avant** (*to go, penetrate further*)

Avant, as a preposition, is almost unknown in Old French In Middle French it seems to take more and more development, expressing priority in both space and time · *Il marchait* **avant** *moi* **Avant-***hier*

> **Avant** *ce jour fini, ces mains, ces propres mains*
> *Laveront dans son sang la honte des Romains* (Corn III 327)
> (Before this day's end my hands, these very hands,
> Shall cleanse the shame of the Romans in his blood)

From the 16th century the employment of *avant* was extended, to the detriment of *devant,* which it gradually replaced in the expression of priority of time

Avant was used until the 17th century before the simple infinitive **Avant** *respondre par l'oracle* (*before replying by the oracle*) (Rab II 212) *Ma tante avoit paye les dettes de son fils* **avant** *mourir* (*my aunt had paid her son's debts before dying*) (Sév VIII 7) However, in the 17th century the infinitive is oftener found preceded by *que* or especially by *que de*

> **Avant que** *partir, je me ferai justice* (Rac III 66)
> (Before departing I will do myself justice)
>
> *Ne verrez vous point Phèdre* **avant que de** *partir?* (id III 312)
> (Will you not see Phaedra before leaving?)

In the present usage we rarely find any form other than *avant de,* which only dates from the 18th century. But certain writers, from affectation, and the people, still say **avant que de** *faire* (*before doing*).

Avant combines with other prepositions **en** *avant*, **par** *avant* (whence *auparavant*), **de** *avant*, **d'***avant*, *devant*

In Old French, as in the Modern language, *devant* was both a preposition and an adverb, but its use was more extended, expressing not only (1) a relation of space, as at present (*before = in front of*) **devant** *quelqu'un*, *se tenir* **devant** *quelqu'un*, *se tenir* **devant**, but also (2) a relation of time, thus as late as the 17th century we find *Seroit-il possible que* **devant** *moi tu n'eusses jamais vu d'autres exemples de mortalité?* (*can it be possible that before me you never saw any other examples of mortality?*) (Malh. i 359).

Ses flots
Sont trouvés de ceux qui les boivent
Aussi peu sales que **devant** (id i 114)
(Its waves .
Were found by those who drank them
As little salt as before)

Encor que vous partez beaucoup **devant** *le jour* (Corn II 281)
(Even though you start long before daylight)

Elle [Votre Majesté] *me permettra de lui dire que* **devant** *Elle on n'a point vu de roi qui* (*Your Majesty will allow me to say that, before you, never king was seen who .*) (Rac i 514) **Devant** *le jugement du proces* (*before the decision of the case*) (Sév i 478)

Moreover, *devant* could be followed by either a simple infinitive or an infinitive preceded by *que* or *que de*, and also by *que* with a subordinate proposition **Davant** *boire* (*before drinking*) (Rab i 100) **Devant** *que passer plus outre* (*before passing any further*) (Malh II 7) *J'ai reçu votre lettre . un moment* **devant que de** *monter en bateau* (*I received your letter a moment before going on board the boat*) (Sév IV 131) **Devant** *que la philosophie vous eût fortifie* (*before philosophy had fortified you*) (Malh. II 305) *Ils partiront tous* **devant** *qu'il soit six jours* (*they will all leave before six days* [*are over*]) (Sév II 340).

Finally, *devant* was used figuratively: *Je mettrai desor-*

mais ma sante et mes promenades **devant** *toutes choses* (*I will henceforth put my health and my walks before everything*) (Sév iv. 394) [Here *avant* would now be used]

We see that *devant* has been replaced in many of its uses by *avant* The following are the relations between these two prepositions in the present language

Avant, as an adverb, has preserved its primitive sense of *forward* *Aller* **avant**, *plus* **avant** As a preposition it indicates (*a*) priority of place *placer le premier volume* **avant** *le deuxième*, (*b*) priority of time *arriver* **avant** *les autres*, **avant** *le lever du soleil*, (*c*) priority of rank *placer une chose* **avant** *une autre*, both in the literal and figurative sense

Devant signifies *before*, in the sense of *in front of*, with the idea of rest or motion *Planter un arbre* **devant** *la maison* *Fuir* **devant** *quelqu'un* And figuratively *Les hommes sont egaux* **devant** *Dieu*

465 CONTRE —At the present day *contre* denotes (1) proximity (*next*) *maison situee* **contre** *un jardin*, (2) opposition (*against*) *il marcha* **contre** *l'ennemi*, or (3) exchange (*against, for*) *echanger un mobilier* **contre** *un autre* (*to change one suite of furniture for another*) We may also note certain meanings of this preposition now lost In the Old language this preposition could also denote direction pure and simple (*towards*) *armes qui resplendissent* **contre** *le soleil* (*arms glistening in the sun*), proximity of time *contre la Pâque* (*at Easter time*)

466 DE —The preposition *de* has a host of uses which may be classified as follows

I *De* points out a relation of removal in place, in time, and figuratively

II It is partitive

III. It is equivalent to *touchant* (*concerning, about, with respect to, on*)

IV. It is used to connect the terms of a proposition.

V It introduces the complement of an adjective.

VI It is used as a sign of apposition.

I **De** *denotes removal* This preposition, which comes from the Latin **de** (*of, from*), expresses first, like the Latin, *removal from a starting-point* *descendre* **de** *la montagne*, *sortir* **de** *la ville*, *errer* **de** *lieu en lieu*. A special use of **de** exists in names to denote *origin* *Blancandrin* **del** *Castel de Val Fonde* (*Rol*), *Gerard* **de** *Roussillon* (*Gerard* who is **from** *Roussillon*), *le prince* **de** *Bourbon*, *le duc* **de** *Richelieu* Thus was formed the aristocratic particle **de**

It also denotes *removal in time* **de** *ce jour*, **d'***aujour d'hui en huit* (*from this day week*), *ceci date* **de** *trois semaines* (*this dates from three weeks back*), *se lever* **de** *bonne heure* (*to get up early*)[1], *partir* **de** *grand matin* (*to start in the early morning*) This has led by analogy to *Il n'a rien fait* **de** *toute la journee* (*he has done nothing all day*)

The figurative sense corresponding to that of *motion from* is found in *tenir, recevoir, apprendre quelque chose* **de** (*from*) *quelqu'un*, **de** *la part du roi*, *priver, depouiller, delivrer, preserver, acquitter, absoudre quelqu'un* **de** (*from* or *of*) *quelque chose*, *ne* **de** (*of*) *parents pauvres*, *delaisse* **de** *tout le monde* (*abandoned of all the world*), *être loue, aime* **de** *quelqu'un* (*to be praised, loved of* or *by any one*)

In another figurative sense *de* denotes *the place from* which the action starts *prêcher* **de** *la chaire*, *parler* **de** *la tribune*, *une montagne* **d'***ou l'on contemple l'horizon*

By extension, *de* comes to indicate (*a*) the instrument *ecrire* **de** (*with*) *la main droite*, (*b*) the means *payer* **de** (*with*) *son argent*, *s'enivrer* **de** (*with*) *vin*, (*c*) the substance *vase* **de** (*of*) *bois*, *colonne* **de** (*of*) *marbre*, or (*d*) the cause *heureux* **d'***une* (*because of, at*) *nouvelle* Hence the locution *de ce que*, which was in common use down to the 17th century as an equivalent of *parce que* (*because, that, for that, inasmuch as*) *Elle avoit ete bien fâchee de la peine que j'avois soufferte,*

[1] [Cf. *to be up from six in the morning.*]

et bien aise **de ce qu'***elle etoit finie* (*she had been very sorry for the trouble I had suffered, and very glad that it was over*) (La Rochef III 18) *Je pleure* **de ce que** *cet enfant n'est pas en etat de vous suivre comme les autres* (*I weep that this child is not able to follow you like the others*) (Rac v 147) [*Il*] *se plaint de celui qui a ecrit ou parle pour lui,* **de ce qu'***il n'a pas touche les meilleurs moyens de sa cause* (*he complains of the man who has written or spoken for him, that he has not touched the very best grounds of his case*) (La Bruy I. 68).

De also indicates manner *Aimer Dieu* **de** *tout son cœur* **de** *toutes ses forces* (*to love God with all one's heart, one's might*)

In all these extensions pointing out the instrument, means, matter, cause, or manner, the primitive idea of the place from which the action starts may easily be traced

De also shows the part or aspect in which the attribute applies to the subject *petit* **de** *taille* (*small of stature*), *sain* **de** *corps* (*healthy of* or *in body*), *habile* **de** *ses doigts* (*deft of finger*) Hence the use of *de* with the comparative in Old French *Plus savant* **de** *Pierre* (§ 374)

II. **De** *partitive* A special case of the preceding uses has received a peculiar development in French, where *de* has a partitive sense [1] *un* **de** *nos amis*, *peu* **de** *choses*, *trop* **d'***efforts*, *assez* **de** *bien*, *beaucoup* **de** *mal*, *peu, point, pas* **d'***argent*, after verbs *boire* **de** *l'eau, manger* **du** *pain* (meaning to drink *part* of the water, &c), with a substantive unaccompanied by an article· *ce sont* **de** *bonnes gens,* **d'***aucuns pretendent,* **de** *certaines gens affirment* (see § 388)

Another use of the partitive leads up to the possessive or subjective genitive *enlever les cheveux* **de** *la tête* Here *de* expresses removal from a place, hence by extension we have in Old French *les yeux* **du** *chef lui fait crever* (*he has the eyes put out of his head*), *tresor* **de** *froment* (*treasure of wheat,* i e. arising from it), *grand bien est* **de** *paix* (*great weal is from*

[1] [The English *of* also has this partitive sense, but in many idioms, e.g *peu d'argent* = *little money*, the **de** is not translatable]

peace), whence, by a new extension, *de* comes to mean *of* (possessive): *les joies, les plaisirs* **de** (*of*) *la paix*; and at the end of the Middle Ages, where the complement is the name of a person. *le livre* **de** *Pierre* (§ 462, IV, 2, p 792). Thus was gradually constituted the possessive genitive where the second term is the possessor of the first term It arose in the early times of the language, from the *de* partitive, as the genitive of a noun denoting an object, it was developed in the 14th century, by analogy, as the genitive of a noun denoting a person

III **De** *as an equivalent to* **touchant** (*concerning, about, with respect to, for, on*) This use, which was very frequent in Latin, is still more extended in French *parler, deviser, discourir* **d'***une chose, avoir pitie, peur* **de** *quelqu'un, j'ai regret* **de** *lui, j'ai regret* **de** *sa mort*, and in titles of books, &c : *De la Vieillesse* (= *De Senectute*) A natural extension led to the formation of the objective genitive *avoir l'ennui* **de** *vivre* (*to have weariness of life*), *la crainte* **du** *mal* (*fear of evil*), *l'amour* **de** *Dieu* (*love of* [= *for*] *God*) Thus the objective genitive arose from the use of the preposition *de*, in the sense of *concerning*, whilst the subjective genitive arose from the use of *de* in the partitive sense In this way the Latin genitive case, which had both the subjective and objective meanings, having disappeared from the Popular language at the end of the Empire, was replaced by two new developments in the use of the preposition *de*

IV. **De** *connecting the terms of a proposition.* We have seen under the syntax of the infinitive (§ 450, p 743) how *il est honteux de mentir* was derived from *c'est honte de mensonge* This latter phrase also gave rise to · *Qu'est-ce* **de** *nous ?* (*what is there of us ? what are we !*), used by Bossuet, and, by intercalation of the relative pronoun *Qu'est-ce* **que de** *nous ?* (= *Quoi est de nous ?*)

V. **De** (= *of*) *introducing the complement of certain adjectives* In this French has followed and extended the

Latin tradition and uses the following: *désireux, avide, jaloux, heureux, triste, capable*, &c., **d'***une chose* By analogy and extension substantives and pronouns are used in certain phrases in the place of these adjectives, e g. *un homme* **de** *sens*, *un homme* **de** *grand talent* (*a man of sense, of great talent*) *Nul n'est* **de** *la force de cet homme* (*there is no one of this man's strength*).

VI **De** *denoting apposition* Latin used **Urbs Roma** (*the city Rome*), putting both words in the same case However, we also find the expression **Urbs Romae**, with the genitive, a construction which became more and more frequent towards the end of the Empire, and triumphed in the Romance languages In Old French may be found examples of simple apposition, such as *le fleuve Jourdain*, and even at the present time, where the determinant precedes *Paris la grand'ville*, but the construction with *de* is usual *le pays* **de** *France, la ville* **de** *Paris, le titre* **de** *roi, le nom* **de** *père, le mois* **de** *janvier, le jeu* **de** *billard* The use of *de* is indispensable with names of towns, the use is doubtful with regard to mountains and rivers, but *de* is necessary with substantives signifying name, word, class, &c *the name John* = *le nom de Jean* *De* is also necessary when the governing word expresses a quality *ce monstre* **d'***homme*; *cette coquine* **de** *toilette*, *un drôle* **de** *corps*, *une drôle* **de** *personne* It may be noted that here *drôle* is the substantive and not the adjective, otherwise we should say *une drôlesse de personne*

Middle French, again, used *de* after titles such as *Monseigneur, Monsieur, Madame*: *Monseigneur* **du** *Pape, La dame* **de** *sa mere* Also in La Fontaine *Monsieur* **du** *Corbeau*

Lastly, we may note that *de* enters into many adverbial locutions in which the second term is (*a*) a noun *derechef* (*a second time*), *de nouveau, de raison, du tout*, &c, or (*b*) an adverb: *de près, de loin, dessus, dessous*

To sum up, French has extended the signification of the

Latin de for the purpose of denoting the Latin genitive and replacing the Latin prepositions ex and ab, which had disappeared

467 EN —*En* comes from the Latin in, which signified (1) *within* or *inside*, and (2) *on the surface* [of an object] Both these meanings were continued in Old French, which used not only *être, aller* en *prison*, but *s'asseoir* en *cheval* (*to sit* on *horseback*) The last meaning has disappeared from the Modern language, in which, however, a few traces may yet be found *Jesus est mort* en *croix* (*on the cross*) *Portrait* en *pied* (*on-foot portrait*, i e *full-length*) *Casque* en *tête* ([*with*] *helmet on head*), &c In these expressions this old meaning of *en* is no longer generally understood In all other cases *en* in the sense of 'on' has been replaced by *sur, dessus*, &c The meanings of *within, into*, have alone been preserved, and even so the use of *en* in these senses is more restricted than that of in in Latin

I The Latin preposition in served to denote both *rest in a place* (*in*) and *direction towards the inside of a place* (*into*), the object being put in the ablative or accusative respectively The disappearance of the cases led to the loss of this distinction It follows that the French *en* expresses either (1) situation *in* a place *être* en *prison*, *tenir une chose* en *sa main*, or (2) motion *into* a place . *errer de lieu* en *lieu*, *de ville* en *ville*, *mettre* en *prison*, *porter* en *terre* (*to inter*). Before names of towns *en* has been replaced by *à*, apparently from a desire to distinguish names of towns from names of countries *à Paris*, *en France*[1] This distinction was not quite established in the 17th century en *Lacédemone* (Malh II 136), en *Avignon* (IV 111); en *Alger* (Corn IV 235), en *Argos* (Rac III 155) However,

[1] This applies only to feminine names of countries (which include those in most frequent use) *A*, used in the Old language as an alternative for *en* before all names of countries, survives before those that are masculine We say *aller* au (or *dans le*) *Turkestan* (see p 790)

it may be added that in the 17th century (as Ménage remarks) the use of *en* before names of towns hardly survived, except when these names began with a vowel

II The relation of *situation in space* has been extended to *time* en *ce temps*, en *tout temps*, en *ete*, en *hiver*, *c'etait* en *janvier*, en *plein jour* here the construction corresponds to the simple Latin ablative of time The preposition *en* may also express *direction forward in time* *d'ores* en *avant* (*henceforward*), *d'aujourd'hui* en *huit* (*this day week*), de *semaine* en *semaine* (*from week to week*). The Old language also used *en* indifferently to indicate either the *period of time after which* an action begins, or the *period of duration* of an action *faire une chose* en *huit jours* might mean (1) *at the end of eight days* (where the objective represents an accusative denoting the period after which the action begins), or (2) *to do it in eight days* (where the objective represents an ablative denoting the period during which the action is done[1]) In Modern French the distinction is made by using the modern preposition *dans* in the first sense *faire une chose dans huit jours* = to do a thing at the end of a week, *en huit jours* = to take a week doing it

III In a figurative sense the preposition *en* expresses a number of relations denoting either a situation (*in*) or a direction (*into*) *se mettre*, *être* en *colere*, *avoir*, *mettre* en *son pouvoir*, *être* en *priere*, en *adoration*, en *honneur*, en *grâce*, en *faveur*, *être* en *pleurs*, *mettre* en *gage*, *donner* en *ôtage*, *depenser* en *aumônes*, en *consideration de*, en *haine de*, en *l'honneur de*, en *guise de*, en *sorte que* (*in such wise, so that*), *mettre* en *deux*, en *trois*, *couper* en *morceaux*, *tailler* en *pointe*, *poème* en *quatre chants*, *piece* en *trois actes*, en *forme de*, *changer une chose* en *une autre*, *traduire* en *plusieurs langues*, *ecrire* en *latin*, *jouer* en *artiste*, *agir* en *roi*; after an adjective *riche* en *livres*, *fertile* en *ble*, *fecond* en *ressources*, *sage* en *paroles* We note that in most

[1] [The English *to do a thing in a week* is equally ambiguous]

cases the substantive has no article, which always indicates a very ancient construction

We must also note the use of **en** followed by the gerund **en** *chantant, l'appetit vient* **en** *mangeant* (to indicate duration or agency) (§ 457, I, p 768)

IV We know (Book II, § 199, 4) that **en** was contracted with the article into *el, ou,* and *es* These compound articles began to disappear in the second half of the 16th century, and only occur here and there in the 17th, when the language had to replace them, having recourse in many cases to the article compounded with *a, au* taking the place of *ou,* and *aux* of *es* When *ou* disappeared the old forms *en mon nom et* **el** *sien, en mon nom et* **ou** *sien,* were replaced by *en mon nom et* **au** *sien* Under the preposition *à* (p 794) we saw that a similar explanation applies to such expressions as *se mettre* **au** *lit, être* **aux** *fers* This usage is very frequent in the 17th century, and in many cases the preposition *a* may be found used as an equivalent for *dans,* even when there is no contraction of the article.

French also substituted *dans le* and *dans les* for *ou* and *es* (as will be seen under the preposition *dans,* § 468) This substitution had the following consequence *en,* being no longer followed by the article, assumed a more and more general and indeterminate value In fact *en* was thenceforth used only in locutions having a comprehensive sense, as shown in the above examples **en** *grâce,* **en** *faveur,* &c The substantive governed by *en* is only determined (1) when it is in the feminine (Book II, p 300) · *en* **la** *circonstance,* or (2) when the article is elided **en** *l'etat,* or (3) when the determinant is a pronominal adjective . **en** *mon nom,* **en** *ce jour ,* but the last cases are exceptional, and the preposition *en* has now scarcely more than an archaic and, so to speak, consecrated use before proper names of countries and certain common nouns At the present day the former uses of *en* before a determinate noun, other than those quoted, have been transferred to *dans.*

468. ENZ (DANS, DEDANS) **Enz**, from the Latin intus (*inside, within*), was chiefly used as an adverb, more rarely as a preposition. As a preposition apparently too weak in sound, and hence in expression, to be used alone, it was prefixed to *en*, and became, as **enz en**, the emphatic form of **en** **Enz enl** *fou la getterent* (*into the fire they cast her*) (*Eulalie*, 19). **Enz en** *lor mains portent branches d'olives* (*in their hands they carry olive branches*) (*Rol.* l 93). **Enz** as an adverb was much used in the Middle Ages, it survived down to the 16th century, was then replaced by *dedans*, but has only been preserved in combination with *çà* and *là* in the somewhat obsolete adverbs *ceans*, *leans* (*herein, therein*) **Enz** was also combined with the preposition **de** to form **denz**, and hence **dans**, and by reduplication *dedenz*, **dedans** It is strange that *dans* was scarcely used in the Middle Ages, while *dedans* occurs constantly, and down to the 17th century, as both adverb and preposition But in the 16th century the disappearance of *ou* and *es* was the opportunity of *dans* It was first used before *le* or *les*, *dans le*, *dans les*, replacing *ou* and *es* This determinate use with the article gave *dans* an increasing sense of precision, while that of *en* became more general It was in the second half of the 16th century and during the course of the 17th that the revolution occurred restricting the use of *en* in favour of *dans*, and restricting that of *dedans* at the same time *Dans* being a preposition only, and *dedans* both adverb and preposition, the prepositional use of *dedans* became useless Such was the opinion of Vaugelas and all the grammarians, and the use of *dedans* as a preposition disappeared altogether in the latter half of the 17th century

469 FORS or **HORS**. From the Latin foris (*out of doors*), *fors* was first derived, and then *hors*, which definitely replaced *fors* in the 17th century.

I *Fors* and *hors* were adverbs *Sortir* **hors** (*to go out*) *Hors* is now hardly ever used in the adverbial sense, except when preceded by the preposition *de* *sortir* **dehors.**

II. They were also prepositions. (*a*) used alone. *il se jeta* **hors** *la ville*, and (*b*) with the preposition *de il se jeta* **hors de** *la ville.* Figuratively we still say *être* **hors** *la loi* (*to be an outlaw*), *être* **hors de** *soi* (*to be out of one's mind*). In these locutions *hors* has its etymological sense But in the beginning of the language a curious extension occurred in the sentence *Ils ont ete récompensés* **hors** *lui* (that is *lui hors*), *lui* was used absolutely as the subject of *hors,* which is an adverb (*he being outside*) By mistaking the construction, *hors* was taken for a preposition with *lui* for its object, and consequently *hors* became the synonym of *excepté Tout est perdu* fors *l'honneur* (*all is lost save honour*) *Ils ont ete recompenses* **hors** *lui* (*except him*) It was in this way that the compound *hormis,* as well as the simple participle *pendant* and the adverb *devant,* became prepositions[1] In this use *fors* could be followed by the conjunction *que Me voyant grande et estimee belle d'un chascun,* **fors que** *de vous seul* (*seeing me great, and thought beautiful by every one, except you alone*) (*Hept* II 72) *Hors que* may also have its proper force as a conjunctive locution. *Il l'a traité aussi mal que possible,* **hors qu'***il ne l'a pas battu* (*he treated him as badly as possible, except that he did not beat him*)

Dehors, which, as we have seen, was used as an adverb (as it is now), was also a preposition

J'en voyois et **dehors** *et dedans nos murailles* (Rac I 418)
(I saw them both within and without our walls)

Like *dedans* it lost its prepositional use at the end of the 17th century

470 OUTRE —*Outre,* from the Latin **ultra** (*beyond*), was both an adverb and a preposition in Old French.

I *As an adverb* it was equivalent to *au delà* (*beyond*), and has only survived in the expressions *aller, passer* **outre**

[1] [Compare the English use of the absolute participles 'notwithstanding,' 'pending,' as prepositions governing their original subjects]

(*to pass over, beyond*), *percer d'***outre** *en* **outre** (*to pierce through and through*), and the locution *en outre* synonymous with *en plus* (*in addition, moreover*)

In Middle French the adverb *outre* was used in a great many locutions reducible to the two meanings 'beyond measure' and 'wholly' *Les Flameaux vouloient plus* **outre** (*the people of Flameaux wished to go further still*) (Noël du Fail, *Prop. rust* 1 87) Compare the words *outrecuidance* (*overweening self-confidence*), *outrecuidant*

II. *As a preposition* it was used in its literal sense, *beyond Aller* **outre** *mer Louis d'***Outre**-*mer Les gens d'***outre**-*monts. Les memoires d'***Outre**-*Tombe*

Soit que le Rhône, outre *ses bords*
Lui vît faire éclater sa gloire (Malh i 115)

(Whether the Rhone beyond its banks saw him make his glory shine)

It was also used in its etymological sense figuratively· *Se revancher* **outre** *la volonte de ceux qui nous ont obliges* (*to acquit oneself beyond* [i e *against*] *the wishes of those who have obliged us*) (Malh ii 132) We still say **outre** *mesure,* **outre** *nature,* **outre** *raison,* but these are archaisms, for *outre* as a preposition is scarcely used save as an equivalent of *en surplus de* (*in excess of, besides*) **outre** *le rapport que nous avons constate,* **outre** *ce que je vous ai dit,* whence the conjunctive locution **outre qu'***il a mal agi* (*besides his having acted badly*)

471 PAR —*Par* comes from the Latin **per**

I. This preposition signified first *through* (or *across*), in both space and time *Aller* **par** *mer et* **par** *eau* **Par** *monts et* **par** *vaux Courir* **par** *le monde Voyager* **par***tout Jeter* **par** *la fenêtre Donner un coup de fouet* **par** (*across*) *le visage* **Par** *un beau temps,* **par** *la pluie. Gagner tant* **par** *jour*

II. It expresses the *intermediary* whereby a thing is done (Eng. *through, by*) *Ces choses ont ete accomplies* **par**

des agents intelligents *Agir* **par** *soi-même* Hence the use of **par** to indicate *the instrument, the means* (Eng *by*) *Prendre* **par** *la main, le cou* *Assurer* **par** *serment* *Jurer* **par** *Dieu,* **par** *les saints.* **Par** *ma barbe!* &c.

Par also expresses the *cause* *Agir* **par** *envie,* **par** *desir,* **par** *colère.* *Je conclus* **par** *ce que je vois que* . Especially with the infinitive **Par** *noz passages paier* (*by paying our passages*) (Villeh 59) *Ce ne feut accepte* **par** *ne sembler equitable* (*this was not accepted, through not seeming just*) (Rab 1. 184)

> *Mais ne confondons point,* par *trop approfondir*
> *Leurs affaires avec les vôtres* (La Font 1 252)
>
> (But let us not confuse, by going too deep,
> Their affairs and your own)

This is an antiquated use, which has only been preserved with the verbs *commencer* and *finir* *Il a commencé* **par** *declarer, il finira bien* **par** *avouer* (§ 450).

III **Per** in Latin was used as an inseparable prefix to adjectives to express the superlative absolute, and this formed an important use of *par* in Old French, where, however, it was isolated as a separate adverb **Par** *est bon* = *he is very good,* Lat *perbonus est* Generally *par* was accompanied by another adverb, *assez, mout, trop,* and meant *much too* *Assez* **par** *fut long* *Mout* **par** *fut bon* *Trop* **par** *fut bon* This construction has disappeared, save in the locution which is no longer understood. *C'est* **par** *trop fort* (*it is really too bad!*)

IV *Par* was combined with many adverbs and prepositions **par** *avant* (surviving in *auparavant*), **par** *devant,* **par** *apres* (obs.), **par** *devers* From the use of *par* in the causal sense was derived the locution *parce que,* which in Modern French has replaced *pour ce que* *Parce que* formerly indicated the motive or antecedent cause, *pour ce que* the end in view *Pourquoi êtes vous en retard?*—that

is, for what cause? Answer *Parce que je me suis egare. Pourquoi faites-vous cela?*—that is, for what purpose? Answer: *Parce que je veux m'amuser* In the last sentence *parce que* replaces the obsolete *pour ce que.* Under *pour* we shall study this signification and the two senses of *pourquoi.*

The classification of the meanings of *par* is especially difficult, because they go directly back to the several Latin meanings of *par,* some of which no longer exist in French, hence the French meanings appear isolated from each other, unless we trace them back to the Latin

472 POUR.—*Pour,* O F *por,* comes from the Popular Latin **por,** which is the Classical Latin **pro**

I. **Pro** signified literally 'in front of, before'. **pro rostris,** 'before the platform' Hence figuratively **dimicare pro patria** ('to fight *in front of* the fatherland, to protect it'), whence *combattre* **pour** (*for*) *la patrie* The material sense having disappeared in French, *pour* has only the abstract function, and, denoting only an abstract relationship, has become a true *preposition* The idea of protection arising from that of situation, in the sense *in front of,* naturally led up to the meaning *in favour of* [as with the English *for*] *combattre* **pour** *son pays, trembler* **pour** *quelqu'un, être* **pour** *ou contre une proposition,* whence *plaider* **pour** *et contre, l'amour d'une mere* **pour** *ses enfants* By analogy we have *la haine qu'il a* **pour** *lui C'est une grande perte* **pour** *nous Remede bon* **pour** *la fievre* (*a remedy good* **for** *fever*) *C'est* **pour** *son malheur qu'il est parti*

II By extension, *pour* has come to indicate *destination* or *motive* (*for, in order to*) *faire de l'exercice* **pour** *sa sante; être dévoue* **pour** *quelqu'un,* **pour** *quelque chose,* **pour** *l'amour de Dieu,* and especially with an infinitive *faire une chose* **pour** *s'amuser, travailler* **pour** *réussir.* In this

use *pour* was often separated from the infinitive, even as late as the 17th century·

Pour *de ce grand dessein assurer le succes* (Corn IV 76)
(To assure the success of this great design)

Il . . parle le premier **pour**, *en decouvrant les oppositions , prendre ses mesures et avoir la replique* (*he speaks first, in order, by discovering the counter-arguments . , to take his measures* [*accordingly*] *and have the reply* (La Bruy i 374) Vaugelas protests against this construction and allows only one or two syllables between *pour* and the infinitive. **pour** *y aller*, **pour** *de là passer en Italie*, and this is the modern use *Pour*, instead of an infinitive, may be followed by a subjunctive proposition with a finite verb In this case the Old language used *pour ce que* (compare *de ce que*, *parce que*, §§ 466, I, and 471), then, from the Middle Ages, the *ce* was sometimes dropped, and hence arose *pour que* *J'envoie de l'argent pour qu'il vienne* (*I send money for him to come*) This locution was gradually extended and definitely triumphed, despite the protests of grammarians, towards the end of the 17th century

We may further note certain peculiar locutions, several of which are antiquated, in which *pour* also indicates destination *Cela n'est pas fait* **pour** *vous plaire* (*the fact is not one to please you*) *Il n'est pas* **pour** *se laisser maltraiter* (*he is not a man to stand being illtreated*) *Il y a ici* **pour** *contenter tous les goûts* (*we have here wherewithal to satisfy every taste*) *L'affaire n'est pas* **pour** *en demeurer là*[1] (*the affair is not going to end there*) *Il a fait assez* **pour** *sa gloire*, **pour** *reussir*, **pour** *qu'il reussisse* (*he has done enough for his glory, to succeed*) *C'est* **pour** *mourir d'ennui* (*it's enough to kill you with weariness*) *Commencer* **pour** *finir* (*to make a beginning in order to get done*) *Il est fort chagrin* **pour** *s'amuser* (arch) (*he is too sad to amuse himself*) *Il est trop faible* **pour**

[1] [This seems a case comparable to '*il fut pour partir*' (he was about to start), where the locution has the function of a true active future participle (§ 450)]

supporter cette charge (*he is too weak to bear this burden*) Another use of *pour* relating to destination is that indicated in the expressions *partir* **pour** (*for*) *Paris*, **pour** *l'Amerique, expedition* (*dispatch* [*of goods*]) **pour** *tous pays.*

III *Pour* also means *for*, in the sense of *instead of, in the place of*, this use is not connected with the preceding, but directly taken from the Latin *Faire une chose* **pour** *une autre Acheter, vendre,* **pour** *six francs Œil* **pour** *œil, dent* **pour** *dent Traduire mot* **pour** *mot Tenir quelqu'un* **pour** *ami Choisir* **pour** *roi. Prendre* **pour** *femme* From this arose a new meaning, and a very important one, much used in the Old language, that of *because of*

Tuit s'enfoirent **por** (pour) *la pluie* (*Rom de la Rose*, l 6521)
(All took flight because of the rain)

Il pleure **pour** *la souffrance qu'il endure* We still say *C'est* **pour** *cela qu'il pleure, c'est* **pour***quoi il pleure* In the Old language **pour** *ce que* was also used, followed by the indicative **Por** *ce que cil pardons fut issi* (ainsi) *granz, si s'en esmurent mult li cuer des genz, et mult s'en croisierent* **por** *ce que li pardons ert si granz* (*because this indulgence was so great, the hearts of the people were much moved, and many took the Cross* [as Crusaders] *because the indulgence was so great*) (Villeh 2) **Pour** *ce que*, in this sense, was supplanted in the 17th century by *par ce que*, which has since then expressed, not only the instrument or antecedent cause, but the purpose also (§ 471, IV).

We have seen (p 748) that in the present language *pour*, expressing cause, instead of being used, as in the Old language, with the present infinitive, is only used before the perfect infinitive *Il a ete puni* **pour** *avoir derobe* [where in English we say, *he has been punished for* **stealing**] We must, however, consider what takes place in negative or restrictive phrases In the Old language we have. *Il se promène* **pour** *le plaisir qu'il y trouve* (*he walks about for the pleasure he finds therein*), and hence. *Il ne se promène pas*

pour *le plaisir qu'il y trouverait* (*he does not walk about, despite the pleasure he would find therein*). Here *pour* comes to express the same idea as *malgré* (*despite*) Hence the following expressions *Ils ne se lassoient jamais*, **pour** *quelque travail qu'ils prissent* (*they never grew weary, in spite of whatever labour they undertook*) (Amyot, *Thésee*, 2). **Pour** *peu que vous fassiez, vous reussirez* (*despite the little you do, you will succeed*) And, the real construction being forgotten, this led to *pour peu que vous fassiez cela*, where the pronoun *cela* was superfluous, since *pour peu* signified *pour le peu*, here *pour peu* may be rendered by 'provided' *Pour*, in the sense of *despite*, or *in spite of*, although the construction is antiquated, may still be followed by the present infinitive, as in the 17th century :

Un roi n'est pas moins roi **pour** *se laisser charmer* (Corn vi 43)
(A king is no less a king for submitting to charms)

Ah ! **pour** *être devot je n'en suis pas moins homme* (Mol iv 466.)
(For [= in spite of] being pious I'm no less a man)

IV *Pour* also signifies *for* = *in relation to, in respect of*, a meaning derived from Latin *Cet habit est bien chaud* **pour** *la saison* *Argent place à cinq* **pour** *cent.* This has led to an extension in **Pour** *ma part, voici ce que je pense* (*for my part, this is what I think*) **Pour** *moi, c'est autre chose* (*as for me, it's another thing*)

V **Pour** was used, and is still used, to denote a relation of time In the Old language it could be used to indicate the past, and we still say **pour** *lors* (*for the time being* [referring to the past]). *La ceremonie etait* **pour** *hier* (*the ceremony was* [*fixed*] *for yesterday*) It is now hardly used, except with reference to either the present *C'est* **pour** *maintenant*, or the future· *Je n'en ai que* **pour** *un moment* (*I shall take only a moment more*). *Ce sera* **pour** *ce soir* *C'est* **pour** *toujours*, **pour** *quand vous voudrez*

473 PUIS (DEPUIS) — *Puis*, from the Latin *post* (*behind, after, since*), was originally both a preposition and

an adverb The meanings relating to space did not enter the French language from Latin, being replaced by *(ar)rière* and *après* (see (2), p 816) As a preposition *puis* has been replaced by **depuis**, save in the old locution *puis ce que*, abbreviated into *puisque*, which originally meant *after that*, but now has only the figurative sense of *given the condition that, since* **Puisqu'***il en est ainsi* (*since such is the case*)

Depuis was seldom used as a preposition in Old French, except in *depuis ce que*, abbreviated into *depuis que* It was only from the 16th century that its prepositional use was developed at the expense of *puis* We have seen (§ 450) that down to the 16th century it could be followed by a perfect infinitive

As an adverb of time, and a preposition of time (and, in Mod F, of place), *depuis* has been used in two senses·

(1) To mark an epoch separated by an interval from a previous epoch referred to (i) As adverb *Il souffroit la mesme passion . que Themistocles longtemps* **depuis** *souffrit* (*he suffered the same passion as Themistocles suffered long after*) (Amyot, *Thesee*, 2) In this sense *depuis* cannot now be preceded by a qualifying adverb (e g *longtemps*) (ii) As preposition **Depuis** *la mort d' Egeus, il entreprit une chose* (*after the death of Aegeus he undertook a thing*) (Amyot, *Thesee*, 6) This use is obsolete

(2) In the present language, to mark an interval of time or place, starting from a limit referred to (i) As adverb *La nuit fut mauvaise, mais* **depuis** *il alla mieux* (*he had a bad night, but afterwards improved*) (ii) As preposition **Depuis** *hier il va mieux* (*since yesterday he has been better*) **Depuis** *les Alpes jusqu'à l'Ocean* (*from the Alps to the Ocean*).

474. PRÈS (PRESQUE, APRÈS), from the Popular Latin **pressum** (*nigh, near, next*), is an adverb marking (1) proximity in space *Il demeure tout* **près**, *ici* **près**

Plus je l'estime **près**, *plus il est eloigné* (Corn iii 551)
(The nearer I deem it, the further it is removed)

or (2) proximity in time *Le jour du depart est* **près**.

This second signification is antiquated[1] In both meanings *près* enters into the prepositional phrase *près de* *Il demeure* **près de** *l'église* *Il est* **près de** *partir.* In the 16th century they preferred to make *près* a preposition and say . *Il est* **près** *l'église,* instead of **près de** *l'église*

De près is used for both space and time, and also figuratively *Serrer l'ennemi* **de près** (*to press the enemy closely*) *Les malheurs se suivent* **de près** Figuratively and by extension *pres* with a determinative expresses a deficit of distance or amount *Il n'est pas riche à beaucoup* **près** *À peu de chose* **près** *Il est a peu* **près** *ruine* (that is, *he is not* **near** *being rich by a good distance*, *he is* **near** *ruin at a little distance*) In these locutions *pres* originally determined the adjectives, *riche*, *ruiné*, it now combines with the expressions *à beaucoup*, *a peu*, and other analogous terms· *Le compte est exact a cinq francs* **près** (*the account is correct within five francs*) The first construction was *Le compte est* **près** *exact,* i e **près** *de l'exact a cinq francs de distance*, and then *pres* became joined to *a cinq francs* *a cinq francs* **près** *Au titre* **près**, *il etait roi* (*save in title, he was king*), was originally the equivalent of *Il etait* **près** *de la royaute, le titre s'en manquant*, and then *pres* combined with *au titre*

Hence *a peu près* comes to mean 'or a little less, more or less, about' *L'affaire passera dans un mois à quelques jours* **près**, *en plus ou en moins* (*the affair will come on in about a month, or a few days more or less*) *À cela* **près**, *il a raison* (*apart from that he is right*) *Un peu sot, à cela* **près**, *bonhomme* (*a little stupid, but apart from that a good fellow*).

Presque (*nearly*) is a development of *pres* as used in the expressions of the Old language *Il est* **près** *mort* *L'œuvre est* **près** *toute accomplie* The analysis of these shows that *pres* here means *nearly*, and is equivalent to the modern *presque* A question arises as to the function of this

[1] [*Pres* being replaced by *proche* and its derivatives]

que It is the relative pronoun. In the Old language we find as alternatives to *qu'est-ce la fièvre?* the forms *qu'est-ce qu'est la fièvre*, or the more condensed *qu'est-ce que la fievre?* meaning *What is that [thing] that is fever?* So, as an alternative to *il est près fou*, we find by intercalation of the relative pronoun *Il est* **près que** *fou* (that is, *il est près [ce] qu'[est un] fou*) (*he is near that, that a madman is*)

Après signifies (1) *after*, in time **Après** *la plue, le beau temps* **Après** *ce que j'ai dit* **Après** *avoir fait quelque chose* The expression **après** *ce que* used in the Old language, as in

Droit après ce que Berte fu de Paris partie (*Berte*, lix 1 1458)
(Straight after Bertha was from Paris gone)

has been abbreviated into *apres que*

Apres also signifies (2) *after, behind*, in space. *Des esclaves marchent* **après** *lui* It is used absolutely as an adverb **Après** *venaient des soldats*, *ci*-**après** It has a peculiar use in *courir, crier* **après** *quelqu'un Il est toujours* **après** *lui* (*he is always at him*) *Être* **après** *un ouvrage* (*to be engaged on a work*) In the popular language we find *La clef est* **après** (for *a*) *la porte* (*the key is in the door*)

475 RIÈRE (ARRIÈRE, DERRIÈRE).—*Riere*, from the Latin **retro** (*backwards*), was used in Old French, and has given the modern compounds *arrière, derriere.*

Arrière was originally an adverb, and is so still in the compound locution *en arrière Il est reste en arriere* (*he stayed behind*), and in compounds *arrière-cour, arriere-neveu* (see Book III, pp 437–439). It is even used absolutely *Arrière!* (*back!*) *Arriere, maudit! Arriere* was also a preposition, but this use has been lost

Derrière (= *behind*, of place) is used both as an adverb and a preposition alike in Old and Modern French. It calls for no special remarks.

476 SANS.—*Sans*, from the Latin **sine**, with the adverbial *s* added, means *without.* It offers certain pecu-

liarities in its syntax which may be explained by the fact that logically it contains a negative idea Hence we say both *sans peur et sans reproche* and *sans peur ni reproche* (p 824)

The Old language used the conjunctive expression *sans ce que*, which has been reduced to *sans que*

477 SOUS (DESSOUS).—*Sous* comes from the Latin **subtus** = *below* It gave rise to **dessous**, which was a preposition as well as an adverb down to the 17th century. The prepositional use of *dessous* hardly survives save in the double compound *par-dessous* *Sous*, on the contrary, is now used only as a preposition

478 SUR (DESSUS).—*Sur* is derived from the Popular Latin **sopra** (Cl Lat **supra**, *above*), it was in Middle French confused with *sus* (Pop Lat **susum**), which was used as an adverb and sometimes as a preposition, and meant *on top, on top of* Hence the compound **dessus**, which was a preposition as well as an adverb down to the 17th century, in the present language it is hardly ever a preposition except in the double compound *pardessus* *Sur* is only used as a preposition

479 VERS (ENVERS).—*Vers*, from the Latin **versus** (*towards*), marks direction in space or time **Vers** *la montagne*, **vers** *midi* It was used figuratively until the 17th century, meaning *to* = *with regard to* (Mod F *à l'egard de*) *La foy des femmes* **vers** *les hommes estoit inviolable* (*the troth of women to men was inviolable*) (Noel du Fail, *Prop Rust* 1 47)

Asses de bons sujets dans toutes les provinces
Par des vœux impuissants s'acquittent **vers** *leurs princes*
(Corn. III 356–7)

(Good subjects enough in every province
Acquit themselves towards their lieges by powerless good wishes)

Vers *l'un ou* **vers** *l'autre il faut être perfide* (id III 420)
(To the one or the other must I treacherous be)

Modern custom requires the compound *envers* in such figurative uses.

II Negation[1]

French has a full negative *non* or *ne* Even the other negative particles derived from Latin require the addition of *ne* or *non*. The negation is usually followed by a positive noun or adverb, *ne pas, ne point*, are not stronger in expression than the Latin non

480 NON —The Latin non, *as an accented form*, has been preserved in the French *non* But its use is much more restricted at present than in the Old language For both in Old and Middle French it was used before a finite form of the verb, especially with the verbs *être, avoir*, and *faire Dient-il voir* (Mod F *Disent-ils vrai*) *que la garde de l'abbaie est moye?—Certes, Sire, fiz je,* non *est, ains est moye* (*Say they true that the patronage of the abbey is mine? 'Sooth, sire,' said I, "'tis not, but 'tis mine'*) (Joinv 676) *Chil Buriles disoit ke le terre ke Esclas tenoit devoit estre soie, et Esclas disoit que* non *faisoit* (*this Burile said that the land which Esclas held ought to be his own, and Esclas said that it was not so*) (Henri de Valenc 545) Non *feront, non, disoit la mere* (*they won't do it, no, said the mother*) (Bon des Pér, *Nouv Recr* II 288). So still in the 17th century we find *J'en ferai de même si je puis, Mais* non *ferai, car* .. (*I will do the same if I can, But I will not, for* ..) (Malh III 55). Non *ferai, de par tous les diables* (Mol VII 188) Non *sera sur mon âme* (*it shall not be, on my soul*) (La Font. IV 346) In Middle French it was, moreover, frequently used before the infinitive and the present participle, hence come *nonchaloir* (subst arch), *nonchalant* (adj), *nonobstant* (adj prep and adv) Since the 17th century *non* has been seldom used save as an isolated adverb—(1) to determine a verb understood (Eng *no*). *Le ferai-je?* Non, *Je dis que* non, or (2) to negative one of the terms of a proposition (Eng *not*) · *Je desire du vin et* non *de la biere* It has also been preserved in certain peculiar locutions *sinon, sinon que,*

[1] On the order in negative sentences see also § 491, II, p 836

non que, non seulement, and in other compounds besides *nonchaloir, nonchalant,* and *nonobstant,* e. g . *chose non faite, non-pareille* ; *non-sens* ; *non-valeur,* &c

481 NE —*Ne* is a weakened form of the O F *nen,* derived from the *atonic form* of **non** In the Old language *ne* was used as freely as *non* Its use has been considerably reduced in modern times

A Use of *ne* (unaccompanied by *pas, point,* &c.) in principal propositions

(1) Down to the 16th and 17th centuries *ne* may be found unaccompanied in optative or imperative phrases

Mes del serrmant **ne** *vos griet* (*Chev au lion,* l 6626)
(But do not trouble about the oath)

Ne *vous en souciez* (*do not trouble about it*) (*Saintre,* 260) **Ne** *manquez, sitôt la presente reçue, de m'envoyer* (*do not fail, immediately on the receipt of this letter, to send me*) (La Bruy ii 10) We still say *À Dieu* **ne** *plaise* (*God forbid*) **Ne** *bougez d'ici* (arch) (*stir not hence*)

(2) *Ne* was used in negative constructions where the negation was limited by some term expressing exclusion, such as *que, fors que, mais que, se* (Mod *si*) *non,* &c The Modern language has preserved the constructions *ne que* (= *only*) *Il* **n'***y a que lui* (*there is only he*), and *ne autre Il* **n'***a d'autre ressource que de fuir* (*he has no other resource than to fly*) But in the latter *ne* may already be followed by *pas* or *point*: we say not only *Je* **n'***ai d'autre desir que de vous plaire,* but also *Je* **n'***ai* **pas** *d'autre désir que de vous plaire*

(3) *Ne* was also used alone when the negative verb governed an elliptical proposition

Mieus se voudroit estre a la fuie (fuite)
Toz seus (tout seul) *an si sauvage terre*
Que l'an ne le seüst ou querre (*Chev au lion,* l 2784)
(He would rather he had taken to flight
All alone in so savage a land
That none would know where to seek him)

This is the use we find in *Je* n'*ai que faire de vos dons* (*I have no use for your gifts*)

It is used similarly with *que* = *why* (*pourquoi*), expressing a desire or imprecation (§ 417, 1, p 673) *Que* ne *suis-je mort! Que* n'*est-il encore vivant!*

(4) *Ne* stands alone when the complement of the negative proposition is only determined by a relative proposition This was the usage in Old as it is in Modern French *Il* n'*y a serment qui tienne* (*there's no oath holds good* [in the case]) *On* ne *voit âme qui vive* (*one sees not a living soul*)

(5) *Ne* stood alone in the Old language when it was followed by *rien* or *aucun.* To these words in the Modern language *nul,* and later on *personne,* and all other restrictive words, have been added. *Cela* ne *vaut rien Il* ne *lit guere Je* ne *dis mot Je* ne *vous reverrai jamais*

(6) *Ne* used alone was the rule with *avoir cure, soin, pooir, dreit* (Mod *pouvoir, droit*), *garde,* &c The following are still in use: *Je* n'*ai cure* (*I don't trouble myself*) *Je* n'*en ai garde* (*I have no intention*) *Il* n'*importe Je* n'*ose Je* ne *puis Je* ne *sais,* &c

(7) *Ne* was used alone down to the 12th century when followed by *plus* or *moins* N'*i oserent plus demorer* (*they dared no longer stay there*) (Villeh 205) The language has since then distinguished two senses When *ne plus* relates to time (*plus* = *henceforward*), *ne* stands alone *Je* ne *le ferai plus* (*I won't do it again*) When *ne plus* expresses a comparison *ne* must be followed by *pas, point,* &c *Il* n'*y a* pas *plus de cinq metres*

B Use of *ne* (unaccompanied by *pas, point,* &c) in subordinate propositions

In a subordinate proposition *ne* sometimes (1) represents a logical negation, sometimes (2) it is an expletive, and its use is then due to 'attraction'

(1) *Ne* represents a logical negation in *Il y a longtemps que je* ne *l'ai vu* (*it is a long time since I have seen him,*

lit., *it is a long time that I have not seen him*) *Je ne ferai rien si vous* ne *venez* (*I will do nothing if you do not come*). Present practice in most of these cases tends to strengthen the negation by the addition of *pas* or *point*

(2) The use of *ne* is due to 'attraction' when the phrase, though logically positive, implies an idea of negation, expressed or understood We have noted the use of the negative in Old French and in certain cases in Modern French in the second part of a comparative sentence *Il est plus sage qu'il* n'*etait autrefois* (§ 374) We still say, for similar reasons, with verbs of doubt, fear, &c *Je crains qu'il* ne *vienne* (*I fear that he may come*). *Empêchez qu'il* ne *parle* (*prevent him from speaking*) *Prenez garde qu'il* ne *tombe* (*take care lest he fall, that he does not fall*) *On n'agit pas ainsi a moins qu'on* ne *soit fou* (*one does not act like that unless one is mad*) Both in Old and Middle French the verbs *nier, désesperer, defendre,* &c, were followed by a negative proposition where a positive is now generally used

Ja ne vos an desesperez
Que je tot mon pooir n'*an face!*
(*Chev au lion*, l 5102)
(Despair ye not now of my doing all in my power therein)

M Desmarais defendit que l'on n'*y laissât entrer homme du monde* (*M Desmarais forbade them to let in any one at all*) (Malh III 379) But it is easy to understand that the use of the negation in this case can be subject to no absolute rule It depends on the standpoint of the person speaking or writing, and, according as his mind dwells or not on the negative idea implied in the phrase, he will add or omit the particle *ne* Down to the 17th century great uncertainty and considerable licence prevailed with regard to this point, and ever since, in spite of the very specious discussions of grammarians, and their very often contradictory rules proclaimed in our present grammars, the use of the expletive *ne* is far from being settled

A great many writers, and some of the best among them, do not hesitate to omit *ne* after *à moins que* (*unless*), as Corneille did regularly, or to use such constructions as these *Pour empêcher que ceux d'Autriche*[1] *empiètent cet état* (*to prevent the Austrians from encroaching on this state*) (Malh III 96) *Je mourois de peur qu'un autre que moi*[1] *vous eût donne le plaisir d'apprendre la bonne nouvelle* (*I was dying of fear lest any one but myself should have given you the pleasure of learning the good news*) (Sév I 475). *Personne n'a tire d'une destinee plus qu'il*[1] *a fait* (*no one has got more out of his lot than he has*) (La Bruy. I 335) On the whole there is a tendency in the present language to suppress this expletive *ne*

482 NI —*Ni* comes from the Latin **nec** (*neither, nor*) In Old and Middle French the usual form was *ne*, and in the earliest monuments of the language *ned* before a vowel Afterwards *ne* from **nec** was confused with *ne* from **non** We find, for instance, these lines

Ne *puis dormir par nuit* **ne** *someillier,*
Ne *si* **ne** *puis* **ne** *boivre* **ne** *mengier,*
Ne *porter armes* **ne** *monter sor destrier,*
N'*aler a messe,* **ne** *entrer en moustier*
(*Prise d'Orange*, l. 374)

(I cannot sleep at night nor slumber,
Nor can I drink nor eat,
Nor carry arms nor mount a charger,
Nor go to mass nor enter church)

Here only the two examples of *ne* that precede *puis* represent **non**, all the others represent **nec**. Some traces of *ne* used for *ni* may be found in the 17th century **Ne** *plus* **ne** *moins que le pontife* (*neither more nor less than* [exactly like] *the pontifex*) (Malh I 450)

Je **ne** *veux un tombeau*
Plus heureux **ne** *plus beau* (Id I 31)
(I do not wish a tomb more happy nor more beautiful)

[1] [The expletive *ne* might have been inserted in this place.]

Il ne saura qui, quoi, n'en quelle part
N'en quel logis. (La Font v 44)
(He'll not know who, what, nor where, nor in what house)

The syntax of *ni*, apparently complicated, is explained by the fact that it is the synonym of *et* (or of *ou*) in a negative phrase In Latin nec is used as the equivalent of **et non**, but in French *ni* is used as the equivalent simply of *et*. Take a positive sentence *Le malade mange* et *boit depuis deux jours*, its negative might have been *Le malade ne mange* et *ne boit depuis deux jours*, and this form would have conveyed the sense correctly, but usage demands the following form *Le malade ne mange* ni *ne boit depuis deux jours* Nor has *ni* a negative signification in the following examples *Je n'entreprendrai point* ni *de la condamner* ni *de la defendre* (*I will not undertake either to condemn or to defend it* [*an action*]) (La Rochef ii 320)

Ni *l'or* ni *la grandeur ne nous rendent heureux* (La Font vi 147)
(Neither gold nor grandeur makes us happy)

Je n'ai point exigé ni *serments* ni *promesses* (Boileau, *Lutrin*, ii l 30)
(I have not exacted either oaths or promises)

Moreover, we not infrequently find in the Old language examples of *et* where we now use *ni*·

Molt m'est mal avenu
Que je ne l'ai et *pris* et *retenu* (*Cour Louis*, l 1226)
(It very ill befell me that I did not take it and keep it)

On the other hand, it happens, though infrequently, that *ni* (O F *ne*) has a full negative value without any other negative particle accompanying it *Un moyne ne presche* **ny**[1] *endoctrine le monde* (*a monk neither preaches nor instructs the world*) (Rabel i 149)

Qui n'enfle de pas un ni[1] *detruit l'espérance* (Corn iii 106)
(That neither swells nor destroys the hope of any)

Tu ne succomberas ni[1] *vaincras que par moi* (id iii 306)
(Thou shalt nor fall nor conquer save through me)

Ni, being in most cases purely and simply an equivalent of *et*, consequently followed the syntax of *et* The sentence.

[1] [*Ne* would usually be added here]

L'envie, la malignité et *la cabale avoient des voix parmi eux* thus naturally becomes in the negative *L'envie, la malignite,* ni *la cabale n'avoient de voix parmi eux* (*[nor] envy, [nor] malice, nor intrigue had a voice among them*) (La Font VIII. 26) Hence it is hard to understand why Vaugelas and all grammarians after him have required the repetition of *ni* with co-ordinate subjects or objects, any more than the repetition of *et*[1]

In modern usage *ni* cannot be followed by the negative complements *pas* and *point*, we no longer say *Qu'il soit le premier de sa race et n'ait pas le liard en sa bourse,* ni pas *un valet après lui* (*let him be the first of his race, and have neither a farthing in his pocket, nor a valet at his back*) (Malh II. 588),

> *La vertu n'etoit point sujette a l'ostracisme*
> Ni *ne s'appeloit* point *alors un jansenisme*
> (Boil *Sat* XI 1 145)
>
> (Virtue was not subject to ostracism
> Nor was it then called Jansenism)

Moreover, modern usage has considerably restricted the use of *ni*, replacing it in many cases by either *et* or *ou*; as after *sans*, which, having a negative value, could formerly be followed by *ni* *Elle écouta son arrêt sans frayeur* ni [Mod. *et*] *sans foiblesse* (*she heard her sentence without fear and without weakness*) (Sév IV 533) *Mon équipage est venu jusqu'ici sans aucun malheur,* ni [Mod *et*] *sans aucune incommodité* (*my equipage has come so far without any misfortune or any inconvenience*) (id III 156).

Similarly, down to the 17th century, *et* uniting two subordinate propositions gave way to *ni* when the second sentence depended on a negative principal one

> *Ne pense pas qu'au moment que je t'aime,*
> *Innocente à mes yeux, je m'approuve moi-même;*
> Ni *que du fol amour qui trouble ma raison*
> *Ma lâche complaisance ait nourri le poison* (Rac III 343)

(Think not that at the moment that I love thee I am innocent in my own eyes and approve what I do, nor that the poison of the mad love troubling my reason hath been fed by my cowardly inclination)

[1] [We note that in English, as in the artificial practice of contemporary French here criticised, the negative must be repeated.]*

It was not even necessary that the introductory sentence should be negative, a negative idea was enough. *Je suis trop presse pour en faire plus d'une copie,* NI[1] *pour vous écrire davantage* (*I am too busy to make more than one copy of it, or to write any more to you*) (Malh III 67). *Ce monastère s'est vu hors d'etat d'entretenir* NI[2] *médecin* NI[2] *chirurgien* (*this monastery found itself unable to keep either physician or surgeon*) (Rac IV 426)

Je serois bien fâché que ce fût à refaire
NI[1] *qu'elle m'envoyât assigner la première* (Id II. 174)

(I should be sorry if it had to be begun over again, and if she sent me a summons first)

Défendit qu'un vers foible y pût jamais entrer,
NI[1] *qu'un mot déjà mis osât s'y rencontrer*
(Boil *Art poét* II 1 91)

(Forbade a weak line ever to find a place therein, or a word already used to dare recur)

The use of *ni* was formerly frequent after an interrogation: *Y a-t-il vertu que je revère,* NI[2] *que je prêche davantage?* (*is there any virtue that I revere or that I preach more?*) (Malh II 23)

Penses-tu qu'aucun d'eux veuille subir mes lois,
NI[2] *suivre une raison qui parle par ma voix?*
(Boil *Ép.* [illegible] used [illegible] be

(Thinkest thou that any one of them will submit to m[illegible] guided by reason, speaking by my voice[2])

Finally, we have noted (§ 374, 1) the use of *n*[illegible] second term of a comparison, which lasted down [illegible] 17th century.

483. SEMI-NEGATIVE WORDS.—Th[illegible] words *nul, aucun, personne, rien, jamais, guere,* and [illegible]ew others are accompanied by the negative *Nul* [illegible]e *prétend Aucun* n'*est present Personne* n'*est venu.* [illegible]c The etymological sense of all these words, except *nul,* is positive, and they receive a negative signific[illegible]on solely from the following *ne,* which is nearly alway[illegible] present. *Nul* (Lat. nullus) is itself

[1] *Et* would now replace *ni* here
[2] *Ou* or *et* would now replace *ni* here

negative, it was, however, from the earliest period of the language followed by the particle *ne*. In the 16th century, it is true, it occurs alone in negative phrases *Ledict cheval estoit si terrible et efrené que* **nul** *ausoit monter dessus* (*the said horse was so terrible and ungovernable that none dared mount on it*) (Rabel I 56). *Je prie à Dieu, Mesdames, que ceste exemple vous soit si profitable que* **nulle** *de vous ait envie de soy marier* (*I pray to God, ladies, that this example be so profitable to you that none of you may care to marry*) (*Hept* II 374) But this construction is a pure latinism, and it must not be confused with another construction frequent in Old and Middle French, where *nul* is used like *ni*, without the particle *ne*, under the influence of a negative idea implied in the phrase *Or oiez si onques si orrible traisons fu faite par* **nule** *gent* (*now hearken if such horrible treason was ever done by any people*) (Villeh 222) *En Venise cuidoient trover plus grant plenté de vaisiax que a* **nul** *autre port* (*in Venice they thought to find greater plenty of vessels than in any other port*) (id. 14) Here *nul* had come to mean *any* be[fore a] *ucun, quelque*), and with the help of analogy it came to be [Mod.] in absolutely positive phrases *On l'interrogea par and with s'il avoit apporte* **nulles** *lettres* (*they asked him on od[ath] jusqu'[à] had brought no* [= *any*] *letters*) (*Hept* II 156) *Autre nodité* (*le aussi remarquable . . que* **nul** *des precedents* (*another [no]ble as remarkable as any of the preceding*) (Mont I. 3[3]) down late as the 17th century we find

Il le peut [fai]*re* on [hi]m himself without any impediment) (Mol IV 439)
(He can ma[ke] *sans* **nul** *empêchement*

Gardons bien que, par **nul** *autre voie, elle en apprenne jamais rien* (*let us take good care that she never learn anything about it by any other means*) (id. VI[I] 391). In Modern French *garder* with its negative implication would demand the use of *ne* before *apprenne* (*que . . elle n'en apprenne*).

Aucun, personne, and the adverbs *jamais, rien*, preserve their positive value in interrogations *Est-il* **aucune**

réponse plus belle? (*is there any finer answer?*). *A-t-il* **jamais** *vu pareille chose?* (*did one ever see such a thing?*) *Y a-t-il* **rien** *de plus beau?* (*is there anything more beautiful?*)

In elliptical propositions these words are used absolutely without *ne*, with a negative value: *Est-il venu quelqu'un* **Personne** (*has any one come? No one*) —*Qu'a-t-il repondu* **Rien** (*nothing*)

Note the word *rien* (= **rem**, *a thing*), which has its literal meaning, 'a thing,' in: *Est-il* **rien** *de plus beau?*— but which by the action of *ne* became a semi-negative word in *Je n'ai* **rien** *dit*. It was then used with this new signification without the negation *Rien ne vient de* **rien** (*nothing comes from nothing*). Lastly, by a final extension *rien* has become again a positive substantive *un* **rien**, *des* **riens** (*a mere trifle, mere trifles*), really a positive extension from *nothing*[1]

484 — EMPHASIZED NEGATION. — Already in Latin, to strengthen the negation, words were used indicating objects devoid of value, as in *non facere* **flocci**, **nauci**, **assis**, &c. (not to care the value of a flake, a rind, a penny). Old French, following this usage, employed *ne ... pas*, *ne ... point*, *ne ... mie* (*crumb*), *ne ... goutte* (*drop*), *ne ... pas* (*step*), and *ne ... point* (*point*).

Originally these words had a positive value, and denoted a small quantity

Que trop i avroit grant dolour
Se li uns d'aus l'autre ocioit (*Chev au lion*, l 6186)
Ou point de honte (*damage*) if the one of them mortally wounded the other or took away the smallest part of his honour)

but, like the German *nichts weniger als* The literal translation is *nothing less than* means *amounting to*, English writers have used it as in French and German]

[1] [*Rien moins que* = *absolutely*, though c

The construction is seen to be **partitive**[1]; hence with a negation we get

Mais **de** *s'espee ne volt* **mie** *guerpir* (*Rol.* l 465)
(But will not part at all with his sword)

This is the origin of the present construction: *Il n'a* **point d'***amis* *Il n'a* **pas d'***argent* Compare *Il a trop d'amis* *Il n'a guère d'amis* *Il a peu d'amis* It is also doubtless the origin of *Je ne veux* **point de** *ceci*, **de** *cela* The former construction of *sans*, followed by *point de*, which was used till the 17th century, has also the same origin

Li cuens prent **sans point de** *l'atargier* (*Cour Louis*, l 143)
(The count takes it without [a moment of] delay)

Thus where we find the words *pas*, *point*, *mie*, followed by the preposition *de* they have kept their function as substantives.

But at an early period these words were used absolutely and became adverbs, first with a positive signification, as seen even in the 16th century *Cela esmeut une crierie et un (tulte le plus grand qui eust encore* **point** *este sur la place hithe[r] turred up an uproar and a tumult, the greatest that had* Then t[he]*r occurred in the* [*market-*]*place*) (Amyot, *Cam* 87) present e came to be regularly used with *ne* Hence their

Mie is n[o] ger used, *goutte* is only used in a few familiar locuti[ons] (e.g *je ne vois goutte*) *Pas* and *point* have survived a[s] gularly follow the particle *ne*, save in the cases studied a[t] (§ 481), and this compound negation has no more em[pha]sis in the mind of the modern Frenchman than the sim[ple] negation *ne* or *non* had in Old French However, gramm[arians] indicate a shade of difference between *ne* *pas* and *ne* *point*, assigning more strength to the latter than to the former [making *ne* . *point* the equivalent of *not at all*]

The negative idea so deeply pe[rmea]ted *pas* and *point* that as early as the 16th century the was suppressed

[1] [Cf the common English *not a bit of* &c

in interrogative sentences [1] *A il* **point** *deffaict la ligne de Lencastre?* (*has he not ruined the line of Lancaster?* (Comm 407). *Et me demanderent si le Roy* [1] *tiendroit* **point** *pour l'enfant* (*and they asked me if the King would not take the side of the child*) (id. 533). The suppression is frequent in the 16th century, and is still to be noted in the 17th *Le perfide* [1] *est-il* **pas** *de retour?* (*is not the traitor returned?*) (Sév VI 421)

Eh bien! lui cria t-elle, [1] *avois-je* **pas** *raison?* (La Font II. 34)
('Well,' she cried to him, 'was I not right?')

[1] *Fit-il* **pas** *mieux que de se plaindre?* (id I 234)
(Did he not do better than complain?)

Indeed, this suppression much engrossed the grammarians of the period, and Vaugelas discusses the question at length. The Academy decided against it, and Corneille, who had habitually suppressed *ne* in interrogative phrases, submitted to the decision in his edition of 1660 Thus.

Ce grand nom
[1] *Marque-t-il* **pas** *déja sur qui tu dois regner?* (III 187)
(Does not this great name already show over whom thou shalt reign?)
was corrected to

Ne *fait-il* **pas** *trop voir sur qui tu dois regner?*

In the literary language of the present day, if some *ne* cannot be suppressed in interrogation since. writers have done so, it has been by poets having a grow-

This does not prevent the language from to semi-negative ing tendency to give the negative *ment*, **pas** *de Suisse.* words in elliptical phrases **Pas** *guère*) *de la vie Homme Vous direz cela?* **Jamais** (*never*) *farouche*, **jamais** *content simple*, **pas** (*not*) *orgueilleux* Popular language sometimes Even in complete sentences *c'est* **pas** *vrai* (for *ce n'est pas* suppresses the *ne* altogether *pas* is considered as a negative, *vrai*). And this use, in accepted but barbarous phrase. *Je* has triumphed in the *I have not only this book*), a negation *n'ai pas que ce livre* (= *I have only this book*) of *Je n'ai que ce* French *ne* would be inserted here.]

[1] [In

CHAPTER VIII

ORDER OF WORDS

485 The order of words

I THE ORDER IN CERTAIN WORD GROUPS CONSIDERED SEPARATELY — 486 Principal and attributive substantives — 487. Substantives and attributive adjectives — 488 The article, adjective, and substantive — 489 Possessives and substantives — 490 Numerals and substantives — 491 Adverbs with verbs and adjectives

II THE ORDER OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSITION — 492 Introductory — 492 a. The subject — 493 The predicate — 494 The object — 495 The personal pronoun — 496 Separation of coordinate and of subordinate terms

485. THE ORDER OF WORDS — It is perhaps in that part of the syntax which deals with the order of words that the o present language differs most from the Old language freeu he latter, from its closer affinity to Latin and its retention more e declension, enjoyed in consequence much greater the imme of construction As already stated (§ 15), it could order of wo follow the movements of thought and convey advance of th *impression* In French the history of the measure syntheti is thus the history of the progressive

Here, as elsewhe anguage from a construction in great in the Modern langua a construction almost entirely analytic

We shall first consi ancient usage has left certain traces usual word-groups separ words as the elements of th the order of words in certain be said concerning the order o ly, and then the order of &c, the language having in this proposition Nothing will the same freedom that it possessed he subordinate sentences,

I The Order in certain Word-Groups co ect largely preserved

486 PRINCIPAL AND ATTRIBUTIVE SU erly attributive substantive is one connected wi ed separately

ANTIVES.—An ncipal

substantive by some relation of dependence, especially of possession: *Les commandements de* **Dieu.** It follows its subject

Such was the construction from the earliest period of the language. However, we often find in Old French the attributive substantive placed first *Et issirent* **de lors meillors gens** *une partie fors* (*and a party of their best men issued forth* [made a sortie]) (Villeh 167). *Luxure est* **de l'ame** *destruction* (*lewdness is destruction to the soul*) (Saintré, 28). **De cheval donné** *tousjours regardoit en la gueulle* (*he always looked into the mouth of a gift-horse*) (Rabel I 45) **De ceux la** *est la liberté peu suspecte* (*of those is the liberty little called in question*) (Mont III 1) From the 17th century this inversion has been only allowed in poetry

Pour **de ce grand dessein** *assurer le succes* (Corn IV 76)
(To assure the success of this great design)

D'animaux malfaisants, *c'étoit un tres bon plat* (La Font II 444)
(Of hurtful animals they made a very good dish [= assortment])

On the other hand, we know that the relation of possession might be marked by the use of the objective case (§ 462, IV, 2, p 792), and, as is shown by the old juxtapositos *lundi, mardi, Abbeville* (Book III, § 281), the primitive construction placed the determinant before the determinate. It is thus that in the *Oaths* we find *pro* **Deo** *amur* (*for love of God*), and in the *Sequence de Sainte Eulalie* *li* **Deo** *inimi* (*the enemies of God*) This inversion was constant with the words *Dieu, diable, roi, pere* It was still in use during the 12th and 13th centuries for *Dieu par la* **Dieu** *grace, en la* **Dieu** *main*, &c Hence comes the locution **Dieu** *merci*[1].

487. SUBSTANTIVES AND ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES — Usage has considerably varied with regard to the place that the attributive adjective should occupy. The Old language had largely preserved the Latin tradition, and generally

[1] [Lit *by God's grace*, now equivalent to *thank God*]

placed the adjective before the substantive. The anxiety for rhythm of phrase, which has prevailed in French since the 17th century, and which forbids a substantive to be preceded by an adjective of greater length, was not felt. *Ils fesoient trois* **merveillous** *saus* (*all three made wonderful jumps*) (Joinv 526). *Ils bouterent le feu en le* **desoustraine** *ville de Miaus* (*they set fire to the lower town of Miaus*) (Froiss. v. 106). Nowadays, disliking the abrupt cadence of the phrase, we should say *sauts merveilleux, tour malicieux, parole chevaleresque* And in point of fact those few adjectives which the present language still places almost regularly before substantives (unless the substantives are monosyllabic) are short *bel, bref, court, long, haut, jeune, bon, sot* Side by side with these, others that are no less short are now regularly placed after the substantive we no longer say, as formerly *une* **plate** *pierre, une* **brune** *couleur, un* **maigre** *cheval, une* **veuve** *dame,* &c

In fact, the place given to the attributive adjective became gradually less definite as the anxiety for harmony developed among authors, and also as their analyses of the relation noted by the adjective became more delicate. As early as the 12th century, when the adjective attracted special attention and denoted a particular quality, it was placed after the substantive Just as Latin used **navis longa** rather than **longa navis** to indicate a particular kind of ship—the man-of-war—so Old French placed after the substantive certain adjectives, e g *grand, petit, gros, riche, vilain, saint,* &c Post-position of this kind was especially frequent in the case of Learned adjectives, which, being in less common use than Popular adjectives, presented a special signification Certain other adjectives indicating physical qualities or external circumstances, such as *rouge, gris, écru, blanc, mâle, voisin,* &c., had already a tendency to be placed regularly after the substantive

From the Middle French period the language went on developing this practice. Robert and Henri Estienne

noted that very often the difference in the place of the adjective resulted in a difference of meaning, and that certain adjectives, especially those of colour, should follow the substantive. Not only has the number of these adjectives increased considerably ever since, but the cases where signification varies according as the adjective is placed before or after the substantive also tend to increase. In the 17th century the adjectives *même, seul, certain, second, different,* were still placed indifferently before or after their substantives, at present their meaning varies with their place. We may add *bon, brave, grand, pauvre, triste*[1], &c. With many others, although the difference of meaning is not so marked, it still exists between *un habile homme* with *un homme habile,* with *un homme savant*[2], &c. In the cases where the meaning is not altered it is left for the ear and for custom to decide. It is noteworthy, however, that the language has more to place the adjective after the noun than to use it to indicate an individual distinction, contrary to the Latin practice.

488. THE ARTICLE, ADJECTIVE. The indefinite article is regularly placed before the noun, but

[1] [*Bon homme* = good fellow, kind man, *homme brave* = gentleman, *homme galant* = great man, *homme grand* = *Pauvre homme* = poor man, man *Triste homme* =

[2] [*Un homme habile* = *homme* is somewhat more forcible than *un*

[3] [We may note that the relative while, whereas writers often

mined, or the attributive adjective when this precedes the substantive: **Les *conseillers*. Les *mauvais conseillers*.** In Old French, as we have seen (§ 486), it could be separated from the principal substantive by an attributive substantive: *li Deo inimi*. It could also be separated by the relative *cui* (= *whose*)

Artus, li buens rois de Bretaingne
Lia cui proesce nos ansaingne (*Chev au lion*, 1 f

'the good King of Britain, whose prowess teaches us')

en le cui aide il aloient (*the traitors to whose aid*) (Henri de Valenc. 639)

In such cases there was no article *en ce* re) (Villeh 112). *Ne sai par* oui *cons* *qu'il voloit aler* (*I know not by who* 'swered that he wished to go) (id 277).

ND SUBSTANTIVES.—Possessives and are, regularly placed befo *on brave fils*), in their accent laced between the determina *fils, par ceste* meie *barbe* c. In the 16th century t the substantive, but in t ue relative prepositic *rried them into his o own*]) (Rabel II. 1 *sweets of this life*

merals, whet efore the s ter, to indi ast num wen*quatre* Estien*ersi*

thousand two hundred years and four). Further, *ambe, ambedui, andui* (Lat. **ambo**, *two*), were placed before the determinant:

Ambes *ses mains en levat contre mont* (*Rol* l. 419)
(Both his hands he lifted on high)

If in *Charles Quint, François deux*, &c (§ 378) the numeral is placed after, it is because it is *more* than a simple attribute of the substantive, and is used in apposition, in Old French, indeed, *Charles le quint* was the more frequent form.

491. ADVERBS WITH VERBS AND ADJECTIVES.— I. At the present day, in the usual constructions, the adverb, whether simple or compound, generally immediately follows the verb, or immediately precedes the adjective which it qualifies *Il est venu* ici *Il travaille* **courageusement**. *Il est* très *bon C'est fort beau.* This order is only modified for the purpose of emphasizing the idea expressed by the adverb **Jusqu'ici**, *tout allait bien* **Ici** *il faut arrêter et examiner la situation* **Tant** *il est sage.*

Down to the 16th century the language enjoyed greater freedom, as we see by the following examples

Adverbs of place **Arere** *se sunt mis* (*they put themselves behind*) (*Saint-Thomas*, l 2268) *Je fais* **icy** *sentir mes inclinations* (*I here reveal my inclinations*) (Mont III. 9).

Adverbs of time

De vos ait hui male confusion! (*Rol* l 3276)
(May ill confusion you befall this day!)

Cil ne sont prod **jamais** *por guerreier* (id l 1514)
(these are fit nevermore to fight)

S'en alla en un jardin . où **longuement** *se promena* (*he went in a garden where he walked for a long time*) (*Hept.* I. 29).

Adverbs of manner:

gentement *l'emperere chevalchet* (*Rol* l 3121.)
(Right nobly the emperor rides)

Et sachiez que onques **plus orguellieusement** *nuls porz ne fu pris* (*and know that never was port more proudly taken*) (Villeh 157) **Mal apertement** *se partirent* (*they retired in obviously bad fashion*) (Joinv. 164). **Beaucoup moins** *est Camillus comparable à Themistocles* (*much less is Camillus comparable to Themistocles*) (Mont. II. 32). *Il est bon et frays* **assez** (*it is good and fresh enough*) (Rab. II. 10). An example of the adverb placed before the verb has been preserved in **Ainsi** *soit-il* (*so be it*)

The adverb *plus* in a comparative sentence was freely placed after the adjective in Old and Middle French, e g . *blanc* **plus** *que neige*, instead of **plus** *blanc que neige* Moreover, down to the 17th century, instead of the present construction, *d'autant plus . . que . . plus* (*il devient d'autant plus avare qu'il devient plus riche*), they used *plus . plus . .* , the latter followed by the comparative proposition (*the more the more . . .*), e g

J'y deviens **plus** *sec*, **plus** *j'y vois de verdure* (Malh 1 139.)
(The more greenery I see, the more dried up I become)

J'ai **moins** *de repentir*, **plus** *je pense à ma faute* (id 1 22)
(The more I think of my fault, the less repentance I have)

Et l'heur de vous revoir lui semblera **plus** *doux*
Plus *elle aura pleure pour un si cher époux* (Corn III 491)
(And the more she has wept for a husband so dear,
The sweeter will seem the joy of seeing you again)

The constructions given above, in which the affirmative proposition precedes, just as in *d'autant plus . . . que*, &c, must not be confounded with the now very usual construction where the order of the propositions is reversed, and the affirmative *follows* the comparative, with this construction *j'y deviens* **plus** *sec*, **plus** *j'y vois de verdure* becomes . **plus** *j'y vois de verdure*, **plus** *j'y deviens sec*

II. *Position of negatives* 1 With simple finite tenses, *ne* precedes the verb, *pas* follows it *Ne* can only be separated from the verb by the atonic personal pronouns, and by *en* or *y*. *Pas* can only be separated from the verb by certain

adverbs, such as *vraiment, certainement, assurément, &* ne *fais* pas *cela. Je* ne *lui en fais certainement* pas *un*

2. With compound finite tenses, *ne* precede follows the *auxiliary* under the same restrictio regulating their position with regard to the simple tenses. *On* ne *lui a* pas *donné un sou*

3 With the present infinitive of all ve and *avoir*, *ne* is immediately followed b group *ne pas* can only be separated fro the words that separate *ne* from the v ne pas *vous en contenter, c'est mal.*

4. With *être* and *avoir* used ind auxiliary in a perfect infinitive, *pa* immediately ne pas *être* or *avo* auxiliary n'*être* or n'*avoir* pas tion of the atonic personal pron the auxiliary, and of the adve it, gives rise to a certain nu *avoir eu*, n'*en avoir* pas e *chance*

5 All that has beer applies to *point*, except but we can also say n emphatic, while ne the sense allows *ri* as *point*

6 We may nc of the ancient ' or *point* befor (La Font is *ne* from *pa reste* pas *her*) (La *et la pr bruit*

wer was this, and the request I have to make you not sfied with the noise the players are making over my two n x 490) *Je vous supplie . de* ne *me refuser ch you not to refuse me*) (La Rochef. III. 167).

he Order of the Elements of the Proposition.

DUCTORY —According to present usage the proposition are placed in the following erb, predicate (*Dieu est bon*); or subject, *crit ma lettre*). When there are several direct object takes the first place (*j'ai un pauvre*) unless it is followed by s (*j'ai envoye à mon père la lettre*

rule of construction Present ne licence in certain cases which which show a survival of the led in the Old language.

he predicate, the object, will n of the personal pronoun ed separately.

495) —I. In the Modern sists of a subject and ct, the subject may

ir, survenir, entrer, velier expression rive *mon frere.* *Espagne* (Boss, t can only be

l or inter- either a

ted in f the

language, however, the number of neuter v
could precede the subject was much greater.

II. When the proposition consists of a su
and a predicate or object, the Modern langu
the subject to follow the verb, especiall
personal pronoun, if the proposition cor
indeclinable word, such as *ainsi, aussi, peine, de là, toujours, là, jadis, autref viendra-t-il. A peine arriva-t-il.* Wh
case is a substantive it sometimes c
but it is then generally repeated
A peine mon ami *fut* il *arrive*

The construction with the sub
found in subordinate sentences i
either by a relative in the ob
tion *Avez vous vu la mai C'est samedi que doit arrive ans quand fut consommee s his ruin was completed*)
a construction more
French, according to
verb when the propc
an object, as in the

Bons fut l
(Good was

Thus we stil
or, with the
d'esprit (§ 4
li livres (*th*

Down t
ject was
Après s took th
93)
16t'

…ever, such as: *Bien ai-je cru, bien est-il vrai*, or *ai-je …sfie… lement avoit-il force lettres dans ses poches* (*only …tters in his pockets*) (Malh. III 428) *Ce mot …ch… été commenté et a-t-on dit que . . .* (*this word …already commented on, and it has been said …*8).

…DU… …s, *aussi l'étoit* mon frère (Corn II 406)
…innocent, so was my brother)
…*n esprit adore vos mérites*
…*du mal à vos longues visites.* (Id II 104.)
…mind adores your deserts
…long [rounds of] visits)
…*mander tout en argent comptant*
…*vance qu'il demandait pour moi*
…*for all in cash . . and they*
…*e asked for me*) (La Rochef.

…s certain inversions, which
…n the poets of the 17th

…*ont plus de flatteurs,*
…*ne*
…ct, (Malh I 274)
…tterers no more, and
Fate had made their
…*ndresse*
…(Corn III 332)
…quent in
…veen the
…etween

Celle qu'avoit **Hymen** *à mon cœur attaché.* (M
(She whom Hymen had to my heart att
. . *Un monarque franç* ice)
Que ne sauroit l'envie *accuser d'aucun vice*
(. A French monarch whom envy could 5.)
Sur qui sera d'abord **sa vengeance** *exerc*
(On whom first will his revenge
It was the same in Old and Middl 70.)
Messe e matines ad li **reis** *esc*
(Mass and matins has th (*when they were*
Quant eles furent faites, si fu la cl *rent adonc alors*
made, the thing was told) (Villeh rement (*then were*
leurs cris *et* **leurs regrets** *en mly heard*) (Amyot,
their cries and their lamento
Rom 17)

cf. in interrogative propo-

IV For the place of th
sitions see § 391.

the Modern language places
V. In optative propos junctives such as *vive, vivent,*
the subject after certai *soit, soient,* and *puisse Vive*
périssent, vienne, vien Dieu le veuille! **Dieu** *vous bénisse!*
la France! But we s the subject in optative propositions
The post-position during the 17th century (§ 443, IV).
was more widely

subject follows in formal propositions
VI Similarly ion, as in the statement of mathematical
denoting a sup here the subjunctive is not followed by
or logical dat bre 2 (*take the number* 2) *Soit AB* **une**
que · Soit le a *straight line*) *Soient* **les phrases** (*consider*
droite (*let A*
the phrases

493 THE PREDICATE.—The regular place of the predicate is after the verb *Dieu est* **bon** *Il est devenu* **pauvre.** It may however, as we have seen (p 839), be placed at the beginning of the proposition **Bienheureux** *sont les pauvres d'esprit* **Tel** *est mon avis.* **Autre** *est mon sentiment.* And this construction was frequent down to the 16th

century: **Nostre** *estoit-il à très bonnes enseignes* (*ours was he by very good signs*) (Mont. 1. 23, p 65). *Au moins* **sages** *ne pouvons nous estre que de nostre propre sagesse* (*at any rate we can only be wise with our own wisdom*) (id 1. 24, p. 74).

Exclamatory sentences may be headed by the adjective predicate, with the verb *être* omitted **Admirable** *la scene!* **très correct,** *le petit prince!* Such locutions are especially characteristic of the spoken language, but occur even in descriptions in modern novelists

The predicate could also be placed in Old French between the verb and the subject, or between the subject and the verb These two inversions, of which some examples may still be found in the 16th century, have entirely disappeared

494 THE OBJECT (see also § 495).—I *The direct object* (1) The direct object generally follows the verb *Dieu aime* **les hommes** Should, however, special attention be drawn to the object it may be placed at the beginning of the proposition, but on condition that it is recalled by a pronoun following **cette lettre,** *je l'ai lue* The Old language used this construction, but without the pronoun. **Grant grace** *nous fist Nostre Sires* (*great grace showed us Our Lord*) (Joinv. 165) *Et* **cestes response** *ne li fis-je pas* (*and this answer I did not make him*) (id 421). **Semblables actions de graces** *rendit Pantagruel à toute l'assistance* (*the like thanks gave Pantagruel to all the company*) (Rabel 1 320) **Ceey** *ai-je reconnu de mes yeux* (*this have I recognized with my* [*own*] *eyes*) (Mont 1. 11). We find also in interrogative phrases

Votre terre *qui defendra*
Quant li rois Artus i vandra?
(*Chev au lyon*, l. 1615)

(Your land, who shall defend, when King Arthur comes there?)

We may add, however, that the habit of recalling the direct object by means of a pronoun was introduced at a fairly early period.

(2) Another inversion consists in placing the object between the subject and the verb. In modern French this inversion is only admissible for pronouns: *Dieu nous aime. Je le veux* It was used with nouns also in Old French: *Li baron merci vous crient* (*the barons cry you mercy*) (Villeh. 106), and especially in relative propositions *Con cil qui grant mestier en ont* (*as men who had great need thereof*) (id. 135). This is the origin of such poetic constructions as:

Louis dont ce beau jour la présente (Malh. I. 252)
(Louis, whose presence [happy] day grants me)
... a bâtie? (id. I. 129)
Quel astre malheureux ma ... fortune?
(What unhappy [star] ... my fortune?)
Les deux camps mutinés un tel choix désavouent (Corn. III. 335)
(The two camps, mutinous, disavow such a choice)
L'aigle et le chat-huant leur querelles cessèrent (La Font. I. 420.)
(The eagle and [owl] their quarrels stopped)

We can easily understand that with the loss of the expression of all difference of form between subject and object, the present construction was bound in the end to triumph. It already prevailed greatly in Old French, and the inverted construction, just quoted, was used especially with verbs whose subject was understood.

(3) Down to the 17th century the direct object could be intercalated between the auxiliary and the participle of a compound tense, or between the finite part and the infinitive or the participle of a periphrastic verb.

Leurs pieds qui n'ont jamais les ordures pressées (Malh. I. 13)
(Their feet which never have trodden filth)
Mais ayant de vos fils les grands cœurs découverts (id. I. 191)
(But having discovered your sons' great hearts.)
Le ciel qui nous choisit lui-même des partis
A tes feux et les miens prudemment assortis (Corn. I. 403)
(Heaven, which itself chooses us mates, has wisely matched both thy passion and mine)

Vous rendez du[nt] la volonté trompée (La Font VII. 420)
(Yo[u] violate the wishes of the dead.)

Le pauvre Eschy[lus] sut ses jours avancer (id II. 295.)
(Poor Aeschylus th[at] managed to put on his [term of] days)

An attribute of the o[b]ject could also occupy this place:

Ce parasite ailé
Que nous vons mouche *appelé* (La Font. II. 262)
(That wingéd parasi[te] which we 'fly' have named)

(4) In imperative non negative phrases, as shown by the compound words formed of a verb in the imperative and a direct object (*Taillefer, Boileau, couvre-chef, garde robe,* &c) (Book III, § 301), the object was originally placed after the verb · *Aimez* Dieu *Aide* autrui. The only exception is for atonic pronouns in negative phrases, as we shall see (§ 495, 3).

II. *The indirect object and circumstantial complement.*— Down to the 17th century the language enjoyed almost full liberty as regards the position of these objects In the Modern language they generally come after the verb, and when accompanied by a direct object their place is determined either by the sense or by the harmony of the sentence.

495 THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.—I *The subject* The rules of construction for the pronoun used as a subject are almost the same as those for the substantive (for an exception see § 492 a, 1); we have nothing to add thereon

II. *The object.* (1) Affirmative and negative propositions

(1) The old order placing the direct object before a transitive verb has been preserved since the origin of the language *for atonic pronouns*. *Dieu* nous *aime.* The indirect object of intransitive verbs occupies the same place. *Il* nous *obeit* In Old French, with a finite verb, the accented forms were used, as we have seen (§ 393), and these could even be placed after the verbs *conseillierent* soi (*they consulted one another*) (Villeh 24). Sometimes atonic

forms also may be found placed after verbs *Ot* le *li enfes* (*the child heard him*) (*Cour Louis*, l. *Et distrent* . . . *se il le volsit faire, preïssent* le, *et s'il volsit faire desfiassent* le *de par als* (*and they say if he would do it they would accept, and if he would do it they sent him defiance by these men*) (Villeh. 210. From the 16th century the accented form *soi* was used only with infinitives and gerunds; and soi-*disant* (*self-styled, pretended*) has survived to the present day. We may also note the accented forms preceded by a preposition and placed before the past participle in the legal phrases *l'autorisation* à nous *accordée, une erreur* par lui *commise*, &c.

(ii) Two personal pronouns, one being the direct object, the other the indirect, cannot precede the verb when the direct object is in the 1st or 2nd person. The direct object alone precedes. We say *il* m'*envoie* à toi, à lui (*he sends me to thee, to him*) *il* t'*envoie* à moi, à lui[1].

But when the direct object is in the 3rd person (*le, la, les*) the two pronouns precede, and the indirect object is placed before the direct if it is in the 1st or 2nd person, but after if it is in the 3rd *il* me (or te) l'*envoie* (*he sends it to me, to thee*), but le lui *envoie* (*he sends it to him*)[2].

In Old French, on the contrary, even when the direct object was in the 1st or 2nd person, the indirect objects *moi, toi, lui*, preceded by a preposition, could also be placed before the verb

Miaudre de moi à vos m'*anvoie* (*Chev au lion*, l. 5072)
([One] better than myself sends me to you)

And again, when the direct object was in the 3rd person, it could precede the indirect object in the 1st or 2nd person: *Et si* le vos *prions* (*and we even beg it of you*) (Villeh. 82). *Car je* le vous *doing et si* le vous *garantirai* (*for I give it and even guarantee it to you*) (Joinv 91). This construction was still in use at the beginning of the

[1] And not *il te m'envoie*, &c.
[2] And not *il le m'envoie, il lui l'envoie.*

17th century. Vaugelas and the Academy brought about the definitive triumph of the modern construction, although it is inconsistent to say *il le lui dira* (*he will tell it him*) side by side with *il me le dira* (*he will tell me it*).

(2) In imperative phrases, if they are affirmative, the accented pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, and the atonic pronoun of the 3rd are used, and follow the verb. *Aimez*-**moi** *Conduis*-**toi** *bien.* *Aime*-**le.** *Aime*-**les.** If they are negative, the atonic forms of all three persons are used, and precede the verb. *Ne* **me** *conduis pas.* *Ne* **le** *blesse pas*

This was also the practice in Old French. However, a positive imperative with the pronoun preceding (and atonic) may sometimes be found *Un petit* **me** *souffres* (*bear with me a little*) (*Alisc* l 2373) *Donques* **vus** *gardez que vous ne faites* (*so take ye care not to do*) (Guinv 24) In Middle French and in the 17th century the following construction in the second of two co-ordinate propositions may be found *Roidissons-nous et* **nous** *efforçons* (*let us stiffen ourselves and master ourselves*) (Mont I 19) *Faites-en faire des informations et* **me** *les envoyez* (*let information be procured about it and send it to me*) (La Rochef III 25)

Polissez-le sans cesse et **le** *repolissez* (Boil., *Art poét* I l 173)
(Unceasing polish it, and polish it again)

Aimez toujours Thetis et **vous** *aimez aussi* (La Fon. VII 17)
(Love Thetis still and love yourself as well)

(3) When the pronoun depends on a locution formed of a finite verb and an infinitive, and the pronoun is the object of the infinitive, it is (except with the verbs quoted below) placed between the finite verb and the infinitive: *Je vais* **le** *chercher* (*I am going to fetch him*). If the pronoun is the object of the principal verb, it is placed between the subject and the finite verb. *Je* **le** *regarde tomber* (*I am watching him fall*).

The Old language, on the contrary, in both cases re

garded the pronoun as the object of the verbal locution as a whole and not of either of the verbs considered separately; accordingly the pronoun was always placed before the finite verb Such was still the usage in the 17th century. *L'on* les *veut*[1] *mettre dans leur tort absolument* (*they wish to put them entirely in the wrong*) (La Rochef iii 71).

La commune s'allout[1] *separer du Senat* (La Font. i 209)
(The common folk were about to separate themselves from the Senate)

J'espere toujours qu'il les *pourra*[1] *vaincre* (*I hope still that he will be able to conquer them*) (La Bruy i. 372) *Tel homme . . ne* se *peut*[1] *definir* (*such a man . cannot be defined*) (id ii. 18) The construction has only been preserved where the pronoun is the object of the infinitive of one of the six following verbs *voir, entendre, envoyer, sentir, laisser, faire*. *Je* vous *ai vu battre* (*I saw you beaten*), because the infinitive active is here the equivalent of an infinitive passive of which the pronoun would be the subject (§ 449, II, p 737)

(4) When *en* and *y* come together *y* precedes *en*: *Il* y en *a* In Old and Middle French *en* preceded *y*.

*Gardez que n'*en i *viegne plus* (*Chev au lion*, l 1902)
(Take care no more of them come here)

496 SEPARATION OF CO ORDINATE OR SUBORDINATE TERMS —In the Modern language co-ordinate terms, whether subjects, attributive adjectives, or adverbs, &c, are always placed together In the Old language, on the contrary, there was no restriction, and the present usage was far from being finally established even in the 17th century:

Son devoir m'a trahi, mon malheur, et son pere (Corn iii. 507.)
(Her duty, my misfortune, and her father have betrayed me)

Apres une si belle action et si utile (*after so fine and so useful an action*) (Sév iv 30)

[1] [In contemporary French the pronoun would be placed here.]

So also a preposition was often separated from its object by an attributive substantive with *de*:

Pour de ce grand dessein assurer le succès (Corn. IV. 76.)
(To ensure the success of this great design.)

Malgré de vos rigueurs l'impérieuse loi (id. V 383.)
(Despite the imperious law of your severity.)

Finally, the relative *qui, que*, might be separated from its antecedent: in most cases of such separation we now use *lequel, laquelle*, to avoid ambiguity

Le secret n'est pas grand qu'*aisement on devine* (Corn. VI 26.)
(The secret is not great that easily is guessed.)

La Fortune etoit debout devant lui qui *lui deliоit la langue* (*before him stood Fortune, unloosening his tongue*) (La Font. I 32) *Il se forma une cabale de la plupart de ceux qui avoient ete attachés a la Reine pendant la vie du feu Roi,* qui *fut nommee des Importants* (*a cabal was formed of most of those who had been attached to the Queen during the life of the late King, which was named* [the *cabal*] '*des Importants*') (La Rochef. II 68). *Une femme survient* qui *n'est point de leurs plaisirs* (*a woman comes up who has no share in their pleasures*) (La Bruy. I. 277).

[We may note here that in French, when a substantive and its post-posed attributive adjective are followed by a relative clause of attribution, this clause, although it seems to qualify both substantive and adjective taken together, is linked with the adjective by means of *et*, as if it were equivalent to a co-ordinate adjective. In the English corresponding, *and* is not permissible. *Certaines couleurs changeantes* et *qui sont diverses selon les differents jours dont on les regarde* (*certain changing colours which are different according to the various lights in which they are looked at*) (La Bruy. I. 298).]

APPENDIX

LIST OF AUTHORS AND TEXTS QUOTED IN BOOK IV.

Names of authors are printed in Roman characters, those of works in italics Dates enclosed in brackets are dates of birth and death Dates in thick type are dates of authorship or first publication of texts The word 'about' is abbreviated into ab

Alain Chartier [1386–1449], *Œuvres*, ed by André Du Chesne Tourangeau Paris, 1617 (Including *L'Espérance*, *Histoire du Roy Charles VII*, *Le Curial*, *Le Quadrilogue*, &c)

Alexis (*La Vie de saint*), ab **1040**, ed by G Paris Paris, 1885

Aliscans, **12th cent**, ed by F Guessard and A de Montaiglon. Paris, 1870

Amis et amiles and *Jourdains de Blaivies*, ab **1175**, ed. by C Hofmann Erlangen, 1852

Amyot (Jacques) [1513–1593], *Vie des hommes illustres* (translation of *Plutarch's Lives*)[1] Paris, definitive edition, **1567**. Edition quoted Paris, 1572

Aymeri de Narbonne, **1210–1220**, by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, ed by L Demaison Paris, 1887

Bartas (Guillaume de Saluste, sieur du) [1544–1590], *Judith*, **1573** Edition quoted, *Œuvres*, 1597.

Bastars de Buillon, **14th cent** [?], ed. by A Scheler. Brussels, 1877

Baudouin de Condé [1245–1275] (*Dits et Contes de*), ed by A. Scheler 3 vols Brussels, 1866–67.

Bauduin de Sebourc (*Li Romans de*), **14th cent.** Valenciennes, 1841

[1] The figures given in the quotations refer to folios.

Beaumanoir, Philippe de [1226–1296], *Coutumes du Beauvoisis*, ed. by Count A. A. Beugnot Paris, 1842.

Bellay (Joachim du) [1491–1553], *Œuvres*, ed. by C. Marty-Laveaux Paris, 1866–67.

Berte aus grans piés (*Li Roumans de*), ab **1270**, par Adenès li Rois, ed by A Scheler Brussels, 1874

Bèze (Théodore de) [1509–1605], *Le Sacrifice d'Abraham*, **1550** (?) Edition quoted, Troyes, 1638

Boileau-Despréaux (Nicolas) [1636–1711] *Satires*, **1660–1705.** *Épîtres*, **1668–1698.** *L'Art Poétique*, **1674.** *Lutrin*, **1674–1683**

Bonaventure des Périers [d 1544], *Recreations Nouvelles et joyeux devis*, **1558** Edition quoted, *Œuvres*, ed by L Lacour Paris, 1856

Bossuet (Jacques Bénigne) [1627–1704] *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, **1681.** *Oraison funèbre de Le Tellier*, **1686** *Oraison funebre de Condé*, **1687**

Bouhours (Father) [1628–1702]

Brut de Munich (*Der Münchener Brut*), **12th** cent, ed. by K Hofmann and K Vollmöller Halle, 1877

Calvin [1509–1564], *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, ab **1540** Edition quoted, Geneva, **1561.**

Cantilene de Sainte Eulalie, ab **881**, in *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française*, ed by E Koschwitz Heilbronn, 1888 (5th edit, Leipzig, 1897)

Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, ab. **1450**, ed by Th Wright. Paris, 1858

Chanson de Roland, **11th** cent, ed by Léon Gautier 7th edition, Paris, 1885

Charron (P le) [1541–1603], *Traite de la sagesse*, 1st edit **1601**

Chateaubriand (François René de) [1768–1848], *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*, **1849–1850.**

Chevalier au lion (*Der Löwenritter*), **1170–1175**, by Chrestien de Troyes, ed by W Foerster Halle, 1887

Chifflet (Father Laurent) [1598–1658]

Chrestomathie by K Bartsch and A Horning Paris, 1887.

Christine de Pisan [1363?–1431?], *Chemin de long estude*, **1402**, edition quoted, by R. Püschel, Berlin, 1881.—*Trésor de la cite des dames*, ab **1406**, edition quoted, Paris, 1536.

Chronique des ducs de Normandie, **12th cent.**; by Benoit, a

Norman trouvère; ed. by Francisque Michel; 3 vols. Paris, 1836–1844

Commynes (Philippe de) [1445?–1509], *Mémoires*, ed. by R de Chantelauze Paris, 1881

Corneille, Pierre [1606–1684][1].

Couronnement de Louis (*Coronement Loois*), **1150**, ed. by E Langlois Paris, 1888.

Dancourt (Florent Carton, sieur d'Ancourt) [1661–1725] *Les Bourgeoises à la Mode*, 1st edit Paris, **1698.**

Desportes (Philippe) [1545–1606].

Destouches (Philippe Néricault, called) [1680–1754] *L'Irrésolu*, **1712**

Dolopathos (*Li romans de*), **ab 1210**; ed by C Brunet and A de Montaiglon Paris, 1856

Erec et Enide, **between 1160 and 1170**, by Chrestien de Troyes, ed by W Foerster Halle, 1890

Estienne (Henri) [1528–1598]

Estienne (Robert) [1503–1559]

Eulalie See under *Cantilene*, &c

Fénelon (F de S de la Mothe-) [1651–1715]. *Télémaque*, **1699**

Fierabras, **ab. 1170**, ed by A Kroeber and G Servois. Paris, 1870

Froissart [1335?–1410?], *Chroniques*, ed. by Siméon Luce and G Raynaud, 9 vols 1869–1894

Gautier de Coincy [1177–1236], *Les miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed by Poquet Paris, 1857

Gaydon, **second third of 13th cent**, ed. by F Guessard and Siméon Luce. Paris, 1862

[1] The edition quoted is that of the *Collection des Grands Écrivains de la France*, published by Hachette While it might have seemed more rational in the case of well-known plays by Corneille, Molière, and Racine to quote act and scene, this plan proved impracticable; for in many cases the readings of the examples here given have been altered in modern texts to conform to modern usage, and the reader would be merely puzzled by looking up the reference in editions other than that quoted

Allusion is made in the text to an edition of Corneille published in 1660 This edition was revised with extreme care by the author, and shows the influence of Vaugelas' *Remarques*, published in 1647 (see M. Marty Laveaux, in the edition quoted, vol I. p. xlv.).

Girard de Viane (*Le roman de*), **1210–1220**, by Bertran de Bar-sur-Aube, ed. by P Tarbé Reims, 1850

Gresset (J. B) [1709–1777], *Le Méchant*, **1745.**

Gui de Bourgogne, **ab 1230**, ed by F. Guessard and H Michelant. Paris, 1869

Hardy (Alexandre) [1570?–1631?], *Les chastes et loyales amours de Théagène et Cariclee* Paris, **1623.**

Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri*, **first half of 13th cent.**, ed by N de Wailly (published in one volume with Villehardouin, see below) Paris, 1874

Heptaméron des nouvelles de la Reine de Navarre, **1558**, ed. by A J V Le Roux de Lincy and A de Montaiglon. Paris, 1880

Jehan de Paris (*Le Romant de*), **15th cent.**, ed. by A de Montaiglon Paris, 1874

Joinville (Jean, sire de) [1224–1317], *Histoire de Saint Louis*[1], **ab 1309**, ed by G Paris Paris, 1882

La Bruyère (Jean de) [1645–1696][2]

La Fontaine (Jean de) [1621–1695][2].

Lamartine (Alphonse de) [1790–1869], *Harmonies*, **1829.**

La Rochefoucauld (François, duc de) [1613–1680][2]

Le Maire de Belges (Jean) [1473?–1548?], *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troyes*, **1509** Lyons, 1549.

Magny (Olivier de) [1529–1561].

Malherbe (François de) [1555–1628][2]

Marie de France (*Les Lais*), **ab 1180**, ed by K Warnke Halle, 1885

Marivaux (P C de Chamblain de) [1688–1763]

Marot (Clément) [1495–1544], *Poésies*, 2 vols (pagination continuous) The Hague, 1700.

Massillon (Jean-Baptiste) [1663–1742] *Petit-Carême*, **1718.**

Maupas (Charles), *Grammaire et Syntaxe françoises*, **1620**

Ménage (Gilles) [1613–1692], *Observations sur la langue françoise*, **1673**

Ménagier de Paris, **ab 1373**, published by the *Société des Bibliophiles français* Paris, 1846

Ménestrel de Reims See under *Récits*, &c

Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, called) [1622–1673][2].

[1] The figures given in quotations refer to paragraphs.

[2] See note on p. 851.

Montaigne (M. de) [1533–1592], *Essais*[1], **1580–1588.** Edition quoted, by Mlle de Gournay, 1595

Montesquieu (C. L. de Secondat, later called de) [1689–1755]. *Lettres persanes*, **1721** *Considérations sur . la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*, **1734.**

Noël du Fail [1520?–1585?], *Discours d'aucuns propos rustiques*, **1547** Edition quoted, *Œuvres*, ed by J Assézat, 2 vols. Paris, 1874

Oaths of Strasburg (*Serments de Strasbourg*), **842**, in *Les plus anciens monuments*, &c, by E Koschwitz. (See under *Cantilene*, &c[2].)

Palsgrave (John) [1480–1554]. *Esclarcissement de la langue françoyse*, London, **1530** Edition quoted, by F. Génin, Paris, 1852

Paré (Ambroise) [ab 1510–1590], *Œuvres*, ed by J F. Malgaigne, 3 vols Paris, 1840–1841

Pascal (Blaise) [1623–1662], *Provinciales*, **Jan. 1656 to March 1657**, ed by S V Silvestre de Sacy Paris, 1877 —*Pensées*, ed by A. Molinier Paris, 1876–79

Pasquier (Estienne) [1529–1615], *Les Recherches de la France.* Paris, **1643.**

Patru (Olivier) [1604–1681].

Perceval le Gallois, **ab 1175**, by Chrestien de Troyes, ed. by C Potvin Mons, 1865–71

Philippe de Thaon, *li Cumpoz*, **ab 1119**, ed by E Mall. Strasburg, 1873

Piron (Alexis) [1689–1773]. *La Métromanie*, **1738.**

Prise d'Orange, **ab 1150**, in · *Guillaume d'Orange*, ed. by W J A Jonckbloet The Hague, 1854.

Psautier d'Oxford, **first third of 12th cent** *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua gallica*, ed by Francisque Michel. Oxford, 1860.

Quatre Livres des Rois, **12th cent**, ed. by A J V Le Roux de Lincy. Paris, 1841

Quinze Joyes de mariage, **ab. 1450.** Paris, 1857.

Rabelais (François) [1495–1553], *Œuvres*, ed by C. Marty-Laveaux. Paris, 1868–81

[1] The figures given in quotations refer to books and chapters

[2] Also in P Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French* p 1

Racine (Jean) [1639–1699][1]

Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims au XIII^e Siècle, ed. by N de Wailly, Paris, 1876

Régnier (Mathurin) [1573–1613].

Renaut de Montauban, 13th cent., ed by H Michelant. Stuttgart, 1862

Restaut (Pierre) [1696–1764], *Principes de la Grammaire françoise*, 11th edit 1774.

Rollin (Charles) [1661–1741], *Traité des Études*, 1726

Roman de la Rose (1st part by Guillaume de Lorris, 1237; 2nd part by Jean Clopinel, called Jean de Meun, ab 1277), ed by F Michel Paris, 1864

Roman du Renart, 12th cent, ed by E Martin Strasburg, 1882–85

Romans d'Alixandre (*Li*), 12th cent, by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, ed by H Michelant. Stuttgart, 1846.

Ronsard (Pierre de) [1524–1585], *Œuvres*, ed by P Blanchemain Paris, 1857

Rou, Roman de, by Maistre Wace [1100–1175], 1160–1174, ed by H Andresen Heilbronn, 1877–79.

Rousseau (Jean Jacques) [1712–1778]

Rutebeuf [d 1285], *Œuvres*, ed by A Jubinal Paris, 1839

Saint Graal (*Le Roman du*), 12th cent, ed by F Michel, Bordeaux, 1841

Saint Léger (*La Vie de*), second half of 10th cent., published by G Paris in *Romania*, vol 1 p 273

Saint-Simon (Louis de Rouvray, duc de) [1675–1755] *Mémoires complets*, 40 vols. Paris, 1842

Saint Thomas le martir (*La Vie de*), by Garnier de Pont Sainte-Maxence [12th cent.], 1173, ed by I Bekker, Berlin, 1838, and C Hippeau, Paris, 1859

Saintré (*L'Hystoire et plaisante Cronicque du petit*), 1459, ed by Marie Guichard Paris, 1843.

Sévigné (Mme de) [1626–1696][1].

Théâtre français au moyen âge, ed. by L J N Monmerqué and F Michel. Paris, 1839.

Troie (*Le Roman de*), ab 1160, by Benoît de Saint-More, ed by A. Joly. Paris, 1870–71.

[1] See note on p 851.

Turpin (*La Chronique dite de*), **12th cent**, ed. by F. Wulff. Lund, 1881

Urfé (Honoré d') [1568–1625], *L'Astrée de Messine*, published **1610–1627.** (The date of the vol. referred to in § 422 is **1615.**)

Vaugelas (Claude Favre de) [1585–1650], *Remarques sur la langue française*, **1647**, ed by A Chassang Paris, 1880 *Quinte Curce*, **1653**

Villehardouin (Geoffroy de) [1160?–1213], *La Conquête de Constantinople*[1], **ab. 1213**, ed by N de Wailly Paris, 1874

Voiture (Vincent) [1598–1648], *Œuvres Complètes*, ed by A Ubicini Paris, 1855

Voltaire (François Arouet, called de) [1694–1778] *La Henriade*, **1723** *Brutus*, **1730** *Zaïre*, **1732** *Commentaire sur l' 'Excuse à Ariste'* (by P Corneille)

Voyage de Charlemagne (*Karls des Grossen Reise*), **ab 1060**, ed by E. Koschwitz Heilbronn, 1883.

[1] The figures given in quotations refer to paragraphs

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

In compiling the Index of Words and Phrases the following principles have been followed as closely as possible —

1 Compound words joined by a hyphen have been treated as simple words with regard to alphabetical order Compound phrases not so united have been classed either under the first component only thus 'à cause de' is given under 'à,' 'brave homme' under 'brave', or else, but rarely, under both the principal components thus 'coup de hasard' is given both under 'coup' and 'hasard'

2 Parts of verbs have in general been classed under the heading of the infinitive, but where they are of special phonetic or syntactic interest they are given separately, usually with a reference to the infinitive in its *modern* form, although this has been omitted occasionally as unnecessary

3 Where reference is given to plurals or feminine forms of adjectives and substantives, these are dealt with in the text

4 Homonyms are distinguished in general by reference to their Latin etymologies, printed in thick type, or to their grammatical functions or modern equivalents, or else by means of English translations

5 References to separable particles are given both in the Index of Words and Phrases and the Index of Prefixes

6 French words, prefixes, and suffixes are printed in Roman type, English in italics, Latin in thick type, other foreign words, prefixes, and suffixes in thick type, with an indication of their origin

7 A dagger (†) is placed before obsolete forms and expressions The dagger only applies to the word or phrase *immediately* in front of which it is placed

8 The following alphabetical lists of words have not been included in the index —

pp 185–7 Lists of proper names of various origins

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INDEX OF
SUFFIXES AND TERMINATIONS

In the course of the book it has been found convenient (without any fixed rule) to refer to Latin suffixes in either the nominative or the accusative, and in either the Classical or the Popular form (e g *nom* **-aculus**, *acc* **-aculum**, and the Popular *acc* **-aculu** *nom* **-alis**, *acc* **-alem**, and the Popular *acc* **-ale**) (see p 114) The Popular forms are given here as a rule, with Classical forms where necessary For feminine suffixes in **-a**, the Classical nominative and Popular nominative and accusative are identical (see p 114)

The only flexional suffixes referred to are, for the verb, those of the infinitive and participle, for the noun, the *s* of the O F nom sing and acc pl, and of the modern plural, and the O F plural *-e* A few 'verb terminations' formed by the union of the infinitive suffix with the final of the stem are included for special reasons

References are given, exceptionally, to suffixes not mentioned explicitly but included in compound words on the page quoted (see, for instance, *-eron, on*, p 280)

For the use of different kinds of type see p 857, under 6

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