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THE EMERGENCE
OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES FROM LATIN
A CASE FOR CREOLIZATION EFFECTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to ascertain whether or not the phenomenon known as creolization played a role in the emergence of the Romance language from Latin.

Creolization and normal language change differ in terms of their respective effects upon inflectional morphology: normal language change yields morphological loss and morphological creation through grammaticization. Creolization cause inflectional morphology to be severely reduced. Thus, the hypothesis tested would predict that the transition from Latin to Romance would involve an unusually high degree of morphological loss and an absence of creation of new inflectional morphology. Comparison with another language, whose external history precludes its having been creolized, Greek, is used to ascertain whether Romance shows an unusual pattern of morphological loss..

Comparison is first made between the fate of Latin nominal declension in Romance and Classical Greek declension in Modern Greek. It is found that declension was almost wholly eliminated in Romance but is preserved largely unscathed in Modern Greek. A similar fate befell adjectival declension. Likewise, the synthetic comparatives and superlatives of Latin did not survive into Romance, but those of Classical Greek survived into Modern Greek.

Comparison of the two verb systems yields a similar result: whereas Romance severely reduced Latin verbal morphology (most importantly, the passive), Modern Greek has preserved the greater part of Classical Greek verbal morphology unscathed. If one adds to this a complete absence of any morphological creation in the emerging Romance languages, one is forced to conclude that creolization must indeed have played a role in the history of Romance.

In conclusion, some examination is made of other alleged instances of creole-influenced language change, all of which are found wanting: some suggestions are made regarding

methodology. Likewise, the implications of this conclusion, to linguists and especially Romance linguists, are presented.

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Finally, there is another group I wish to thank: all my teachers, to whom I doubtless owe a great deal more than I know, or could say if I did know. Whatever other shortcomings this thesis may have, I hope that it will ultimately not be judged unworthy of them.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The claim of the present thesis is that creolization played a role in the genesis of the Romance languages from Latin. Considering the important (one might say, central) role played by Romance linguistics not only in the establishment of Historical and Comparative linguistics, but also in work on Contact linguistics, it is truly surprising that work on the possible relevance of Creole linguistics to Romance linguistics has been scarce to the extreme.

The present thesis will present an overview of the problem, possibly sacrificing in depth what it gains in breadth, an inevitable trade-off considering the paucity of previous work on the subject. This research will present previous work done in the area of creolization in Romance and other language families, along with the methodology and assumptions which will guide the thesis. It will then examine creole languages from a linguistic perspective, seeking to identify what traits would be most relevant for the problem at hand. The Romance language family will then be examined, with particular attention paid to the relationship of Romance and Classical Latin. An analysis of the nominal and verbal forms of Latin, Romance and an exterior comparandum, Greek, will be presented, along with an examination of other features deemed relevant to testing the hypothesis. A conclusion, recapitulating the main points of the thesis, and drawing attention to possible future paths of research, will close the thesis.

1.1 *Previous work on creolization in Romance and other language families: An overview*

This chapter aims not only at presenting the work of those few researchers who have examined this issue, but also at presenting the basic methodology and assumptions which will guide this thesis. The former will take up far less space than the latter: it is truly remarkable that so little interest in the matter has been shown, doubly so when we consider the large number of scholars who work in the field of Romance linguistics.

This hypothesis (that creolization was a relevant factor in the passage from Latin to the Romance languages) may appear radical, and indeed many creolists have clearly stated their opposition to it (i.e., Chaudenson 1995, seemingly a reversal of Chaudenson 1983; Holm 1988). It is in fact scarcely new, and indeed was first explicitly defended by the great French Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet, who on the one hand clearly stated that the changes which separated Latin from Romance were similar to those which separate creoles from their respective lexifier languages, and which moreover were due to similar social factors:

> En cessant d'être la langue d'une cité pour s'étendre à un empire, le latin ne pouvait garder ses délicatesses et son originalité [...] les oppositions ainsi marquées étaient trop fines pour être observées par des gens pour qui le latin n'était pas une langue maternelle et qui l'apprenaient avec une certaine grossiereté. *On sait ce que sont devenues les langues européennes chez les esclaves transportés dans les colonies: les divers "créoles", français, espagnol, hollandais, sont des langues où la grammaire est réduite à presque rien et d'où les nuances anciennes ont été supprimées.* (Meillet 1928:236; emphasis mine: SG. It should be made clear, incidentally, that the term 'grammaire' refers to 'inflectional morphology'.)

On the other hand, Meillet clearly stated elsewhere that the analogy was only partial, i.e., that the creole languages of the Caribbean, when compared to their lexifier languages, had

been restructured in far more extensive a fashion than the Romance languages had been when compared to Latin, for social and linguistic reasons:

> [...] les esclaves nègres des anciennes colonies, en acceptant le français ou l'espagnol, ont entièrement transformé ces langues. Ils leur ont donné une prononciation nouvelle; ils en ont simplifié la grammaire. [...] C'est que les parlers des nègres soudanais diffèrent essentiellement du français et que des hommes qui occupent une situation sociale irrémédiablement inférieure ne sentent pas le besoin d'avoir le beau langage de leurs maîtres, qui, de leur côté, ne font rien pour les corriger. Au contraire les Gaulois, qui parlaient une langue d'un type semblable au latin, et qui ont adopté le latin pour être des citoyens romains et en avoir les droits, se sont assimilé le système complet de la langue latine. [...] à côté d'hommes qui avaient bien appris la langue, il s'en trouvait qui l'avaient acquise imparfaitement. (Meillet 1928b:122)

It should immediately be added that Meillet's idea was not entirely new: some other individuals had made a similar point in the past: two of these should be mentioned in passing. First, there is the French scholar Lucien Adam, who, in 1883, had pointed out that:

> Il est, dans la Science, un problème qui n'a point encore été résolu, je veux parler du passage de toutes les langues aryennes anciennes de l'état synthétique à l'état analytique, évolution qui contraste singulièrement avec la fixité des langues sémitiques. Or, les tribus originaires du plateau de Pamir ont successivement émigré dans toutes les directions, s'implantant au milieu de populations anaryennes qui parlaient d'autres langues, les soumettant par la force de leurs armes et, à la longue, se les assimilant. N'est-il pas fondé à se demander si le passage de la synthèse à l'analyse n'a point eu pour cause, partiellement au moins, l'effort instinctif des vaincus qui, ayant adopté la langue des vainqueurs, ont maintenu leur grammaire propre dans des patois qui ne nous sont point parvenus, dans des parlers ruraux analogues à ce latin rustique d'où les langues romanes sont issues? [...] Est-il certain que que ces descendants des vaincus, plus ou moins assimilés par les vainqueurs, n'avaient point conservé, dans les provincialismes de leur méchant latin quelques traces grammaticales des idiomes anaryens parlés par leurs ancêtres? (Quoted in Kramer 1999:5)

As Kramer points out (p.5, explanatory note 18), the terms 'Aryen' and 'Anaryen' refer to 'Indo-European' and 'non-Indo-European', respectively.

Arguably we are not dealing here with a genuine predecessor of Meillet's, since Adam sees creolization (or, more accurately, imperfect second-language acquisition) as being a possible explanation for the tendency of ALL Indo-European languages to become more analytical over time: the case of Latin and the Romance languages was for him all too clearly but an illustration of this general Indo-European phenomenon.

Much more akin to Meillet's views, however, inasmuch as he considered the evolution from Latin to Romance to be a special case, is the following opinion of the well-known economist Adam Smith, who, in 1761, had argued of the many learners of Latin within the Roman Empire that:

> Their ignorance of the declensions they would naturally supply by the use of prepositions (*ad Roma* or *de Roma* instead of *Romae*. Similarly *Io sono amato* instead of *amor*). And thus, upon the intermixture of different nations with one another, the conjugations, by means of auxiliary verbs, were made to approach towards the simplicity and uniformity of declensions. (Quoted in Diderichsen 1974:288).

In spite of these earlier claims, Meillet's views accord best with what will be maintained in this thesis, namely, that while no recorded form of European Romance could be called a creole, Early Romance was originally born out of the contact between creolized and non-creolized varieties of Latin (And thus could be termed a 'creoloid' or 'semi-creole'). While many linguists – predominantly Romance scholars – have commented on the possible relevance of creole studies in explaining the emergence of Romance (see Schlieben-Lange

1977, for a useful list of quotations and references), very little of substance has been published on the subject (*pace* Mufwene 1988).

It should immediately be emphasized that this issue – the role creolization may or may not have played – is quite different from that of the role language contact may have played in the birth of the various individual Romance languages and dialects, which has been studied quite extensively both with regards to the role of substratal languages (i.e., the influence Gaulish may have had on French) and that of superstratal languages (i.e., the influence Frankish may have had on French). The terms 'substratum' and 'superstratum', incidentally, are here used in the sense understood by historical linguists rather than creolists: whereas the latter use the two terms to refer to the 'parent' languages of a creole, the former use these terms to refer to languages which have influenced the development of another language, so that, for example, when historical linguists refer to a Gaulish 'substratum' and a Frankish 'superstratum' in French, they do not mean that French was born because of contact between these two languages: rather, they mean that French was influenced by both languages. Had such influence never occurred, there would still exist a Romance language in Northern France. By contrast, when creolists, for example, speak of Haitian Creole as having a French 'superstratum' and a Fongbe 'substratum', they mean that Haitian Creole was born because of contact between these two languages, and that had there never been a substrate and a superstrate language, there would be no such thing as a Haitian Creole language.

While the vast number of languages superseded by Latin and the many others which were in later contact with its Romance progeny made it natural to examine the role language contact may have played in the emergence and evolution of the various Romance

languages, it is altogether surprising that, as remarked above, the very possibility that creolization may have played some role in the history of Latin/Romance has been almost completely ignored since Meillet's day, in spite of the huge advances made in creole linguistics since then. Considering the fact that Latin, originally the language of a single city, became within a few centuries the spoken *lingua franca* of Western Europe, it is indeed surprising no further research on this theme has been undertaken. It should be remembered in this context that the Romance-speaking area, in Europe, has shrunk considerably since the fall of the Western Roman Empire: Bavaria, Austria, German-speaking Switzerland, Flanders and most of the Netherlands, Slovenia, Croatia and North Africa were Romance-speaking originally, and the same may be true of other parts of the Western Roman Empire as well.

Since Latin/Romance eventually came to replace most of the languages originally spoken over this vast area, and this in a context of conquest, population displacement, chattel slavery, and where furthermore formal education of any kind was available only to the elite (Garnsey & Saller 1987), it must be recognized that there is no reason whatsoever for excluding the possibility that Latin, to some degree at least, was creolized; indeed, when comparing its external history to that of other European languages, it must be conceded that creolization is far likelier to have played a role in the history of Latin/Romance than in that of any other language.

Two questions might well be asked at this stage: first, what exactly is meant by 'creolized to some degree'? In the preceding paragraph reference was made to the considerable advances in creole studies made since Meillet's day: surely this warrants describing the linguistic situation in clearer terms; and second, why is 'Romance' being

treated as a single, monolithic entity? If creolization is indeed held to have been a pertinent phenomenon in the linguistic history of the various Romance languages, might this not have been a strictly localized, language- or even dialect-specific phenomenon?

In answer to the second question it should be made clear that no position whatsoever need be adopted or believed in dogmatically regarding the exact chronology of the break-up of 'proto-Romance' into various forms of speech, distinct from one another as well as from Latin (see Wright 1991 for discussion). Regardless of one's position regarding this issue, however, it cannot be denied that, when they are first attested in writing, Romance languages share a host of traits with one another, setting them off *en bloc* from Latin. These traits also set them off from other early Indo-European languages spoken in what was to become Romance-speaking territory as well (such as Oscan, Umbrian, Gaulish, Ibero-Celtic, Lepontic; see Buck 1974 [1904] for the former two languages, and Ball 1992 for the latter three), which are considerably closer, typologically, to Latin than to Romance. This clearly indicates that one cannot explain the birth of Romance from Latin as a case of substrate influence. To be sure, divergences are present, and will be pointed out in due course, but these are far outnumbered by the similarities. This is what justifies treating all the Romance languages together.

As for why this should be so, this brings us to the answer to the first question. The socio-linguistic scenario assumed to account for the linguistic facts is the following: Early Romance, a creolized variety of Latin, was born in the third century B.C. (Leonard 1978: it should be noted that he does not hold Early Romance to have been creolized in any way). This birth was due to Roman expansion in Central Italy, which led to the large-scale imposition of Latin on non-Latin (and, in some cases, such as the Etruscans, non-Indo-

European) -speaking peoples. This creolized variety stood at one end of a linguistic continuum, Classical Latin being the other: the two forms of speech were certainly not perceived as distinct languages, even after the fall of the Empire (Wright 1991). While it is quite possible that secondary creolization occurred in the course of its expansion as the dominant language of the Western Roman Empire (paradoxically, the fall of the Roman Empire, in its triggering some movements of population, may have contributed greatly to the linguistic Romanization of much of Western Europe (see Bonjour, Offler & Potter, 1952, for such an explanation regarding the Romanization of Northern Italy), there is no need to suppose Latin to have been creolized more than once.

Further arguments in favour of an early date for the birth of Romance[1] will be presented in Chapter 3. One very strong piece of evidence in favour of this is the early attestation, in writing, of many changes differentiating Romance from Latin, such as for example, the use of the preposition AD as a genitival case marker or the replacement of nominative by accusative forms: cf. the following two inscriptions, both taken from tombstones (quoted in Elcock 1960:26):

Hic requiiscunt menbra ad duus fratres
"Here lie the remains of two brothers"

(Classical Latin: "[...] membra duorum fratrium", with the genitive plural).

Hic quescunt duas matres, duas filias
"Here lie two mothers, two daughters"

[1] This issue is partly related to the matter of creolization: considering the 'catastrophic' nature of creolization (see chapter 2), one would expect, if the hypothesis presented here is correct, that creolization must have occurred at an early date, as otherwise one would expect some varieties of (geographically remote) Latin to have remained untouched by these creolization effects.

(Classical Latin: "[...] duae matres, duae filiae": the forms "duas matres", "duas filias" are accusative plural forms, in a context where, of course, one would expect the nominative plural).

While these two inscriptions have not been precisely dated, it is remarkable that similar such forms abound in the Latin inscriptions of Pompeii (an Italian city buried in ash by a volcanic explosion of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D., and whose perfectly preserved inscriptions thus date from that year). This certainly suggests a very early birth for Romance. The term 'Vulgar Latin' shall be avoided in this thesis, as its exact meaning varies greatly from author to author, few of whom (Elcock 1960 is a rare exception) precisely define what they mean by this label.

1.2 *Critical assessment*

The idea that the linguistic processes which gave birth to creole languages may have played a role in the genesis of some languages or language families is not new: creolization has been theorized to have played a role in the birth, *inter alia*, of Marathi (Southworth 1971), Middle English (Bailey & Maroldt 1977) and Modern Arabic (Versteegh 1984). The idea that English, in particular, may have a creole past appears to be looked on favourably by at least some creolists (cf. Holm 1988).

What all of these studies have in common, however, is a failure to clearly show that creolization is any likelier to have occurred in the languages studied than in any others. From this point of view Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) criticism of Bailey & Maroldt is quite pertinent: by examining data from other Germanic languages, they demonstrate that, far from being an aberrant or unusual phenomenon, the drift toward a more analytical

structure – ascribed by Bailey & Maroldt to language contact in the case of English – is the norm in most Germanic languages, and that there is thus no need to resort to creolization as an explanatory tool. Similar such criticism can be levelled at the other works cited; this is particularly true of Southworth (1971), whose theory – that Marathi, contrary to other Indo-Aryan languages, was originally a creolized language – is extraordinarily difficult to believe in light of the fact that Marathi is in many respects a remarkably archaic form of Indo-Aryan, particularly with regards to morphosyntax (for details, see Masica 1991).

1.2.1 *Need for external comparanda*

On this basis it is clear that ascertaining whether or not creolization played any sort of role in the genesis of Romance can only be done by a comparative approach: that is to say, by comparing the changes which separated Latin from Romance to the changes which occurred during the same period of time in some other language or language family. Such a language would not only have to be typologically similar to Latin; its external history should be sufficiently well known to preclude the possibility that it could ever itself have been creolized.

1.2.2 *Use of Greek as a comparandum*

Only one language truly fits both requirements: Greek. Not only does it have a written history which goes back further in time than that of Latin, but linguistically it is sufficiently similar to Latin to allow a meaningful comparison to be made. Its external history, moreover, is sufficiently well-known to allow us to say that creolization cannot be said to have played any significant role in its history. The reason for saying this, rather than

"cannot have played any role in its history", is because there does appear to be some evidence in favour of there having been some role played in the evolution of Greek by L2 or even pidginized varieties of the language (Versteegh 1986). Even were one to concede this, it would have to be acknowledged that such influence must necessarily have been quite limited in the case of Greek when compared to Latin/Romance, for the simple reason that, in contradistinction to Greek, Latin expanded outside its original home to become the dominant spoken language of a vast portion of the Roman Empire, whereas Greek has expanded little beyond its southern balkanic home (The expansion of Greek as a prestige language throughout the Mediterranean and Near East might seem to belie this claim, but this linguistic 'expansion' of Greek was primarily an elite phenomenon, which left the bulk of the non-Greek-speaking peoples unaffected; this contrasted sharply with the expansion of Latin/Romance, as Meillet (1928b) had already pointed out). This implies that however pidginization/creolization may have affected the evolution of Greek, such influence must have been considerably less profound than in the case of Latin.

The xenophobic attitude Greeks had vis-à-vis non-Greeks, which contrasted sharply with that of the Romans, also makes it unlikely that creolization played any significant role in the evolution of their language. As one researcher points out, comparing the Romans' 'universalist' (i.e., all human beings are fundamentally the same) and the Greeks' 'differentialist' (i.e., all human beings are not fundamentally the same) mentality :

> La façon dont les Romains ont abordé les différences objectives, culturelles ou physiques, est une très bonne illustration de l'attitude mentale universaliste. Dans sa marche à la domination universelle, Rome a rencontré des individus et des peuples d'une prodigieuse diversité. Les populations du Bassin méditerranéen, bien distinctes culturellement, sont proches par le physique ou le niveau de développement du peuple conquérant. Romains,

> Grecs, Carthaginois, Juifs et bien d'autres peuvent être définis comme de "petits bruns connaissant l'écriture". Aussi la reconnaissance par Rome d'une essence universelle permettant de transformer tous ces types d'hommes en citoyens n'apparaît-elle pas comme une illustration particulièrement spectaculaire de la capacité romaine à ignorer la différence. En revanche, au-delà de la vallée du Rhône, Gaulois et Germains combinent, d'un point de vue romain, une apparence physique monstrueuse à un sous-développement intellectuel impressionnant. Leur taille est immense, leur peau blanchâtre, leurs cheveux sont clairs et leurs yeux souvent étrangement bleus. A l'exotisme somatique s'ajoute l'absence d'écriture, indicateur type à cette époque comme à d'autres de non-civilisation. Ajoutons des rituels barbares comme les sacrifices humains, l'habitude pour les chefs gaulois de décorer leurs demeures avec des rangées de crânes, et nous pouvons avoir une idée du sentiment physico-culturel d'étrangeté éprouvé par des conquérants latins habitués à la vie urbaine, à l'eau courante des thermes et aux procédures électorales. Et pourtant, en quelques générations, les Gaulois sont acculturés. Leur langue est éliminée. Latinisés, ils donneront à Rome des sénateurs et des hommes des lettres. Rien dans leur apparence ou leurs moeurs ne rappelait Rome, n'indiquait clairement la possibilité de les transformer en citoyens ordinaires. *Une autre attitude aurait été possible, qui les aurait rejetés dans leur différence. Cette autre attitude avait en fait été illustrée par une autre grande cité de l'Antiquité, grecque celle-là, Marseille, colonie phocéenne qui s'était toujours refusée à considérer les Gaulois de son arrière-pays comme héllénisables.* (Todd 1994:32-33; emphasis mine: SG)

It might at this stage be asked how such a comparison could be enlightening. For it is perfectly natural for languages to diverge from one another: the Romance languages differ from one another in that they have diverged differently from their original source-language, Latin. For Greek and Latin to have evolved differently is scarcely surprising. Would one not be proceeding no less arbitrarily than those scholars just criticized, inasmuch as one would be bringing to the fore a notion such as creolization to account for the divergences between Latin and Greek, when such a notion is in fact utterly superfluous?

The answer is that this objection would be perfectly valid if creolization and normal language change did not differ from one another in terms of their observable linguistic effect. If they do, however, and if Latin is found to adhere more closely to 'creole-like' than to 'normal' language change, then creolization, far from being some arbitrary *deus ex machina* serving to explain that which may be explicable by other means, would be a useful working hypothesis. If, however, Latin is no more 'creole-like' than Greek in terms of its linguistic evolution, then the hypothesis falls flat and there is no need to postulate Latin to have been creolized during the course of its history. This should make it clear that what is being done here is the testing of a hypothesis (it should be added, a strictly linguistic hypothesis: considering the many difficulties involved in establishing the sociolinguistic setting of creoles born in the sixteenth/seventeenth century, attempted reconstructions of the sociolinguistic setting of the Roman Empire would be more akin to speculation than to science), in Popperian fashion, rather than the concoction of a web of speculation. In order to guard against the possibility that Greek, in some ways at least, may be an atypical Indo-European language with regards to its evolution, some consideration will be given to the evolution of other branches of Indo-European in the following pages.

For the purposes of this thesis, creolization will be held to differ from normal language change in the following fashion: whereas normal language change involves a gradual see-saw-like movement between the creation of analytical and synthetic structures (Schwegler 1990), creolization involves the total replacement of synthetic structures by analytical ones (cf. most recently, for this typological trait and others which allegedly define a creole, McWhorter 1997). Subsequently, however, as the creole is transformed according to the

observed principles of normal language change, it may create synthetic structures out of originally analytical ones (Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995, Chapter 10). This fact, of course, means that over time, a creole language sheds its distinctive linguistic cast to become increasingly indistinguishable from other, 'normal' languages (all the more so if a real pressure from other, neighbouring languages is a relevant factor). This is why the stage of Romance to be examined will be that of our earliest texts: if the hypothesis being examined here (that Latin was creolized) is correct, we would expect to find this best reflected, linguistically, in the earliest attested stages of Romance speech.

A possible objection might be that, even if one were to discover a greater degree of morphological conservatism in Greek than in Latin, this could well be explicable in the following fashion: since the (predominantly Latin-speaking) Western Roman Empire fell in 479 and the (predominantly Greek-speaking) Eastern Roman (Byzantinian) Empire fell in 1453, nearly a thousand years later, might this conservative aspect of Greek not be due to a greater degree of social, political and cultural continuity?[2] (This is the case for Banfi 1993, who thus explains the differential rate of language change in Latin and Greek.)

Such an objection would certainly be valid. Indeed, such socio-political factors have often been invoked to explain differences within Romance itself. Thus, Elcock (1960:257, 448), among others, ascribes the differences between Northern French, on the one hand – a highly innovative variety of Romance – and Tuscan (Italian), on the other – a highly conservative variety of Romance – to the fact that whereas Northern France was a locus

[2] This continuity is best reflected in the fact that, until recently, a diglossic situation was found in Greece, with an archaizing High (*Katharevousa*) and Low (*Dimotiki*) variety of the language. This situation no longer holds today: 'Modern Greek' refers to what was originally the 'low' variety.

of rapid social and political change, due chiefly to the various Germanic invasions, Tuscany remained, for most of its history, little more than a sleepy backwater.

There exists, however, a good piece of counter-evidence to this claim. To this day there exist, in Southern Italy, dialects of Greek, the origin of which goes back to classical times. Located as they are in Western Europe rather than the Balkans, separated from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, these dialects (known as Italic Greek) provide an ideal testing-ground to weigh these claims. For if, in spite of their socio-political isolation from the Greek world, the evolution of Italic Greek does not differ in broad outline from that of Balkan Greek, then the conservative cast of Greek cannot be explained away by socio-political factors. This in fact is what we find (Rohlfs 1949): in its declension as well as its conjugation system, i.e. those areas where the contrast between Latin/Romance and Greek is strongest (as shall be shown in Chapters 4 and 5), Italic Greek is very much like the Modern Standard language. It should be noted that, had the evolution of Italic Greek been found to be to be more reminiscent of Romance than Balkan Greek, this could well be explained as being due to the influence of Romance, which has been influencing Italic Greek (in its lexicon certainly, possibly in other ways as well) for well over a millennium and whose prestige today is such that it seems likely that Italic Greek will become extinct in the near future, through shift of its speakers to surrounding varieties of Italian (Profili 1985).

There likewise exists another piece of evidence strengthening the contention that the conservative cast of Greek cannot be explained through recourse to socio-political factors: there exists a highly isolated variety of Greek (sometimes called a dialect, sometimes a separate language: the point is irrelevant for the purposes of this thesis), Tsakonian,

spoken in Greece itself, but in a state of such extreme isolation that it may safely be regarded as a case of linguistic evolution where 'learned' influences remained quite minimal, if not indeed outright non-existent. Yet, of its morphology, Pernot (1934:155-156) writes:

> La phonétique du grec moderne est assez simple: on a pu voir dans les pages précédentes que celle du tsakonien l'est déjà moins. Pour la morphologie les différences sont plus grandes encore: celle du grec moderne est compliquée, mais celle du tsakonien, notamment pour le verbe, l'est plus encore.

Indeed, regarding nominal declension, he later (p.159) remarks that "Dans ses lignes générales le système tsakonien de déclinaison ne diffère pas de celui du grec commun."

Based on the Italic as well as on the Tsakonian evidence, we may thus safely claim that the evolution of Greek, inasmuch as it differs from that of Latin/Romance, cannot be explained as being due to differences in the socio-political environment of the speakers of these languages.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Ancient Greeks were, if anything, considerably more tolerant of linguistic variation than the Romans were, as the Romans themselves were the first to notice. Thus, the Roman grammarian Quintilian (1st century B.C.) wrote that what was proper Greek in one locality was bad Greek in another, *quia plura illis loquendi genera, quas διαλέκτους vocant [...] apud nos vero brevissima ratio.* "Because they have many forms of speech, which they name dialects[...] with us there is, in truth, a much simpler principle". (Quoted in Väänänen 1981:20)

Thus, all other things being equal, we would expect, on the basis of attitudinal factors, that Greek would have changed more rapidly than Latin. As we shall see in the following chapters, however, the exact opposite appears to have occurred.

Chapter 2: What is a Creole?

The goal of this chapter is to examine those languages known as creoles and, in particular, to assess what defines these languages, an issue which is by no means clear-cut, as creoles do not form a language family (such as Indo-European or Uralic) or a linguistic area (Balkans, Meso-America). This is especially important, since the term 'creolization' has been used by a great many authors in an especially loose manner, often seeming to be little more than a broad synonym for 'language contact'. This chapter will also attempt to circumscribe the notion of creolization and to define it sufficiently clearly for it to be applicable to the issue being examined, i.e., did creolization play a role in the genesis of the Romance languages from Latin?

2.1 *A brief examination of some creole languages*

There exists in the world today a number of languages known as creoles: while the exact boundaries of creole versus non-creole languages is not clear (i.e., there do exist languages which some researchers consider to be creoles and which others consider not to be creoles), there does exist, so to speak, a 'hard core' of languages which, it is generally agreed, deserve the epithet 'creole'.

It is also comparatively uncontroversial to say that creole languages, as a rule, draw the bulk of their lexicon from a single language: some, like Haitian Creole, Martinique Creole, Guyanese Creole and Mauritian Creole (spoken predominantly, as their names indicate, in Haiti, Martinique, French Guyana and Mauritius, respectively) draw the bulk of their lexicon from French; others, such as Jamaican Creole, Sranan, and Belizean Creole

(spoken predominantly in Jamaica, Surinam and Belize, respectively), draw the bulk of their vocabulary from English: and others draw their lexicon from various other languages (for a complete listing, see the list given in Chapter 26 of Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995:163, 230).

What is also uncontroversial is the claim that, in spite of their drawing their lexicon from some other language, creoles cannot be considered mere dialects of the languages they draw their vocabulary from (in creole studies, one refers to the vocabulary-supplying language as the *lexifier* language). The grammars of creole languages differ far too profoundly from that of their respective lexifiers for such a position to be tenable. As an illustration, consider the following two sentences, in Haitian Creole and Sranan respectively (both drawn, as well as the glosses and the translation, from Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995:

(1) Lè ravèt vlé fè dans. li pa-janm envité poul
hour cockroach want make dance. 3sg NEG-never invite chicken
"When a cockroach wants to have a dance, he never invites a chicken"

(2) A ben e sidon fow en anu na ondro en kakumbe
3sg. PAST CNT sit fold 3sg hand LOC under 3sg.chin
"He was sitting as usual with his chin on his hands"

In neither case could one reasonably say that one is dealing with dialects of French or English, especially considering the fact each of the words in the creole examples is utterly uninflected: on the contrary, it is plain that one is dealing with languages wholly distinct from their lexifiers.

However, it can also be seen that in both cases the lexicon is drawn predominantly from that of French (in the case of Haitian) or English (in the case of Sranan), disguised

though it is by the orthographic conventions used to write these two languages: cf. in the case of Haitian –

Haitian	French
Lè	l'heure
vlé	voulez[3]
fè	faire
dans	danse
li	lui
pa	pas
janm	jamais
envité	inviter
poul	poule

and in Sranan

Sranan	English
ben	been
sidon	sit down
fow	fold
en	him
anu	hand
ondro	under

It should immediately be noted that in many creole-speaking societies the creole is not considered by its speakers to be a separate language. Such is the case in countries where the lexifier language is the official language. In such cases the creole is considered to be 'bad English' (or French, or Portuguese, as the case may be); as another consequence one finds, in these societies, what is known as a 'creole continuum': a linguistic situation where the creole and its lexifier do not exist as separate, discrete systems, but rather where both exist as endpoints within the repertoire of a speech community, the lexifier being the

[3] The gloss "voulez" is etymological in nature, indicating the origin of the form: synchronically, "vouloir" would doubtless be better. The reader is reminded that Haitian verbs are uninflected, and that *vlé* is the only form of the verb in Haitian.

High and the Creole being the Low variety. Since varieties intermediate to the two poles may also be considered 'creole', one often speaks of the creole variety furthest removed from the lexifier as the basilect, forms of creole closer to the lexifier as mesolects, with the varieties closest to the lexifier language being called acrolects, a term sometimes used to refer to the local form of the lexifier itself. Thus, the following diagram (slightly modified from Romaine 1988:158-159) gives an idea of the nature of the creole continuum:

I		gave	him	↑ acrolect
a		geev	him	
a		geev	im	
a		geev	ii	
a		giv	him	
a		giv	im	
a		giv	ii	
a	did	give	hii	
a	did	giv	ii	
a	did	gi	ii	
a	di	gi	ii	
mi	di	gi	hii	
mi	di	gi	ii	
mi	bin	gi	ii	
mi	bin	gii	ii	
mi	bin	gii	am	
mi		gii	am	↓ basilect

This situation is quite reminescent of a classic dialect continuum (including its 'fuzziness': just as it impossible to draw a hard line between two geographically separate language varieties where a continuum stands between them, it is impossible to clearly draw the line between 'creole' and 'non-creole' in cases such as this one) but differs from it not only inasmuch as the variation is social rather than geographical in nature, but also because any single speaker within the speech community may master the most acrolectal as well as most basilectal forms of speech, making use of them as social circumstances

warrant, i.e., using the more basilectal level of speech in relaxed, casual conversation, and the more acrolectal in more formal occasions.

It should be noted that such 'creole continua' do not automatically arise when the lexifier language persists as the official language in a given creole-speaking society: in Haiti, for example, where French was until recently the sole official language, no such continuum between Haitian and French exists: the two languages, instead, coexist in a classical diglossic situation, with French as the High and Haitian as the Low variety, without there being any mesolectal variety between the two.[4]

Strict diglossic situations such as described above for Haiti are also the rule, naturally, when the official language of a creole-speaking society is a language other than its lexifier: this is the case of Surinam, where the local English-based creole, Sranan, coexists with the official language of the country, Dutch. This is not to say that Sranan (or other creoles existing in similar diglossic relations elsewhere) remain unaffected by the High language: indeed, Sranan has borrowed quite a good deal from Dutch (cf. *noiti* "never", from Dutch *nooit*); however, Sranan and other languages existing in such a diglossic situation are indeed conceptualized by their speakers as being separate languages, and not as being low, uneducated registers of whatever High variety happens to have official status.

2.2 *Creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages*

There exist two other types of languages which should be considered apart from creoles, although they may well shed some light on the issue of creole genesis (cf. below): pidgins and mixed languages.

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[4] The terms 'basilect' and 'mesolect' are, naturally, relative: that is to say, on a strictly linguistic basis, forms considered basilectal in one creole-speaking community may be considered mesolectal in the other.

Pidgins differ most obviously from creoles and, indeed, from other languages inasmuch as they are not the first language of anyone: pidgins may be defined as languages created for the purpose of basic communication between groups not sharing any other language. Like creoles, their lexicon is as a rule drawn from a single language, but their grammar, in utterly lacking flexional morphology, is quite unlike that of their lexifier: cf. the following sentence of Chinese Pidgin English (from Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995:31):

(3) Boy! makee pay my that two piecee book
boy make give 1sgthat two classifier book
"Give me those two books, boy!"

It is important to note that pidgins, although nobody's mother-tongue, are not to be seen as error-ridden, unstable second-language varieties of their lexifiers: rather, they should be seen as varieties which, although exhibiting some variation, must be considered autonomous systems, unlike their lexifiers: the second-language variety of English produced by a Chinese learner, although it may bear some similarities to it, cannot be considered an utterance in Chinese Pidgin English.

Historically, pidgins have been created in cases where various groups lacking a common language needed to communicate, and where, for various reasons, no non-pidgin language could be acquired by all for the purpose of communication.

A second type of language to be considered is the 'mixed language': these are languages which have borrowed so many elements from another that there results a new speech variety. An example of such a mixed language would be Michif, a dying language spoken in the Canadian West and North Dakota, whose verbs are of Cree and its noun

phrases of French origin: cf. the following sentence (from Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995:45):

(4) Kî-nipi-yi-wa *son frère* aspin ka-*la-petite-fille-* iwi-t
Past-die-3sg his/herbrother since comp-the-little-girl-be-3sg.
"Her brother died when she was a young girl"

Note that the italicized words are the Michif elements of French origin; the non-italicized words are those of Cree origin.

It is important to note that speakers of Michif no longer speak French or Cree: we are not dealing here with a case of code-switching, but rather with a wholly new language. Similar such mixed languages are Media Lengua, spoken in Ecuador, whose lexicon is predominantly Spanish but whose syntax and grammatical morphemes are Quechua, or Javindo, spoken in Indonesia, whose lexicon hails from Dutch and its grammar from Javanese.

Both these types of language have been briefly described, as both have been proposed to be relevant for an understanding of creole genesis.

2.3 *On creole genesis*

Hall (1966) proposed the theory known as the 'creole cycle': according to him, creoles emerge from prior pidgins. In contexts such as those of early Haiti or Surinam, where large numbers of African slaves, speaking mutually unintelligible languages and urgently needing to communicate, pidgins, using the lexicon of their European masters, were created to solve the problem of communication across ethnic boundaries. However, as this pidgin became ever more widely used, it increasingly became the dominant language of the community: children born in households where parents had no other common language

only spoke this language. Thus, to Hall, a creole was a pidgin which had acquired native speakers.

Crucially, this change in status also entailed, according to Hall, linguistic changes as well. In contradistinction to an auxiliary language used for basic communication, a mother tongue requires a minimum degree of elaboration to be as fully adequate for communication as a non-creole language: this was referred to by Hall as 'expansion': more recent research (Sankoff & Laberge 1974) suggests that the crucial factor in a pidgin's 'expansion' is not so much its becoming a mother tongue as its becoming the dominant (i.e., most frequently used) language of a community. With this amendment, however, Hall's theory may be said to be the 'standard' theory of creole genesis, one which, furthermore, has served as a basis for a synchronic definition of a creole (cf. below).

One uncertainty, however, lies with the nature of creole 'expansion': how do speakers in fact 'expand' a pidgin?

There are two fundamental schools of thought on this subject: according to the first, creoles expand on the basis of universal principles of linguistic development and owe nothing to the languages they replaced ('substratum languages'). This was perhaps best elaborated by Bickerton (1981), arguing that any pidgin children would have been exposed to would have been both highly unstable and structurally inadequate. He argues that such a degenerate input would have caused learners to acquire a lexicon without clear-cut grammatical rules, whose grammar they would therefore have to create *ex nihilo*, on the basis of the most natural linguistic patterns found in the human mind.

A second school of thought, however, holds that the expansion of creoles, taking place as it did in a context where a number of other languages were spoken, occurred through

the large-scale borrowing of structures from the various languages spoken within the nascent community. Pushed to one extreme, however, this theory has been presented as a challenge to Hall's theory of creoles as nativized pidgins: according to Lefebvre (1986) Haitian Creole is to be considered a 'mixed language', whose lexicon is French but whose grammar is from an African language, Fongbe. While Lefebvre's work has centred exclusively on Haitian, it is to be presumed that other creoles could be analyzed in the same light, i.e., as mixed languages.

While this new view has become influential in certain circles, it is too flawed to be taken seriously: As Chaudenson (1990) quite properly remarks, the theory is framed in such a fashion is to be utterly irrefutable; just as serious as its methodological flaws, however, are its serious distortions of the linguistic data.

Because of this, this thesis will operate under the 'classical', i.e., Hall's, view of Creole genesis. This is not to say that substratum influence is rejected as a matter of principle: rather, it is considered to be strictly secondary in importance. Theoretically, a creole uninfluenced by its substrate would remain a creole, just as a Romance language remains a Romance language, however it may or may not have been influenced by non-Romance languages.

2.4 Are creoles synchronically definable? A recent proposal

If creoles necessarily emerge from a prior pidgin, then the question naturally suggests itself: are creoles a synchronically definable class of languages? A recent proposal (McWhorter 1998) suggests that the answer is yes. Accepting the idea that creoles emerge from earlier pidgins, it is proposed that creoles are synchronically definable in having:

1) Little or no inflectional affixation
2) Little or no use of tone to lexically contrast monosyllables or encode syntax
3) Semantically regular derivational affixation.

While non-creole languages may have one or two of these traits, it is argued that the combination of all three is a characteristic trait of creoles and of no other languages.

The reason for these traits being found in creoles and nowhere else is that (McWhorter 1998:792; emphasis his):

> These are the three structural traits which, **when they cluster**, distinguish the creole language. These traits cluster in creole languages because all of them involve features which **both**
>
> (a) combine low perceptual saliency with low import to basic communication, encouraging learners acquiring the language rapidly and informally to bypass acquiring them, **and**
>
> (b) only develop internally as the result of gradual development over long periods of time.

It is thus important to note that these three traits are thus far from being in any way arbitrary: on the contrary, they are traits which, because they are dispensed with in the process of pidginization, will not be found in creole languages. Conversely, these traits will only appear in a language, through the mechanism of grammaticization, after a long period of time. Creole languages are thus too young to have created them.

A difficulty with this definition of a Creole lies in the fact that there is no reason, in principle, why a non-creole might not have all three traits: this has lead this author (Goyette 2000) to propose a new synchronic definition of a creole language, one which would have the double advantage of 1) defining a creole language on the basis of two rather than three traits, and 2) would be framed in such a fashion as to make it impossible in principle for a non-creole language to exhibit both these traits. However, for the

purposes of the present thesis we may work with McWhorter's synchronic definition of a creole, especially considering that in terms of the trait used in this thesis (loss of inflectional morphology, see below) it wholly agrees with McWhorter's definition.

2.5 *Relevance of McWhorter's definition for the present study*

Of the three traits proposed by McWhorter, it is plainly the first (little or no inflection) which is relevant for our purposes here, namely establishing whether creolization played any role in the emergence of the Romance languages from Latin. The second (tone) is utterly irrelevant, inasmuch as neither Latin nor the medieval Romance languages, inasmuch as can be ascertained, had a tone system of any kind. The third (semantically transparent derivation), while quite relevant, is unfortunately inapplicable to a diachronic study: McWhorter (personal communication) defines derivational morphology on the basis of the perceptions of native speakers rather than productivity: this leads him to claim English nouns ending in *-ity* (*felicity, charity*...) to be cases of derivation, since, non-productive though the suffix *-ity* is, it is clearly perceived to be a morphological element by present-day English speakers (cf. *sane/sanity, divine/divinity*). This lack of transparent derivation, combined with the presence of a number of inflectional morphemes, especially in the verb (sing/sings/sang/sung/singing) is what makes it impossible to regard English as a creole.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine how semantically transparent derivation was in any extinct language, or any earlier form of a language spoken today: forms readily perceived by present-day linguistic researchers to be morphology may very well have been

quite opaque to native speakers of these varieties[5]. Furthermore, in contradistinction to inflectional morphology, derivational morphology is readily borrowed from one language to another: we need look no further than modern English, which has a great many derivational morphemes of French origin (*-ette*, *-able*, *in-*) but not a single inflectional morpheme of French origin. These difficulties were partly responsible for this writer's attempt to formulate a new version of the creole prototype (see above).

This leaves us, thus, with the first of McWhorter's traits to work with. It should be stressed that the fact that, as we shall see, a great many Latin inflectional morphemes did survive into Romance cannot be taken as counter-evidence to the theory propounded here, i.e., that creolization played a role in the genesis of the Romance languages. What is being sought is not a total absence of inflectional morphology, but rather, an unusually pronounced loss of inflectional morphology in the transition from Latin to Romance when compared to the situation in Greek: let us recall what was said above: a creole language and its lexifier may very well coexist, producing a host of intermediate varieties ('mesolects').[6]

By a happy coincidence, an exceptionally broad consensus exists to the effect that this trait (lack of inflectional morphology) is indeed a typological caracteristic of creole languages. Already, Hall had pointed to the fact that "Pidgins and creoles often fail to show many of our familiar categories of grammatical expression" (Hall 1966:58).

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[5] An analogy: if linguists in the year 4000 A.D. were to examine a corpus of Modern English, they would have no way of knowing that a suffix such as *–th* (*wide/width*, *long/length*) is wholly unproductive to most native speakers today.

[6] A major limitation of using known instances of creolization as a model for the genesis of Romance lies in the fact that, because the best-studied creole continua (those involving English- and French-based creoles) involve lexifier languages with far less inflectional morphology than Latin possessed, we cannot thereby know which parts of Latin inflectional morphology would be most susceptible to loss.

DeGraff (1999) presents a strong critique of McWhorter's prototype theory, making use of Haitian Creole data. Crucially, no inflectional morphology is claimed to exist in Haitian, so that this point of McWhorter's creole prototype theory is (tacitly) accepted. Likewise, even Lefebvre, who views creoles as cases of 'relexification' (i.e. languages whose grammar stems from one language and whose vocabulary from another), has recently conceded that "creoles tend to be isolating languages" (Lefebvre 1998:2).

Thus, loss of inflectional morphology is clearly recognized by a broad array of scholars to be a specifically creole trait. It is important to stress that this allows one to clearly oppose creolization and normal language change, as phenomena which differ in nature rather than in rate: creolization, although an abrupt phenomenon, is not accelerated normal language change: rather, it is a special type of change which yields results quite distinct from those of normal language change, inasmuch as it leads to loss of inflectional morphology without any creation of new morphology.

2.6 *Conclusion*

We have seen what a creole language was and how such languages are held to have emerged: related to this issue is that of determining in what ways, if any, a creole language differs from a non-creole language. On the basis of this difference, we are now in a position to ascertain whether, in fact, creolization played any part in the emergence of the Romance languages from Latin.

Chapter 3: What is Romance?

This chapter aims not so much, as the previous chapter did, to define what a Romance language is, but rather to establish clearly whether or not Latin[7] is indeed the direct ancestor of the Romance languages.

3.1 *Latin, the Romance languages, and 'Proto-Romance'*

Compared to the definition of a creole language, the definition of a Romance language appears simple indeed: it is a language which is a later, spoken form of Latin. It is thus a banal, textbook example of a language family. Romance only differs from Celtic, Germanic, Slavic and other language families in that the proto-language, Latin, is a known, attested language, and not a reconstructed one.

However, the exact relation of Latin and the Romance languages is by no means a clear one: in particular, is Latin indeed the direct ancestor of the Romance languages? Many scholars do not believe so: thus, Leonard (1978) argues that Classical Latin and Proto-Romance, whose common ancestor he considers unattested, were wholly separate languages before the fall of the Roman Empire: in his own words (p.9)

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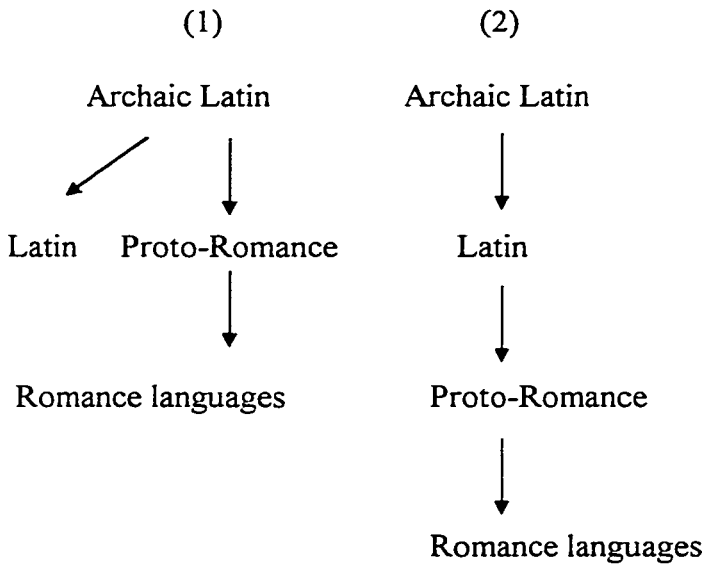
[7] This is not to say that the written documentation at our disposal gives us a full picture of the Latin language: a great many aspects of the spoken language will doubtless remain unknown to us forever. However, this has to do with variation within a single language, rather than differences between distinct languages. In claiming Latin to be the ancestor of the Romance languages, one is obviously referring to the spoken rather than the written language, and the latter obviously failed to record many features of the former. Also, the reader should bear in mind that 'Latin' or 'Classical Latin' normally refers to the language of the Roman elite of the first century B.C.: in this chapter it refers more broadly to the language as spoken some two centuries earlier, and which is assumed to have been the stage of the language which was creolized.

> The dialectalization that had begun in South Italy before 264 B.C. must have progressed to such a point by the Augustan era that that complex and sophisticated communication between a Palatine patrician and an expatriate farmer-soldier was impossible. For example, a military commander with access to the imperial court must have been, or must have depended heavily on others who were, bilingual.

Conversely, other scholars hold Latin to be the direct ancestor of the Romance languages: such is the position of Mańczak (1985), who argues that the ancestor of the Romance languages was indeed Latin itself. Schematically, we may, following Mańczak (1985:181), represent the two points of view in the following fashion (with some changes in the terminology):



This issue is obviously quite directly relevant to the present thesis: for if Romance is indeed not a later, changed form of Classical Latin but of some other, albeit closely related, language, then of course much of the arguments presented here would lose their force. A related problem is the following: when were the Romance languages born? For, as was already mentioned in Chapter 1, the external history of Latin certainly suggests that creolization may have played a part in the genesis of the Romance languages. However,

this is true only if one accepts that the major typological traits separating Romance from Latin took place during the course of Roman expansion: if, instead, one assumes that at the time of the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.) what was spoken throughout the Roman Empire, at all levels of society, was basically Latin-like, and that the typological changes separating Romance from Latin occurred at a later date, then the theory encounters a major stumbling-block: for nothing in the external history of Latin and the Romance languages during this period of time makes creolization any likelier a possibility than in the case of other language families, such as Slavic or Germanic.

This chapter, therefore, will, on the one hand, present evidence demonstrating that Classical Latin is indeed the ancestor of the Romance languages, and on the other, present evidence that the birth of Romance took place at a very early date. It will be noticed that this will entail a slight modification to the schema presented above: it is proposed that there did not occur a transition from Latin to Proto-Romance and then from proto-Romance to the various Romance languages: instead, it is proposed that the differentiation of various Romance varieties occurred with the very birth of Romance, i.e., that there was no uniform proto-Romance spoken throughout the Roman Empire, and that one rather speak of the transition from Latin to Early Romance, with the understanding that the latter term designates a set of distinct (but closely-related) varieties.[8]

With this clarification in mind, let us turn to the first of the two goals of this chapter, namely, to establish whether or not Latin is indeed the ancestor of the Romance languages.

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[8] In speaking of 'Romance varieties' at such an early date it should not be inferred that these varieties were perceived by their speakers to be separate languages: on the contrary, they were doubtless, from a sociolinguistic point of view, nothing more than spoken forms of Latin.

3.2 *The absence of pre-latin phonological developments in Romance*

To argue that Romance descends from a sister language of Latin necessarily implies that both languages go back to an earlier common ancestor (here called, for convenience, 'Archaic Latin'). If, indeed, Latin is a sister language of the ancestor of the Romance languages, then we must assume both to go back to some earlier (presumably unattested) common ancestral language. However, difficulties immediately appear.

First, as Mańczak (1987) points out, out of 1487 Romance etymologies he has examined, he has failed to find even a single one which requires explanation, not through Latin, but through some earlier stage thereof. This leads him to conclude that:

> [...] le rapport entre les formes vulgaires et les formes classiques est toujours comparable à celui qui existe entre roum. *zece* et lat. *decem*, et non à celui qui existe entre roum. *zece* et fr. *dix* (*zece* provient de *decem*, mais il ne provient pas de *dix*). Autrement dit, le latin vulgaire est, par rapport au latin classique, une langue fille et non pas une langue soeur[9]. (Mańczak 1987:186-187)

Second, those attempts which have been made to find pre-Latin traits in Romance cannot be said to have been successful; thus Leonard (1978), who attempts to demonstrate that proto-Romance was a sister language of Latin, characterized by massive metaphony of vowels, has been found quite unconvincing by other Romance scholars: see Maiden (1991) for an account arguing that metaphony, in Italy, is of comparatively recent origin.

More recently, however, Leonard (1980) has proposed a novel case of Latin/Romance differentiation indicating that both descend from a common ancestor: since this is, to this author's knowledge, the only other attempt made to demonstrate that Romance and Latin

[9] There is no reason to doubt that creolization entails sound changes no less regular than what is found in the case of normal language change: thus, English /b/ and /v/ quite regularly yield /b/ in Sranan.

are indeed sister languages on the basis of comparative Romance evidence, it is well worth looking into in detail.

Examining forms such as French *nuit*, Italian *notte* and Rumanian *nopte* "night" and French *cuit*, Italian *cuit* and Rumanian *copt*, he concludes that the original cluster to be reconstructed is not /kt/, but rather /k^{w}t/: the reason for so concluding is because the sound change in Rumanian is more easily explained by postulating a labio-velar than a velar consonant as the first element of the cluster, and, indeed, it is parallel to the change found in French *quatre*, Italian *quattro* and Rumanian *patru*, all of which are reflexes of Latin *quattuor*. Etymologically, he continues, Latin /kt/ is a neutralization of what were, in Indo-European (and, presumably, in the common ancestor of Latin and Romance) two clusters, /kt/ and /k^{w}t/: in his view, whereas Latin realized the single reflex of these two clusters as /kt/, proto-Romance realized it as /k^{w}t/. This, in Leonard's view, means that Romance and Latin are to be considered separate Italic dialects (Leonard appears to take for granted the existence of an 'Italic' branch of Indo-European, in spite of the doubts raised by Beeler 1966).

Leonard's proposal, however, is not convincing. Obviously, one can account for the Rumanian data without having recourse to anything other than Classical Latin: we need only assume a change k→/p_t in Rumanian. However, Leonard would doubtless answer that this would be uneconomical: if we assume the existence of a cluster /k^{w}t/ (despite the labiality of the first element being unrealized), we may account for all three Rumanian forms, *nopte*, *copt*, and *patru* by means of a single rule, k^{w}→/p, regardless of context. It should immediately be noted that one would still need to postulate differences in the evolution of pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic /k^{w}/ for languages other than Rumanian:

$k^w \rightarrow$/t_t for Italian, for example (see examples above). Thus, postulating a cluster /k^wt/ rather than /kt/ is only economical in the case of the evolution of one language, Rumanian.

Unfortunately for Leonard, however, whatever we may think of Leonard's reconstruction, there is no reason, in principle, why such a reconstruction need imply accepting Romance as a sister language of Latin. Even if, despite its being unattested, we accept /k^wt/ as a reconstructed cluster for proto-Romance (its labiality does make make it more attractive than /kt/ in explaining its Rumanian outcome, /pt/), there is no reason why it could not be a reflex of Latin /kt/. This unfortunately means that there is no good reason to accept the idea that Classical Latin and Proto-Romance were sister languages.

However, such an argument *ex silentio*, although suggestive, proves nothing. In the following section it will be shown that a number of highly idiosyncratic, language-specific traits, found in Latin, are also found in the Romance languages, making it well-nigh impossible to consider them to be anything other than later, changed forms of Latin.

3.3 *Latin idiosyncrasies in Romance*

The history of Latin, when compared to the history of its Romance progeny, is rather obscure, not least because the data on other Indo-European languages found in the Italian peninsula is quite poor: even the information available on the two best-known languages, Oscan and Umbrian, is in some respects quite scanty (although as was pointed out in chapter 1, these and other Indo-European languages replaced by Latin were far more Latin-than Romance-like, making it impossible to regard the typological shift which led from Latin to Romance as being due to substrate influence). Nevertheless, the basic outline of the evolution of Latin, especially its phonological evolution, are sufficiently well-known for us to be able to identify anomalous words and forms. If Latin and

Romance are indeed sister languages, one would not expect many such anomalies to be found in Romance: if Romance is indeed a daughter of Latin, however, then we would expect it to have inherited everything its ancestral language had, including anomalies.

3.4 *Lupus and Bos*

The Latin words for "wolf" (*lupus*) and "ox" (*bos*) are both unusual in exhibiting labial consonants as reflexes of Indo-European labio-velars: on the basis of its regular phonological evolution, one would have expected the Latin forms **luquus* and **vos*. Ernout & Meillet (1960) consider both words to be borrowings from some neighbouring variety of Osco-Umbrian, where the change /k^w/ to /p/ and /g^w/ to /b/ is indeed regular. Regarding the latter form, *bos*, Martinet (1975:173) points out that it may have borrowed because of the homophonic clash between the expected reflex of this word in Latin and the nominative second-person plural pronoun, both *vos*; this would doubtless have been a source of many puns but also of confusion, which would have opened the door to borrowing from a neighbouring language.

Be that as it may, no such likely explanation is available in the case of *lupus* rather than expected **luquus*; presumably, such a form was found in some other languages closely related to Latin. Could the ancestor of the Romance languages have been one such speech?

Unfortunately not. If we consider the words for wolf (French *loup*, Spanish *lobo*, Italian *lupo*, Rumanian *lup*) and ox (French *boeuf*, Spanish *buey*, Italian *bue*, Rumanian *bou*) we fail to find any evidence for proto-Romance forms differing from the Latin ones (in light of the above remark on the borrowing of *bos* as having been due to a desire to

avoid homophonic conflict, note the following Romance forms of this pronoun: French *vous*, Spanish *vos(otros)*, Italian and Rumanian *voi*).

Thus, if proto-Romance was indeed a sister rather than a daughter of Latin, we must assume it to have borrowed the very same two words from its neighbours that Latin did. It would doubtless be less of a strain to simply assume proto-Romance to be the daughter of Latin, and that these two words, like so many others, were simply inherited.

Perhaps, of course, such forms did indeed survive in early Romance, but were later replaced by more Latin-like forms, due to learned influence. Considering how basic the two words are, however, this explanation is not very likely, *prima facie*, and it also must contend with the fact that Rumanian, a language early removed from learned Latin influence, also exhibits reflexes of these two words which point to Latin.

3.5 Fel *"bile"*

Another unusual word, from the point of view of phonological evolution, was Latin *fel* "bile". Its initial phoneme is quite unusual: comparison with other Indo-European languages would have made one expect a form with initial *h*: Ernout & Meillet (1960) explain this anomaly as being possibly due to folk-etymology or borrowing. Again, we would expect that such an abnormal development would not be widely shared, and again it would not be unreasonable to expect that at least some forms of Latin would exhibit the expected reflex with initial /h/.

The ancestor of the Romance languages is not such a form of Latin, however: forms such as French *fiel*, Spanish *hiel*[10], Italian *fiele* and Rumanian *fiere* all point to an original form with an initial *f-* (the Spanish change of *f-* to *h-* is perfectly regular).

Again, as in the case of the words for 'wolf' and 'ox', the simpler explanation would be that Latin is indeed the ancestor of the Romance languages; the same objections presented above to the possibility of learned influence are no less valid in this case.

3.6 Lingua *"tongue"*

Another word exhibiting unusual phonological development is *lingua*, "tongue": comparison with Indo-European cognates (such as English 'tongue' itself, as a matter of fact) would have led one to expect a form **dingua*. Indeed, as Ernout and Meillet point out, such a form is claimed by the Latin grammarian Varro to have existed: they consider the change from *d* to *l* a dialectalism. Did the original form, with initial *d*, survive anywhere?

It certainly did not in the case of the form of Latin ancestral to the Romance languages: such forms as French *langue*, Spanish *lengua*, Italian *lingua* and Rumanian *limbă* all point to a form with initial *l-*, just like the Latin form itself.

As in the case of the other words presented above whose Latin form is unusual, we find the Romance languages to follow Latin quite faithfully: as in the cases presented above, the likeliest explanation, considering the semantic basicness of the words presented, is that the Romance forms descend from the Latin ones.

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[10] Although silent in the modern standard, Old Spanish graphic *h* was realized as /h/ when it was a reflex of Latin /f/.

3.7 *Three verbs*

Finally, there is a striking morphological peculiarity found in Latin: whereas the Latin singular imperative normally ended in a vowel, depending on conjugation class (thus *canta*! *tace*! "sing!" "be silent!"), there were three verbs – *dicere*, *ducere* and *facere* ("to say", "to lead", "to make/do") – whose imperative singular forms were irregular in exhibiting vowel apocope: *dic*, *duc*, *fac*. The fact that these three verbs alone exhibit this form is an oddity, presumably due to the high frequency of those three verbs.

Interestingly, these irregular forms survived in several Romance languages: Rumanian has *zi*, *du*, *fă*, Italian *di*, *fa*, and Old French had *di*, *fai* (data from Elcock 1960:132) – the expected reflexes of these three verb forms: otherwise the other imperative singular forms continue the regular Latin forms. If one assumes the ancestor of the Romance languages to have been a sister rather than a daughter of Latin, then this sister must have shared with Latin the highly idiosyncratic trait of having the same irregular forms for the same three verbs. The possibility of learned borrowing is even unlikelier in this case – the imperative forms 'say!' 'lead!' and 'do!' must surely be ranked among the most basic elements of Latin, and therefore the least likely to be borrowed or affected by pressure from the standard.[11]

3.8 *Latin as the ancestor of Romance*

In all the cases examined above, it was found that the Romance languages faithfully follow Latin, even when the Latin forms themselves are anomalous or unexpected. If, on account of the rather basic nature of the lexicon and forms examined, we exclude the

[11] The presence of this inherited Latin morphology, we remind the reader, in no way invalidates the creolization hypothesis: what we are seeking is an unusual degree of morphological loss, not a total loss of inherited Latin morphology.

possibility of learned influence (which, to repeat, would not be satisfactory, inasmuch as Rumanian, a language early removed from learned Latin influence, is as faithful to Latin as the other Romance languages are), then we have no choice but to consider the ancestor of the Romance languages to have been so close to Latin in its language-specific peculiarities as to have been virtually identical to it. In short, the ancestor of the Romance languages was indeed Latin.

This finding, it should be pointed out, in no way invalidates the creolization hypothesis: on the contrary, it narrows it, and thereby makes it more easily verifiable: whether the Romance languages emerged from Latin through a creolization process or not, it is clear on the basis of the above considerations that they indeed emerged from Classical Latin.

3.9 *Arguments in favour of an early birth of Romance*

If we accept that Latin was indeed the ancestor of the Romance languages, we must consider the possibility that it spread throughout the Roman Empire and only broke up at a very late date: this, indeed, is the position taken by many scholars, beginning with Muller (1929); others, such as Wright (1994), take a slightly more nuanced view and argue that, while there may indeed have been a great deal of linguistic variation during the initial implantation of Latin, considerable levelling subsequently took place. In both cases it is assumed that the break-up of Romance languages took place at a very late date, i.e., well after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.).

Such a conception would be highly damaging to the hypothesis of creolization as having played any role in the genesis of Romance, however: for if the spread of Latin throughout the Roman Empire occurred without any major change in the structure of the

language, then the entire hypothesis loses its value: creolization becomes no likelier in the case of Romance than in that of any other branch of Indo-European.

In the following paragraphs, some arguments will be brought to bear to the effect that Romance, as linguistically distinct from Latin, was in fact born at a very early stage in Roman history. These arguments will not be as elaborate as those just presented in support of the contention that Latin is the direct ancestor of the Romance languages: the reason is because this hypothesis (early birth and break-up) could in a sense be considered the most natural, since, as Bonfante (1999:2) points out:

> On the face of it, and without entering now upon questions of detail, a theory claiming that there existed a uniformity of the Latin language throughout the territory of the Empire during a period of approximately ten centuries is not very probable. The area of the Roman Empire was vast even in Republican times; under the emperors it became immense. Is it likely that the same tongue should have been spoken from the banks of the Tagus to the shores of the Black Sea, from Britain to Africa? And even assuming that such was the case at a certain date, is it likely that this state of things should have continued for any length of time? Any language spoken over a large area has a tendency to become differentiated; each region, each province, each village develops its own peculiarities, its own idiomatic expressions and phrases, its own *patois*. Is there not, at the present time, an almost infinite variety of French, Italian, German and Slavic dialects? And what is true for our age, when the facility of communications, diffusion of education, and often the persecution of linguistic minorities provide an extraordinary impulse to the linguistic unification of each State, must have been even truer in the ancient world when communications were rudimentary, popular education almost non-existent and when illiteracy reigned supreme.

If we accept an early birth for Early Romance, accompanied by dialectalization as Bonfante suggests above, then we would expect to find evidence of this in the written record.

From this point of view, a true treasure for the Romance scholar is to be found in Pompei: this city, located in Italy, South of Rome, was buried in ash in a volcanic

explosion in the year 79 A.D. The city has been excavated by archeologists and among their many findings are written inscriptions, many of which were written by individuals who could best be described as semi-literate: naturally, such inscriptions are quite revealing to us, in terms of the actual, living spoken tongue of the day.

If the hypothesis of an early break-up of Latin were correct, we would not only expect these inscriptions to be deviant in terms of standard Latin grammar: we might also expect them to show certain specifically 'Italian' traits. This, in fact, is precisely what we find. Let us take as a specific example the following verses found in Pompei, discussed by Mańczak (1985):

> Quisquis ama, valia, peria qui nosci amare!
> Bis tanti peria quisquis amare vota!
>
> "May whoever loves live, may whoever cannot love die!"
> "May whoever hampers love die twice as much!"

Its Classical Latin form is the following:

> Quisquis amat, valeat, pereat qui nescit amare!
> Bis tanto pereat qui amare vetat!

We notice certain differences between the Classical and the Pompeian versions, of which two are especially relevant from our point of view: first, the substitution of *i* for *e* in the forms *valeat* and *pereat* strongly suggests that a specifically Romance change, the merger of pre-vocalic /e/ and /i/ as /j/ had already taken place.

Second, as Mańczak points out, it is clear, on the basis of the Pompeian forms, that the fall of final /t/ had already taken place, a change which is found in Italian (cf. modern Italian *ama* and *vaglia*) but which crucially, is not pan-Romance: final third-person

singular /t/ is, as Mańczak points out, still found to this day in a number of Romance languages (e.g., Sardinian, and some Southern Italian dialects).

We thus have clear-cut evidence that, as early as 79 A.D., long before the fall of the Roman Empire, Latin was already becoming regionally differentiated. Bearing in mind the fact that, even in Pompei, literacy was only the privilege of a minority, it may safely be assumed that a great many non-standard traits were never recorded.

This conclusion, admittedly, does run wholly counter to certain recent trends in Romance linguistics, inasmuch as many researchers are inclined to regard the chief typological traits separating Latin from Romance as being due to comparatively late, gradual language change (fourth to ninth century A.D., roughly); such is the thesis defended by Banniard (1992, 1995). On the basis of a detailed examination of texts written in Latin during the relevant period, he concludes that a great many traits which are considered indicative of creolization in the present thesis, such as the loss of the synthetic passive in the verb system and of case marking in the nominal system, are in fact very late changes, and furthermore, that the rise of new analytical forms did not instantly supplant the older forms; rather, he sees the old and new forms as having co-existed for an extensive period of time.

Interesting though it is, Banniard's work leads to conclusions wholly incompatible with this thesis: and it would be well to explain the differences in methodology between his work and that presented in this thesis, and why it is believed that the conclusions of this thesis are to be preferred. First, it must be pointed out that Banniard's work is fundamentally philological in nature. This brings up the issue of how linguistically representative the texts examined are. Obviously, we do not expect the texts to be perfect

transcriptions of daily medieval speech, but there is nothing inherently unlikely about their giving a fairly accurate view of the broad diachronic trends in the spoken language of the day.

There does exist, however, another method whereby one may deduce the relative chronology of various changes: the evidence of the Romance languages themselves, medieval as well as modern. We would expect that changes of comparatively recent date would only have affected some Romance languages and dialects, leaving others unscathed. Conversely, we would expect a pan-Romance distribution of a certain feature to be indicative of a comparatively early change. And this method must be recognized to be superior to the philological method: for the attested Romance languages are the living descendents of earlier vernacular speech forms, transmitted from generation to generation, as is any natural language. The written Latin texts, by contrast, are by their very nature (as products of a society in which literacy was the privilege of a tiny minority) far more artificial. Thus, if there is a clash between the comparative Romance and the philological evidence, we should have no hesitation in preferring the former to the latter. And from this point of view, Banniard's conclusions are wholly incompatible with the linguistic evidence: especially damaging is the evidence of a language like Romanian, which was not in contact with the other Romance languages during the entire period examined but which, as will be shown in this thesis (see the following two chapters) shows a pattern of morphological loss so similar to that of its Romance sisters as to make it clear that we cannot be dealing with coincidental or parallel development: this implies that this parallel development must go back to a pre-medieval period.

Thus, we are forced to the conclusion that medieval Latin texts are not linguistically faithful even to the broad currents of daily speech. This naturally brings up the question: what was the relationship of written Latin and the spoken language during this period?

The lack of fit between the evolution of written Latin and the spoken language, as well as the typological gulf separating them, needn't imply that the two varieties were in any way perceived as separate languages (see the essays in Wright [1991]): indeed, one would be tempted to draw an analogy with modern French, where most of the written inflectional endings are no longer present even in standard pronunciation and where many forms used in the written language are quite obsolete in the spoken language. The difference, of course, is that most native speakers of French today are literate in French; despite this, many aspects of colloquial French today are not found in the standard written language. for Medieval Latin, the written language of a tiny minority, to be wholly unrepresentative of the language of the people thus is scarcely surprising.

3.10 *Conclusion*

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, there is considerable evidence to the effect that the Romance languages are indeed later, changed forms of Latin rather than of some unrecorded sister of Latin, and on the other that it is more than likely that the break-up of Latin into the various Romance languages began at quite an early date.

We may, therefore, turn to the heart of this thesis: namely, the comparison of the morphological evolution of Latin to Romance and that of Classical to Modern Greek.

Chapter 4: The Noun System

In Chapter 1, it was explained why the use of a language like Greek was necessary: since its external history makes it certain it was never creolized, and since its structure is very Latin-like, we may use it a comparandum, in order to see whether or not Latin, in its transformation into Romance, exhibits more 'creole-like' traits. In Chapter 2, we saw what creolization, as opposed to normal language change, entails: a loss of inflectional morphology without there arising any new morphology from previously free elements. In Chapter 3, it was demonstrated that the Romance languages are indeed later, changed forms of Classical Latin, and not of some unattested ancestor. The present chapter compares the Latin and Greek nominal systems to one another, in order to test the hypothesis being proposed. If Latin was indeed creolized in the course of its evolution into the Romance languages, and Greek was not, then we would expect the former language to have lost more of its nominal morphology than the latter, and to have created next to no new morphology. If Latin was not creolized, then we would expect it to have changed in much the same manner as Greek, both by shedding old morphology and creating new morphology.

4.1 *The similarities and differences between the Latin and Greek nominal systems*

The nominal morphology of Latin and that of Greek were highly similar to one another, making comparison of this particular subset of the grammars of the two languages, along with their subsequent evolution, both easy and fruitful.

In both languages case-marking was fusional, most inflectional endings not being segmentable into distinct morphemes indicating number, gender and case. In both languages nouns are divided formally into several declension class types, and indeed the classes of Latin and Greek correspond quite closely to one another. The two languages also share many similarities in case syncretism: the vocative, for example, was frequently morphologically identical to the nominative. Finally, the various case-forms of the two languages are very close to one another in function, i.e., the accusative in Latin is used very much like the accusative in Greek. The chief difference between the two languages, from this point of view, lies in the fact that Greek had no case-form corresponding to the Latin ablative (and, thus, had five distinct case-forms, rather than six as in Latin).

Another significant difference between Latin and Greek (true of nominal as well as of verbal morphology) lies in the system of number: whereas Latin morphologically differentiated a singular and a plural, Greek morphologically differentiated a singular, a dual and a plural. Thus, whereas Latin had *dominus/domini* "master/masters" (nominative), Greek had *ὁ κύριος/τὼ κυρίω/οἱ κύριοι*/"the master/the (two) masters/the (more than two) masters" (nominative). (It will be noticed, incidentally, that Greek also differed from Latin in that it had a definite article, which Latin did not have, in contradistinction to its Romance descendants).

However, since the dual was an optional rather than obligatory morphological category in Classical Greek (Ragon 1961:21) – in order to express the notion 'two masters', one could simply use the numeral *δύο* "two" plus the plural, as in Latin and indeed most modern European languages, we will ignore the dual in the following tables and discussion: it disappeared from Greek a few centuries later in any case.

Some points should be clarified about the following tables: because of divergent vocalic evolution between various Romance languages, the vocalic evolution assumed in the 'expected Romance' column is that of Sardinian, generally acknowledged to be the most archaic of the Romance languages, and presumably therefore the most faithful to the language type of Early Romance (see Bonfante 1998). Vowel length, although phonemic in Latin, was not indicated in writing; length will be noted by a macron (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) whenever this is deemed pertinent to the facts being discussed. Finally, the reason modern Greek forms (taken from Joseph 1987) were used (rather than Greek forms contemporary to the earliest attested Romance languages, i.e., ninth to twelve century A.D.) was (if we may anticipate the conclusion) to highlight the remarkably archaic aspect of Greek morphology when compared to that of the attested Romance languages: this, it will be noted, despite the fact the chronological gap between the Classical and Modern Greek forms is much wider than that between the Latin and Romance forms. This certainly strengthens the case for creolization of Latin.

4.2 *Noun declension*

The system of nouns of Latin and Greek will be examined here: later sections will examine adjectival declension and comparative marking.

4.2.1 *Latin* a*-stems and their progeny, Greek* η*-stems and their progeny*

CASE	Latin	Expected early Romance	Greek	Modern Greek
SINGULAR				
nominative	-a	-a	-η	-η
vocative	-a	-a	-η	-η
accusative	-am	-a	-ην	-η
genitive	-ae	-e	-ης	-ης
dative	-ae	-e	-ῃ	
ablative	-ā	-a		
PLURAL				
nominative	-ae	-e	-αι	-ες
vocative	-ae	-e	-αι	-ες
accusative	-as	-as	-ας	-ες
genitive	-arum	-aru	-ων	-ων
dative	-is	-is	-αις	
ablative	-is	-is		

Table 1: Feminine Latin a- and Greek -η stems

As can be seen, Greek preserved its η-stem declension with few changes; in the singular the loss of final -n in the accusative is due to regular sound-changes. The situation in the plural is slightly less clear-cut, with a new ending, *-es* (originally marking the nominative and vocative plural of consonant-stem nouns, see Table 3 and subsequent comments below), taking the place of the old *-ai* and *-as* endings.

By contrast, in Romance, whereas the opposition between genitive/dative *-e* and *-a* in the singular is found to this day in Rumanian and a few other Romance languages, only a single of the four endings in the plural, *-as*, is attested. (Earlier generations of romanists believed that the plural endings *-i* and *-e* of Italian and Rumanian (i.e., Italian *lupo/lupi* "wolf/wolves", *casa/case* "house/houses") were derived from the Latin nominative plural forms, as opposed to the Spanish or French forms in *-s* (i.e., Spanish *lobo/lobos*,

casa/casas), which were held to derive from the Latin accusative (an alternate suggestion, that this *–as* ending stems from an Italic language, is difficult to believe if we recall that, as seen in chapter 2, Classical Latin was indeed the ancestor of the Romance languages) . Following Seklaoui (1989) and Maiden (1996), all these forms are assumed to be in fact derived from the Latin accusative, with a sound-change whereby final *-s* was vocalized to *-j* (followed by monophthongization of the resulting diphthongs) accounting for the Italian and Rumanian forms. The same sound change also had an impact on the evolution of the verb: compare Latin *cantas* and Modern Italian *canti*.

Most Romance languages – French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese – use only a single ending, *-a*, in the singular. Thus, in effect, they do not morphologically distinguish case for nouns belonging to this class, only number: (French *la chèvre/les chèvres*, Spanish *la cabra/las cabras*, Italian *la capra/le capre*, "the goat/ the goats").

As Green (1991) points out, there does not appear to be any reason why "Of the doors" is expressed in early Spanish by *De las puertas* rather than **Laro portaro*, the expected outcome of *Illarum portarum*.

Some Romance scholars will be quick to point out that, as a matter of fact, reflexes of the masculine genitive plural of the demonstrative pronoun, *illorum*, have indeed survived into at least some varieties of Romance, i.e., French *leur*, Catalan *llor*, Italian *loro*, Rumanian *lor*. This fact is not denied here; however, wherever they are found, they have been lexicalized as third-person plural possessive adjectives, (i.e., French *leur maison* "their house") and thus may only be said to continue the Latin genitive plural *formally*, not semantically. They do not stand to what, in Latin, were their corresponding nominative

forms in anything like a paradigmatic relationship and thus cannot be said to be, synchronically, genitive plurals.

To be sure, Green continues, morphophonemic alternations would have been created in the language (due to the fact that Latin *porta* was stressed on the first syllable and *portarum* on the second, the expected Spanish outcome would be *puerta* and **portaro*, respectively), but since these would merely replicate in the nominal system alternations of identical origin found in the verbal system (i.e., *muerdo/mordemos* "I/we bite"), he concludes that this does not explain the non-survival of these forms.

Mutatis mutandis, the same comment could be made for most if not all Romance languages, (although it must be said that few if any scholars have in fact done so).

4.2.2 *Latin* u[12]*-stems and their progeny, Greek* o*-stems and their progeny*

CASE	**Latin**	**Expected early Romance**	**Greek**	**Modern Greek**
SINGULAR				
nominative	-us	-us	-ος	-ος
vocative	-e	-e	-ε	-ε
accusative	-um	-u	-ον	-ον
genitive	-i	-i	-ου	-ου
dative	-o	-o	-ῳ	
ablative	-o	-o		
PLURAL				
nominative	-i	-i	-οι	-οι
vocative	-i	-i	-οι	-οι
accusative	-os	-os	-ους	-ους
genitive	-orum	-oru	-ων	-ων
dative	-is	-is	-οιν	
ablative	-is	-is		

Table 2: Masculine Latin *u*- and Greek *o*- stems

[12] Historically speaking, Latin u-stems descend from what were in Indo-European o-stems, and are normally referred to by this term.

The contrast between the evolution of Latin/Romance and Greek is even more obvious when examining Table 2. As can be seen, taking into account the loss of the dative and the (phonologically regular) loss of final *-n* in the accusative singular, the declension of modern Greek is identical to that of the Classical language. Normal phonological evolution would not have caused any of the Latin endings to merge with one another, and so one might have expected this particular declension class to have survived somewhat better than the class of feminine a-stems (compare the 'Expected Romance' case-forms of the singular with those of Table 1).

This in fact is not what we find: only in Old French, Old Provençal and some neighbouring languages do we find the distinction between two cases – nominative and accusative – to have survived in the case of this particular declension class. The Old French forms of *murs* "wall" (from Raynaud De Lage 1966) are given below, with the forms of the Old French definite article (The Old Provençal forms are very similar):

	singular	plural
nominative	*li murs*	*li mur*
accusative	*le mur*	*les murs*

The situation is even simpler in the case of the various other Romance languages, such as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Sardinian or Rumanian. It is possible that Rumanian masculine vocative forms in *-e* continue the Latin vocative, but since (a) such forms are also found in Slavic, and (b) it is uncontroversial that Rumanian borrowed its feminine vocative suffix *-o* from Slavic, it would seem simpler to consider its masculine vocative suffix to also be a Slavic borrowing. In all of these we find that only the accusative singular and the accusative plural have survived (e.g., Italian *il muro/i muri*, Spanish *el*

muro/los muros, "the wall/the walls"). In short, most of the case-forms of Latin, whose distinctive forms would not have been eroded through the effects of regular sound-changes, did not survive in any Romance language. With the exceptions noted above, Romance languages did not distinguish any case morphologically for nouns of this class, only number, making use of the former accusative.

4.2.3 *Latin and Greek consonantal stems and their progeny*

CASE	**Latin**	**Expected early Romance**	**Greek**	**Modern Greek**
SINGULAR				
nominative	rex	res	φύλαξ	φύλακας
vocative	rex	res	φύλαξ	φύλακα
accusative	regem	rege	φύλακα	φύλακα
genitive	regis	regis	φύλακος	φύλακα
dative	regi	regi	φύλακι	
ablative	rege	rege		
PLURAL				
nominative	reges	reges	φύλακες	φύλακες
vocative	reges	reges	φύλακες	φύλακες
accusative	reges	reges	φύλακας	φύλακες
genitive	regium	regju	φυλάκων	φύλακων
dative	regibus	regibus	φύλαξι	
ablative	regibus	regibus		

Table 3: Consonant stems in Latin and Greek

Table 3 differs somewhat from its predecessors in presenting the declension of an actual noun ("king" in Latin; "watchman" in Greek) rather than mere case-endings. This is due to the fact that it is somewhat more difficult to separate the suffixes from the stems. It can be seen that, except for the merger of the accusative and the ablative in the singular, all the case-forms which were distinct in Latin would have remained so in Romance. The

Greek forms have, on the surface, changed more than in the case of other declension-classes, but in fact, if we discount the remodelling of the nominative-vocative singular forms, the modern Greek forms differ from the Classical solely in (1) substituting the accusative for the genitive in the singular, and (2) substituting the nominative/vocative for the accusative in the plural (perhaps motivated by a desire to avoid confusion with the new nominative singular).

And what is the situation in Romance? Virtually the same as that for u-stem nouns: Old French and Old Provençal keep nothing more than the nominative and the accusative in the singular. More surprisingly, they also re-created a nominative/accusative distinction in the plural (on the model of u-stem nouns), thus, quoting Old French forms ("king") again:

	singular	plural
nominative	*li reis*	*li rei*
accusative	*le rei*	*les reis*

All other Romance languages, again, fail to distinguish case morphologically, and keep only the former accusative singular and accusative plural to mark number (Spanish *el rey/los reyes* "the king/the kings).

There existed two other declension classes in Latin, but since in the course of the changes which transformed Latin into early Romance all of their members were assimilated to one of the three classes listed above, they may safely be ignored.

4.3 *Adjectival declension*

Latin and Greek were also very similar to one another as far as the inflectional morphology of their adjectives was concerned: in both languages adjectives agreed with

their nouns in gender, number and case. In both languages the declension of the adjective was similar to that of certain nominal declension classes, i.e., there did not exist a specifically adjectival type of gender, number, or case marking. In both languages, however, adjectives basically belonged to one of two classes: the first, in which separate markings were used for the masculine, feminine and neuter genders, and the second, in which masculines and feminines have one set of case-endings, and neuters another. This is shown in the following two tables, which exemplify the declension of an adjective of the first class, in Latin (*bonus*) and Greek (ἀγαθός), both meaning "good".

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**
SINGULAR			
nominative	bonus	bona	bonum
vocative	bone	bona	bonum
accusative	bonum	bonam	bonum
genitive	boni	bonae	boni
dative	bono	bonae	bono
ablative	bono	bonā	bono
PLURAL			
nominative	boni	bonae	bona
vocative	boni	bonae	bona
accusative	bonos	bonas	bona
genitive	bonorum	bonarum	bonorum
dative	bonis	bonis	bonis
ablative	bonis	bonis	bonis

Table 4: Declension of Latin adjectives of the first and second declensions

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**
SINGULAR			
nominative	ἀγαθός	ἀγαθή	ἀγαθόν
vocative	ἀγαθέ	ἀγαθή	ἀγαθόν
accusative	ἀγαθόν	ἀγαθήν	ἀγαθόν
genitive	ἀγαθοῦ	ἀγαθῆς	ἀγαθοῦ
dative	ἀγαθῷ	ἀγαθῇ	ἀγαθῷ
PLURAL			
nominative	ἀγαθοί	ἀγαθαί	ἀγαθά
vocative	ἀγαθοί	ἀγαθαί	ἀγαθά
accusative	ἀγαθούς	ἀγαθάς	ἀγαθά
genitive	ἀγαθῶν	ἀγαθῶν	ἀγαθῶν
dative	ἀγαθοῖς	ἀγαθαῖς	ἀγαθοῖς

Table 5: Declension of adjectives of the first class in Greek

As can be seen, in both languages the feminines are declined according to the first, and the masculines and the neuters according to the second declension (compare the forms of the adjectives above to the Greek and Latin nouns in Tables 1 and 2).

Their fate, in both languages, is quite parallel to that of noun declension: whereas in Greek the declension of adjectives has been preserved, much as the nominal declension has been preserved, in Romance we find that adjectival declension has collapsed wherever nominal declension has (that is to say, in most Romance languages), and has preserved the same forms the noun has in Rumanian, Old French and Old Provençal. Thus, in modern Rumanian we still find case agreement between adjective and noun for feminine singulars: cf. the following two examples (taken from Mallinson 1986:297-298):

(1) O fată bună "A good girl"
(2) Cartea unei fete bune"The book of a good girl"

The adjective bun is feminine singular in both instances, but nominative in (1) and genitive/dative in (2).

In Old Provençal *bon* "good" was declined as follows (Mok 1977:12):

	masculine		feminine	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
nominative	*bons*	*bon*	*bona*	*bonas*
accusative	*bon*	*bons*	*bona*	*bonas*

The Old French forms were very similar (indeed, as can be seen, the adjectival endings of *bon* in the masculine are identical to those of an Old French noun such as *murs*, given above); feminine adjectives, like nouns of the corresponding declension, bore no inflection for case.

It should be added that the parallel between nominal and adjectival declension did not remain perfect throughout Romance. While both French and Provençal lost their declension, in nouns as well as in adjectives (so that both the noun and the adjective in Modern French *bon roi* are uninflected for case), there are some Romance languages where, at a later date, case inflection survived on adjectives but not nouns: for example, in a variety of Romansch (Switzerland) attested in the sixteenth-century, Old Puter, we find (Haiman & Benincà 1992:143).

(3) (that thou not strike) *tieu* pe in la pedra "your foot in the rocks"
(4) (if thy hand or) *tes* pe es a ti inskiadel "your foot is to you an offense"

Where the second-person singular possessive, *tes*, becomes *tieu* in the accusative, while the head noun, *pe*, "foot", remains unchanged. This, however, is a later, post-medieval change: in the earliest attested Romance languages, the parallel between nominal and adjectival declension is nearly perfect.

Adjectives of the second class, in their declension, were similar to third declension nouns in Latin as well as in Greek: compare Table 6 (*grandis* "tall"), and Table 7 (εὐδαίμων "happy") to the noun declension presented in Table 3.

	Masculine + feminine	**Neuter**
SINGULAR		
nominative	grandis	grande
vocative	grandis	grande
accusative	grandem	grande
genitive	grandis	grandis
dative	grandi	grandi
ablative	grandi	grandi
PLURAL		
nominative	grandes	grandia
vocative	grandes	grandia
accusative	grandes	grandia
genitive	grandium	grandium
dative	grandibus	grandibus
ablative	grandibus	grandibus

Table 6: Declension of adjectives of the third declension in Latin

	Masculine + feminine	**Neuter**
SINGULAR		
nominative	εὐδαίμων	εὔδαιμον
vocative	εὔδαιμον	εὔδαιμον
accusative	εὐδαίμονα	εὔδαιμον
genitive	εὐδαίμονος	εὐδαίμονος
dative	εὐδαίμονι	εὐδαίμονι
PLURAL		
nominative	εὐδαίμονες	εὐδαίμονα
vocative	εὐδαίμονες	εὐδαίμονα
accusative	εὐδαίμονας	εὐδαίμονα
genitive	εὐδαιμόνων	εὐδαιμόνων
dative	εὐδαίμοσι	εὐδαίμοσι

Table 7: Declension of adjectives of the third declension in Greek

The fate of adjectival declension is, again, the same: its basic preservation in Greek, and its basic elimination in Romance. The distinction between adjectives of the first and second class, to be sure, is still present in most Romance languages, inasmuch as reflexes of the former still have distinct masculine and feminine forms, whereas the latter do not: thus, in Italian, one has *buono* (masc. sing.), *buona* (fem. sing.), *buoni* (masc. plur.) and *buone*(fem. plur.), versus *grande* (sing.) and *grandi* (plur.). However, this does not affect the point that their loss of declension was parallel to that of nouns.

4.4 *Adjectival comparison*

In Latin as well as in Greek, however, there did exist a type of morphological marking which was quite specific to adjectives: inflection for comparatives and superlatives. Thus, in Latin, an adjective such as *doctus* "learned" had a comparative form *doctior* "more

learned", and a superlative, *doctissimus* "most learned". Likewise, in Greek, an adjective such as σοφός, "learned", had a comparative σοφώτερος and a superlative σοφώτατος.

In both languages the comparatives and superlatives were fully declined: the Greek forms were declined like adjectives of the first class, as were the Latin superlatives: the comparative had a somewhat peculiar declension, given in Table 8.

	Masculine + feminine	**Neuter**
SINGULAR		
nominative	doctior	doctius
vocative	doctior	doctius
accusative	doctiorem	doctius
genitive	doctioris	doctioris
dative	doctiori	doctiori
ablative	doctiore	doctiore
PLURAL		
nominative	doctiores	doctiora
vocative	doctiores	doctiora
accusative	doctiores	doctiora
genitive	doctiorum	doctioris
dative	doctioribus	doctioribus
ablative	doctioribus	doctioribus

Table 8: Declension of comparative adjectives in Latin

A number of adjectives in both languages had suppletive forms for the comparative as well as the superlative: thus, Latin *bonus* had a comparative *melior* and a superlative *optimus*: Greek ἀγαθός had a comparative βελτίων and a superlative βέλτιστος.

One is indeed reminded of English, with its *-er* and *-est* suffixes (*nice-nicer-nicest*), and its suppletive comparatives and superlatives (*good-better-best*).

The fate of the comparatives and superlatives is very similar to that of declension: as a productive system, the inflected comparatives and superlatives did not survive into any

Romance language, medieval or modern (Elcock 1960:69), although a number of frozen forms are found in some Romance languages, especially Old French and Old Provençal (Elcock, p.70). These frozen forms, incidentally, make it clear that the loss of the inflected comparative was not due to any kind of phonological reduction of this form, any more than the loss of declension was. This preservation of 'frozen' forms is no argument against the thesis advanced: what is crucial for the argument is the fact that this productive adjectival morphology was lost: the fact that it left behind a handful of suppletive forms does not disprove Latin was creolized, any more than the preservation in Romance of some Latin verbal morphological irregularities (see chapter 3).

The comparative is expressed in Romance by means of an analytical construction, using either reflexes of the Latin adverb *magis* or *plus*: compare Spanish *más*, Catalan *més*, Rumanian *mai*, stemming from the former, and French *plus*, Italian *più*, stemming from the latter, cf. sentences (5), (6) and (7):

(5) (Latin) Paulus pulchrior quam Petrus est.
(6) (French) Paul est plus beau que Pierre.
(7) (Spanish) Pablo es más hermoso que Pedro.

The superlative did not survive into any Romance language as a productive system either: forms such as Italian *bellissimo* "very, most beautiful" are, as Elcock (p.71) points out, learned borrowings.

This stands in sharp contrast to the situation in Greek: the suffixes -τερος and -τατος are still alive and productive as markers of the comparative and superlative, respectively (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997:86-88), although the former coexists with an analytical construction using the adverb πιο. This, again, is highly reminescent of

English: along with the inflected comparatives there are analytical ones (*nice/nicer/nicest* versus *interesting/more interesting/most interesting*).

4.5 *Discussion*

What this comparison reveals is that Latin/Romance is extraordinarily analytical when compared to Greek: it has eliminated most of its nominal case-marking morphology in a millennium, whereas Greek, in over two millennia, has kept most of its case-marking morphology intact. To this can be added the complete elimination of inflectional comparatives and superlatives in even the earliest attested Romance, as opposed to its preservation in the modern Greek language. The contrast between the two languages, from this point of view, is most remarkable.

It should be added that, when one broadens the picture by bringing in data from other Indo-European languages, it is clear that Latin/Romance, not Greek, is the odd man out. Thus, as Martinet (1955) points out concerning Old Irish (a language almost exactly contemporaneous with the earliest attested forms of Romance, i.e., with languages which had either lost case-marking morphology altogether or had reduced the Latin system to a two-case system):

> Il est intéressant de noter que le v.-irl. *fer* "homme", équivalent sémantique et étymologique du lat. *uir*, distingue dans sa flexion entre sept formes phonologiquement distinctes, tout comme *uir* lui-même.(Martinet 1955:210)

Slavic, a language family for which we have written documents stretching roughly a thousand years to the present (the same length of time separating Latin from the first texts in Romance languages), has preserved its case-marking morphology largely intact in most of its daughter languages to this very day: compare the following proto-Slavonic and

Polish[13] forms for "woman, wife" (the former from Andersen 1998:435, the latter from Rothstein 1993:700):

	Proto-Slavonic	**Polish**
SINGULAR		
nominative	GEN-Ā	żona
accusative	GEN-Ā-M	żonę
genitive	GEN-?	żony
dative	GEN-Ā-I	żonie
instrumental	GEN-Ā-M	żoną
locative	GEN-Ā-I	żonie
PLURAL		
nominative	GEN-Ā-?	żony
accusative	GEN-Ā-NS	żony
genitive	GEN-0-ĀM	żon
dative	GEN-Ā-MAX	żonom
instrumental	GEN-Ā-MĪX	żonami
locative	GEN-Ā-XU	żonach

Table 9: Proto-Slavonic and Polish a-stems

In another branch of Indo-European, Baltic, we find not only that Indo-European case-marking is left virtually unscathed, but also that three new case-forms (illative, allative and adessive) were created[14] (Schmalstieg 1998:466).

In the case of Germanic we find a language family whose system of case-marking morphology collapsed during historical times. This, however, is easily explained by taking into account the fact that, due to the presence in Germanic of strong word-initial stress, final vowels were typically merged or dropped, and that most earlier case-endings were vocalic, making the loss of morphological case-marking in various Germanic languages,

[13] It should be stressed that, leaving aside Bulgarian and Macedonian, which have lost case marking, any other Slavic language could be used to exemplify the preservation of the proto-Slavic case system: Polish is not especially archaic or conservative from this point of view.

[14] This may be due to the influence of neighbouring Fennic languages.

including English, quite unproblematic (Goyette 1997). See also the remarks of Ramat 1998:396.

Thus, if one examines the declension of Old English *dæg* "day" (forms from Lass 1994) (Singular: nominative, accusative *dæg*, genitive *dæg-es*, dative *dæg-e*, Plural: nominative, accusative *dæg-as*, genitive *dæg-a*, dative *dæg-um*), and bears in mind that all Old English unstressed vowels and final nasal consonants were dropped in the transition to Modern English, the outcome – singular *day*, genitive singular *day's*, plural *days*, genitive plural *days'* – is very much what one would expect (leaving aside the analogical extension of original nominative-accusative plural *-s* marker to all plurals, and of the original genitive singular *-s* marker to the plural).

Where this loss of final vowels did not occur, as for example in Icelandic (Thráinsson 1994), case-marking morphology remains present.

Returning to Greek, there is one aspect of the modern language which is indubitably a conservative trait and which, for this reason, was not taken into account in the above tables. Both Latin and Classical Greek had three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. Whereas in Latin/Romance the neuter gender was eliminated, mostly absorbed by the masculine (leaving various traces in some Romance languages), in Greek all three genders are still intact. At first glance one might be inclined to ascribe this Romance morphological simplification to creolization; however, considering how frequent the reduction of three-gender systems to two-gender (masculine-feminine) systems is in Indo-European (inter alia, it is found in Baltic, Celtic, and Central Indo-Aryan [Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Romani...]), its presence in Romance need not be explained as being due to anything except normal language change. Conversely, the preservation, as in Greek, of all

three genders, is much less frequent: it is the norm in only one branch of Indo-European, Slavic, and is also found in German, Icelandic and most varieties of Norwegian as well as Marathi (mentioned earlier as a conservative Indo-Aryan language as regards to morphosyntax.)

Before ending this section, however, the reader might ask why the comparison was made with the attested forms of various Romance languages, rather than with some reconstructed Proto-Romance. This is because, in the field of nominal morphology in particular, there is at present relatively little scholarly consensus. While most romanists, on the basis of the Rumanian and French data, would reconstruct two or perhaps three case-endings for Proto-Romance, a recent article (De Dardel & Wüest 1993) has proposed to explain the data in a rather novel fashion, which is presented below.

Basing themselves on the fact that, on the one hand, a large number of Romance languages agree with one another in retaining forms of the Latin accusative singular and plural, and on the other, that the case-endings of Rumanian and those of the Gallo-Romance languages (i.e., Old French and Old Provençal) differ quite strongly from one another, and moreover contain (especially in pronouns) a very large number of analogical forms which also reveal profound divergences between Gallo-Romance and Rumanian – in sharp contrast to the situation in 'caseless' Romance languages, whose nominal forms, including pronouns, are very similar to one another – they propose that the 'caseless' Romance languages in fact represent the earliest Romance type, born at the very beginning of Roman expansion, and that the case-marking morphology of Gallo-Romance and Rumanian, far from being directly inherited from Latin, was in fact borrowed from Latin, separately in both cases. Thus, according to them, the presence of morphological case in

Rumanian and Gallo-Romance, far from being an archaic Latin survival, is in fact an indication of contact-induced language change similar to decreolization.

This, in their opinion, would explain the aforementioned facts: for if Proto-Romance was in fact originally a case-marking language, it would be odd for the languages which have in fact preserved case-marking (Rumanian and the Gallo-Romance languages) to differ from one another more than those languages which have abandoned case-marking morphology altogether (always, curiously, keeping the accusative forms, never the nominative ones). It would also, in their opinion, explain why Sardinian, in most respects the most archaic Romance language, as we saw above, is one of the 'caseless' Romance languages.

A most powerful argument they bring to bear in support of their thesis is the fact that the set of prepositions used to mark basic case relations is basically the same in all Romance languages: *ad* as a marker of the dative, *de* or *ad* as a marker of the genitive[15] (Apart from Rumanian, no modern Romance standard language uses reflexes of *ad* to mark the dative, but such usage is found in many non-standard varieties, cf. Colloquial French *le sac à la femme* "the woman's bag" versus Standard French *le sac de la femme*) zero or *ad* as marker of the accusative.

In the case of this last marker, Rohlfs (1971) holds it not to be a proto-Romance trait, but rather a case of convergent evolution: all of the languages with accusative *ad* originally used *ad* as a mere emphatic marker, and in these languages it gradually came to be used as an accusative marker. However, Rohlfs nicely foils himself with his own data,

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[15] Both *de* and *ad* were prepositions in Classical Latin, and it might be held that their extension as genitive/dative/accusative markers was part of a normal drift of language change. Why this same drift had such little effect on the evolution of Greek prepositions and case marking is left unexplained, however.

for as he himself points out, all Romance languages except Rumanian which use a preposition to mark the accusative use reflexes of *ad* to mark the accusative: indeed, in the two Romance varieties where other prepositions (*da* and *ena*) are used (the Gallo-Italian colony of Nicosia, Sicily, shown in (8), and Eastern Gascon, shown in (9)), the prepositions are in fact compounds containing *ad* (*de+ad*[16], *in+ad*).

(8) Ma da noi n'a consomè "But he ruined us"
(9) Ena tu que-t cèrqui "You're the one I'm looking for"

Had each individual Romance language lost its case-marking system separately, we would doubtless find a greater variety of prepositions used to replace the lost endings. For example, Rumanian, which formerly marked its accusative nouns by zero, now marks its animate accusatives by means of a preposition *pe* (Latin *per*), a development which occurred during historical times (Rosetti 1986).

Thus, for example, in Germanic, a language family where we know case distinctions to have been lost separately in each language (cf. the changes separating Old from Modern English, given above), English marks its genitive by *of* and its dative by *to*, whereas Dutch uses the (unrelated) prepositions *van* and *aan*, respectively.

One might, of course, argue that the spread of these prepositions throughout Romance-speaking Europe was due to diffusion, perhaps caused by the population movements mentioned by Bonjour, Offler & Potter (1952), as a consequence of the fall of the Roman Empire. However, two objections must be set against this: 1) There is evidence that such population movement was as a rule local in nature, and indeed that there was a far greater degree of material and cultural continuity during this period of time than had

[16] Readers acquainted with the Italian language should be cautioned: this *da* is unrelated to the Italian preposition *da* "from, at"

been hitherto realized (Banniard 1989) and 2) There is no evidence whatsoever for any extensive dialect mixture throughout the Romance language area, as we would expect to be the case had diffusion been the cause of the universal use of *ad* and *de*; in particular, the sound-changes which separate the Romance languages from one another are quite clear-cut, in sharp contrast to a family such as Indo-Aryan, for example, where, as Masica (1991:458) puts it, regarding the historical phonology of the various languages:

> Whatever data does not fit a particular rule must be attributed to borrowing or substratum or otherwise explained. The exceptions are typically so numerous that it is often hard to tell which cases constitute a rule and which are the exceptions.

The most powerful evidence in favour of De Dardel & Wüest's (1993) thesis, however, is a point they themselves fail to emphasize and whose significance seemingly eludes them: it is the fact that, throughout Romance, whenever case is lost, the sole remaining form is that of the accusative. This is a highly anomalous situation, inasmuch as, when case is lost in other Indo-European languages, the sole remaining form is normally the nominative, not the accusative. Thus, in Welsh, a language which lost all its case-marking morphology prehistorically, it is quite clear, on the basis of the rules of mutation,[17] that the modern forms of the noun derive from the former nominative, and not from the accusative: to give a concrete example, the *t/d* mutation found in Modern Welsh *dyn teg* "fair man" and *merch deg* "fair girl" (adjectives follow the noun in Welsh: the mutation is conditioned by the grammatical gender of the head noun in each of the phrases: *dyn* is masculine and *merch* feminine) is explicable through the fact that the original forms were **donjos tekos* and **merka teka*, and that intervocalic consonants were voiced irrespective of word

[17] For an account of the rise of Celtic Mutation and its failure to appear elsewhere in Indo-European, see Goyette (1998).

boundaries. Thus, **merka teka* became * *merka dega* but **donjos tekos* became **donjos tegos*. Subsequently, with the fall of final syllables, the *t/d* alternation became morphophonemic rather than allophonic. However, it could NOT have arisen if Welsh nouns were formally derived from the accusative: both masculine and feminine nouns would have ended in the same segment (**-m* or **-n*), meaning that the initial segment of the following adjective would have remained identical, regardless of the gender of the noun.

In Bulgarian, which along with Macedonian is the only Slavic language to have lost its case-marking morphology, we find that the sole form of nouns remaining in the language today must derive from the nominative rather than the accusative: Bulgarian feminine nouns, such as žena "woman", must derive from the Old Church Slavonic nominative: the accusative form ženą would have yielded *ženă in modern Bulgarian (Carlton 1990).

Thus, the pan-Romance retention of the accusative (singular and plural) as the sole form of the noun goes quite counter to what is found elsewhere in Indo-European. It defies belief that such an unusual change could have taken place independently more than once throughout the Roman Empire, and if we reject the possibility of diffusion (see above), we are left with only one possibility: that the loss of distinct case-forms for nouns, and the extension of the former accusatives as the sole noun forms, only took place once, in the beginnings of the expansion of the Roman Empire, as De Dardel & Wüest hypothesize. In this connection the reader is reminded of the early replacement of the nominative by the accusative plural (see chapter 1).

An additional piece of evidence lies in the unusual fact that Latin loanwords[18] found in various neighbouring languages seemingly derive from the form of the accusative rather than the nominative. What has hitherto been unnoticed is the fact that this is utterly unlike what one finds in the case of nouns borrowed from other Early Indo-European languages: normally the form borrowed is that of the nominative. This anomaly is easily explained if we indeed accept that the earliest Romance had eliminated case marking altogether and only used the form of the accusative: there would have been no other form for the neighbouring languages to borrow.

Among the languages to be considered, we must first consider Basque, where it is indeed quite clear that the words were borrowed in the form of the Latin accusative rather than the nominative: cf. Table 10 (data from Trask 1997:169-170).

Basque loanword	**Latin nominative**	**Latin accusative**	**Gloss**
gorputz[19]	Corpus	corpus	body
errege	Rex	regem	king
laku	Lacus	lacum	lake
lege	Lex	legem	law
liburu	Liber	librum	book
lore	Flos	florem	flower

Table 10: Basque loanwords from Latin

What is quite interesting for our purposes is the fact that these Latin loanwords are highly archaic: in *errege* and *lege*, for example, we find the plosive still intact before a front vowel: in every Romance language of the Iberian peninsula /g/ in this position had

[18] Reference is being made to words borrowed directly from spoken Latin in the days of the Roman Empire, not to the huge number of words most European languages have borrowed from written Latin (especially since the Renaissance).

[19] This example shows that Latin final –s was indeed preserved in Basque loanwords.

become a glide or an affricate (Spanish *rey, ley*). The word *gorputz* clearly shows that Latin final *-s* remains in borrowings from Latin, proving that other loanwords without final *-s* must stem from the Latin accusative. This clearly indicates that we are dealing with a stratum of words which were borrowed quite early, long before many sound changes had taken place throughout the Iberian peninsula.[20] What is interesting is that there are few if any Basque words which were taken from Latin in the form of the nominative.

Another language of some interest for our purposes is Welsh: as a later, changed form of the Celtic language of Roman Britain (sometimes called Brittonic, a term which also designates the subfamily of Celtic which also includes Cumbric, Breton and Cornish), it contains, not surprisingly, a number of Latin loanwords: cf. Table 11 (data from Elcock 1960:298, note 1):

Welsh loanword	**Latin nominative**	**Latin accusative**	**Gloss**
awdurdod	Auctoritas	Auctoritatem	Authority
cardod	Caritas	Caritatem	Charity
ufylltod	Humilitas	Humilitatem	Humility
undod	Unitas	Unitatem	Unity
pobl	Populus	Populum	People
barf	Barba	Barbam	Beard

Table 11: Welsh loanwords from Latin

In the case of the last two words, they may derive from the Latin accusative or nominative: the apocope of final syllables, which has affected Welsh prehistorically, makes it impossible to tell whence (from the nominative or the accusative) came these words.

[20] Indeed, considering the fact that a sizeable number of Latin loanwords made their way into Early Germanic, most speakers of which remained outside the confines of the Roman Empire, it is reasonable to suppose these words to have begun entering Basque no later than the end of the Roman conquest of the Iberian peninsula (first century A.D.)

The remaining words, however, clearly indicate by their form that they stem from the Latin accusative.

One might resist this conclusion and argue that they actually derive from a generalized form of the stem rather than from the accusative *per se*. However, an additional piece of evidence that the Latin accusative was the normal form borrowed in Brittonic is found in the phonological history of some Latin loanwords: Jackson (1953:574, note 1) points out that there are about ten Latin loanwords in Welsh which do not exhibit *i*-affection (a phonological change triggered by final *-i*, very similar to Germanic umlaut: its effects are sometimes still synchronically visible in Welsh today: *canaf* "I sing" versus *cenir* "it is sung"): since these words, in Latin, had a nominative in *-is* and an accusative in *-em*, he assumes that failure for *i*-affection to take place may best be explained by assuming these words to have been borrowed in the form of the accusative.

Jackson (1953:77) also asserts that these loanwords were taken between the end of the first to the fifth century A.D. As in the case of Basque loanwords, we are thus dealing with borrowings which date back to the days of the Roman Empire itself, and which, as in Basque, normally derive from the accusative rather than the nominative form of the Latin word.

This is a highly anomalous state of affairs when we look at loanwords borrowed from other Early Indo-European languages: thus, in Fennic languages,[21] we find loanwords from Early Germanic such as *kuninkas* "king" and *kana* "hen" (Viitso 1998:114), which clearly derive from Germanic nominatives (the accusative forms would have been

[21] A subgroup of Uralic, of which Finnish and Estonian are the most important members; other, lesser-known languages that belong to this subgroup are Karelian, Livonian, Votic, Ingrian and Veps.

**kuningan* and **kanan*). In Mordva[22] (data from Zaicz 1998:215), we find such Russian loanwords as *škola* "school" and *knʲiga* "book": these clearly derive from Russian nominatives (we would expect forms such as **školu* and ** knʲigu* if they derived from Russian accusatives).

Finally, in Coptic (Afro-Asiatic, still today the liturgical language of the Christians of Egypt), we find a great many Greek loanwords, whose form clearly shows that they must derive from the Greek nominative rather than accusative: cf. Table 12 (data from Cherix 1979:105-119):

Coptic loanword	**Greek nominative**	**Greek accusative**	**Gloss**
hagi-os	ἅγιος	ἅγιον	Holy
bios	βίος	βίον	Life
genos	γένος	γένον	People
epistolē	ἐπιστολή	ἐπιστολήν	Letter
polis	πόλις	πόλιν	City
psukhē	ψυχή	ψυχήν	Soul

Table 12: Coptic loanwords from Greek

Similar such examples could be multiplied, but the basic point should be plain: as a rule, loanwords from Indo-European languages with case marking are borrowed in the nominative case. Why, then, are Latin loanwords an exception?

If we accept De Dardel & Wüest's hypothesis, however, that Early Romance lacked case-marking altogether, then the situation is easily explained: the form of the accusative was borrowed because it was the only one available.

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[22] An Uralic language, spoken North of the Volga river in Russia.

Chapter 5: Verbal Morphology of Greek and Latin

This chapter aims at doing, with the verbal system, what was done in the previous chapter with the nominal system. Again, if Latin was indeed creolized in the course of its development into the Romance languages, we would expect it to have lost far more inflections than Greek did over the same period of time, without there arising new morphology in the verb system: in short, we would expect to find a far more analytical system in the Romance languages than in Modern Greek, despite the fact their ancestral languages (Latin and Classical Greek) were roughly comparable in terms of morphological complexity. If Latin was never creolized, on the other hand, then we would not expect the development of its verbal morphology to show a more pronounced tendency towards analyticity than that of Greek.

5.1 *Introduction*

When compared to an examination of Latin and Greek nominal morphology, an examination of Latin and Greek verbal morphology is considerably more difficult. Not only is the number of categories (finite/non-finite forms, tense/mood/voice, person/number) considerably greater than is the case in nominal morphology, but there are also far fewer similarities to be found between the two languages. Indeed, as one authority puts it,

> The G and L verb systems could not have evolved more differently from their common starting-point if that had been some conscious purpose. (Sihler 1995:444)

There is no simple one-to-one correspondence between various Latin and Greek tenses and moods, and indeed, even forms which are designated by a similar term in the two languages often differ as to their actual meaning. To quote but one example: both Latin and Greek have a verbal tense in the indicative called the 'pluperfect'. However, whereas in Latin this tense indicates, as in English, an event anterior to another event in the past, i.e., *cado* "I fall/am falling" (present), *cecidi* "I fell" (perfect), *cecideram* "I had fallen" (pluperfect). In Greek (examples from Ragon 1961) this tense indicates a past action, the consequences of which are not at present with the speaker (i.e., πίπτω "I fall/am falling" (present), πέπτωκα "I fell (and still am on the ground)" (perfect), επεπτώκειν "I'd fallen (and still was on the ground)" (pluperfect). It will be noticed, incidentally, that the term 'perfect' also indicates different tenses in the two languages.

For this reason, the organization of this chapter will be quite unlike that of the chapter on noun morphology: instead, this chapter will be, along with this introduction, divided into five parts: a presentation of the Latin verb system, a presentation of the changes from Latin to Romance, a presentation of the Greek verb system, a presentation of the changes from Classical to Modern Greek, and a discussion and conclusion.

However, in order to simplify the discussion somewhat, no account will be taken of nominal forms of the verb (infinitives, participles) in either language. Nor will imperatives be taken into account. As the reader will see, a simple sketch of the verb system of the two languages is quite a daunting task by itself, even within these limitations.

The reader should at this point be reminded of an additional point: the goal of this thesis is to determine whether creolization played any role in the genesis of the Romance languages, through recourse to examination of inflectional morphology and its evolution.

Thus, the actual semantic value of the various verbal tenses and moods will not be examined, nor will its relationship to non-inflectional expressions of tense or aspect. Likewise, the vast issue of the correspondence between the tense/aspect system of Latin versus Greek will be left untouched. On the latter subject, as well as the broader question of tense and mood in all major Indo-European languages, the interested reader is referred to Bubenik & Hewson (1997).

5.2 *The Classical Latin verb system*

The Classical Latin verb possessed two basic stems, that of the present and that of the perfect: of the six tenses of the indicative mode, three were formed with the stem of the present, and three with the stem of the perfect. To exemplify, a representative of the first class (the most productive) of Latin verbs, *amare* "to love", will be used. There were three other verb classes in Latin, whose differences from the first class will be pointed out during the description.

	Present	**Imperfect**	**Future**
1st sing.	amo	amabam	amabo
2nd sing.	amas	amabas	amabis
3rd sing.	amat	amabat	amabit
1st plur.	amamus	amabamus	amabimus
2nd plur.	amatis	amabatis	amabitis
3rd plur.	amant	amabant	amabunt

Table 13: Latin indicative active tenses formed with the stem of the present

	Perfect	**Pluperfect**	**Future of the past**
1st sing.	amavi	amaveram	amavero
2nd sing.	amavisti	amaveras	amaveris
3rd sing.	amavit	amaverat	amaverit
1st plur.	amavimus	amaveramus	amaverimus
2nd plur.	amavistis	amaveratis	amaveritis
3rd plur.	amaverunt/ amavere	amaverant	amaverint

Table 14: Latin indicative active tenses formed with the stem of the perfect

As can be seen, the stem of the perfect is formed from that of the present by addition of a v-suffix. This is one of five methods of forming the perfect stem, the remaining four being the following:

1) Addition of an *s*-suffix: *dico* "I say", *dixi* "I said"
scribo "I write", *scripsi* "I wrote"
jungo "I unite", *junxi* "I united"

2) Stem vowel change[23]: *ago* "I act", *ēgi* "I acted"
facio "I do", *fēci* "I did"
capio "I take", *cēpi* "I took"

3) Reduplication: *curro* "I run", *cucurri* "I ran"
do "I give", *dedi* "I gave"
cano "I sing", *cecini* "I sang"

4) Suppletion: *fero* "I bear", *tuli* "I bore"

What is important to note about these various methods of forming the perfect is that they are not transparent, i.e., one cannot, on the basis of the present stem of a verb, deduce what its perfect form is.

[23] It should be noted that the change could be one of quantity or quality, or both.

This dichotomy between present and perfect stems is also found in the subjunctive, as is shown in Table 15.

	Present	**Imperfect**	**Perfect**	**Pluperfect**
1st sing.	amem	amarem	amaverim	amavissem
2nd sing.	ames	amares	amaveris	amavisses
3rd sing.	amet	amaret	amaverit	amavisset
1st plur.	amemus	amaremus	amaverimus	amavissemus
2nd plur.	ametis	amaretis	amaveritis	amavissetis
3rd plur.	ament	amarent	amaverint	amavissent

Table 15: Latin subjunctive active tenses

As can be seen, the present and imperfect of the subjunctive are conjugated with the present stem, and the perfect and pluperfect with the perfect stem.

Verbs of all other conjugation classes are conjugated much in the same fashion, leaving aside a number of irregular verbs. The only significant difference among the conjugation classes lies in the conjugation of the indicative future: verbs of the third and fourth conjugation use a future form morphologically similar to the subjunctive: see Table 16, presenting the present indicative, present subjunctive and future forms of the verb *audire* "to hear" to exemplify this:

	Present indicative	**Present subjunctive**	**Future indicative**
1st sing.	audio	audiam	audiam
2nd sing.	audis	audias	audies
3rd sing.	audit	audiat	audiet
1st plur.	audimus	audiamus	audiemus
2nd plur.	auditis	audiatis	audietis
3rd plur.	audiunt	audiant	audient

Table 16: Latin third and fourth conjugation present, future and subjunctive forms

Finally, there existed a passive[24] voice in Latin, which was formed by inflection in the instance of tenses formed with the present stem: in the instances of tenses formed with the perfect stem, it was formed periphrastically: cf. Tables 17, 18 and 19.

	Present	**Imperfect**	**Future**
1st sing.	amor	amabar	amabor
2nd sing.	amaris	amabaris/amabare	amaberis/amabere
3rd sing.	amatur	amabatur	amabitur
1st plur.	amamur	amabamur	amabimus
2nd plur.	amamini	amabamini	amabitis
3rd plur.	amantur	amabantur	amabunt

Table 17: Latin indicative passive tenses formed with the stem of the present

	Perfect	**Pluperfect**	**Future of the past**
1st sing.	amatus sum	amatus eram	amatus ero
2nd sing.	amatus es	amatus eras	amatus eris
3rd sing.	amatus est	amatus erat	amatus erit
1st plur.	amati sumus	amati eramus	amati erimus
2nd plur.	amati estis	amati eratis	amati eritis
3rd plur.	amati sunt	amati erant	amati erunt

Table 18: Latin indicative passive tenses formed with the stem of the perfect

[24] There also existed a special group of verbs, known as deponents, whose inflection was passive and whose meaning was active: no heed shall be paid to them here, as they scarcely differed morphologically from passive verbs. Their fate in the Romance languages was the same as that of the passive forms of active verbs: they utterly disappeared.

	Present	**Imperfect**	**Perfect**	**Pluperfect**
1st sing.	amer	amarer	amatus sim	amatus essem
2nd sing.	ameris/amere	amareris/ere	amatus sis	amatus esses
3rd sing.	ametur	amaretur	amatus sit	amatus esset
1st plur.	amemur	amaremur	amati simus	amati essemus
2nd plur.	amemini	amaremini	amati sitis	amati essetis
3rd plur.	amentur	amarentur	amati sint	amati essent

Table 19: Latin subjunctive passive tenses

As can be seen, the forms of the passive, both inflected and periphrastic, can be derived quite regularly from the corresponding active forms: thus, for the inflected forms, active first person singular *-o* becomes passive *-or*, *-m* becomes *-r*, second person singular active *-s* becomes passive *-ris*, third person (singular and plural) active *-t* becomes *-tur*, first person plural active *-mus* becomes passive *-mur*, second person plural active *-tis* becomes passive *-mini*.

Before turning to the changes which led from Latin to Romance, it should be pointed out that the passive verbs of Latin are not only found with transitive verbs. Whereas in English one cannot passivize an intransitive verb (*he ran* vs. **it was run*), in Latin the passive can be used with any verb, transitive or intransitive: *cucurrit* "he ran" versus *cursus est* "there was a running, somebody ran" (a better equivalent might be French *on a couru*); cf. also German *es wurde getanzt* "(people)danced, there was dancing".

5.3 *From Latin to Romance*

This section will briefly sketch the basic changes which separate Latin from the Romance languages.

5.3.1 *Forms lost throughout Romance*

When looking at Romance while keeping an eye on Latin, one is first struck by the total loss of all inflected passives, none of which survived into any Romance language, not even in set expressions. This is quite unexpected, in the light of its regularity: one must agree with Green's statement to the effect that: "[...] when viewed purely as morphology, the passive paradigms are remarkably solid and efficient" (Green 1991:85). (The 'passive paradigms' being referred to are those of Latin: SG). Likewise, it has been pointed out in a recent study on Latin and Romance diachronic morphosyntax that

> Pulgram (1977: 98) suggests that synthetic structures like *laudavir, *laudavitur, or *laudaveruntur, in place of the occurring 1SG laudatus sum, 3SG laudatus est, and 3PL laudati sunt, had "nothing un-Latin about them." As a matter of fact, he lists attested passives like iussitur, faxitur, and turbassitur. However, such forms did not "catch on." This is surprising from the stand-point of system congruity, as such analogical changes would be exactly the ones expected [...] the analytic passive expressions were, in fact, expanded in the evolution of Latin into Romance –a development strongly at odds with predictions according to the parameter of system congruity. (Klausenburger 2000: 41)

As a look at the Tables presented in 5.2 shows, approximately one third of inflected verb forms were lost in the transition from Latin to Romance.

It should immediately be made clear that phonological evolution cannot be said to be the cause of this change: many conservative varieties, such as Sardinian, not only have preserved the Latin endings, but have reinforced them by adding a supporting vowel, and by the same means could have preserved a passive-marking system, as is shown in Table 20. (Sardinian data from Blasco Ferrer 1988:842).

	Latin active present indicative	**Sardinian active present indicative**	**Latin passive present indicative**	**Hypothetical Sardinian passive present indicative**
1st sing.	canto	kanto	cantor	*kantoro
2nd sing.	cantas	kantaza	cantaris	*kantarizi
3rd sing.	cantat	kantaδa[25]	cantatur	*kantaδuru
1st plur.	cantamus	kantamuzu	cantamur	*kantamuru
2nd plur.	cantatis	kantaδeze	cantamini	*kantamini
3rd plur.	cantant	kantana	cantantur	*kantanturu

Table 20: Hypothetical reflex of Latin passive present indicative in Sardinian

One may quibble about the exact quality of the final vowels in the hypothetical forms, but the central point remains valid: there is no phonological reason why such passive-marking morphology could not have survived to this day.

The analytical passive forms survived, but underwent a major semantic shift, inasmuch as forms such as *amatus est* came to be interpreted as a present rather than perfect passive: French *il est aimé*, like its equivalent in other Romance languages, is a present passive: "he is loved", not "he was loved".

Two other new methods used to make good the loss of the passive, especially in its uses as an impersonal form, were the increased use of the reflexive (Latin *dicitur* "it is said", Spanish *se dice*, Portuguese *diz-se*, Italian *si dice*, Rumanian *se zice* "it is said", literally, "it says itself") and the use of the nominative form of the word for "man" (*homo*) as an impersonal pronoun in French: *on dit* (compare German *Man sagt* or Dutch *Men zegt*).

[25] The symbol δ indicates, in Sardinian studies, a voiced dental fricative.

Less surprising is the near-total loss of the Latin future: as we have seen, it suffered from the double inconvenience of being morphologically variable according to verb class (first or second on the one hand, third or fourth on the other): in the latter case its first person singular was identical with the first person singular of the present subjunctive. Finally, it should be pointed out that, in the third person singular, the forms found in the first and second classes of verbs were liable to be indistinguishable from the third person singular forms of the preterite, i.e., *amabit* and *amavit* would have become homophonous throughout Romance because of the merger of intervocalic *b* and *v* (Elcock 1960:106).

The only instances of a partial survival in Romance of the Latin future are with the copula, whose forms (*ero, eris, erit, erimus, eritis, erunt*) were much more distinctive: thus, in the earliest known Old French texts, the Strassburg oaths, we find the sentence:

> *in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuvuig nun li vi er*
> "[...] I will be of no assistance to him against Louis"

Where *er* "will be" clearly is a reflex of the Latin first person singular future copula *ero*. However, leaving aside the copula, we do not find any other reflex of the Latin future.

5.3.2 *Forms which survived in Romance*

Of the remaining verb tenses, all survived in Romance, though some only survived in a few languages. It should also be pointed out that some of these forms underwent major changes in function. A single instance will be mentioned: the Latin subjunctive pluperfect survived in Rumanian, where, however, it is today used as an indicative pluperfect: by contrast, in most other Romance languages, it is used today as a subjunctive perfect (Elcock 1960:142).

5.4 *The Classical Greek verb system*

Whereas the system of Classical Latin was based on the opposition between two verb stems, that of the present and that of the perfect, that of Greek is based on an opposition among four verb stems: that of the present, the future, the perfect and the aorist.[26]

The system will be exemplified by means of the verb λύειν "to free", cf. Table 21 (below). In the indicative, one finds, along with these four tenses, two others, the imperfect and pluperfect, cf. Table 22 (below) (the aorist is sometimes considered a secondary tense).

	Present	**Future**	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λύω	λύσω	λέλυκα	ἔλυσα
2nd sing.	λύεις	λύσεις	λέλυκας	ἔλυσας
3rd sing.	λύει	λύσει	λέλυκε	ἔλυσε
1st plur.	λύομεν	λύσομεν	λελύκαμεν	ἐλύσαμεν
2nd plur.	λύετε	λύσετε	λελύκατε	ἐλύσατε
3rd plur.	λύουσι	λύσουσι	λελύκασι	ἔλυσαν

Table 21: The four active indicative basic tenses

	Imperfect	**Pluperfect**
1st sing.	ἔλυον	ἐλελύκειν
2nd sing.	ἔλυες	ἐλελύκεις
3rd sing.	ἔλυε	ἐλελύκει
1st plur.	ἐλύομεν	ἐλελύκειμεν
2nd plur.	ἐλύετε	ἐλελύκειτε
3rd plur.	ἔλυον	ἐλελύκεσαν

Table 22: The two active indicative secondary tenses

[26] While the examination of regular verbal paradigms might lead one to believe the number of distinct verbal stems (two in Latin versus four in Greek) to be an artificial matter, the considerable number of morphologically irregular (i.e. unpredictable) stems makes the distinction justified.

In addition, there exist in Greek two distinct modes other than the indicative: the optative and the subjunctive. The former has all four primary tenses: the latter has three (the four basic tenses, minus the future); cf. Tables 23 and 24.

	Present	**Future**	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λύοιμι	λύσοιμι	λελύκοιμι	λύσαιμι
2nd sing.	λύοις	λύσοις	λελύκοις	λύσειας
3rd sing.	λύοι	λύσοι	λελύκοι	λύσειε
1st plur.	λύοιμεν	λύσοιμεν	λελύκοιμεν	λύσαιμεν
2nd plur.	λύοιτε	λύσοιτε	λελύκοιτε	λύσαιτε
3rd plur.	λύοιεν	λύσοιεν	λελύκοιεν	λύσειαν

Table 23: The four active optative tenses

	Present	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λύω	λύσω	λελύκω
2nd sing.	λύῃς	λύσῃς	λελύκῃς
3rd sing.	λύῃ	λύσῃ	λελύκῃ
1st plur.	λύωμεν	λύσωμεν	λελύκωμεν
2nd plur.	λύητε	λύσητε	λελύκητε
3rd plur.	λύωσι	λύσωσι	λελύκωσι

Table 24: The three active subjunctive tenses

Greek, like Latin, marked the passive by means of inflection, although, like Latin, some of the forms were analytical (fewer in Greek than in Latin).[27] Cf. Tables 25, 26, 27 and 28.

[27] There existed a third voice, the Middle, historically primary: because it was, morphologically, scarcely distinguishable from the Passive (in the aorist and future only), and because, like Latin deponent verbs, it failed to survive into Modern Greek, it will not be examined in this chapter.

	Present	**Future**	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λύομαι	λυθήσομαι	λέλυμαι	ἐλύθην
2nd sing.	λύει	λυθήσει	λέλυσαι	ἐλύθης
3rd sing.	λύεται	λυθήσεται	λέλυται	ἐλύθη
1st plur.	λύομεθα	λυθησόμεθα	λελύμεθα	ἐλύθημεν
2nd plur.	λύεσθε	λυθήσεσθε	λέλυσθε	ἐλύθητε
3rd plur.	λύονται	λυθήσονται	λέλυνται	ἐλύθησαν

Table 25: The four passive indicative basic tenses

	Imperfect	**Pluperfect**
1st sing.	ἐλυόμην	ἐλελύμην
2nd sing.	ἐλύου	ἐλέλυσο
3rd sing.	ἐλύετο	ἐλέλυτο
1st plur.	ἐλυόμεθα	ἐλελύμεθα
2nd plur.	ἐλύεσθε	ἐλέλυσθε
3rd plur.	ἐλύοντο	ἐλέλυντο

Table 26: The two passive indicative secondary tenses

	Present	**Future**	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λυοίμην	λυθησοίμην	λελυ μένος εἴην	λυθείην
2nd sing.	λύοιο	λυθήσοιο	λελυ μένος εἴης	λυθείης
3rd sing.	λύοιτο	λυθήσοιτο	λελυ μένος εἴη	λυθείη
1st plur.	λυοίμεθα	λυθησοίμεθα	λελυ μένοι εἶμεν	λυθεῖμεν
2nd plur.	λύοισθε	λυθήσοισθε	λελυ μένοι εἶτε	λυθεῖτε
3rd plur.	λύοιντο	λυθήσοιντο	λελυ μένοι εἶεν	λυθεῖεν

Table 27: The four passive optative tenses

	Present	**Perfect**	**Aorist**
1st sing.	λύωμαι	λελυ μένος ὦ	λυθῶ
2nd sing.	λύῃ	λελυ μένος ἦς	λυθῇς
3rd sing.	λύηται	λελυ μένος ἦ	λυθῇ
1st plur.	λυώμεθα	λελυ μένοι ὦμεν	λυθῶμεν
2nd plur.	λύησθε	λελυ μένοι ἦτε	λυθῆτε
3rd plur.	λύωνθαι	λελυ μένοι ὦσι	λυθῶσι

Table 28: The three passive subjunctive tenses

The passive perfect, in both the optative and the subjunctive mode, is analytical, as can be seen: the final element is the copula, in the optative and subjunctive.

5.5 *From Classical to Modern Greek*

Compared to the transition from Latin to Romance, the transition from Ancient to Modern Greek has caused far fewer discontinuities in the verbal system.

In the indicative, of the six tenses, two, the perfect and the pluperfect, were lost, replaced by analytical formations using the verb 'to have'. A new future tense has appeared, using a pre-verbal particle θα: this is a contraction and grammaticization of an earlier periphrastic construction θέλω ἱνά "I want that",[28] which gradually conveyed the idea of futurity rather than intent, just like the English future auxiliary 'will' (cf. the English noun 'will' still bears the original semantics of the verb). However, far from ousting the old synthetic future, it coexists with it.

Most impressively, the passive-marking morphology is still alive in modern Greek, although it has undergone considerable change and remodelling.

A more radical type of change, at first glance, would appear to be found in the modal system of the language: the optative has disappeared, and the subjunctive is morphologically virtually indistinguishable from the indicative. However, this last change is due to normal phonological evolution, which caused most subjunctive endings to become homophonous with those of the indicative.

What is genuinely striking about these changes, however, is that most of them had already occurred or were taking place in the era of the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire (Browning 1983:30-31), i.e., during the period when Classical Latin itself was spoken. In other words, in two millennia, Greek, from the first century B.C. till today, has not suffered any kind of large-scale morphological loss.

5.6 *Discussion and Conclusion*

The contrast between the linguistic fates of Latin and Greek, already noted in the preceding chapter with regards to the evolution of nominal morphology, is no less remarkable with regards to verbal morphology. This rapid comparison can but confirm Browning's words (1983:2-3):

> And though there has been much rearrangement of morphological patterns, there has also been much continuity, and Greek is quite clearly even today an archaic, 'Indo-European' type of language, like Latin or Russian, not a modern, analytical language, like English or Persian. There has been no passage from one typological category to another. The verbal system in particular has preserved most of its structure and many of its morphological features, while there has been more far-reaching rearrangement of the nominal system.

It is, of course, possible that modern Greek verbal morphology is exceptionally conservative within Indo-European in terms of its rate of change. Ideally one would like to

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[28] 'That' here is a subordinator, not a pronoun.

cast a glance in the direction of other Indo-European languages, as we did when comparing the nominal systems of the two languages, in order to ascertain whether or not Greek is the odd language out.

Unfortunately, the quotation by Andrew Sihler, which opens this chapter, is very much applicable to the entire Indo-European domain: the diversity in terms of verbal morphology is immense, making it extremely difficult to compare the types of change from one Indo-European language to another in order to determine whether Greek is exceptionally conservative or Romance exceptionally innovative.

There are some indications, however, that Romance is indeed exceptional in wholly eliminating such a large part of its verbal morphology. First, the reader will have noticed that the passive-marking morphology of Latin differs from that of Greek in one crucial respect: Latin is the more regular of the two languages[29]. All other things being equal, one would have expected the more irregular system to be the one which would fail to survive. In a same fashion, the loss of the Latin future in Romance is scarcely surprising, in light of its unusual irregularity and phonological fragility.

Second, it must be said that there is nothing inherently fragile or unstable about passive-marking morphology: indeed, one group of Indo-European languages, the Northern branch of Germanic, has grammaticized a clitic pronoun and turned it into a bound morpheme indicating the passive voice (Swedish *jag kallar* "I call", *jag kallas* "I

[29] This greater regularity may be related to the fact that the Latin passive is morphologically 'younger' than the Greek passive: many of the passive endings of Latin are unrelated to those of other Indo-European languages (second-person plural *–mini*, for example), in contrast to the Greek system, which plainly shares a common origin with that of the Indo-Iranian languages.

am called").[30] In others, passive-marking morphology is still found to this day: for example, we find in Modern Albanian the following forms for the present active and passive of the verb 'to endure' (Bubenik & Hewson 1997:118-119):

	Active	**Passive**
1st sing.	Durój	durohem
2nd sing.	Durón	durohesh
3rd sing.	Durón	durohet
1st plur.	Durómë	durohemi
2nd plur.	Duróni	duroheni
3rd plur.	Durójnë	durohen

Table 29: Active and Passive present in Modern Albanian

Under these circumstances, it is difficult not to conclude that the massive morphological loss which the disappearance of the passive voice entailed in the transition from Latin to Romance was a more unusual change than its preservation in Greek. This, in turn, confirms the hypothesis this thesis aims at demonstrating, namely, that Latin was creolized to some degree as it became Romance.

[30] Unfortunately no living germanic language is attested at a stage when it possessed a synthetic passive: add to this the far greater morphological simplicity of verbs in germanic, and it must be conceded that these dissimilarities make it impossible to use germanic as a point of comparison for Latin/Romance.

Chapter 6: Other Considerations

In the light of the two previous chapters, where the hypothesis that Latin was creolized, at least to some degree, found itself confirmed by comparison with Greek, this chapter will aim at presenting further evidence supporting the hypothesis, drawing especially from the later evolution of the individual Romance languages, which, as expected, have changed in a 'regular', expected fashion, i.e., shedding old morphology but also creating new one: this clearly shows that the change from Latin to Romance cannot be considered an instance of ordinary language change: the hypothesis which was confirmed in the previous chapters, namely, partial creolization, elegantly accounts for this 'unordinary' language change.

6.1 *Introduction*

As the two preceding chapters have shown, Latin/Romance has eliminated, in the course of its thousand-year history, most of its nominal case-marking morphology and a great deal of its verbal morphology. What is of interest for our purposes is the fact that the lost forms were replaced in function by various analytical means of expression (prepositions and word-order to mark case when the morphological means to do so had disappeared in nouns; periphrastic passive using the verb "to have", or, in the instance of some intransitive verbs, "to be" + past participle and various other devices to replace lost passive-marking morphology on verbs), never by some newly-created synthetic

morphological marker. On the other hand, Greek not only failed to eliminate its morphology to anything like a comparable degree during a considerably longer period of time, but what few analytical formations are far more grammaticized: a marker like θα is a purely grammatical marker of the future.

The contrast between Latin and Greek, incidentally, is all the more remarkable when one bears in mind the fact that during the relevant period the two languages were in close contact, and indubitably influenced one another to a considerable degree, as is clear in the lexicon.

Of far greater interest, however, is the remarkable fact that, during the relevant historical period, Late Latin/Early Romance did not grammaticize *any* of its many analytical structures: this fact suggests a type of linguistic transformation more akin to creolization than to normal linguistic change.

6.2 *The future and conditional in Romance*

This last statement may have come as something of a surprise to a number of readers, since two of the best-known cases of grammaticization presented in the literature – the 'future/conditional' synthetic forms in the verbal system, and the adverbial suffix *-mente* – are often said to be 'Romance'. It should be clarified that this is not quite true however, *stricto sensu*. In the case of the synthetic future and conditional (originally analytical formations, consisting of the infinitive followed by the verb "to have" in the present or past tense, respectively: thus, French *(je) chanterai* "I will sing" is, etymologically, *chanter* + *ai* , "to sing" + "I have"; likewise *(je) chanterais* "I would sing" is, etymologically, *chanter* + *(av)ais*, "to sing" + "I had": the connection between these forms

is still synchronically visible: cf. Table 30, exemplifying with French) it should first be noted that they are by no means pan-Romance (they are totally absent from Sardinian, Southern Italian varieties, Rumanian and some varieties of Rhaeto-Romance). Furthermore, their grammaticization – in those languages where they are found – had barely begun in many languages when the first written records appear: in Old Spanish, for example, the auxiliary verb could frequently be detached from its infinitive: for example, in the following part of couplet 118 of the Epic *Cantar de mio Çid* (twelfth century), quoted in Bec 1970:241:

Siete migeros conplidos	duró el segudar
Mio Çid al rey Búcar	cadió.l en alcaz:
"Aca torna, Búcar!	venist dalent mar.
"Veerte as con el Çid,	el de la barba grant
"saludar nos hemos amos,	e tajaremos amiztad."

"Seven full miles lasted the chase: My Cid chased king Bucar: 'Come hither, Bucar! Thou camest from beyond the sea: thou shalt see yourself with the Cid, he with the great beard, we shall greet one another, and we shall become friends!' " (Translation mine: SG)

As can be seen, in the last two verses we find three futures, two of which consist of the verbal infinitive, separated from its 'ending' by an accusative clitic pronoun (*Veerte as*, literally "to see" "you" "you have": "you will see yourself", and *saludar nos hemos*, literally "to greet" "us" "we have": "we shall greet one another"), and the third of which (*tajaremos*) consists of the infinitive followed by its ending, without there being any intrusive element.

Old Provençal is another Romance language where the grammaticization of the future and the conditional was incomplete, and where pronouns could be inserted between the infinitive and its ending: cf. the following examples (taken from Mok 1977:40):

mas servir l'ai dos ans o tres "but I will serve her two or three years"

dar-vos-em fromen "we will give you wheat"
mostrar vos a enferm "he will show you hell"
lo gaug de paradis [...] recobrar l'an aquels que per dreg l'an perdut?
"the joy of heaven [...] will they obtain it again, those who justly lost it?"

and indeed, in the instance of at least one language, Portuguese (only its European variety), object clitic pronouns may to this day still be inserted between the infinitive and its 'ending', i.e., *dir-se-ia* "It would be said" (literally, "it would say itself"); compare Spanish *se diría*, Italian *si direbbe*.

	Simple future	**"To have", present tense**	**Conditional**	**"To have", imperfect tense**
1st sing.	je chanterai	j'ai	je chanterais	j'avais
2nd sing.	tu chanteras	tu as	tu chanterais	tu avais
3rd sing.	il chantera	il a	il chanterait	il avait
1st plur.	nous chanterons	nous avons	nous chanterions	nous avions
2nd plur.	vous chanterez	vous avez	vous chanteriez	vous aviez
3rd plur.	ils chanteront	ils ont	ils chanteraient	ils avaient

Table 30: The future and conditional forms and the verb "to have" in the present and imperfect in French

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Italian conditional differs from that of its Romance sisters in that its endings go back to a cliticized form of the verb "to have" in the *perfect* tense, whereas in other Romance languages with a synthetic conditional the endings go back to a cliticized form of the verb "to have" in the *imperfect* tense: this is still quite visible (cf. Tables 31 and 32): thus, the forms *diría* and *direbbe*, quoted above, cannot be traced back to a common Romance, or indeed Latin, form: further proof that the grammaticization of the auxiliary verb is not a pan-Romance innovation. Clearly, the grammaticization of these auxiliaries cannot be taken to have occurred during the Early

Romance period, but rather much later, after the separation of the various Romance languages.

	Conditional	**"To have", imperfect tense**	**"To have", perfect tense**
1st sing.	canterei	avevo	ebbi
2nd sing.	canteresti	avevi	avesti
3rd sing.	canterebbe	aveva	ebbe
1st plur.	canteremmo	avevamo	avemmo
2nd plur.	cantereste	avevate	aveste
3rd plur.	canterebbero	avevano	ebbero

Table 31: The conditional forms and the verb "to have" in the imperfect and perfect in Italian

	Conditional	**"To have", imperfect tense**	**"To have", perfect tense**
1st sing.	cantaría	había	hube
2nd sing.	cantarías	habías	hubiste
3rd sing.	cantaría	había	hubo
1st plur.	cantaríamos	habíamos	hubimos
2nd plur.	cantaríais	habíais	hubisteis
3rd plur.	cantarían	habían	hubieron

Table 32: The conditional forms and the verb "to have" in the imperfect and perfect in Spanish

The story of the adverbial suffix *-mente* is quite similar to that of the synthetic future/conditional forms: it is absent from Sardinian, Rumanian and Southern Italy as well; in those languages where it is present its grammaticization is to this day not necessarily quite complete. Thus, "clearly and openly", in Spanish, would be *clara y abiertamente* ("clear and openly"), with "*mente*" turning both adjectives into adverbs (contrast, for example, French *clairement et ouvertement*). Again, we must suppose the

grammaticization of *mente* to have occurred after the separation of the various Romance languages.

6.3 *Grammaticization in the later history of the Romance languages*

Further evidence that the restructuring of Latin/Romance is more akin to creolization than to normal linguistic change is supplied, not only by comparison with Greek and other Indo-European languages, but by the later history of the Romance languages themselves. Leaving aside those changes due to the operation of regular phonological change (such as the disappearance of most person-marking suffixes in French verbs), we nowhere find anything like the radical restructuring which occurred in Latin/Romance: in nominal morphology, the elimination of the two-case declension in French and Provençal is not surprising when we bear in mind the ambiguity of the two endings, *-s* and zero: thus, a form like *reis* could be nominative singular or accusative plural, and conversely, a form like *rei* could be accusative singular or nominative plural.

In verbal morphology, the most dramatic change to occur (most conspicuously in French, but present in several other languages as well) has been the loss of the perfect and its morphologically related subjunctive imperfect, a formal simplification of verbal morphology to be sure, but nowhere near as dramatic as the loss of the synthetic passive, and not affecting all languages in any case. This is in stark contrast to the large-scale loss of morphology which occurred in the transition from Latin to Romance.

Conversely, grammaticization of formerly independent elements has occurred and is an ongoing process in many Romance languages. In the verbal system, many auxiliary verbs are on their way to becoming pure person-marked tense or mood markers. Some examples follow: unless otherwise specified, the source of the information is Champion 1980.

In Rumanian, we find that the future is expressed by means of an auxiliary verb which stems from the verb "to want": however, this auxiliary is today wholly distinct from the lexical verb cf. Table 33 (the proto-Romance forms are from Elcock 1960:126):

	Proto-Romance "to want"	**Rumanian verb "to want"**	**Rumanian future-marking auxiliary**
1st sing.	voleo	vreau	voi
2nd sing.	voles	vrei	vei
3rd sing.	volet	vrea	va
1st plur.	volemus	vrem	vom
2nd plur.	voletis	vreți	veți
3rd plur.	volent	vreau, vor	vor

Table 33: Proto-Romance "to want" and its two sets of Rumanian reflexes

This differentiation between two reflexes of "to want" is of course a specifically Rumanian innovation: it could scarcely be otherwise, considering the fact that the use of "to want" as a future auxiliary is a specifically innovation[31] (shared with other languages of the Balkans however: see Sandfeld 1930:180-181).

Another such type of differentiation is found in Rumanian with the verb "to have", according to whether it is a full verb or used as an auxiliary to mark the past tense: cf. Table 34 (data from Mallinson 1986:275-276):

[31] The fact that certain Eastern French dialects use *vouloir* as an auxiliary to mark the future (*il veut pleuvoir* "It is going to rain") is surely an independent innovation, considering its absence from other Romance languages.

	Latin "to have"	**Rumanian verb "to have"**	**Rumanian past tense auxiliary**
1st sing.	habeo	am[32]	am
2nd sing.	habes	ai	ai
3rd sing.	habet	are	a
1st plur.	habemus	avem	am
2nd plur.	habetis	aveți	ați
3rd plur.	habeunt	au	au

Table 34: Latin "to have" and its two sets of Rumanian reflexes

Here, too, we are obviously dealing with a specifically Rumanian innovation, since in many other Romance languages a single paradigm of the verb "to have" is used to express possession as well as the past tense (French *il a un livre* and *il a vu quelque chose*): more importantly, where this is not the case (as we shall see below), the forms found are wholly unlike those of Rumanian and cannot hearken back to a common proto-Romance stage.

Finally, there is internal evidence within Rumanian to support the contention that its reduction of the past-marking auxiliary took place at a comparatively recent date: while Rumanian morphosyntax is fairly uniform across Rumanian dialects, it is significant that most Rumanian dialects differ from the standard in having a form *o* (for the singular and the plural) rather than *a* and *au* as a third person auxiliary. Standard Rumanian *el a venit* and *ei au venit* (he came/they came) correspond to dialect forms *el/ei o venit* (Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1989:418): this variation does suggest that the contraction of *are* and *au* took place recently, yielding different results in different parts of Rumania.

[32] This Rumanian form is inexplicable as a regular development of Latin *habeo*: Sandfeld (1925:13-14) mentions the possible influence of the Albanian form *kam* "I have". The difficulty with seeing it as a reformed form with a suffixed –m is that, based on examination of cognates in other Romance languages (French *ai*, Spanish *he*) one would expect a form **em* rather than *am*.

In Sicilian (Varvaro 1988:722) there is a similar differentiation of the forms of the verb "to have" cf. Table 35:

	Latin "to have"	**Sicilian verb "to have"**	**Sicilian auxiliary**
1st sing.	habeo	aju	e
2nd sing.	habes	ai	a
3rd sing.	habet	avi	avi
1st plur.	habemus	avemu	amu
2nd plur.	habetis	aviti	ati
3rd plur.	habeunt	annu	annu

Table 35: Latin "to have" and its two sets of Sicilian reflexes

Some Rumanian-Sicilian similarities in the forms of "to have" might suggest a common origin, it should be pointed out that this is only true if one looks only at the first and second plural forms, whose contractions are indeed similar: otherwise, in the singular most noticeably, there is nothing to suggest a common proto-Romance origin.

Another type of differentiation between the past tense marker and the lexical verb is found in one Romance language: in Spanish the reflexes of 'to have' are solely used as markers of the past tense (*he visto*, "I saw"), and reflexes of a wholly different verb, which originally meant 'to hold', to express possession, *tener* (compare French *tenir*, which has better preserved the original Latin meaning): *tengo un libro* "I have a book".

An altogether different verb, which has also become differentiated according to whether it was used as a lexical verb or an auxiliary, is the Latin verb *debere* "to have to" in Sardinian, where it came to be used as an auxiliary to mark the future: cf. Table 36.

	Latin "to have to"	**Sardinian "to have to"**	**Sardinian future marking auxiliary**
1st sing.	debeo	dèppo	dèppo
2nd sing.	debes	dèppes	dès
3rd sing.	debet	dèppet	dèt
1st plur.	debemus	deppémus	démus
2nd plur.	debetis	deppèdzes	dèdzes
3rd plur.	debeunt	dèppen	dèn

Table 36: Latin "to have to" and its two sets of Sardinian reflexes

Here again, we are plainly dealing with a language-specific innovation: the fact that no other Romance variety uses reflexes of *debere* as a future marker make this quite plain.

Finally, we find another Romance language which has differentiated yet another verb: in Catalan, the reflexes of the verb 'to go' are differentiated according to whether the verb is used in its full lexical sense or as a past tense marker: cf. Table 37.

	Early Romance "to go"	**Catalan "to go"**	**Catalan past marking auxiliary**
1st sing.	vado	vaig	vaig
2nd sing.	vadis	vas	vas
3rd sing.	vadit	va	va
1st plur.	andamus[33]	anem	vam
2nd plur.	andatis	aneu	vau
3rd plur.	vadunt	van	van

Table 37: Latin "to go" and its two sets of Catalan reflexes

[33] I have replaced Champion's forms *imus* and *itis* by *andamus* and *andatis* as the immediate forerunners of the Catalan forms: their presence in Italian (*andiamo, andate*) does make it likely that they were present in many varieties of Early Romance.

It of course goes without saying that this is a specifically Catalan innovation, and a comparatively recent one at that, inasmuch as the dialect of Alghero (Sardinia), a variety of Catalan transplanted there in the Middle Ages, does not have this differentiation, and uses a single set of forms (*vaig, vas, va, anam, anats, van*) as a lexical verb and as a past tense marker.

Ongoing grammaticization in Romance is also found elsewhere: thus, pronominal clitics throughout Romance are well on their way to becoming verbal agreement morphemes (see Auger 1995, Uritescu 1997, for French clitics as agreement morphemes) rather than pronominal elements in the strict sense of the word: according to this analysis a non-standard French sentence such as *Moi, mon père, je l'ai vu* contains a subject (*moi*), an object (*mon père*) and a verb (*je l'ai vu*) with two prefixes, the first (*je*) indicating first-person subjecthood, the second (*l'*) the presence of a third-person singular object.

Likewise, regular sound change has not always led to morphological simplification: as a result of its attrition of final consonants, French has created a distinction between strong and weak masculine adjectival forms, as Morin (1992) argued. He observes that many masculine pre-nominal adjectives have a (strong) form which, when the following noun begins with a vowel, is distinct both from the feminine form of the adjective and the (weak) masculine form in other contexts (*grand ami*, with final /t/, *homme grand*, with no final consonant, and *grande amie*, with final /d/). He further observes that native speakers of French never use the feminine form of adjectives as a strong masculine form, even when they are uncertain about what the form should be (thus, when asked how the written phrase *blanc homme* should be pronounced, all speakers hesitated, but none made use of the feminine form *blanche*). This leads Morin to conclude that Modern French, in the

singular, has three (masculine strong, masculine weak, feminine) forms of the adjective. This, again, contrasts with the fact that virtually no grammaticization appears to have taken place in the transition from Latin to Romance.[34]

6.4 *Grammaticization in Latin and in other Indo-European languages*

The transition from Latin to Romance, where massive morphological loss and virtually no grammaticization occurred, is also anomalous when compared to the changes which separate Latin from its Indo-European sister languages. Whereas some loss of morphological distinctions did indeed occur in the history of Latin (for example, loss of a seventh case form, the locative, only marginally preserved in Latin but fully preserved in Osco-Umbrian [Buck 1904]), there also occurred a good deal of grammaticization. In the verb system, for instance, of the six finite tense forms in the indicative (using the first person singular of the verb *amare* "to love" to exemplify: present: *amo* "I love", perfect *amavi* "I loved", imperfect *amabam* "I was loving", pluperfect *amaveram* "I had loved", future *amabo* "I shall love", future anterior *amavero* "I will have loved"), only the first two tenses are inherited from Indo-European. The other four are specifically Latin creations, the endings being, historically, cliticized and ultimately grammaticized forms of the copula (originally post-verbal, in line with the verb-final syntax of Early Indo-European; see Lehmann 1993). While sound-changes have obscured this somewhat, this is still quite visible in the instance of the pluperfect and future anterior: cf. Tables 38 and 39.

[34] One cannot thus follow Bennett's (1980) attempt to see in the transition from Latin to Romance a type of linguistic change quite similar to that separating Standard French from modern-day colloquial Parisian French.

	Latin perfect	**Latin pluperfect**	**Latin imperfect**
1st sing.	amavi	amaveram	eram
2nd sing.	amavisti	amaveras	eras
3rd sing.	amavit	amaverat	erat.
1st plur.	amavimus	amaveramus	eramus
2nd plur.	amavistis	amaveratis	eratis
3rd plur.	amaverunt	amaverant	erant

Table 38: Latin perfect and pluperfect tenses, and the verb "to be" in the imperfect

	Latin perfect	**Latin future anterior**	**Latin future**
1st sing.	amavi	amavero	ero
2nd sing.	amavisti	amaveris	eris
3rd sing.	amavit	amaverit	erit
1st plur.	amavimus	amaverimus	erimus
2nd plur.	amavistis	amaveritis	eritis
3rd plur.	amaverunt	amaverint	erint

Table 39: Latin perfect and future anterior tenses, and the verb "to be" in the future

As can be seen, both tenses (pluperfect and future anterior) consist simply of forms of the copula (in the imperfect or future) suffixed to the perfect stem.

Nor is Latin at all unusual among Early Indo-European languages in grammaticizing originally free elements: such cases are quite frequent elsewhere. For example, the Germanic weak preterite suffix, which is still found in all Germanic languages, including English (*love-loved*), appears to derive from what was originally a full verb, */dhe:/, which indeed survives as a lexeme in English (*to do*) – cf. Lass (1994:164).

6.5 *Discussion and Conclusion*

The weakness of previous attempts at explaining the transition from Latin to Early Romance lies in the fact that these attempts fail to take into consideration data drawn from other Indo-European languages: thus, Väänänen 1981 [1962] sees the loss of Latin declension in Romance as being the logical conclusion of a process of reduction of case forms which had already affected Latin prehistorically: in his own words (p.111):

> La tendance à réduire le nombre des cas caractérise le latin dès le début de la tradition littéraire: au singulier, l'instrumental et, un peu plus tard, le locatif, se sont confondus avec d'autres (l'ablatif et le génitif), et le reste du vocatif (dans les noms masc. en *-us*) tendait à être absorbé par le nominatif; au pluriel, une seule forme servait de datif, d'ablatif, d'instrumental et de locatif.

Convincing though this might appear at first glance, it fails to take into account the fact that Greek, despite the fact that its case system was originally even more reduced than that of Latin (the ablative had completely disappeared), has preserved its system of declension to this very day, in sharp contrast to the contemporary progeny of Latin. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same could be said about other Indo-European languages as well.

Even worse is the inclination to explain away a certain change by referring to a 'tendency', of which the only proof we have, of course, lies in the fact that the change itself took place. Speaking of the loss of the passive, he remarks:

> Cette construction n'est guère propre à la langue populaire [...] Aussi s'est-il produit dans le système du passif un déplacement de temps qui a eu pour résultat final l'élimination des formes synthétiques de cette forme verbale. (Väänänen 1981:129)

Thus, because the passive was rare in colloquial speech, it was eliminated. One could reverse the 'argumentation' here and claim that, because it was in the process of being eliminated, it was rare in colloquial speech. In fairness, it should be pointed out that

Väänänen is quite vague as to whether or not he believes Classical Latin is indeed the direct ancestor of the Romance languages: one could therefore hold that he is not so much giving a tautological explanation regarding the loss of the inflected passive as he is using the very absence of this passive in Romance to argue that colloquial Latin (as opposed to the Classical language) made little or no use of it. However one interprets this argument, it is indubitably circular.

It goes without saying that this simply will not do as an explanation. If one accepts that the Romance languages are indeed a direct outgrowth of Classical Latin (see Chapter 3), then the passive, once a central part of the language, was indeed lost, and as comparison with Greek showed (Chapter 5), inflected passives are not especially fragile or given to being replaced by analytical forms, even when (as in Latin and Greek) such analytical forms already existed within the paradigm of the passive. Also, it should be remembered that the analytical forms of the passive were those of the perfect, pluperfect and future anterior. To hold that these forms eliminated the synthetic forms of the present, imperfect and future seems more than unlikely: as has already been pointed out, one would have expected instead the synthetic passive forms to have eliminated those of the perfect (and morphologically related tenses). Nor is this claim speculative: nowhere in the history of Latin or Romance do we find any instance of the morphology of the perfect influencing that of the present.

To recapitulate: whereas the passage from Indo-European to Latin was marked both by the loss of synthetic as well as the grammaticization of analytical forms, as was the passage from Early to Modern Romance, in accordance with the predictions of Schwegler (1990), we find, in the passage from Latin to Early Romance, a massive loss of

morphological marking without any accompanying grammaticization of analytical forms. The later history of the Romance languages, on the other hand, shows widespread grammaticization of free elements as well as the loss of bound elements. The earlier history of Latin, likewise, is marked by the loss of bound forms as well as the creation of new ones from what were originally free elements. Only during the period being studied in this thesis, the transition from Latin to early Romance, do we find an altogether different situation: a truly large-scale loss of bound elements, without there being any grammaticization of any free element.

This clearly suggests that something other than normal linguistic change took place during this period, and postulating creolization as an explanation is in accordance with both the linguistic and the socio-political facts.

In short, it would indeed appear that creolization did play a role in the emergence of Romance from Latin.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Final Considerations

Compared to the preceding chapters, parts of this one will appear somewhat speculative. It has a triple goal: first, to sketch out some of the implications of the theory presented in this thesis; second, to cast a rapid glance at theories suggesting that creolization played a role in the genesis of other languages and language families; finally, suggestions will be made concerning other avenues of research to be followed regarding the role played by creolization in the emergence of the Romance languages from Latin.

7.1 *Implications*

If it is accepted, then it is no exaggeration to say that the theory presented in this thesis is genuinely paradigm-shattering. For it has long been a truism, among linguists, to refer to Romance as an ideal, nay privileged, case of a language family, i.e., one in which there not only exists a vast abundance of documentation concerning the various daughter languages, at all stages of their development, but also of the parent language (Latin) itself, making Romance linguistics an especially important field of study, for the diachronic specialist as well as the historical linguist. Two representative quotations:

> La linguistica romanza era un campo che, anche per la glottologia generale, formava un eccezionale palestra. Come si è già acennato poco fa, è questo l'unico dominio nel quale la lingua base (il Latino) è, se pure nella sua fase letteraria, attestata. Di qui l'importanza degli insegnamenti che provengono dalla linguistica romanza e l'influsso dei romanisti nella discussione delle più importanti questioni teoriche della linguistica. (Tagliavini 1969 [1949]:13)

> [Romance linguistics was a field which, for general linguistics, was an exceptional training field. As we have been reminded not long ago, it is the only field in which the source language (Latin) is attested, albeit solely in its literary stage. Hence the importance of the teachings which stem from Romance linguistics and the influence of Romanists in discussions on the most important theoretical questions of linguistics. Translation mine: SG]

> At one time Romance linguistics was seen as the forefront of linguistics, especially of diachronic linguistics, because of its wealth of primary material in an unbroken chronological record. Later the very abundance of material, both primary and secondary, was to deter neophytes who would find richer pickings in less exploited linguistic seams. Romance philology came to be seen as a backwater, rather than part of the mainstream, especially when synchronic linguistic theory became more highly esteemed than language history. The rehabilitation of diachronic, or panchronic, linguistics, and the use of Romance data by linguistic theorists, has changed the picture [...] The greatest contribution of Romance studies must surely be to comparative philology reconstruction techniques, as Romance is the only extended 'family' with a well-attested 'mother' (*Ursprache* or **proto-language**), so that reconstructed forms can be matched with attested equivalents. (Posner 1997:11; emphasis in the original.)

As these two quotations make clear, the influence of Romance linguistics on the rest of linguistics, both synchronic and diachronic, is both ancient and profound. They also betray something of a Eurocentric bias, since it is quite untrue to say that Romance is the only language family whose parent language is well-attested: within Indo-European, the Indic languages are a language family whose common ancestor, Sanskrit, is indubitably well-

attested (see Masica 1993, for an introduction to this language family). However, within Europe, where modern linguistics was born, Romance is indeed the only language family whose ancestral language is attested in writing. When we add that this ancestral language remained the sole language of learning of Western Europe long after it had gone out of use as a spoken language, and that several of its daughter languages were then and still are today among the most prestigious languages of Europe as well as the world, the importance of Romance material in the establishment and modern-day development of linguistics is quite unsurprising.

However, a tacit assumption was made regarding the Romance languages, namely, that the changes which had affected them did not differ in nature from those which affected other languages and language families. As a working assumption this was of course unassailable: although Latin/Romance has a much longer history as a written language than any other language family in Europe, for most of its history the bulk of its speakers were illiterate, making it unlikely in the extreme that the existence of this standard could have had any significant impact on the linguistic changes which were taking place: as one linguist points out:

> The social conditions of Europe in the Middle Ages and even in Antiquity were completely different from those of modern times when an industrial and urban civilization, compulsory school education, the press, radio and television impose every day the forms of the official language even on the provincial inhabitants of the most remote corners of the country. These very special conditions, peculiar to our time, must not conceal from our view the condition of frightful misery and ignorance of the lower orders during the Dark Ages, when even the simple art of writing was the privilege of an infinite minority. (Bonfante 1998:141)

Thus, the assumption that Latin/Romance underwent the same kinds of changes as Germanic, Slavic or any other language family was fully justified[35] and, indeed, a good application of the principle of uniformitarianism, which holds that we should assume that unobserved phenomena must behave in the same fashion as observed phenomena.

However, if this thesis is correct, then this basic assumption is false. If creolization, as opposed to normal language change, was in fact a significant force in the emergence of the Romance languages from Latin, *then all work, in historical as well as synchronic linguistics, which makes use of data from this time period must be considered fatally flawed*. Far from being an opportunity to examine language change in the working, the transition from Latin to Romance must be considered an exceptionally atypical, and indeed (see below) quite possibly unique type of language change.

7.2 *Other cases of alleged creolization*

A brief glance was cast, in Chapter 1, in the direction of theories similar to the one presented here, holding that creolization played some role or other in the genesis of several languages or language families. A closer look will be taken at these theories: this is linked to some degree with the discussion in Section 7.6, regarding future research on the subject: for it would be greatly helpful if we could compare Romance to other languages or language families which had undergone some degree of creolization during their history.

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[35] I do not wish to imply that this assumption was implicitly, or indeed, even consciously made.

7.3 Germanic

Beginning with Feist (1932), it has been claimed that proto-Germanic was a creole language which emerged from a trade pidgin used by speakers of various Indo-European languages for the purposes of the amber trade.

A frequent argument for claiming that proto-Germanic was a creole is the simplicity of the verbal system: compared to many other Indo-European languages the system of Germanic is indeed morphologically quite simple: thus, as Lass (1994:151) points out, whereas a Sanskrit verb has a total of over 126 distinct finite verb forms, the morphologically most complex Germanic language, Gothic, has twenty-two distinct verb forms. Radical reduction of morphological complexity is indeed a phenomenon associated with pidginization and creolization, and from this point of view the theory certainly seems to have some factual support.

However, implicit to this theory is the belief that the rich verbal morphology of languages such as Sanskrit and Greek is closer to the original Indo-European state of affairs than is that of Germanic. Since Feist's time, new theories regarding the structure of Indo-European have been presented, which claim that much if not most of the morphology found in the older Indo-European languages was quite absent from proto-Indo-European itself, and instead is due to the grammaticization of elements which were originally free in Indo-European. Many versions of this theory see in the Germanic verbal system a more proto-Indo-European-like system than the more luxuriant verbal systems of Sanskrit or Greek. Lehmann (1993), for example, presents a picture of a morphologically very simple proto-Indo-European. It is important that one not dichotomize these two views: Bubenik & Hewson (1997:245-247) take a more nuanced approach: according to them proto-Indo-

European only had three tenses (present-perfect-aorist) when Germanic broke off: subsequently it merged the perfect and the aorist, while Greek, Sanskrit and other languages expanded the system by adding new tenses and modes. Although not fatal to this creolization hypothesis, this new view of Indo-European certainly weakens the evidence used to support it.

A second difficulty lies with the fact that proto-Germanic nominal declension does not appear to have been radically reduced: cf. Table 40 (data from Ramat 1998:396-397).

Case	**"Wolf"**	**"Guest"**
Singular		
nominative	*wulfaz	*gastiz
accusative	*wulfa^{n}	*gasti^{n}
genitive	*wulfiza	*gastiza
dative	*wulfai	*gastai
instrumental	*wulfo	*gastii
Plural		
nominative	*wulfos	*gastijiz
acusative	*wulfanz	*gastinz
genitive	*wulfo^{n}	*gastio^{n}
dative	*wulfamiz	*gastimiz

Table 40: Declension of the proto-Germanic words for "wolf" and "guest"

This system of declension, which also preserves the triple masculine/feminine/neuter distinction, and which similarly affects nouns and adjectives, does not appear to have been radically reduced: indeed, as the reader can see, in terms of morphological complexity it is quite comparable to the Classical Greek system of declension.

Thus, even if one accepts that proto-Indo-European had a Sanskrit- or Greek-like verb system and, therefore, that this system was radically reduced in Proto-Germanic, a

defender of this theory would still have to explain why the system of declension was unaffected (or, at least, was much more weakly affected).

Although neither of these objections is in and of itself fatal to the theory, they certainly weaken it to quite a considerable degree. In the absence of any further evidence, the theory is best considered unproven.

7.4 *Marathi*

Southworth (1971) has claimed that Marathi[36] is a language which was originally creolized: he bases this claim on the strong non-Indo-European (Dravidian) influence found in the language[37].

While Southworth does use the term 'creolization', one's impression, when reading his article, is that this term is to him a general one referring to intense language contact. Indeed, as I will show below, Marathi is, of all the major Indic languages, probably the *least* creole-like in its development.

As used in this thesis, the term 'creolization' refers to a special type of language change which differs from normal language change in that it involves large-scale elimination of inflectional morphology, without there being any new morphology created. Thus, in assessing whether or not creolization played any role in the evolution of Marathi, we will cast a glance at its morphological evolution when compared to its Indic sisters. For the rest of this section I rely on Masica (1993).

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[36] Indic, spoken predominantly in the State of Maharashtra (Western India) by over fifty million people.
[37] This influence is found elsewhere as well: the State of Maharashtra, in terms of the traditional organization of its families, aligns itself with Southern (Dravidian) rather than Northern India: see the map in Todd (1983).

Sanskrit, like Latin and Greek, originally possessed three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. All three are preserved to this day in Marathi: far from being a common tendency in Indic, the preservation of all three grammatical genders is only found in two other major Indic languages[38], Gujarati and Konkani (sometimes considered a dialect of Marathi). Indeed, within Indo-European, very few modern languages have preserved the system of three genders: along with the three languages just mentioned, the preservation of this trait is only found in German, Icelandic, most varieties of Norwegian, Greek, Albanian and the Slavic languages. Thus, far from being especially innovative, Marathi appears exceptionally conservative, within Indic (where the original three genders have most often been reduced to two (Hindi, Punjabi) or eliminated altogether (Bengali)) as well as within Indo-European.

Remaining within the confines of the nominal system, Masica (1993:227-228) observes, regarding the number of plural-marking allomorphs, that there are over two dozen of them, and that

> The contrast with the Eastern languages[39], which have no declensions as such (and no morphophonemic nominal stem-alternates), or even with Hindi, which has four [...] but admits no irregularities, is striking.

Regarding case marking, Masica points out (p.238) that Marathi (along with Nepali) has the richest system of case marking anywhere in Indic. Later (p.314) he mentions that the same two languages have the richest inflectional morphology in the verb.

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[38] By "major Indic language" I mean any which is one of the "scheduled" languages within India or which has official status outside India: by this criterion Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Konkani, Sinhalese, Maldivian, Orissa, Bengali, Assamese and Nepali are major Indic languages.

[39] By "Eastern languages" are meant Bengali, Assamese and Orissa, along with neighbouring minor languages.

Of course, whereas the presence today in Marathi of the three genders of Sanskrit is a clear case of morphological preservation, it could very well be that the present-day morphological complexity of Marathi is a comparatively recent development, and that at an earlier stage Marathi was a language whose inherited morphology had been radically reduced. This is a matter for specialists of Indic languages to debate, but based on the data available, it would seem safest, at the very least, to set aside for now the hypothesis that Marathi underwent creolization at some point in its history.

7.5 *Arabic*

We come at last to the only book-length treatment defending the idea that creolization played a role in the genesis of a language[40], in this instance Arabic: Versteegh (1984), whose basic thesis is best summed up in his own words (p.129):

> My primary hypothesis is that an untutored process of second language learning brings about a number of changes in the target language aimed at in the process of learning. These changes, it was argued, are similar everywhere, irrespective of either the target language or the source language, with regard to their direction, though not with regard to the end result. I then went on to adduce evidence that in the case of the Arabic language such a process did take place on a massive scale, and that the changes the language underwent in the process were indeed similar to those that took place in other languages which had undergone the same kind of process. I concluded that the resemblance was not accidental and, accordingly, attributed the changes from the Classical language to the process of second language learning. Referring to the similar processes elsewhere I proposed to use the term 'pidginization' for the primary changes in Arabic, and the term 'creolization' for the changes that took place in the subsequent stage of nativization of the resulting language variety. I also asserted that the creolized variety was strongly influenced by the Classical norm and, consequently, affected by a constant process of levelling towards that norm. The degree of influence differed, however, according to the degree of isolation from the center of Arab-Islamic culture.

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[40] Considering the internal diversity within Arabic, one could refer to it as a language family.

The similarities with the present thesis are quite obvious: indeed, the elimination of Classical Arabic case-marking in Arabic dialects is mentioned as the "chief example of morphological reduction of redundancy" (p.83). The chief difference between the two approaches lies in the fact that, as is made plain in the quotation above, Versteegh assumes that modern Arabic dialects have been 'de-creolized', so to speak, as a result of the influence of the Classical language: this leads him to assume that the more isolated varieties of Arabic are also be the most archaic, i.e., 'creole-like', on account of their not having been influenced by the Classical language.

It should be objected, at this point, that many of the isolated varieties of Arabic (for example, that of Uzbekistan) Versteegh examines in support of his theory are varieties which are on the verge of extinction: it has been observed (Romaine 1987) that the linguistic changes which affect dying languages show strong similarities to the changes due to pidginization: radical reduction of morphological complexity, decrease in vocabulary size and phonological inventory. From this point of view, Versteegh should have exercised more restraint in his choice of isolated varieties of Arabic to examine: only linguistic data from varieties of Arabic which are both isolated and healthy (i.e., still the sole or dominant language of a sizeable community of speakers) should have been used.

A second point to be made is that Versteegh does not make use of any other Semitic language as a comparandum: this is a major flaw in his work, inasmuch as the history (internal and external) of many Semitic languages is sufficiently well-known to make it possible to compare the changes which took place in the history of Arabic to those which took place (either at the same time or during a comparable length of time) in the history of a Semitic language whose external history precluded its having been creolized.

This leaves Versteegh's work open to criticism: for if the changes which occurred in the transition from Classical to dialectal Arabic have also taken place in Semitic languages whose history precludes creolization, then Versteegh's hypothesis must be rejected. While this writer is not a Semitic scholar by any stretch of the imagination, some similarities between the 'creole-like' development of Arabic and the development of other Semitic language, notably Ancient Hebrew, of whose external history enough is known to preclude the possibility of their also having undergone creolization, must be pointed out:

First, in phonology, Versteegh mentions (p. 83) that the reduction of the Classical diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ to /e/ and /o/, respectively, is similar to the fate of diphthongs in virtually all creoles. However, the exact same change had taken place in Hebrew *at least a millennium* earlier (Rendsburg 1997:79), making it possible to see this change as being part of a general 'drift' in Semitic. Versteegh also mentions (p.83) the disappearance, in dialectal Arabic, of the interdental fricatives found in the Classical language, and sees this, again, as being due to pidginization/creolization. These Classical Arabic interdental fricatives are directly inherited from proto-Semitic: in most Semitic languages other than Arabic, however, these interdental fricatives were also eliminated, typically by merger with sibilants, as in Hebrew, or dental stops, as in Aramaic: in the latter case this merger had taken place in Imperial Aramaic, i.e., between the years 500 B.C. and 200 A.D. (Segert 1998:119), that is to say well before these same interdental fricatives were lost in Arabic.

Thus, one would be inclined to believe, on the basis of these two examples, that what is unusual is not so much the changes which occurred in the transition from Classical to dialectal Arabic as the fact that they took place at so late a date.

Finally, the loss of morphological case-marking on nouns is considerably less significant as a diagnostic marker of pidginization/creolization than Versteegh believes, for loss of morphological case-marking on nouns had already taken place in the earliest attested Hebrew texts: that is to say, at least *fifteen centuries* before the same change took place in Arabic.

It can only be concluded that Versteegh's theory, attractive though it is, needs to be examined quite carefully in the light of data from other Semitic languages before it can be accepted.

Thus, for now, we must consider the possibility that the transition from Latin to Romance may very well, in terms of the role played by creolization therein, be unique.

7.6 *Directions for future research*

While this thesis has primarily examined inflectional morphology, it should not be inferred thereby that its author believes that there are no other aspects of Early Romance which bear the mark of creolization.

One such aspect is phonology: as has often been pointed out, pidginization always implies a reduction in the number of phonemes of the language being pidginized (Heine 1973:156-166). In this connection it is not without interest to note that, in the transition from Latin to Romance, there indeed appears to have been a reduction in the inventory of phonemes.

Thus, in the vowel system, whereas Classical Latin had a system of ten vowels and three diphthongs, all of which could be stressed or unstressed, the richest system of proto-Romance had seven (stressed) vowels and one diphthong: when unstressed, the vowels were five in number. The Latin consonants also underwent some losses (disappearance of

the phoneme /h/) and mergers (intervocalically, /b/ and /w/ merged, as did /ns/, /rs/ and /s/) in the transition to Romance: no new phonemes appear to have arisen during this period, however, so that one may indeed speak of a reduction of the Latin phonemic system. This is certainly not a tendency which was to continue during the individual histories of the various Romance languages: Modern French, for instance, now has a phonemic system which is today more complicated than that of Classical Latin. The very least one can say is that the evolution of the phonological system, in the transition from Latin to Romance, is not incompatible with the theory that pidginization/creolization played a role in this transition.

Another aspect which would warrant further investigation is the lexicon: reduction in the number of vocabulary items is a common occurrence in pidginization, and those items which are likelier to persist are nouns, verbs and adjectives rather than prepositions, conjunctions or adverbs. Thus, in Haitian creole, the word for "when" is a reflex of French *l'heure* (*lè*): no reflex of *quand* appears to have survived. Likewise, Elcock (1960:149) wrote:

> Few of the conjunctions with which we learned in the class-room to embellish our 'Ciceronian' prose find any support in Vulgar Latin parlance. `enim` and `nam`, `igitur` and `itaque` – the stock-in-trade of the public orator – vanished utterly. Only the most simple, the most essential, have survived.

This makes one wonder whether, in the transition from Latin to Romance, there indeed occurred an above-normal loss of conjunctions and other invariable words. A comparative study of the rate of loss of such words (comparing, for instance, the rate of loss from Latin to Early Romance with that found in the later history of various individual Romance languages, or with that found in a different language) might prove most illuminating:

should it show that there was an above-average rate of loss of invariable words during the period studied (i.e., when creolization is hypothesized in this thesis to have played a role), it would certainly strengthen this hypothesis.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, while this thesis took a fundamentally binary approach (Latin/Romance versus Greek) to examining the hypothesis presented, it is to be hoped that studies narrowing on one or a few linguistic features (such as the one just sketched) will compare the Latin/Romance situation to several languages rather than just one.

It also goes without saying that the conclusion of this thesis invites further work by researchers in other fields, particularly historians: considering its pan-Romance scope and the evidence for an early birth of Romance presented herein, it is quite plain that the creolization of Latin must have occurred at a very early date, most probably during the initial expansion of Rome in Central Italy. This, in turn, has some very interesting implications regarding the nature of the large-scale inter-ethnic contact which took place during this period of Roman history.

7.7 *Concluding remarks*

This thesis sought to establish whether there is any linguistic basis supporting the contention that creolization played a significant role in the emergence of Romance from Latin, a possibility which cannot be lightly dismissed in light of the external history of Latin.

Basing itself on the premise that creolization differs from normal language change in leading to a radically heightened degree of analyticity, use was made of Greek as a comparandum indicating 'normal', gradual linguistic change, in order to ascertain whether

in fact the evolution from Latin to Romance is more creole-like than that of Greek. Data from other Indo-European languages were also taken into consideration, in order to guard against the possibility of idiosyncratic changes in the linguistic history of Greek.

It was found that, in nominal as well as in a major subset of verbal morphology, Latin had evolved in the direction of much more radical analyticity than Greek, and moreover had not, during the relevant period, created any new synthetic structures; this in contradistinction to what is expected in the case of 'normal', gradual linguistic evolution.

On this basis, postulating creolization as a contributing factor in the evolution of Latin/Romance becomes a matter of explanation rather than speculation, and indeed would appear to be the simplest (and therefore, on the basis of Occam's razor, should be the one accepted), as otherwise we are left with having to explain the greater analytical aspect of Romance when compared to Greek in the nominal as well as in the verbal system.

If one accepts the validity of the data presented here, then one must point out that a refutation of this theory presented here, to be taken seriously, would need to present an alternative explanation as to why, in contradistinction both to its Romance daughters and Indo-European sisters, Late Latin/Early Romance underwent such a radical, unidirectional shift in the direction of analyticity; this in its nominal as well as verbal systems.

Finally, it is to be hoped that the methodology presented here will be applied to other putative cases of 'creoloid' languages or language families: the possibility that there may have been other cases of creole-influenced evolution should certainly not be dismissed out of hand. On the other hand it must be remembered that few of the languages of the world are anywhere near as well-studied as Romance, and the overwhelming majority do not

have written records going back as far in time: this may very well mean that we will have to be content to say, regarding the role creolization may have played in the history of most of them, *ignoramus et ignorabimus*.

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