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Phonology of
the Patois of Cachy

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PHONOLOGY

OF THE

PATOIS OF CACHY (SOMME)

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BY

THOMAS LOGIE, PH. D.



A THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
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INTRODUCTION.

The differences which exist in the spoken language of France in different districts have been caused by two sets of influences, the one arising from a condition already existing before the Latin language was spread over the Gallic territory by the conquering Romans, and the other due to events which occurred after that language had gained a firm footing there. From the variety which exists to-day in the language of any speech district, we are justified in assuming that a like variety existed in the Celtic language of France before the Romans arrived there. The Latin language, coming in contact with a language thus variegated, was necessarily influenced in one part, in a different way from the influence it felt in another part. In this way the Neo-Latin language was broken up into dialects.

With the wandering of the Germanic tribes the second set of influences commenced. In one part the Burgundians settled; in another, Salian Franks; and, later, came the Northmen. The dialect spoken by each of these had a different influence on the language with which it came in contact. This intensified the work of differentiation wrought by the Celtic.

The common mode of classifying dialects is the geographical one,—a mode far from satisfactory, for linguistic peculiarities always overlap geographical boundaries. A more rational mode of classification is that adopted by Caix for the Italian dialects,—the grouping together in one dialect group of all communities which have certain peculiarities in common. But as each particular phenomenon would thus give a separate dialect group,

Paul Meyer¹ objects to any classification at all. He considers the popular language of France as an *ensemble* which it is arbitrary to divide into dialect groups. While it is true, as he states, that the linguistic peculiarities of one district dovetail into what is called the dialect of a neighboring district, and that often there is no single characteristic which can be set down as belonging exclusively to what is known as a certain dialect; yet the sum of all the phenomena of one district compared with the sum of all the phenomena of a neighboring district, renders a dialect separation between these two districts not arbitrary, but rational.² It is for this reason that I speak of a Picard dialect, and of a patois of that dialect.

After the dawn of European history the first people found dwelling in the territory which, afterwards, became known as Picardy, were the Belgians,—a branch of the Celtic family. These occupied the country between the Seine and the Rhine, the Vosges mountains and the Ocean. With regard to the degree of mixture which existed between this people and the Germans, nothing is known before the wandering of the German tribes whom Cæsar found inhabiting this territory, which, under Roman rule, was known as *Belgica Secunda*, were the *Suessiones* (around Soissons), the *Bellovaces* (of Beauvais), the *Ambiani* (of Amiens and Poitou), and the *Vermandui* (of the Vermandois). All these tribes were conquered during Cæsar's Expedition of 57 B. C., and, from that time, the work of romanising went on. From the time of the Roman conquest to the time of the Frankish invasion, in the fifth century, large numbers of Germans were employed as mercenaries in the Roman army, and, at the close of a war, these were frequently paid off by grants of land, on which they settled as colonists. Such a Germanic colony was founded at Amiens, but of the source of the Germans who composed it nothing is known.

After more than four centuries and a half of Roman rule, came the advance of the Teutonic hordes on Gaul, and, in the year 406, Amiens and the surrounding country fell into the hands of the Suevi, Vandals and Alans. Meanwhile, the Franks had been continually encroaching upon the northeastern part of the Gallic territory, and in the year 355, they occupied a space of three hundred *stadia* on this side the Rhine, and had devastated

¹ *Romania* iv, 294-6; *ibid.* v, 504-5.

² Ascoli: *Arch. Gloth. It.* ii, 385.

the whole region for three times that distance in front of them. By the end of the fifth century, the whole of *Belgica Secunda* was under Frankish power.

During the time of Charlemagne, the Saxons invaded the eastern part of France, but were promptly repelled, and do not appear to have made any settlements.

Then came the incursions of the Northmen on the north coast; their vessels sailed up the Somme, and the effect of their invasion is seen on the language.—The province of Picardy now passed into the possession of the counts of Flanders. It was taken by the English during the reigns of Philip VI and Charles III, but it does not appear that any English settlements were made, and the occupation was entirely a military one. It was restored to the French crown in 1463, under Louis XI, and since that time, has remained a part of the French dominion.

The ethnological complexion of this province has not materially changed from that time to the present. The slight changes which have taken place have been brought about by influences from the East, and not from the West.

The name *Picardie* is not known before the thirteenth century, and its origin is still in doubt. The derivation which stands at present is the Celtic *pic* (=point), and the Germanic termination *hart*. The name is supposed to have been applied to these people because of their use of the *pic*, or *pique*, in war, and also because they manufactured the weapon.

My investigations on the modern Picard in this monograph have been confined to the *patois* of Cachy, with a few comparisons with other communes of the Department of the Somme. Linguistically this Department may be divided into four districts:

- a. The Vermandois, toward the Department of Aisne;
- b. The Santerre, consisting of the plateau between the Somme and the Avre;
- c. The northeast of the Department, bordering on the Walloonian;
- d. The rest of the Department which consists of the Amiénois, and the Ponthieu.

The shades of difference between the *patois* of the communes of the Amiénois, and the *patois* of the Ponthieu, are very slight. As the disturbing causes come from the east, and northeast, so it is here that the greatest differences are found. On the south,

the French has made considerable encroachments, and, indeed, it has in all parts of the Department, owing to the efficiency of the schools under the present Republic, and the extended trade relations with other parts.

Cachy is a village of three hundred and twenty inhabitants, about sixteen kilometers southeast of Amiens, in the *arrondissement* of Amiens, and in the *Canton* of Boves. It is two kilometers from the nearest railway station. I was informed that it is only within the last ten years that the teacher in the village school has required the children to use the French language during school hours. This regulation appears to have no force outside the limits of the school, for the *patois* is always used in the playground and in the home.

Concerning ethnological changes in the village during recent times, there were no traditions of migrations from other communes in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, with the exception of an occasional inter-marriage.

SIGNS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION OF VOWELS :

i=i in *épi*.
é—*é* in *bébé*.
ae=ai in *faire, plaire*.
ɔ=e in *retard*.
ɛ=e in *ciel*.
ê=a sound midway between *é* and *è*.
â=a in *madame*.
a=a in *âme*.
ø=eau in *beau*.
o=o in *joli*.
ö=eu in *peu*.
u=ou in *cou*.
ü=u in *lune*.
û=u in *puis*.
j=i in hiatus in *lien*.
w=w in Eng. *ware*.

NASAL VOWELS :

ã=a in *pan*.
æ̃=u in *humble*.
õ=o in *son*.
ẽ=in *Amiens*.
æ̃=a semi-nasal sound midway between the pure vowel *æ* and the nasal sound of the same (*æ̃*).

THE CONSONANTS :

b=b in *balance*.
ç=ch in Eng. *church*.
d=d in *Didier*.
f=f in *frère*.
g=g in *garde*.
h=h in Eng. *home*.
k=c in *campagne*.
l=l in *louvre*.
m=m in *mordre*.
n=n in *nappe*.
ñ=gn in It. *ragno*.
p=p in *père*.
r=r in *rat*.
s=c in *ciel*.
ʃ=ch in *chat*.
t=t in *terre*.
v=v in *voleur*.
z=s in *casier*.
z=j in *jamais*.

THE VOWELS.

I. TREATMENT OF *a*.

a. Tonic *a* in open syllable.

This becomes a sound which is neither *é* nor *ɛ*, but an intermediate sound *ê*:

FR. TREM > *frêr*; CLARUM > *klêr*; PATREM > *pêr*; AMATUM > *emê*; HOSPITALEM > *otêl*; MORTALEM > *mortêl*.

In order that the sound *a* should become *ê* it must have passed through the sound *ɛ*, for the latter stands between *é* and *a* in the vowel scale. While the French shows in this case a front wide vowel, the vowel of the patois has passed through this stage, and is on its way to the state of a front narrow vowel. Thus, although the tendency of the French is towards frontness and narrowness,³ the patois goes still farther in this direction.

The Latin verbs of the first conjugation change the *a* to *i*, according to the regular law of the patois for this class of words: VOLARE > *voli*; MANDUCARE > *mênzi*; CAMBIARE > *kâzi*. In Crinon the same peculiarity is found, although not invariably: MANDUCARE > *maingi* (Crinon, Sat. i. 1.); CAMBIARE > *cangi* (Sat. v. 54.); but PERDONARE > *pardouner* (Sat. i. 36.); PROMINARE > *proum'ner* (Sat. v. 14). In the *Franc. Picard* the form ending in *i* does not occur, but the termination in *-er* for verbs of the first conjugation alone is found:—*meinger*, *prier*, (F. Pic. 1882, p. 148); *canter* (*ibid.*, p. 151); *laissier* (*ibid.*, 1872, p. 203).

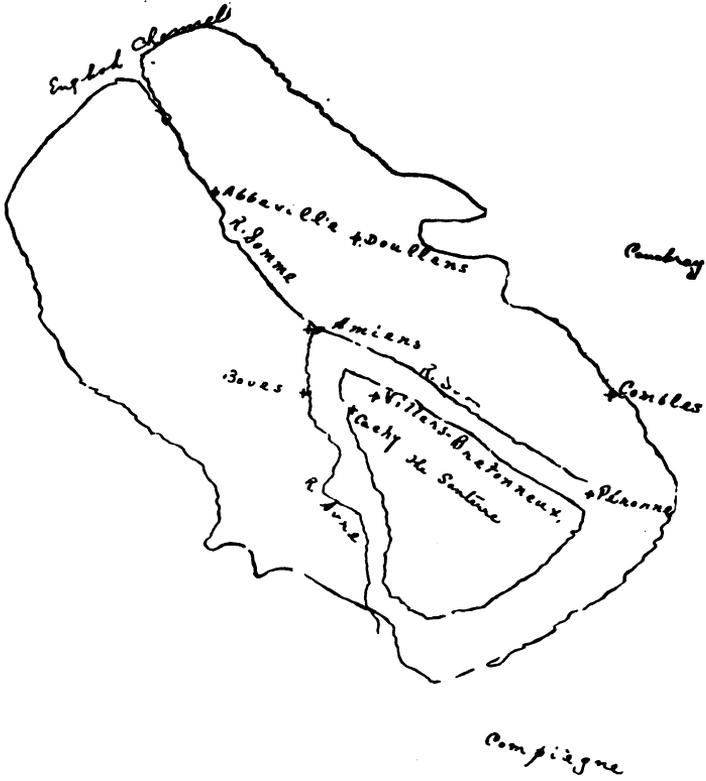
In the *Bonhomme-Picard*, however, printed and published, like the last named work, at Amiens, the termination in *-i* is found:—*raconti* (1887, p. 93); *quittii* (*ibid.*, p. 96). As the *-i* termination is not used by the natives of Amiens, the writer of these stories in the *Bonhomme-Picard* belongs to a territory farther east;—in the 'Célèbre mariage de Jeannin et de Prignon,' it is always represented by *ê*; *contê* (Suite, 14); *aconquîê* (*ibid.*, 39).

The termination *-i* for verbs of the first conjugation is not found in the selections from the different patois given by Corblet in his Glossary; there is no example in the 'Dis dou vrai aniel,' 'Durmart le Galois,' 'Li Chevaliers as devs Espees,' 'Aucassin et Nicolôte,' nor in any other Picard text to which the writer has had access.

At the present time the part of the Department of the Somme in which this peculiarity is found is extremely limited. It is not found at Amiens (that is, it is not used by those native to that city), nor in

³ Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik,' p. 54.

any place west of it. It commences at Boves, Cachy, Villers-Bretonneux, is found in nearly the whole of the Santerre, and as far south as Compiègne, and, towards the east, in the region of Péronne, and Combles, in the direction of the Wallonian.



In the sixteenth century there was a tendency in the French itself to assimilate the forms of the first conjugation to those of the second.⁴

This peculiarity is in very extensive use in the Wallonian,⁵ and particularly at Liège.⁶ The communes of Paifve, Wihagne, Tuprelle, Alleur, Rocour, Liers, Voroux, Oupeye, with many others are cited by Wilmotte⁷ as having this peculiarity for verbs ending in *y+u+are*.

There is thus a direct territorial connection, by way of Péronne and Combles, between the Wallonian and that part of the Somme in which this *-i* termination is found.

This connection, and the fact that it is not found on the west of Amiens, nor on the south-west, nor south of the Santerre, and the wedge-shape of the district itself, justify the conclusion that it has spread west and south from Wallonian to Picard territory.

In the Chartes of Vermandois,⁸ tonic *a libre* very often gives *ei*. This is not found, however, in the documents belonging to the western part of the Picard territory (in the Ponthieu and Aire), but only in the Vermandois and the region east and north of it. And here this *ei* is only found in certain positions: before a dental; in the infinitive termination (*donneir*, xxxvii, 10); before a mute+*r* (*freires*, xxxii, ii; *meire*, iii, 6; *peire*, xxxv, 10); before a labial+*r*; before *l.9*

b. Tonic *a* preceded by *k* gives the same result as in French:—

CANEM > *čjě*; DECANUM > *duéjě*; PAGAVUM > *pějě*; *quien* (pron. *čjě*, Crimon, Sat. ii, 2); *cién* (Auc. et Nic., x, 27, 71)

c. Pretonic *a* preceded by *k*.

CADERE > *čér*; CABALLUM > *gvq*; CAMINUM > *kmě*; CANALEM > *kànàl*.

In all words of popular formation it falls; in words of learned origin, such as *kànàl*, it is retained.

The fall of this sound was due to its pretonic position; the voice passed lightly over it in its haste to reach the tonic vowel. The sound has passed through the following changes:—*a* > *ę* > *ə* > and then fell.¹⁰

4 "Au seizième siècle, on assimila parfois la première conjugaison à la seconde, et l'on dit: *j'aimis, tu aimis, il aimit*, etc. Robert Etienne dans sa grammaire française le déclare explicitement"—Darmesteter et Hatzfeld—"Le Seizième Siècle en France," p. 237.

"Solche Formen [forms of the first conjugation in *-i*] sind im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert auch in der Schriftsprache nicht unbeliebt, und werden von den Grammatikern des 16 Jahrhunderts ins Paradigma aufgenommen. Später werden sie in der gebildeten Sprache wieder ausser Kurs gesetzt, doch haben zahlreiche Patois an dieser Bildung festgehalten"—Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 614.

5 "Dans quelques localités on dit *dansi*"—Sigart 'Dictionnaire du Wallon de Mons,' p. 45.

6 *abr'ji* [pron. àbréži], *abrcié* [pron. àbrési], *acigt* [ásiži], *acouk*: [ákuki].—Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français,' s. v.

7 *Revue des Patois*, vol. i, p. 21. Chart. i.

8 'Chartes françaises du Vermandois de 1218 à 1250' par Le Proux. Paris, 1875.

9 Neumann, 'Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen.'

10 Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik,' p. 23.



Quèrre (pron. *éer*, Crinon. Sat. iv, 28); *g'veu* (*ibid.*, xvi, 57); *g'veux* (Franc-Pic. 1882, p. 146.); *caïr* ('Auc. et Nic.', p. 99.); *cenaïn* (*ibid.*, ii, 5, 19); *caïr* and *keoir*. ('Rec. de Moll.', Van Hamel, p. 385).

d. Tonic *a* in closed syllable.

This is retained with the same sound as in French:—ARBOREM > *áb*; PARTEM > *pär*; VACCAM > *vák*. In some cases, however, it becomes *o*;—SACCUM > *sò*; PASSUM > *pò*; CATTUM > *kò*; RATTUM > *rò*.

The form *pau* is cited by Corblet,¹¹ and he says¹² it belongs to the Vermandois, but it will be shown later that it belongs, as a negative, also to a part of the Amiénois. This transformation of *a* to *o* was unknown in Old Picard:—*sac* (Carité, 51. 7); *pas* (Car. 66. 12); *pas* (Aniel, 154). This change of *a* to *o* is exceedingly rare in French. One example of it is in *fantôme*. The change is quite common, however, in the pretonic syllable:—*ormoire*, *dommage*, *josmin*.¹³

In Early English this change of *a* to *o* was very frequent¹⁴:—*hál* > whole; *mál* > mole; *dál* > dole; *snaw* > snow; *draf* > drove; *rád* > road; *lád* > load; *átūn* > oats; *wrát* > wrote; *sápe* > soap; *pápa* > pope.

This change was especially liable to take place before nasals:—long. lomb,—and the *o* was so frequent in the earlier period of English as almost to supersede the *a*.¹⁵

The change also took place before *s*. Although all the examples quoted from the English have the tonic vowel in an open syllable, yet these cases are analogous to those of the patois in which *a* has become *o*, for it has just been shown that the change only took place in Modern Picard where the vowel is in an open syllable. The change is due to the tendency to narrow the vowel, a tendency which is strong in this patois.

e. *a* in Romance closed syllable.

ANIMAM > *am*; IMAGINEM > *imâž*; AETATICUM > *âž*; VILLATICUM > *vilâž*.

This gives the same result as in French. So also O. Pic.:—*arme* ('Aut. et Nic.', vi, 22); *ame* (*ibid.*, 16 1); *aage* (Mis. 217, 10); *ostage* (Char. du Vermand., i, 9); *iretage* (*ibid.*, iii, 6). In some of the O. Pic. texts the termination *-aige* is found from -ATICUM. Joret¹⁶ considers this form to be peculiar to the Lorraine and Burgundian, but it had a much wider extension. It is found in the 'Chartes du Vermandois' *arieraiges* (xxxvi, 22); *iretaige* (xxii, 2); and in the 'Chartes du Ponthieu':—*imaige* (viii, 17); *oumaige* (xiv, 23). Yet, in all these Chartes the prevailing form is *-age*.

The form *-aige* is also found by Neumann¹⁷ in the 'Chartes d'Aire,'

¹¹ 'Glossaire,' p. 81. ¹² Glossaire, s. v. ¹³ Thurot, 'La Pron. fran.,' i, 33.

¹⁴ Skeat, 'Principles of English Etymology,' First Series. Oxford, 1887, p. 54.

¹⁵ Sweet, 'History of English Sounds,' p. 27. London 1874.

¹⁶ 'Du C dans les Langues romanes,' p. 59.

¹⁷ Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz., p. 12.

and in the 'Chronique de Jean de Stavelot' (fifteenth century) from the region of Liège, and, in the latter work, the form in *-aige* is almost the general one. It thus appears that this latter form, besides belonging to the Lorraine and Burgundian, is found (although, in the earlier monuments, only rarely) in the whole of the Picard territory, as shown by the early texts. With regard to the sound of this *-aige*, the forms *visaedge*, *usaedge*, which Förster¹⁸ finds in 'Boudouin de Sebourg,' and the form *damage* in the 'Chev. as devs Espees,' would show the sound *-ege*. The sound *-ege* in the present border dialects between Metz and Belfort¹⁹ goes to confirm this sound, for the *-aige* of the Lorraine and Burgundian. But from the preponderance of the form *-age* in the Picard, and the occasional form *-aige*, Neumann²⁰ concludes that it probably had, in the Picard, a sound between *-age* and *-ege*.

f. *a+l+*consonant.

altum > *ø*; *altrum* > *öt*. *eute* (Crinon Sat. i. 5); *hau* (Mar. de J. et P. 8); *autre* (*ibid.* 48); *autres* (Auc. et Nic., ii, 25; viii, 17); *autre* (Aniel. 103, 130, 159). The forms *autre* and *haut* do not appear in Crinon's 'Satires.' The forms *ø* and *öte* are found in the patois of the following Communes of the Somme and these are, undoubtedly, the only forms used in the whole Department:—Querrieux, Manancourt, Amiens, La Faloise, Doullens, Chaulnes, Tilloy, Margny-les-Compiègne, Gentelles, Fontaine-sur-Maye, Villers-Brettonneux, St. Léger-les-Authie, Ferrières, Pertain, Cachy. The form appears to be quite a modern one, since it is not found in any of the old texts, nor even in 'Le Célèbre Mariage' (1648), but is universal in Crinon, the *Franc-Picard*, and the *Bonhomme-Picard*. The change from *o* to *ø* in these words may throw some light on the form *bfö* of the modern Picard, which in O. Pic., was *bio*. The change from O. Pic. *autre* to Mod. Pic. *öt* is the secondary consequence of a widening under the influence of the accent.²¹ This process of widening is active in Mod. Pic.

¹⁸ 'Chev. as devs Espees,' xxxiv

¹⁹ Horning, 'Die Ostfranz. Grenzdialekte zwischen Metz und Belfort,' p. 15.

²⁰ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 14, ²¹ Sievers, *Jen. Lit. Anz.*, 1874. Art. 145.



g. Tonic *a*+*m* or *n*.

This becomes *ā* as in French, FRANCAM>*frāk*; MANICAM>*māš*; PLANTAM>*plāt*. In CAMERAM the *b* has not been inserted between the *m* and *r*, as in French, and there is no nasality, but it becomes simply *šām*. In many words in the patois in which the Latin original had *m* or *n*+Consonant, the consonant has either fallen, if final, or has become assimilated to the nasal, and, by the coalescence of the two consonants, the nasal sound of the vowel has given way to a pure vowel sound:—GAMBAM>*gāb*>*gāmm*>*gām*. In O. Pic., however, both consonants still existed, and the vowel had a nasal sound:—*ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 11; xii, 28).

h. *a*+*m* or *n*+*a* vowel.

This gives in all cases *ĕ*, as in French:—PANEM>*pĕ*; DE+MANE>*dmĕ*; except where the vowel following *m* or *n* was *a*, which, as a final, became *e*, and, in this case there is no nasal sound developed, but the *a* before the nasal becomes *ĕ*:—GRANAM>*grĕn*; PLANAM>*plĕn*.

In the O. Pic. texts this is always represented by *ai*:—*pain* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 22; iii, 13); *demain* (*ibid.*, xvi, 13-15); *plaine* (*ibid.*, xxvi, 22). In 'Auc. et Nic.' *é* in this position is also transcribed by *ai*:—*paine* (xvi, 22); *plaine* (xx, 12); *sain* (xiii, 20), showing that, at this time (the beginning of the thirteenth century) the nasal developed from *é*, and the nasal developed from *a* had the same sound in Picard.

i. Tonic *a* followed by *k*.

FACTERE>*fuér*;²² FACTUM>*fué*; JAM+MAGIS>*žāmué*.

In all the Modern Picard texts the same sound is found. A parasitic *i* was developed before the *c*. After the fall of the *c*, this *i* combined with the *a*, and produced the sound *é* which, in the patois, has been treated as the *e* of SAPERE, etc., and has thus been diphthongised to *ué*.²³

In the Aniel we find the rhymes *faire*; *afaire* (97); *suit*; *trait* (129); 'Auc. et Nic.', *faire*: *aire* (iii, 14); In Carité: *faire*; *paire* (i, 4), In Auc. et Nic., the form *fare* is also found. This change of *ai* to *a* is frequent in Picard, Wallonian and Lorraine texts.²⁴

*PLACERE gives, in the patois *pler*, a form which has been adopted from the French.

j. Tonic *a* preceded by yod.

CARUM>*čĕr*; SCALAM>*čĕl*; CERCARE>*šĕrši*; SICCARĒ>*sĕšir*; CAMBIARE>*kāzi*; INRABIARE>*ārāzi*; PURGARE—*pürzi*.

This becomes *ĕ*, as in French, except in words from the first Latin

²² *fouaire* (Crin. Sat., i, 28); *fouaire* (Mar. de J. et P., 33); *fouair* (Evang. selon St. Matt. xxii, 2.)

²³ For the development of this sound, see treatment of tonic *e* in an open syllable.

²⁴ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', p. 65.

conjugation, in which the *a* becomes *i*, according to the regular rule for this class of words. *cier* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ix, 5-14); *cerquier* (*ibid.*, xxvi, 27); *cangier* (Mis., 165-6); *purgier* (Car., 193, 8). In O. Pic. a parasitic *i* was regularly developed after the guttural, according to the Bartsch-Mussafia law. This *ie* was reduced to *e* towards the end of the thirteenth century,²⁵ and in the modern patois this termination has become *i*.

k. Post-tonic *a* falls, as in French.

TERRAM > *er*; *STELAM > *étuel*; GLORIAM > *glutr*; PORTAM > *port*.

This *a* first became *e* and the fall of this *e* had already commenced at the beginning of the twelfth century,²⁶ and it had entirely fallen before the time of the monuments which are distinctively Picard.

l. Pretonic *a* preceded by *k*,

Remains, as in French:—ADORARE > *àdori*; APPROPRIARE > *àprořsi*; HABERE > *àvnér*.

m. Nebentonic *a* in closed syllable before a nasal,

Becomes *ě*:—MANDUCATUM > *měžě*; COMMANDAMENTUM > *kmědmě*.

In this position *a* and *e* give the the same result,²⁷ but, in the thirteenth century, *an*+cons. did not rhyme with *en*+cons. in the dialects of Amiens, Vermandois, Ponthieu and Artois,²⁸ although, in the same period they gave a like result in the dialect of the Ile de France and of Lorraine.²⁹ In 'Auc. et Nic.' there are a few words in which *e* is found for *ā*:—*asognentee* (vi, 21); *center* (xii, 6); *ensent* (xxviii, 13); *mengoient* (xviii, 10); *ě* and *ā* are generally separated in this work.³⁰ Rare cases of the mingling of *ā* and *ě* are also found in the 'Reclus de Molliens':—*mengoit* (Mis., 150, 8), beside *mangue* (*ibid.*, 66, 12).

n. The termination -ARIUM.

PANARIUM > *peñi*; ROSARIUM > *rosji*; FEBRUARIUM > *fěvriji*; PRIMARIUM > *preñji*. The termination *i* for this class of words is also found by Horning for the dialects between Metz and Belfort;³¹ but there he finds the termination with a monosyllabic form. In the dialect of Liège also, the monosyllabic termination in *i* is found, for example, *fěvrér*.³²

All the Romance forms, except the Rumanian and the Italian, point to a form *-erium* as the original termination in this class of words. The explanation of Schuchardt is, that the form *-erium* arose out of *arium*, by the influence of the *i* on the preceding *a*, but Gröber says there was a change of termination from *-arium* to *erium*,

²⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

²⁶ Suchier, 'Reimpredigt,' p. xxxix.

²⁷ See *e*+nasal+consonant. ²⁸ Haase, 'Verhalten der pik. und wall. Denkmäler,' p. 10.

²⁹ Suchier, Auc. et Nic. p. 64. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³¹ 'Die Ostfran. Grendialekte zw. m. U. B.,' p. 13.

³² Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français,' s. v.

through association with other forms ending in *-erium*. But, however the change from *-arium* to *erium* may have taken place, none of the forms existing in any of the French dialects, with the exception of a part of the Auvergne³³ (which has *er* or *eir*) can be explained, except by taking *-erium* as a base. Taking this form as the original, the development in the patois is as follows:—The *i* is attracted to the tonic syllable, giving *ei*; the *e* diphthongises, giving *iei*, then, by the fall of the medial vowel, *ii*. In *poñi*, one *i* is united with the *n* to form *ñ*.

TREATMENT OF *e*.

a. Tonic *e* in an open syllable.

PETRAM—*pjer*; BENE—*bjē*; TENET—*tjē*; REM—*rjē*. The *e* diphthongises to *je*, and, before a final nasal, produces *jē*. This is a rising diphthongue in the patois, although it is supposed to have been originally a falling one.³⁴ It was already a rising one in the Picard of the thirteenth century. This change from falling to rising took place first in the Anglo-Norman.³⁵ In O. Pic. tonic *e* in an open syllable generally gave *ie*: *pies* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xxxii, 11); *bien* (*ibid.*, i, 13); *rien* (*ibid.*, vii, 12); *tient* (*ibid.*, v, 60), but cases are found in O. Pic., where this *ie* has been reduced to *i* through progressive assimilation of the *e* to the *i*:—*entirs* (Phil. Mous., v, 8083); *abaissir* ('Chev. as d. Esp.,' 95-24); *vinent* (Band. Sib., 1803). This process was also common to the Burgundian and Lorraine.³⁴ This assimilation has taken place in the patois in *bjē*, when used in connection with the conjunction *t* (Fr. *eh*), when it becomes *bē*.

b. Tonic *e* in a closed syllable remains *e*, as in French:

PERDERE—*perd*; TERRAM—*ter*; INFERNUM—*ēfer*; TESTAM—*tet*; PESTEM—*pest*. This is also the usual result in O. Pic texts:—*terre* (Ch. du Ver., i, 12); *fenestres* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 4); *prestres* (*ibid.*, v, 7); *terre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii, 6, 20); *perdre* (*ibid.*, iv, 6), but *e* diphthongised to *ie* is also found: *tierre* (Aniel, 31, 40), and in other cases cited by Tobler.³⁷ But this *ie* formed assonance with *e*.³⁸ This *ie* is peculiar to the Hennegau and Wallonian.³⁹ It is rare at St. Omer, and is not found at Arras, Saint-Quentin, and Mézières, but it is the common form at Aire, Lille, Doai, Cambrai, Avesnes, Maubeuge, Namur, Liège, and in the region of Valenciennes and Mons.⁴⁰ It was found in Artois in the thirteenth century, but is not consistently carried out in the texts.⁴¹ In 'Auc. et Nic.,' there is only one example of it (*iestre*, x, 40; beside *estre*, ii, 27). The diphthongised form is not found in any part of the Somme at present.

c. Tonic *e* followed by a final nasal,

Becomes *jē*, as in French. VENIT—*ojē*; BENE—*bjē*; REM—*rjē*.

³³ Paul Meyer, *Romania*, lii, 434. ³⁴ Havet, *Romania*, vi, 323.

³⁵ Neumann, 'Laut-und Flexionslehre,' p. 54.

³⁶ Neumann, 'Laut-und Flexionslehre,' p. 57. ³⁷ 'Aniel,' p. xxiv.

³⁸ Tobler, 'Aniel,' xxiv. ³⁹ Suchier, in Grober's 'Grundriss,' i, 602.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

⁴¹ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 64.

Before a nasal ϵ is found in assonance with \acute{e} in earliest French texts.⁴² The nasal deepened the sound of the vowel \acute{e} in such a way that it became $\tilde{\epsilon}$.⁴³

d. Tonic ϵ followed by yod.

MEDIUM > $m\tilde{\epsilon}$; LECTUM > $l\tilde{\epsilon}$; PRETIUM > $pr\tilde{\epsilon}$; EBRIUM > iv . When final, it becomes $\tilde{\epsilon}$; when not final, it becomes i . In all the modern Picard texts which I have examined,⁴⁴ it is in all cases transcribed by i ; so also in all the O. Pic. texts; *lit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi., 21); *mi* (Mis., cv., 3). The history, territory, etc., of the $\tilde{\epsilon}$ is treated elsewhere.

e. Tonic ϵ followed by a labial FEBREM > $j\ddot{ö}v$; >LEVO > $fj\ddot{ö}v$.

The form in O. Pic., was *lieve* ('Auc. et Nic.,' viii, 5), and so also in the modern Picard texts: *lievre* ('Cél. Mar.-Suite,' 53); *iðve*, (Crinon, Sat., ii, 42); except the 'Evangile Selon St. Matt.,' where it is *leuv*. (ii 1).

The tonic ϵ in an open syllable is diphthongised to ie , according to the regular law, and a parasitic u has developed in the modern patois, which has combined with the e to form the sound \ddot{o} . This u is not found in the transcription of the 'Cél. Mar.,' but, owing to the inaccurate transcription, it is not sufficient to prove that the u -sound had not developed at that time (1648).

f. $\epsilon+r$ +consonant.

MERCANTEM > $m\ddot{a}r\ddot{s}\ddot{a}$; PERDONNARE > $p\ddot{a}rd\ddot{o}ni$. This change took place under the influence of the uvular r . Owing to the difficulty of pronouncing e , a front vowel, and the uvular r in the same combination, the sound ϵ was changed to the sound \ddot{a} , which is nearer the r in physiological production. This change had already taken place in the twelfth century,⁴⁵ and is found in all the O. Pic. texts: *marceant* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxviii, 15); *markeant* (Car., clvi, 3); *pardonner* (Mis., cclxviii, 10). This reactive influence of the uvular r has been greatly extended in the modern patois of Cachy.

g. Pretonic ϵ +nasal+consonant.

This becomes $\tilde{\epsilon}$: PENSATUM > $p\tilde{\epsilon}s\tilde{\epsilon}$; *INTENDUTUM > $\tilde{\epsilon}t\tilde{\epsilon}d\tilde{\epsilon}$. So also in O. Pic. *pensée* (Mis., cxv, 8); *entendans* (Car., ccvii, 12).

h. Tonic ϵ +nasal+consonant.

This becomes $\tilde{\epsilon}$:—VENTUM > $v\tilde{\epsilon}$; PRENDERE > $pr\tilde{\epsilon}$; EXEMPLUM >

⁴² Schwan-Grammatik p. 80.

⁴³ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 576.

⁴⁴ In the 'Satires' of Crinon, the *Franc-Picard*; the *Bonhomme-Pic.* 'Evangile selon St. Matt.'

⁴⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 32.

ęksčp. So also in O. Pic.: *prendre* ('Mis.', liii, 5); *vent* (Car., cxxx, 5); *argent* (Aniel, 60); *ęent* (Aniel, 59); *froument* (Ch. du Verm., xxii, 43).

According to Paul Meyer,⁴⁶ *en*+cons.=*an*+cons. for the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the Pic. monuments examined by Haase⁴⁷ he finds that, in the *Beauvoisis*, the endings *ont* and *ent* rhyme together; but that, in the patois of the present day, they are separated.

In the thirteenth century, in the Vermandois, in the dialect of Amiens, Ponthieu, Artois and Hennegau, these do not rhyme together, and, at Cambrai, they sometimes rhyme and sometimes do not.⁴⁸ In the patois of Cachy, and in the whole of the Département of the Somme, *ant* and *ent* are separated, except when pretonic, when *ant* passes to *ent*. In the Aniel *en*+cons. is found once, in rhyme with *an*+cons.

i. Post-tonic *e* falls, as in French.

VENIRE>*vnir*; PATREM—*për*; ESSERE>*ęt*; CAMERAM>*všam*. The fall of this *e* took place before the time of the earliest monuments.

j. Pretonic *ę* falls.

LEVARE>*loë*; RETIRARE>*rtiri*; VENIRE>*vnir*; TENERE>*tnir*; GENICULUM>*žnu*. The fall of this *e* is due to the light passage of the voice on to the tonic syllable. The preponderance of the tonic syllable led to a gradual weakening of the vowel preceding it, and, in this case, that vowel entirely disappeared.⁴⁹ It passed through the following stages: *ę*>*o*>to whispered *e*, then fell.⁵⁰ This *e* is written in all the O. Pic. texts, and as late as the 'Cél Mar.' (1648) it is found: *appellé* ('Cél. Mar.' Suite 66); *vené* (*ibid.*, 112). In the modern texts it is never written: *rtirè* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.', ii, 14); *vnir* (iii, 11); *lvau* (*ibid.*, ii, 2); *g'nou* (Crinon., ii, 44); *r'marquer* (*Le Bonhomme*, 1882, p. 87).

k. The termination—ÉLLUM becomes *jö*:

CULTELLUM>*kutjö*; MARTELLUM>*märtjö*; CASTELLUM>*kätjö*; BEL-LUM>*bjö*; MANTELLUM>*mětjö*; MORCELLUM>*morsjö*; FARDELLUM>*färdjö*; AGNELLUM>*ätjö*. It gives the same result in all parts of the Department of the Somme, and this form is the only one found in the modern texts belonging to that territory: *böyeux* (Crinon. Sat., v., 43); *capieu* (*ibid.*, iii 35); *cavieu* (*ibid.*, v. 64); *mantieu* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.', v. 40); *morsieu* (*ibid.*, vii. 11); *nouvieu* (ix. 17); *ęgnieu* (xxi. 5); *potieu* (Tristesse in Corblet's 'Glossaire,' p. 43); *bieu* (*ibid.*, p. 43); *bieu* (*Franc-Pic.*, 1886, p. 149); *nouvieu* (*Le Bonhomme Pic.*, 1882, p. 88). In the 'Cél. Mar.' it has two forms: *iau* and *eau*. In Picard

⁴⁶ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, i, 244.

⁴⁷ 'Verhalten der pik. and wall. Denkmäler in Bezug auf *a* und *e* vor ged. m.', p. 10.

⁴⁸ Haase, *Oper. Cit.*, p. 10,

⁴⁹ Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik', p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Loc. Cit.*

texts older than this, *iau* is the usual⁵¹ and almost universal form: *damoisiax* ('Auc. et Nic.', v. 17); *caviax* (*ibid.*, xiii. 15); *biax* (*ibid.*, xv. 4); *biau(s)* (Aniel, 120.); *pastourials* ('Chev. as devs. Esp.', 10514); *biaus* (*ibid.*, 97); *biaus* (Guy de Cambrai, 3. 28).

This development of the Picard *iaux* (*iaus*) separates the O. Pic., from the O. Fr. dialects⁵² which had *els*, *eaus*, *eals*, *eax*, etc. The explanation of the O. Pic. form offers little difficulty, and Förster⁵³ gives the following development: *bels* > *béals* > *beâls* > *beau(s)*; *bials* > *biaus* was a later development from *beâls*. But the development of the modern form *bieu* (pron. *bjö*) offers greater difficulty. Förster⁵⁴ wished to derive it from a form *biels* which gave, by the vocalisation of the *l*, *bieu(s)* (pron. *bjö*): but although the form *biel* exists in the O. Pic. texts, the form *biels* has not been found.⁵⁵ But a form *biels* is not absolutely necessary, since it may be explained by Neumann's principle of *Satzphonetik* as follows: The form of the accus. sing., *biel*, vocalised the *l* before a consonant, giving *bieu* (pron. *bjö*), but retained the *l* before a vowel.⁵⁶ The French dialects surrounding the Picard offer no help (with the exception of the Wallonian) for the solution of this difficulty, since, in the eastern dialects, the *l* falls, and the same takes place in the Norman, with the exception of the territory bordering on the Picard, and which has been influenced by the latter. There are a few words in the patois of Cachy in which the termination—*ELLUM* has received a different treatment:—*TINELLUM* > *tini*; *FLAGELLUM* > *fléji*; *MONTICELLUM* > *mđši*; *RASTELLUM* > *rati*. Two of these words are cited by Jouancoux⁵⁷ from the O. Fr. with the termination *el*:—*flaiel*, *tinel*. In O. Pic. *TINELLUM* developed in the same way as other words with the termination—*ELLUM*; viz., to *iau*:—*flaiaus* (Car; cc x iii. 3). The other words cited above I have been unable to find in any O. Pic. text. The form *fléji* must, therefore, be a later introduction and probably came from those dialects⁵⁸ in which the *l* fell, giving *fléjé*, and was then changed, in the patois of Cachy to *fléji* after the analogy of verbs of the first conjugation.

51 Die pikardischen Texte haben alle *iaus*—Förster in *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, i, 565.

52 "Besondere Erwähnung verdient hier noch die Behandlung der romanischen Gruppen—*ill*+cons. and—*ell*+cons., beide=Fr. *el*+cons. durch deren lautliche Entwicklung sich das Pikardische von den übrigen Dialekten abhebt. *El*+cons. tritt, nämlich, wenn auch nicht unbedingt, so doch am häufigsten in Pikardischen unter der Form *iaus* auf gegenüber den *els*, *eals*, *eaus*, *eax*, etc., den übrigen afr. Dialekte. Letztere kommen, jedoch, bisweilen neben *iaus* im Pik. vor:—*iaus* (Ch. du Verm. iv. 7; vi, 5. 8; x. 13; xiv. 4); *entriiaus* (*Ibid.*, xxvi. 6); *yaus* (*ibid.*, xxx iii. 11); *eaus* (*icid.*, v. 29.); *eus* (*ibid.*, xxii. 27)." Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', p. 66.

53 "Das Pik. *biau* lässt eine doppelte Erklärung zu: entweder mit wallonischer Diphthongirung *biels* (und vocalisirt *bieus*) und durch Einfluss des *l* daraus *bials* und mit vocalisirten *l* endlich *biaus*; diese Form gab dem heutigen Pik. *biau*, jenes dem *bieu* seinen Ursprung.

Diese Entwicklung möchte ich aber gern auf das Wallonische beschränken; für den übrigen Theil des Pik. möchte ich das Pic.—*iaus* aus vorausgehenden *els* > *eals* > *ials* erklären."—Förster,—*Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, i, 564. 54 *Loc. Cit.*

55 Dr. J. E. Matzke, *Mod. Long. Notes*, 1889. No. i, p. 16.

56 Matzke, *Loc. Cit.*

57 'Glossaire,' s. v.

58 The Eastern and Norman.

I am, however, unable to cite any example of the form *fléjé* in the patois,—a form which is necessary for a satisfactory proof of the theory.

l. Treatment of *ɛ* + yod.

LECTUM > *lœ*; PECTUS > *piœ*; DISPECTUM > *dépœ*; DECEM > *dis*; SEX > *sis*. It becomes *œ* in words in which this becomes the final sound. *Dis* and *sis* are French introductions, and before a following consonant these are pronounced in the same way as in French. In O. Pic. this always gave *i*, by the production of a parasitic *i* before the yod, the diphthongisation of *ɛ* to *ie*, the fall of the medial vowel in the triple combination, and the coalescence of the two *i*'s. *Lit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 21); *pis* ('Car.,' xcvi. 5); *sis* ('Mis.,' ccxxv. 7).

MELIUS and DECUM have developed in a different way; the former has become *mjü* and the latter *djü*. In the O. Pic. there was considerable variation in the transcription of the termination of this class of words; sometimes it is found as *iu* and sometimes as *ieu*.⁵⁹ Till the middle of the thirteenth century *iu* was the common form for this class of words, but, after that time, it became *ieu*;⁶⁰ yet *iu* was still retained as an archaism in some words. The form *ieu* did not become, as Neumann states, the only one; for in addition to the two words already given, the patois of Cachy retains the ending *iu* in the following words, although their history is a different one:—*mäläjü*, *pūsājü*, *krēljü*, *sēljü*, *nājü*.

The variation between *iu* and *ieu* in the O. Pic. does not appear to have indicated a difference of pronunciation, for Tobler finds in the 'Dit de Gentillece' (in Jubin's 'Nouv. Rec.,' II. 383) *diex* rhyming with *jus*.⁶¹

m. Prosthetic *e*.

The sound of this *e* varies all the way between *é* and *ə* according to the nature of the preceding and following consonants.⁶² It never arises before a single consonant followed by a pure vowel, but only before a cluster of consonants, or before a single consonant followed by a nasal vowel. This prosthetic *e* is not heard when single words are pronounced, but only in connected discourse. It is found in all recent Picard texts:—*Pour eq j'el croiche* (Crinon, Sat., i, 7); *ein*

⁵⁹ "Die Schreibung zwischen *iu* und *ieu* schwankt durchaus; daher denn auch ein ursprüngliches *ieu* mit in geschrieben wird, daher *liu*, *leiu*, *diu*." Förster, 'Chevalier aus dev's Espees,' xlv.

⁶⁰ "Es ist wohl anzunehmen dasz in der ersten Hälfte des 11 Jahr. die aeltere Generation der lebenden Pikarden noch *iu* sprach, während bei der jüngern sich die Neigung einstellte statt dessen *ieu* auszusprechen. Um die Mitte des Jahr. etwa u. 1250 mochten sich beide eine zeitlang in der angedeuteten Weise nebeneinander hergebenden Aussprachen dergestalt ausgeglichen haben—dasz *ieu* als die einzige den Sieg davon trug." Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 42.

⁶¹ Tobler, 'Aniel,' xxvii.

⁶² Owing to the want of material, I am unable to give rules for the variations.

verre ed brain d'vin (*ibid.*, I. 2); *el socialisme* (*ibid.*, I. ii. 1); *erqusillé* (*ibid.*, viii. 50); *éxpi* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' i. 17); *évvu* (*ibid.*, II. 2); *édsv* (*ibid.*, v. 14); *édvan* (*ibid.*, v. 16); *édidin* (*ibid.*, xxvii. 34); *égu'min* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1885, p. 145); *j'em'su porté* (*ibid.*, p. 146.); *pemmes ed terre* (*Le Bouhonhomme Pic.*, 1882. p. 82). This peculiarity of the Picard appears to be of quite recent origin, since no example is found in the 'Cél. Mar'. , nor in any early Picard text to which the writer has access.

This prosthetic *e* is found in all the Eastern dialects: "*soin ed tortout ell'domestique, de'main* (dialect of Champagne⁶³ *ér mantiel* (Lorraine).⁶⁴ In the Emilian dialect of North Italy there is a similar phenomenon,⁶⁵ and also in the Engadine dialects.⁶⁶ The prosthetic *e* arose in this case from the same cause which produced the prosthetic *e* before the clusters *sp*, *st* and *sc* in the French dialects generally; namely, from the desire of separating, by a vowel sound, clusters of consonants, either difficult or impossible to pronounce. This prosthetic *e*, as a matter of course, only arose after the fall of the *e* in the pretonic syllable. Hence the reason of its modern origin.

TREATMENT OF *é*.

a. Tonic *é* in an open syllable becomes *uê*.

HABERE > *àvuér*; PLUERE > *pluér*; SAPERE > *sàvuér*. The earliest monument to show the transcription *oi* from *é+i* is the "Jonas Fragment," but there it is in the pretonic syllable. In the twelfth century this *oi* was pronounced *ói*; it then became *oé*, and, at the end of the fifteenth century, *uê*. This was afterwards noted by *uê* and *oé*. From the sixteenth century this *uê* underwent two kinds of change; on the one hand it went into *uâ*,—a pronunciation which triumphed in the French of the eighteenth century, and is the pronunciation of the present day. On the other hand, in the terminations of the imperfect indicative, and the conditional, and, in a few words in which unaccented *e* or final *s* followed,⁶⁷ it became *e*.⁶⁸ While the French has developed in this way, the patois of Cachy has remained where the French was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has the sound which at that time was transcribed by the grammarians as *oué*.

The pronunciation *uê* is common to the whole of the Department of the Somme with the exception of the north east toward the Department of the Nord, in the direction of the Wallonian. At Les-boeufs, near Combles, we have *sàwér*, *àwér*, *étol*, *ro—i*, *dro*, *lo—i* etc., from SAPERE, HABERE, STELAM, REGEM, DIRECTUM, LEGEM. At

⁶³ Tarbé, 'Recherches sur le langage de Champagne,' p. 164.

⁶⁴ Adam, 'Patois lorrains,' p. 400.

⁶⁵ Häufig wird ein Vokal vorgeschlagen um die dadurch entstandene Härte [the hardness produced by an initial cluster of consonants] zu vermeiden, nicht in dem hier gemeinen *ar* für *ri*, *al* für *le*, sondern Z. B. *ausin*. D'Ovidio, in Gröber's 'Grundriss' i, 557-56 Ulrich's 'Rhaetian Chrest.,' i. ⁶⁷ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 588.

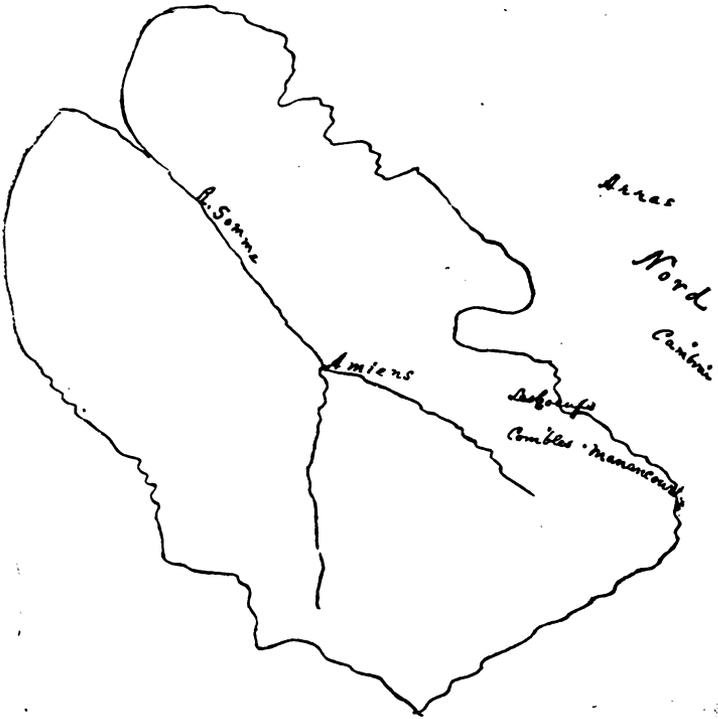
⁶⁸ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seiz. siècle en France,' p. 211.

Manancourt, in the Canton of Combles, we have *sàvor*, *àvor*, but *rué-drué*; at Chaulnes, *ro*, *dro*, *étol*, but *sàvuér*, *àvuér*. In the patois of Liège' the pronunciation is *avu* (HABERE), *savu*, (SAPERE).⁶⁹

There is thus a border district in the region of Combles and Chaulnes, between the pure Picard and the Wallonian, in which the pure Picard forms are found along with forms such as *sàvor*, *àvor*, etc., which approximate to the Wallonian forms in *u*.

In MINUS > *mwǔ* and SETAM > *sua*, the pure French forms have been adopted into the patois.

⁶⁹ Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liègeois-français,' s. v.



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Vir (VEDERE) is heard still in all parts of the Somme. In Cachy it is the pronunciation of the old people, and *vuér* is that of the young, thus showing the tendency of the young to produce uniformity. It was common in O. Pic. as well as in all the eastern dialects to find *i* from closed *e* in an unaccented syllable.⁷⁰ *Vir* has developed in the following way:—VEDERE>*vedeir*>*vecir*>*veir*, then, by the assimilation of the *e* to the *i*>*viir*, then, by the coalescence of the *i*'s>*vir*.

b. Tonic *é* *entravé* becomes *ē*.

MÉTTERE>*mēt*; VERGAM>*verž*; PEGRETIAM>*pēres*; MESSAM>*mēs*. In O. Fr. this remained⁷¹ *é*; the change from *é* to *ē* began in the twelfth century, and was completed in the next century.⁷²

c. Pretonic *é* *libre* before a nasal falls.

MENARE>*mni*; DEMORARE>*dmōri*. It has passed through the following sound—transformations before falling: *é*>*e*>*e*, then fell.⁷³ This vowel continued to be written in all Picard texts up to modern times.

d. Pretonic *é* before a nasal+cons. becomes *ē*.

ENTRARE>*ētri*; CUM+ENITIARE>*kmēši*; ENTENDUTUM>*ētēdūē*; PREHENDERE+HABEO>*prēdré*. This had already become *ē* in the oldest French monuments,⁷⁴ although it was originally⁷⁵ *ē*.

In the O. Pic. texts this *ē* is generally transcribed as *e*, but sometimes it becomes *ū*: *asanlent* (Auc. et nic., xxi. 1); *sanbloit* (*ibid.*, xxxii. 19); *sanblant* (*ibid.*, xv. 9). *e* is also the transcription in the 'Cél Mar.,' but in more modern texts, it is *ei* which, however, has the same sound as *ē*:—*conteint'ro* (Crinon, I, ii, 31); *reindot* (*ibid.*, iii, 23).

e. Tonic *é*+nasal+vowel.

PLENUM>*plē*; RACEMUM>*ruézē*; FRENUM>*frē*; PENAM>*pēn*; VENAN>*vēn*; AVENAM>*avēn*. This becomes *ē* when the nasal is followed by an original *a*, but, when it was originally followed by any other vowel, it becomes *ē*. This *ē*, from *é*+*n*+*a* had still in the 'Cél. Mar.' the nasal sound, as is shown by the following rhyme: *moair-inne*: *narine* (Suite, 417). Nasalization in this case was given up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and from that time the *ē* became a pure vowel.⁷⁶ Previous to this, this *e* had, in all cases, the nasal sound.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ "Aus langem *e* in betonter Silbe entsteht alfr. *i* in eglise, (vii. 15); prist (xi. 6). Ferner ergibt im Pikardischen Dialect, wie auf dem ganzen ostfranz. Sprachgebiet, die Infinitivs-Endung der 2 Conjug.—*ere* oft *ir*; cf. eschair (xxxiv. 8); dazu escair; gair." Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 22.

⁷¹ Schwan, 'Altfr. Grammatik,' p. 30.

⁷² Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 586.

⁷³ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁷⁴ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 80.

⁷⁵ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 576.

⁷⁶ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 589.

⁷⁷ *Oper. Cit.*, p. 576.



In the Old Pic. texts, beginning with 1150, *ein* and *ain* were written indifferently⁷⁸ to indicate this sound before a nasal—any original vowel showing that these two combinations had, from that time, the same sound: *a* is also found from this *ai* or *ei* in Picard, Wallonian and Lorraine texts: *79 plain* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl. 33); *plaine* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xx. 12); *planne* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 17); *pleine* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xv, 11).

f. Tonic *é*+yod+const.

DIRECTUM>*druï*; STRICTUM>*étrui*; FRIGIDUM>*frui*; TECTUM>*tui*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and combined with the *e* to form the diphthongue *ei* which developed in the same way as tonic *é*, till it arrived at the sound *uê*. This final *e* sound was changed to *i* from analogy with verbs of the first conjugation. This influence of the verbs of the first conjugation in producing the change is shown by the fact that the sound *ui*, for this class of words, is found in the same territory which shows the termination *i* in the first conjugation. In all other parts of the Somme we find, as the result of the combination under treatment in this section, *uê*. In the O. Pic. texts it is found as *oi*: *estroit* ('Mis.,' cxcvii, 3); *frait* (*ibid.*, civ. 7); *droit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xii. 28). This *oi* rhymed with the *oi*'s from all other sources from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the common sound at that time was⁸⁰ *oi*.

Where the diphthongue does not become the final sound, the change of the last element (*é*) to *i* does not take place in the territory specified: NEGRUM>*nuêr*.

g. *é*+yod+vowel.

LEGEM>*luû*; REGEM>*ruû*; VICEM>*fui*. This gives the same result, and has developed in the same way as the combination in the preceding section. *Luû* and *ruû* are pure French forms which have been introduced into the patois.

h. Tonic *é* preceded by yod.

MERCEDEM>*mersi*; CERAM>*sir*; PLACERE>*plêzir*; TACERE>*lêzir*. This becomes *i*, and develops in the same way as the same combination in French.

i. Pretonic *é*+yod.

LECERE>*luêzi*; DECANUM>*duêji*; NECARE>*nuêji*; PLICARE>*pluêji*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod; this *i* combined with the *e* to form the diphthongue *ei*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it had the sound⁸¹ *oê*, and developed in the same way as the *oi* from other sources.

⁷⁸ *Oper. Cit.*, p. 58a.

⁷⁹ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 65.

⁸⁰ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

⁸¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

- j. Pretonic *é* in any combination except the preceding, and before *m* or *n*+cons.

FERMARE > *fremi*; MERABILIA > *merveſ*; PESARE > *pezi*; DELUVIUM > *deſlüž*. In O. Fr. this was a closed vowel.⁸² The change from a closed to an open sound is due to its position before the tonic accent. In this position there was a diminution of the fullness of the vowel in the haste of the voice to reach the tonic accent.⁸³

TREATMENT OF *i*.

- a. Tonic *i* in an open syllable.

VENIRE > *vnir*; AVISUM > *ävæ*; INIMICUM > *ëmæ*; FICUM > *fig*; SERVIRE > *servir*; APRILEM > *avril*; RIPAM > *riv*; NIDUM > *næ*.

When followed by a pronounced consonant it remains in the patois: when it is final, it becomes *æ*.

- b. Tonic *i* in a closed syllable remains when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final it becomes *æ*.

VILLAM > *vil*; SCRIPTUM > *ékræ*; MILLIA > *mil*; TRISTEM > *trist*.

- c. *i*+*m* or *n*.

CAMINUM > *kmæ*; SIMIAM > *sæmæ*; LINEUM > *læmæ*; VINUM > *væ*; FINEM > *fæ*. This becomes *ë*: *ë* as a nasal from *i*+nasal was unknown before the sixteenth century. It was unknown to Palsgrave. In the first half of the sixteenth century it was still a pure vowel, but in the second half of that century, it took a sound intermediate between the pure vowel sound and the nasal sound,⁸⁴ *ë*. This sound gradually opened during the seventeenth⁸⁵ century, and in the eighteenth took its present sound⁸⁶ *ë*. In the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' the rhyme *ëvine*: *mequinne* (545) is found. Now, as *æ* and *ë* already had long before this, the same sound, and, as each of these had the sound *ë*, it follows that *i* had already, in the Picard of that time (1648), the sound *ë*, which it has to-day. In the work named above we find the rhymes *Jennain*: *Tuenin* (287); *Jeannin*: *enfin* (259). In the same work, *i*, in the combination *i*+nasal+vowel, has also the nasal sound:—*moairinne*: *nerîne* (417); *mequine*: *moairinne* (469); *moairinne*: *voisinne* (477). Nasalization in this case was lost in the eighteenth century.⁸⁷

- d. Pretonic *i* remains.

LIBERARE > *livri*; VIVENTEM > *vivè*; MIRARE > *mili*. It falls in the following cases:—DIVINUM > *dvè*; DIVISAT > *dviz*; DIMIDIUM > *dmæ*.

⁸² Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 30.

⁸³ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁸⁴ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 214.

⁸⁵ Suchier, in Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 588. ⁸⁶ D. and H. 'Le Seizième Siècle,' p. 214.

⁸⁷ Suchier, in Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 589.

This is due to its pretonic position, and to its position in a cluster of consonants which can be pronounced when it falls.⁸⁸

e. *i*+yod.

INIMICUM>*ĩmæ̃*; BENEDICTUM>*bnĩẽ*; DICERE>*dir*. It remains when followed by a pronounced consonant. When final it becomes *æ̃*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and this coalesced with the original *i*.

TREATMENT OF *ø*.

a. Tonic *ø* in an open syllable.

PROBAM>*prøv*; POPULUM>*p'p*; SOLUM>*s'l*; OCCULUM>*øl*; NOVAM>*nov*. This is the sound found in all the modern Picard texts: *euw* ('Evangile s. st. Matt.,' vi. 1); *peup* (*ibid.*, xi. 7); *seul* (*ibid.*, xviii. 14); *eul* (*ibid.*, xxv. 4); *aveu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1881, p. 205); *neuf* (*ibid.*, p. 209). This *ø*, according to Suchier,⁸⁹ was developed in the following way:—The original vowel was extended, and became *ôð*, then, by the deepening of the accented element *ôø*, out of which the diphthongue *úø* was developed. This *uø* is the form found in the Eulalia and the St. Leger. Then the *ø* was weakened to *e*, and the diphthongue became *úẽ*, which is the most common form found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the next century forms with *eu* begin to appear, although the older forms are still used in the texts of this century. For example, in the 'Chev. as devs Esp.,' the following forms are found: *ue*, *u*, *æ*, *eu*, *oue*, *e.ºº*. In Picard texts of the end of the twelfth century, the common form was *ue*,—the usual form of the 'Miserere' and 'Carité.' In the 'Chartes du Vermandois,' of the first half of the thirteenth century, we find *ue* and *eu* written indifferently, and, at that time, both these forms had the phonetic value of *ø*,—the sound found at present in the patois of Cachy, *puet* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xli, 5); *peut* (*ibid.*, xliii. 3); *neuve* (*ibid.* ix.15). This form *eu* is found also in 'Auc. et Nic.,' although the older forms are also found:—*preus* (xv. 2); *seul* (II. 3. 9); *oeul* (xiv. 20); *aveuc* (iv. 22); *buef* (x. 7). In the present patois of Cachy BOVEM gives *bü*, and OVUM>*ü*. "Même ein tchou ü" (Crinon, Sat., viii. 82); *bu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1885, p. 148). In the O. Pic. these words developed in the same way as other words with tonic *ø* in an open syllable, *buef* ('Auc. et Nic.,' x. 7; xxii, 17); *bues* ('Mis.,' xxxvi. 1); *ueve* ('Car.,' cxvii, 3). In these words, after the final consonant became mute, the *e* in *ue* followed the same rule as the other final unaccented *e*'s, and dropped, leaving *ü*. This may have taken place before the *ø* in either of these words passed to the state of *eu* in the patois. The writer finds no example of *eu* in these two words in any Picard text of the thirteenth century. A con-

⁸⁸ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁸⁹ In Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 573.

⁹⁰ Förster, 'Chev. as devs Esp.,' xli.

traction similar to that found in these words is represented by *puent* (Chev. as devs Esp., 75 75).

b. Tonic *o* in a closed syllable remains *o*, as in French.

PORTAM > *pɔrt*; ROCCAM > *rogk*; MORTUM > *mɔr*; SORTUM > *sɔr*. This was also *o* in O. Pic., and was always separated in rhyme from *o* out of *ō* and *ũ entravé*.⁹¹

c. Tonic *o*+yod.

NOCTEM > *nüw*⁹²; COCTUM > *tüw*⁹³; COQUERE > *tüw*; NOCET > *nüw*. This gives *ü*, except where followed by a pronounced consonant, where it gives *üi*, as in French. In all the modern Picard texts, however, it is always found as *ui*, since the sound *ü* does not belong to the patois of Amiens where all the modern texts at the writer's disposal were published.

This *üi* developed as in French, *nui* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.' II. 14); *kyuir* (*ibid.*, iii. 4); *innuyi* (Crinon, Sat., iii. 43); *edpuis* (*ibid.*, iv. 53). In the O. Pic. texts the same form is invariable: *cuite* ('Ch. du Verm.', iii. 9); *nuit* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi. 28); *nuire* ('Mis.', xxxii. 7; cx. 5); *cuisine* (*ibid.*, cxli. 9). In the 'Reclus de Molliens', Van Hamel⁹⁴ finds this *ui* twice in rhyme with *ire*, which proves that the diphthongue was commencing at that time to be a rising one. In the old texts many examples of *ui* in rhymes with both *i* and *u* are found: *contredist*: *nuit* (Lous. Jehan., 39 25);⁹⁵ *annui*: *marri* (Rou, iii, 10270. A).⁹⁶

FOCUM gives *fä*⁹⁷; JOCUM > *žä*⁹⁸; LOCUM > *ljä*. In these words the *o* gives the sound *ä*, except in LOCUM, where the *j* has been produced⁹⁹ by the *l*. In modern Picard texts the nasal sound is not indicated, and we find *fu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1881, p. 206; *ibid.*, 1885, p. 145; p. 161; 'Evangile s. St. Matt.', iii. 10; 'Cél. Mar.', 36). The Eulalia has *fou*; the 'Frag. de Val.' has *lieu*; the Alexis *leu* (27c) and *liu* (114e).⁹⁶ In later O. Fr. documents, two forms are found for LOCUM: *leu* and *liu*, 'Guy de Cam.': *leu* (ccii. 31); *liu* (*ibid.*, cclxxvi. 2). In 'Guy de Cam.' JOCUM gives *jus* (clxxxvi. 35); *giu* (ccxxv. 21). FOCUM, in the same work gives *fu* (ccxciii, s); *feu* (ixviii, 27). In the 'Carité' JOCUM gives *gius* (lxii. 4); LOCUM > *liu* (clxxxvii. 11). In the 'Chev. as devs Esp.', it is generally *fu* from FOCUM.⁹⁷

In the Aniel the forms are *jus* (283); *lieu* (32, 277). It thus appears that the forms of the patois of the Somme at present: *žü*, *ljü*, *fü* (and in parts elsewhere specified *žä*, *fä*, *lä*) are the same as those

⁹¹ Förster, 'Chev. as devs Esp.', xlii. Van Hamel, 'Reclus de Molliens,' cxxiv.

⁹² P. cxxx. ⁹³ Cited by Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.', xlii.

⁹⁴ Cited by Tobler, 'Aniel,' xxiv. ⁹⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' § 108.

⁹⁶ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 170.

⁹⁷ "Was feu (föcum) anlagt, so ist die pikard. Form *fu*, die sich auch meistens hier findet, 711, 5003, ähnlich *iu* (jöcum) 1752, 8054. Da *ue* in späterer Zeit in der Aussprache mit *eu* zusammenfiel (bei feu, leu, ieu) wohl ursprünglich; doch steht öfter *feu*, *lue* in der Gregoires-Handschrift von Tours." Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.', xl.

generally found in the Picard texts of the last half of the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth century.

The explanation given of these forms by Förster⁹⁸ is, that they came from the originals *FOCVUM*, *LOCVUM*. Neumann develops these forms through the principle of *Satzdoppelformen*. After the fall of the *m* in *JOCUM*, the *u* became semi-consonantal in the hiatus before the vowel of the following word, giving *jocu*. The *c* was then assimilated to the *u*, giving *jouu*, which was then reduced to *jou*, and the *u* lost its consonantal nature before a consonant.⁹⁹

The weak point in this theory is that he explains the transformation of the *c* to *u* by assimilation to the following *u*,—a process unknown in other cases in French.

d. Tonic *o*+nasal>vowel.

TRONUM>*tron*; HOMINEM>*om*; SONUM>*sõ*; COMITEM>*cõt*; PONTEM>*põ*. When followed by a pronounced consonant this remains *o*; when followed by a final nasal, it becomes *õ*. In O. Pic. this became¹⁰⁰ *õ*, and rhymed with *õ* from *õ* and *u*>nasal.¹⁰¹ The vowel took an open sound in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰² The nasal sound continued in all cases, even when followed by a single pronounced consonant till the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ Nasalisation still exists in the latter case in the 'Cél. Mar.': *courõne*: *personne* (Suite, 105).

BONUM gives *buõ*. This was the most common form of this word in the O. Pic. texts: *boin* ('Auc. et Nic.,' iii. 14); *boine* ('Chev. as ii Esp.,' 7, 424; 'Aniel,' 43, 213), but *bons* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i. 1). In the documents examined by Neumann for the 'Laut- und Flexionslehre.' he does not find the form *boin*, and he says it is very rare before the fourteenth century.

Raynaud¹⁰⁴ says it does not exist before that time, but Neumann¹⁰⁵ quotes several examples. This form *boin* is found in O. Fr. in 'Flor et Blancheflor,' in the 'Livre des Métiers,' as well as in Picard.

Jouancoux cites from a Charter of Encre (Albert) of 1304: *gue boin fust pour le pourfit*. In the 'Cél. Mar.' the form is *boen* (108) which has, no doubt, the same sound as *boin* (pron. *buõ*). In Crinon the form is *bon*. In all parts of the Somme at present, the sound is *buõ*. In the light of this and the previous history of the word, the form in Crinon is surprising; it is probably a pure French form which has been introduced.

e. Tonic *o*>nasal>cons.

LONGUM>*lõ*; RESPONSUM>*rõpõs*; PONTEM>*põ*; TONDERE>*tõd*; COMPUTUM>*kõt*. This gives *õ*. According to Diez,¹⁰⁶ *o* was already

⁹⁸ Zeits. f. r R. Ph., v, 591.

⁹⁹ Zeits. für R. Ph., viii. 385.

¹⁰⁰ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 35.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰² Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 588.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, i, p. 589.

¹⁰⁴ Raynaud, 'Etude sur le dialecte picard dans le Ponthieu' *Bib. de l'école des Chartes* xxvii, p. 5-31.

¹⁰⁵ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 44,

¹⁰⁶ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 448.

¹⁰⁷ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 576.

a nasal vowel in the ninth century, and Suchier¹⁰⁷ thinks that all the vowels were nasalized at the same time. The nasalization deepened the sound of the open vowels in such a way that *ǣ* became identical with¹⁰⁸ *ǣ̃*. These both became open sounds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁹

f. Pretonic *o* remains *o*.

VOLONTATEM > *vɔlɔ̃tɛ*; ODOREM > *odɔ̃r*; HONORATUM > *onɔ̃ré*; VOLERE > *vɔluér*; POTERE > HABEO > *pɔré*; TORNARE > *turni*; TORMENTUM > *turnĕ*. *Turni* and *turnĕ* are forms borrowed from the French. The original *o* continued as *o* till the twelfth century, but from that time forward, it gradually became *ɔ* in the Ile de France, but the latter form never became universal, and there are many words in the French of today which still have the *o* in this position.¹¹⁰

In contradistinction to the French, the Picard has kept the *o*, and never changed it to *ɔ*. There is no reason for supposing that, in Picard, this *o* became *ɔ*, and then, later, became *ɔ*. In O. Pic. it is always represented by *o*, and never by *u*, as in Norman: *torner* ('Auc. et Nic.', vii. 1); *tormente* (*ibid.*, xxviii. 7); *porrés* (*ibid.*, x. 67); *voldras* ('Car.', ci. 4); *portoit* ('Aniel', 53); *porroit* (*ibid.*, 91).

g. *o* before *u* becomes *ö*.

POTUTUM > *pö*; MOVUTUM > *mö*; PLOVUTUM > *plö*. According to Suchier, medial *e* before a following vowel became mute earlier in Picard than in the Ile de France.¹¹¹ Yet in the patois of Cachy the *peu, meu*, etc., forms are still maintained. These forms exist in the 'Reclus de Molliens': *mëu* ('Mis.', cxxxiii. 10); *pëu* ('Car.', x. 5); but, beside these, *plu* ('Mis.', xviii. 8.). In 'Auc. et Nic.' none of these past participles occur, nor in the 'Aniel,' but in the latter we find the form *sëu* (5); *vëus* (118); *pourvëus* (117). Owing to the non-occurrence of these forms with *o* before *u* in the O. Pic. texts, it is difficult to ascertain when the *e* fell, or in what part of the territory it did fall. It certainly never fell in the patois of Cachy; but the early form *pëu, mëu, plëu* were, by contraction, changed to *pö, plö, mö*. The French passed through a process different from this: the early form *pëu, mëu, plëu* changed to *peü, meü, pleü*—the forms found in the sixteenth century.¹¹² These were soon afterwards, changed to *pü, mü, plü*, by the fall of the mute *e*.

TREATMENT OF *o*.

a. Tonic *o* in an open syllable becomes *ɔ*, as in French.

ODOREM > *odɔ̃*; HORAM > *ɔr*; GAUDIASUM > *zuejɔ̃*; ILLORUM > *lɔ̃*. So also in all the modern Picard works, where it is transcribed by *eu*,

¹⁰⁸ Suchier, Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 576.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

¹¹⁰ Förster, *Romanische Studien*, iii, 189.

¹¹¹ 'Auc. et Nic.', p. 64.

¹¹² Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 207.

but with the sound *ø*, *amateux* (Crinon. Sat., i. 33); *malhèreux* (*ibid.*, ii. 1); *heuteur* (*ibid.*, ii. 26); *tinteu* (Evan. s. st. Matt. iv. 3); *douleur* (*ibid.*, iv. 24); *ôteur* (*ibid.*, vi. 17); *koureu* (*ibid.*, xvi. 4); *neveu* (*Le Bonhomme Pic.*, 1886, p. 93). It gives the same result in all parts of the Somme. So also in the 'Cél. Mar.': *honneur* (31); *ma!heureux* (*ibid.*, Suite, 53); *grandeur* (*ibid.*, Suite, 148).

This *ø*, from Latin *o*, is found in the oldest French monuments represented by *o*, *u*, and, rarely, by *ou*.¹¹³ The oldest of these forms are, of course, *o* and *u*, the latter of which points to the Norman dialect influence. *Ou* is a later form, and, in the Picard, the *ø* has passed to *ou* by the time of the 'Carité' and 'Miserere.' Ile de France, *ø* has already passed to the stage *eu* in the twelfth century.¹¹⁴ It thus appears that this *ou* from *ø* survived longer in the Picard than in the Ile de France, for in these two poems, composed, according to Van Hamel, the 'Carité' between 1180-90, and the 'Miserere' four or five years later, we find *ou* everywhere kept for *ø*: *majour* ('Car.', iv. 9); *segnour* (*ibid.*, xi. 12); *labour* (*ibid.*, lxxx. 10). In the 'Chartes du Verm.' of the first half of the thirteenth century we find both forms, and also forms with *o*: *ore* (vi, 13); *signor* (i, 16); *lor* (xiii, 6); *trouve* (xxvi, 23); *sour* (xx, 10); *maieur* (iii, 21); *seigneur* (iii, 5); *neveu* (v, 19); *sereur* (ix, 4).

The forms in *eu* are the most frequent.¹¹⁵ In 'Auc. et Nic.' the three forms are found: *amor* (iv. 2); *amoros* (xxvii, 2); *ancissor* (xxix, 12); *forœur* (xvi, 23); *netœurox* (viii, 13) *marvelleus* (ii. 2).

In the 'Aniel' (about 1291) the usual form is *eu*, although *o* is found; *ou* appears only in *nous* and *vous*. *Melleur* (46): *pitens* (63); *segnour* (204, 406); *lor* (23). Three forms have thus appeared as the development of Latin *o*, at different times: *ø*, *ou*, *eu*. As appears from the foregoing, no precise date can be given for the passage of *o* to *ou*. In Picard, the time of the passage of *ou* to *eu* was the thirteenth century. Although this *ø* has ultimately arrived at the same result as tonic *ø* libre, it has done so through a different series of changes.

The following appears to have been the development of tonic *ø*: *ø* > *ôð* > *ôu* > *ôú* > *eu*. In the dialect of the Ile de France it developed to *eu* in the twelfth century,¹¹⁶—earlier, therefore, than in the Picard. It did not develop to *eu* in the Norman, nor in the Lorraine.¹¹⁷

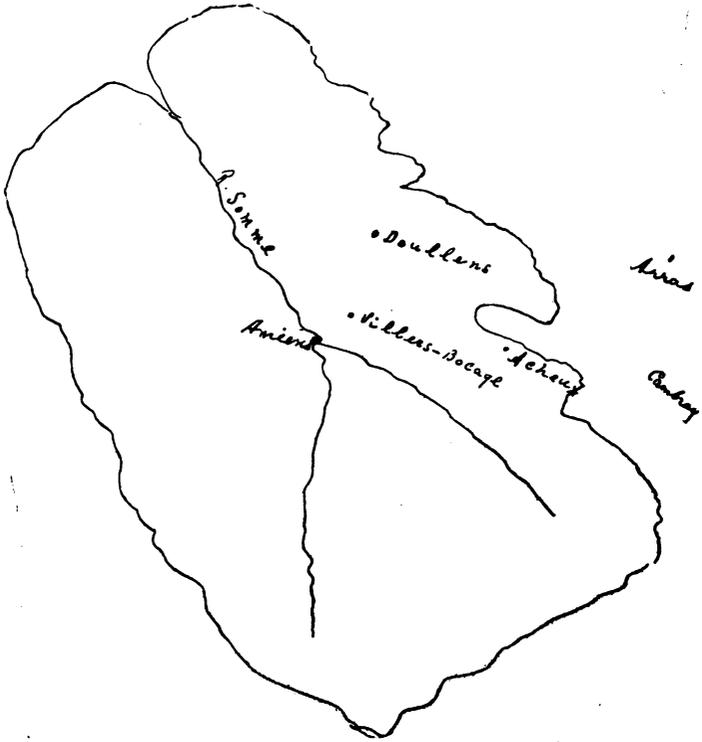
b. Tonic *ø* in a closed syllable becomes *u*.

SURDUM > *sur*; DIURNUM > *zur*; GUTTAM > *gut*; BUCCULAM > *bluk*; MOTTUM > *mu*; DORSUM > *du*. There are certain parts of the Somme in which *ø* in a closed syllable remains *ø*. This is the case on the north of Amiens in the region encompassed by the three points, Villers-Bocage, Doullens, and Acheux. Here they pronounce *žor*; *kør*; *søp*; *tožor*. This is the form found in the monuments of the O. Pic. *for* (Auc. et Nic., ii, 3, 32); *totejor* (*ibid.*, vi. 27).

¹¹³ Lücking 'Mundarten,' pp. 156 and 161.

¹¹⁴ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 586.

¹¹⁵ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 45. ¹¹⁶ Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 586. ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

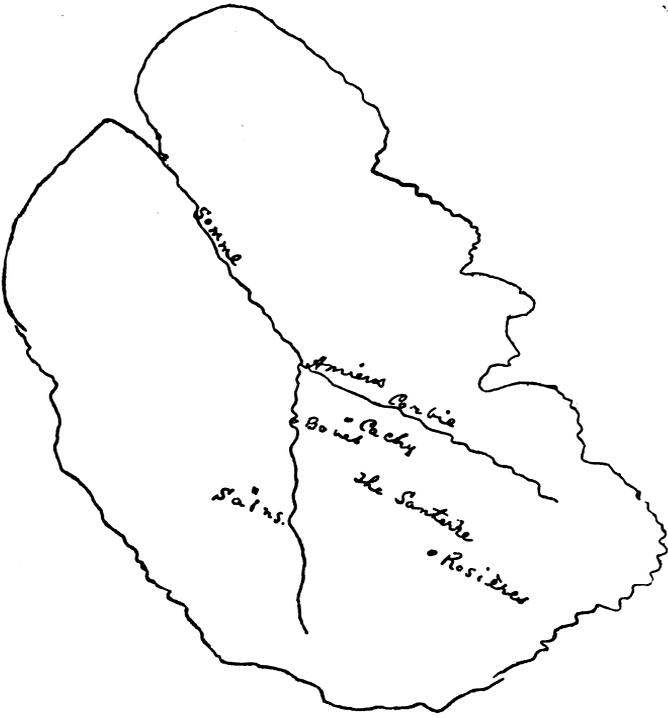


In the present monograph no forms are found with *ou*. In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' both forms are found: *sour* (xx, 10); *court* (ii, 21); *tosjors* (ix, 18); *tote* (xiii, 8); *jor* (vi, 9). In the 'Reclus de Molliens' this gives *ous* which rhymes with the *ous* from tonic *o* in an open syllable.¹¹⁸ In the 'Aniel' there is no example of *o* but always *ou*: *tous* (22); *pour* (85); *jour* (23). In the 'Cél. Mar.' the usual form is *ou*, but forms with *o* are found: *toujour* (Suite, 83.); *jour* (*ibid.*, 84); *oforduy* (*ibid.*, 39); *tou* (*ibid.*, 12). The *o* in this class of words first passed to *ou* (pron. *u*) before *r* and *e*.¹¹⁹ The passage of *o* to *ou* seems to have been completed in Picard (except in districts already indicated) by the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁰ In the modern Pic. words this is always found as *ou*: *toujours* (Crin. Sat., i. 13); *troup* (*ibid.*, iii. 2); *jour* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' iv. 2); *bouk* (*ibid.*, xv. 8); *souf* (*ibid.*, xvii. 14); *sourd* (*ibid.*, xiii, 15). The forms *mu*, *pu*, *du* are not found in all parts of the Somme, but only in the following district: The part of the department south of Sains; the Santerre, beginning on the south-east of Amiens at Boves, Cachy and Corbie, and extending east to Rosières. In other parts we find *mo*, *po*, *do*.

¹¹⁸ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxxv.

¹¹⁹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 33.

¹²⁰ See remarks on forms in the 'Aniel.'



Bèze¹²¹ reproached the people of Berry and Lyons for saying *du* for *dø*. Coming from the southern regions, undoubtedly from Lyons, this pronunciation was accredited at the courts of Henry ii, Charles ix, and Henry iii.¹²² Father Chiffet said in his grammar: "j'ai vu le temps que presque toute la France estoit pleine de chouses." "Pourfit"¹²³ (profit) is found in a document of Encre in 1304. Examples of this change of *ø* to *u* are very numerous in Crinon, both in tonic and atonic syllables: *doumestiques* (Sat., i. 4); *bounets* (i., 10); *toujours trouþ tchote* (, 16); *doun'ro* (I. 21); *couchons* (I. ii. 7); *pardouner* I, ii, 36); *philousoþhe* (ii, 39); *ouraison* (ii, 58); *s'proumener* (v. 10). Since this change was introduced into the north under courtly influence, it is not strange that the district indicated is the place where it is still retained. Near the centre of this district is Corbie in which was situated, under the First Empire, one of the most wealthy and flourishing abbeys of France. The court pronunciation was carried to this abbey, and, from it, spread among the peasants living in the neighborhood.

c. Tonic *ø*+yod.

CROCEM>*krulé*; GLORIAM>*gluér*; VOCEM>*vuts*. This gives *ué* when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final, it became *ui*. At Chaulnes, Pertain, Lesboeufs, etc., that is, in the part of the Sautere in which the patois of the Vermandois has penetrated, the sound *ui, ué* of the patois of Cachy is *ø*: *vø, krø*. This is the pronunciation given by Corblet.¹²⁴ In the O. Pic. texts this gives generally *oi*, and already rhymes with *oi* from tonic *ø* in an open syllable, and *oi* from *au*+yod, at the end of the twelfth century.¹²⁵

Stengel¹²⁶ says the change of *oi* to *o* is peculiar to the East French dialects, but Neumann¹²⁷ has shown examples also in the Vermandois: *memore, avor, glore*.

In the forms found in the patois of Cachy, a parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and this united with the *o* to form the diphthongue which developed in sound in the same way as the *oi* from other sources.¹²⁸

d. *ø*+nasal+consonant.

PROFONDUM>*prøfð*; ROTONDUM>*rð*; ONGULAM>*ðg*. This gives *ð* which has the same history as *ð* from *ø*+nasal+consonant.

In the combination *o*+*m*+*n*, the *m* was assimilated to the *n*, and, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nasal sound disappeared: COLOMNAM>*kolð*; GAROMNAM>*Garð*

e. *o*+nasal+vowel.

DONUM>*dø*; NOMERUM>*nðb*; NOMEN>*nð*; DONAT>*døn*; PERSONAM>*persøn*. This produces *ð* when from the combination *o*+nasal+

¹²¹ Quoted by Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 203.

¹²² *Ibid.* p. 203.

¹²³ Jouancoux, 'Glossaire,' s. v. *boin*.

¹²⁴ 'Glossaire,' s. v.

¹²⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxix.

¹²⁶ *Zeits. für R. Ph.*, i. 478.

¹²⁷ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 53.

¹²⁸ See *ø*+yod.

any vowel except *a*. In the combination *o*+nasal+*a*, the *a* does not fall, but becomes mute *e*, before which the preceding consonant is pronounced, and the *o* has the pure vowel sound from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The history of this combination is the same as that given under *o*+nasal+vowel.

f. Pretonic *o* before an oral consonant.

COPERTAM > *kuvert*; PROBARE > *pruvi*; NODARE > *nui*; DOBITARE > *duti*; DOTARE > *dui*. This becomes *u*. In the earliest French monuments it was *o*, and, at the end of the twelfth century, it was at the transition stage between *o* and *u*. Both forms are found in the *Reclus de Mollens*, although the forms in *o* predominate: *douter* ('Mis.', cvii, 5); *noer* ('Car.', cii, 4); *provant* ('Car.', xcvi, 11); *esprové* ('Mis.', cxxv, 1.); *escover* ('Mis.', xlix, 7).

g. Pretonic *o* followed by a nasal becomes *o*.

SONARE > *soni*; COMMUNEM > *komoë*; DONARE > *doni*; NOMINARE > *loni*; MONTARE > *mōti*. When followed by a nasal+consonant, it becomes *ō*. In the early monuments this was, in all cases, *ō*, and has the same history as *o*+nasal+vowel.

h. *o*+consonant+yod.

GLORIAM > *gluér*; POTIONEM > *puézō*; MEMORIAM > *mémuéer*. With regard to the development of this combination there are two theories:

(a) That the yod was attracted into the tonic syllable;

(b) That the yod developed a parasitic *i* before the preceding consonant. The objection raised to the first theory is that the yod cannot pass over the preceding consonant. Against the second theory may be urged that forms such as: *glorie*, *memorie* are found in the twelfth century,¹²⁹—at a time when the development of parasitic *i* in all other words was already complete. The occurrence of these forms in the twelfth century, and the unvarying forms *gloire*, *memoire*, etc., in the next century, seem to make the first theory more tenable.

The forms *glore*, *memore*, are regular for the Eastern dialects, but they are also found frequently in the O. Pfc. texts: ¹³⁰*memore* ('Mis.', lxxxii, 11); *glore* (*ibid.*, lxxx, ii, 3); *memore* ('Ch. du Verm.', xv, 11). Such forms are due to the influence of the eastern dialects, and are not to be found to-day in the patois of Cachy. After the attraction of the *i* to the tonic syllable, this *oi* rhymed with *oi* from tonic *e* in an open syllable, and *oi* from *au*+parasitic *i*, from the beginning of the thirteenth century,¹³¹ and its subsequent history is the same as that given for *oi* from tonic *e* libre.

i. Pretonic *o*

DOTARE > *dui*; DOBITARE > *duti*; NOTRIRE > *norir*; POTRIRE > *porir*. This has given two results in the patois: *o* and *u*. The first is

¹²⁹ Littré, 'Dict. fran.', s. v.

¹³⁰ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 39.

¹³¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

the retention of the old form, and the second is the later form. *Nor-rir* ('Auc. et Nic.', xl. 32); *porrir* ('Car.', lxi. 5); *norríst* ('Mis.', cix. 12); *douter* ('Car.', xxxiii. 9); *doublement* ('Mis.', liii. 12). Before *r* the *ø* seems to have been always retained in the 'Reclus de Molliens', but in the 'Ch. du Verm.', it is found as *ou* (*u*) in this position: *demourer* (xxvi, 22); *accoustume* (xxii, 42); *bourgeois* (ii, 3). It appears to have passed first to *ou* (*u*) before a dental, as the form in *ø* is not found in this position in the 'Rec. de Moll.' In the pretonic the *ø* sometimes falls: COM+MANDARE > *kmãdi*; COM+INITIARE > *kmẽši*. No longer supported by the accent, this vowel degenerated in fullness, until it took the same sound as¹³² *ø*. From the sound of *ø*, it passed to that of *ø*, and then fell.¹³³ It has thus passed through the following stages: *ÿ* > *ÿ̃* > *ø* > *ø̃* > *ø̃̃*.

Supplement to the treatment of tonic *ø* in an open syllable.

In the patois there are a number of adjectives which offer difficulty in the treatment of their termination. These are :

MAS.	FEM.
<i>mälädjü</i>	<i>mälädjüz</i>
<i>krẽtjü</i>	<i>krẽtüz</i>
<i>näjü</i>	<i>näjüz</i>
<i>pusjü</i>	<i>pusjüz.</i>

Forms corresponding to these are found in the Wallonian: masc. *maladieu*,¹³⁴ fem. *maladüse*; *poussiu*¹³⁵ and *poussiex*, *maladieu*.¹³⁶

Corresponding forms are found also in O. Pic.: *antiu* ('Mis.', xxvii. 2); *hastiu* ('Car.', cx. 10); *lentiu* ('Car.', cx. 8); 'La Curne de Sainte-Palaye'¹³⁷ also gives two forms *antif* and *antiu* for the O. Fr. and *maladeux*, *maladieu*, and *maladieux*, *hastieu*, *hastif*. Joubert¹³⁸ gives *maladeux*, *hâteux*, but *crainti*, *poussi*. The form *poussieux* is cited by¹³⁹ Littré from the thirteenth century, and Burguy¹⁴⁰ gives the form *hastiu*.

In the modern French these forms end in *f* in the masc. and in *ve* in the fem.

The modern Wallonian form *maladieü*, and the old form *maladieu* (whether O. Fr., O. Pic. or O. Wall., is immaterial, as they all developed tonic *ø* in the same way) takes us back at once to a form from the termination—IOSUM. But if this had developed in the patois of Cachy according to the rule for tonic *ø libre* we should have had *mälädjõ*; whereas, it has given *mälädjü*. It has already been shown that, in the patois, DEUM gives *djü*, and the change from the old form *mälädjõ* to *mälädj i* has probably been brought about by a supposed connection in the popular mind between *djü* and the termination of the adjective, and, in accordance with this, changed form of the masc.,

132 Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23. 133 *Ibid.* p. 23. 134 Forir, 'Dict. Li'g-franc.', s. v.
 135 Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.', s. v. 136 Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall. de Mons.', s. v.
 137 'Dict. de l'ancien français,' s. v. 138 'Dict. du Centre de la France,' s. v.
 139 'Dict. franc.' s. v. 140 'Grammaire de la langue française,' s. v.

the fem. has been changed from the old form *mälädjöz*, to the form *mülädjüz*. After the analogy of these words, the other adjectives given in the above list have undergone a like change in the patois. While, therefore, in the Pic. and Wall. this termination has developed from an original termination—IOSUM, the modern French forms in —*if* (masc.) and *ive* (fem.) have developed from an original termination —IVUM, for the masc. and—*iva*, for the fem.

TREATMENT OF *ü*.

a. Tonic *ü* libre.

*RENDUTUM > *rĕdä^ü*; *VENUTUM > *vnä^ü*; *VENDUTUM > *vä^ü*; *POTUTUM > *pö*; *INTENDUTUM > *ĕtĕdä^ü*; NUDUM > *nö*; LUNAM > *lön*; MATURUM > *mör*; SECURUM > *sör*; PLUMAM > *plöm*. In past participles it becomes *ä^ü*, except in *POTUTUM, *MOVUTUM, *PLOVUTUM, *SAPUTUM where it becomes *pö, mö, plö, sö*. The Pic. forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were *pĕu, mĕu, plĕu, sĕu*. These forms developed in Pic. differently from the French development. In the latter they passed from *sĕu*, etc. to *seü*. In Pic. the accent remained on the first component, and, by contraction, it became so. MATURUM and SECURUM have developed to *mör* and *sör* in the same way as the past participles like *sö*, by the fall of the preceding intervocalic consonant.

In some parts of the Somme; namely in the Cantons of Villers-Bocage, Acheux and the northern parts of Corbie and Boves, the tonic *ü* in an open syllable is diphthongised to *ö*. For example, they say in this district *föm* (FUMO); *kĕfitör*; *kültör*; *lön*; *plöm*, etc. Owing to the close proximity of this district to Cachy, we find that the latter is, in the treatment of tonic *ü* in an open syllable, a mixed patois, and this accounts for such forms as *föm, lön* etc., *ö* from tonic *ü* in an open syllable is not found in the O. Pic. texts. This diphthongisation of *ü* to *ö* is common to the Wall., and the locality in which these forms are found in the Somme points to



the Wall. as the source of them. The following forms are Wall. : *leum* (Forir, 'Dict. Lièg. franc.,' s. v.); *leumer* (Vermesse, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.); *leumiere* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *leumerotte* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *leunette* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleume* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleumache* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleumer* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleume* (Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall. de Mons.,' s. v.

In Crinon the forms *pl^hme* (I. 24) and *femier* (I. ii. 35) are found, but these are probably inaccurate transcriptions, as the forms are neither justified by the Wall. nor by the patois in the neighborhood of Péronne.

b. Tonic *ü* *entrevé* remains *ü*, as in French :

JUSTUM > žüst; NULLAM > nül; BULLAM > bürł.

c. Tonic *ü* > yod :

FRUCTUM > früvi; CONDUCTET > kÿdÿvi; LUCET > lÿvi; DESTRUCTUM > dÿtrÿvi. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod. This had originally the sound¹⁴¹ *üi* (*ÿvi*). Two examples are found in the 'Rec. de Moll.' in which *ui* rhymes with *i*, although, in all other cases, it rhymes with¹⁴² *ui*. These two cases show that, at that time, (end of the twelfth century) *ui* was becoming a rising diphthongue in Picard. The rhyme *ui* : *i* is found in the Norman in the second quarter of the twelfth century : *ire* : *destruire* (Brut, 1355 8). For the French, the rhyme *ui* : *i* dates from the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴³

d. Pretonic *ü* gives *ü*.

DURANTEM > dÿrã; JUSTITIAM > žüstisš; HUMANUM > ðmÿ; MUNIRE > mÿnir. In the district already noted, and for the reason there assigned, this becomes *ö* in FUMARE > fÿmi; PLUARME > plÿmi; FUMANTEM > fÿmÿ.

e. *ü* + nasal + cons., or *ü* + nasa + lfinal vowel (except *a*).

DEFUNCTUM > dÿf^ñ; VERODUNUM > Verd^ñ; UNUM > ð^ñ. This becomes *æ*, as in French.

In all the poems written in assonance, *ü*, in this position, rhymes with *ü* before an oral consonant.¹⁴⁴ The statement made by Suchier¹⁴⁵ that all the vowels took the nasal sound at the same time, is incorrect so far as *ü* is concerned. Nasal *ü* was unknown to Palsgrave¹⁴⁶ (15 30), and Dubois states also that in *un* the *u* has the pure vowel sound.¹⁴⁷ It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that *u* had, in this position, the nasal sound¹⁴⁸ *ÿ*.

¹⁴¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

¹⁴² Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxx.

¹⁴³ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

¹⁴⁴ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 81.

¹⁴⁵ In Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 576.

¹⁴⁶ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième siècle en France,' p. 214.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

TREATMENT OF *au*.

a. Tonic *au* in an open syllable becomes *ɔ*.

CLAUDERE > *klɔr*; PAUPERUM > *pɔv*; AURUM > *ɔr*; *AUSSET > *ɔz*. For this *au*, *o* was found in a few of the Latin inscriptions before the time of Augustus. In Cato, Varro and Festus it is more common, and is nearly always found before *d, f, l, r*, and impure¹⁴⁹ *s*. The *au* sometimes also passed into *u* before *d, f* and¹⁵⁰ *s*. The following is the development of *au* to *ɔ* given by Lüicking:¹⁵¹ *au* > *ɔu* > *ɔɔ* > *ɔɔ̄*, > *ɔ* (= *ɔ*). There was first regressive assimilation of the *a* to the *u*, by which the former was changed to *ɔ*; then regressive assimilation of the *u* to the *ɔ*, by which the former was changed to *ɔ̄*, and later, to *ɔ*. That this was an open *o* is shown by the evidence of the other Romance Languages: cf. the Italian.¹⁵² In the Oaths, Eulalia, and Alexis this gives *ɔ*, but in the Leodegar we also find *au* (*Causa*, 35 a), and so also in the Passion.¹⁵³ In all the early texts distinctively Picard, this is found as *ɔ*, and rhymes with¹⁵⁴ *ɔ*.

b. Tonic *au* preceded by yod.

CAUSAM > *kɔz*; CAUDAM > *kö*. In this class of words the *au* must first have passed to *o*, and this *o* must have been treated in the same way as tonic *ɔ* in an open syllable and diphthongised to *ö*. It has already been shown at how early a period this change of *au* to *o* took place,—a period long before the diphthongisation of original *ɔ*. In all the early Pic. texts, however, this *o* is still maintained: *coses* ('Ch. du. Verm.,' xxxix. 11); *choses* (*ibid.*, vi. 22); *cose* ('Mis.,' lii. 3); *cose* ('Aniel', 121).

In Crinon this is found as *o*: *Cose* (Sat., vii. 7; v. 48); and so also in the *Franc-Pic.*, 1891. p. 207. In the 'Evan. s. St. Matt.', both forms are found: *keuz* (v. ii; v. 32); *koz* (v. 23); in the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' *coze* (42). As the form *eu* (*ö*) does not appear in any work previous to the present generation, it is impossible to show whether it has long existed in the patois alongside of the probably more frequent *cose*, or whether it is of recent origin.

c. Tonic or pretonic *au*+cons.+yod.

GAUDIA > *žul*; GAUDIOSUM > *žuljö*; *CAUSIIRE > *šulzir*; ABAUBIARE *abuži*. This *au* became *o* at an early period,¹⁵⁵ and is found as *o* in the same early texts as mentioned for tonic *au*, and as *au* for the same texts in which tonic *au* remains. In the early texts distinctively Picard, it is found as *o*. This *o* unites with a parasitic *i* developed by the yod to produce the diphthongue *öi*, which is found in rhyme with *ɔ* in the Alexis.¹⁵⁶ From the beginning of the thirteenth centu-

149 Lüicking, 'Mundarten,' p. 139.

151 Lüicking, 'Mundarten,' 140.

153 *Ibid.* p. 140.

156 Lüicking, 'Mundarten,' p. 141.

150 Corssen, 'Aussprache des Lat.,' i. 660.

152 Lüicking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

154 See 'Mis.,' Strophe ix.

155 Lüicking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

ry this *oi* is found in rhymes with *oi* from tonic *é libre*, and *oi* from *o* + parasitic¹⁵⁷ *i*. This is found as *oi* in the O. Pic. texts: *coisir* ('Mis.,' ccv. 5); *joie* ('Mis.,' cxxxi. 7, 'Auc. et Nic.,' i. 14.

d. Pretonic *au*.

PAUSARE > *pəzi*; LAUDARE > *lui*; GAUDARE > *žuir*; AUDIRE > *avoir*: AUSARE > *əzi*; ALAUDETTAM > *əluət*. This gave, in the early French monuments, *ə*, but, in the 'Jonas Frag.' the St. Leger and the 'Passion du Christ,' it remained *au*. It is found with *o* in the O. Pic. texts: ¹⁵⁸*loer* ('Car.,' xci. 11); *oser* ('Mis.,' ix. 5); *joir* ('Car.,' ccxvii. 2); *oir* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i. 1). This *o* was found in assonance and rhyme with *ə* from Latin *ə* in O. Fr.,¹⁵⁹ and in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' it generally rhymes only with *ə*, and very rarely with *ə*.¹⁶⁰ While pretonic *ə* from original *ə* has remained *ə* in the patois, pretonic *ə* from original *au* has been diphthongised to *u* except before *s*, where the *ə* is kept. In its treatment of this *au* the patois has developed exactly as the French.

In *avoir* there is no initial *a* in any Picard text examined. It is probably either the agglutination of the preposition *à* to the verb, and has arisen through the use of such expressions as, *J'é à uir*,¹⁶¹ etc., and hence, *J'vo avoir*, or is the agglutination of the third person singular, present indicative of the auxiliary *avoir*: *il a ui*, and hence: *il a au*. From Picard texts the writer finds no proof in confirmation of either theory.

THE FINAL NASAL SOUND *ə̃*.

This is a sound produced by only half closing the nasal passage in the pronunciation of French nasal *ə̃*. This sound is heard in the patois in the pronunciation of the final *i* and *ü* of all past-participles which in the old texts have these terminations, and also in the pronunciation of some other words which have been noted, from time to time, in the preceding pages.

All final *i*'s and *ü*'s, have not, however, this semi-nasal sound, and general rules for its use cannot be given.

The sound has been produced by a careless articulation of final *i* and *ü*. In the production of the pure vowels, *i* and *ü*, the muscles in the front part of the mouth are brought into action, whereas, in the production of the semi-nasal sound, there is only a slight tension of a few of the muscles between the mouth and the nasal cavity. The origin of this sound is, therefore, due to the law of least action.

There appears to be a corresponding nasal sound in similar cases, but of rare occurrence in the Burgundian dialect, which is denoted by the addition of a final inorganic *n* in the 'Noëls Bourguignons' of Bernard de lo Monnoye:—*venun* (p. 4); *nainin* (p. 6); *venun: Comun* (p. 16). In the first fifty pages of this work these are the only words in which this final inorganic nasal is found.

¹⁵⁷ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

¹⁵⁸ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

¹⁵⁹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 37.

¹⁶⁰ Van Hame, 'Rec. de Moll.,' ccxviii.

¹⁶¹ For similar agglutination, see Gröber's 'Grundriss,' t. 636.

THE CONSONANTS.

THE LABIALS.

a. As initials the labials remain unchanged :

BONMU > *bwǔ*; BLASPHEMARE > *blāmi*; POPULUM > *pöp*; PARABOLAM > *pārql*; VIDERE > *vir*; VIVERE > *viv*; FLOREM > *flör*; FIDEM > *fué*.

By the addition of the prosthetic *e*, however, these consonants may lose their initial place.

In the *patois* VENINOSUM has become *grimö*. This form is given by Corblet,¹⁶² but, in all the O. Fr. glossaries the word is given with an initial *v*. It has also preserved the initial *v* in the dialects surrounding the Picard: Norm., *vǔlimö*; Wall., *vilmö*. The writer is not aware of a like change of initial *v-n* to *gr* in any other word, and the change cannot possibly be a purely phonetic one. The change is probably due to a crossing, in the mind of the peasant, of the old form *venimö*, with *grimäš*. The *grimäš* caused by the tasting of what was *venimö* caused by a crossing between the word denoting the result and the word denoting the cause. Examples of similar crossing in French are :¹⁶³ *falloir, oreste, triers*.

In certain cases initial *f* is changed to *b* :

1. In the first and second person plural of the present indicative of FACERE : *bzö, bzi*.

2. In the whole of the imperfect indicative of the same verb : *bzué, bzui, bzui, bzuem, bzuët, bzuët*.

3. In the first and second plural of the present subjunctive of the same verb : *bzöš, bzéš*.

4. In the present participle : *bzā*.

5. FACTATOREM > *bzö*.

An example of this change is found in Paillard's 'Letters Picardes':¹⁶⁴ *n'eiñ bezoait que rire*. This transformation is not found in Crinon, nor in the 'Célèbre Mariage'; but it occurs in the 'Evangile selon St. Matt.': *Bzé donk pénitins konn i feü, (iii. 8)*. It appears that initial *f* is changed to *b* only when it is followed by *z*.

b. *bb, pp, ff* are reduced to the single labials *b, p, f* :

ABBATEM > *abbé*; SABBATI+DIEM > *sāmdi*; CAPPONEM > *kāpö*; CAPPELLAM > *kāpəl*.

¹⁶² 'Glossaire,' s. v.

¹⁶³ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 629.

¹⁶⁴ Cited by Corblet, 'Glossaire,' p. 78.

c. Intervocalic *b* becomes the voiced labial *v* as in French :

DEBERE > *dvuér*; HIBERNUM > *ivér*; CABALLUM > *gvq*. So also in O. Pic. *deves* ('Auc. et Nic.', x, 41); *ceval* (*ibid.*, ii, 5).

In GIBACARIAM the intervocalic *b* becomes *p*, while, in French, it remains. In Cachy it becomes *šipesjer*.

In GABELINUM the *b* is changed to the voiced velar *g* in Cachy, *goglĕ*. A similar change is found in the name of a village seven kilometers north-east of Corbie, where *Ribemont* is pronounced by the peasants, *Rigmũ*.

d. *b* before *r* becomes the voiced labial *v* :

LIBRUM > *liv*; LABRUM > *lev*; PIPEREM > *pučv*; LIBERARE > *livri*. This change had already taken place in the O. Pic. *livrer* ('Mis.', clxxxv. 7); *livre* ('Auc. et Nic.', xl, 22).

e. *b* falls before a dental, as in French.

CUBITUM > *čot*; DUBITARE > *duti*; OBSCURUM > *qskür*; ABSTENIRE > *ústuir*; OBSTINATUM > *qstiné*; GALBINUM > *gàn*, and its derivative *ganir*. Previous to the sixteenth century the *b* had fallen before *s* also in French, but was restored¹⁶⁵ both in spelling and pronunciation through the learned influences of that time. The patois has kept the older sound, and the learned influence does not appear in it.

f. *b* after *m* falls.

GAMBAM > *gám*; and its derivative *agámi*; UMBRAM > *qm*; TOMBARE > *tömi*. The *b* was retained in this case in O. Pic. : *ombre* ('Auc. et Nic.', xii, 32); *ganbe* (*ibid.*, ii, 11).

g. *b*¹⁶⁶+yod becomes the voiceless guttural *ž*.

RUBECUM > *ruz*; RABIEUM > *ráž*; CAVEAM < *káz*; TIBIAM > *tiž*.

h. In the patois no *b* was inserted between the Latin combination *l-m*.

SIMULARE > *sáni*; IN+SIMUL > *šsĕ*. "Et vo feré *sianan*, qu' o' ne m'avé touquié ('Suite du Cél Mar.', 40); "Tu n' *tranes* pouant peindant deux jours el fiève" Crinon, ('Sat.', ii, 42).

The non-insertion of this *b* is the general rule in O. Pic. texts,¹⁶⁷ although examples are found, no doubt due to the dialects of the Ile-de-France, and Normandy, in which it is interpolated : *asanlent* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxi, 1); *ensanble* (*ibid.*, xiv, 23); *ensanle*, ('Mis.', cxxii, 7); *sanler* (*ibid.*, ccix, 10); *sanlanche* ('Car.', xli, 2); *ensanle* ('Chev. as devs spees', 678).

i. The final Latin combination *b+vowel+l*.

The result of this combination varied in the O. Pic. texts. For the

¹⁶⁵ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 222.

¹⁶⁶ For full treatment of this sound, see Labials+yod.

¹⁶⁷ "Die Hülfs-laute d und b, welche im Norm. und Fran. zwischen gewissen Consonantengruppen (l-r, n-r, m-l) zu entstehen pflegen, fehlen im Pic. Suchier, ('Auc. et Nic.', p. 58).

'Aniel' Tobler thinks the *u* of the MS. had the value *v*, and placed this in his text: *Caritavles* ('Aniel', 63); *veritavles* (*ibid.*, 64); *dompnaules* (*ibid.*, 322). In 'Auc. et Nic.' and the 'Recl. de Moll.' it is found as *b*: *cantefable* ('Auc. et Nic.', xli. 24); *estable* (*ibid.*, xx. 28); *esperitable* (*ibid.*, xxxvii. 14); *amiable* ('Car.', cxxvii. 1); *amirable* (*ibid.*, cxxvii. 2). In the 'Chartes du Vermandois' it is found as *u*: *paiules* (xxii. 42); *taiulle* (xxxvii. 20). Tobler thinks¹⁶⁸ this *u* had the sound of *v* for all O. Pic. texts, and in this view he is supported by Neumann.¹⁶⁹ In the 'Chartes du Ponthieu', Raynaud finds *u* also, and pronounces it *v*, and is supported by G. Paris,¹⁷⁰ who says this is a case in which a careful comparison with the present patois would be of great use. In the present patois of Cachy, *b*+vowel+*l* gives two results: *b* and *v*. The pronunciation of the older people is always *tāv* (TABULAM), but the French has encroached extensively, and the younger people pronounce it *tāb*. It is evident from this that, at no very remote period, the pronunciation of this termination was always *v*. In the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' (629) the rhyme *tave*: *rave* is found. These words are also written with a *v* in Crinon: *tave* (I, ii. 17); *rave* (I, ii. 18). This *b* does not become *u* in any part of the Somme. The evidence of the modern patois seems, therefore, so far as the Somme is concerned, to confirm the opinion of Tobler, Neumann, Raynaud and G. Paris, that the *u* of the O. Pic. MSS. had the sound of *v*.

TREATMENT OF *p*.

a. Initial *p* before a consonant remains, as in O. Pic.

PLACERE > *plēzi*; PROBARE > *pruvi*; PREHENDERE > *prē*. From the word *petif*, which existed in O. Pic., the form *ptjot* was formed in modern Pic.¹⁷¹ at a time when the *ə* between the consonants had not yet fallen. When this *ə* fell it became *ptjot*, but, as *p* before *t* always falls in the patois of Cachy, as in French,¹⁷² this has become *tjot* in the patois of to-day. The sound *ptjot* is still heard in the patois of Villers-Bretonneux.

b. Intervocalic *p* becomes the voiced labial *v*, as in French.

SAPERE > *sāvūr*; RIPAM > *riv*; APERTUM > *uvēr*. So also in O. Pic.: *savons* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxxix. 23); *rive* (*ibid.*, xxviii. 5); *coverra* ('Mis.', xxxviii. 7); *covert* (*ibid.*, xcv. 7); *savoir* ('Aniel', 1).

In the 'Mis.', however, the form *dessaboure* occurs, rhyming with *laboure* (clix. 1). The form with *b* is an archaism. In order that *p* should become *v* it was necessary for it to pass through the intermediate stage *b*, and this form shows that stage.

c. *p* before *r* becomes the voiced labial *v*, as in French.

PIPEREM > *pūvū*; SEPERARE > *sgvri*; CO+OPERIRE > *kuvrir*. This

¹⁶⁸ 'Aniel', xxxii. ¹⁶⁹ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', p. 110. ¹⁷⁰ *Romania*, vi. 617.
¹⁷¹ Corblet, 'Glossaire', s. v. ¹⁷² Schwan, 'Grammatik', p. 45.

change had already taken place before the time of the O. Pic. texts: *seurer* ('Mis.,' clxxxv. 6); *covert* (*ibid.*, xc. 7).

d. *p* before a dental is assimilated to the dental, as in French, and then a reduction to a single dental takes place.

ACCAPITARE > *âkâti*; RUPTAM > *rut*; TEPIDUM > *tjêd*. The combination has developed in the following way: *pt* (or *pd*) > *bt* > *tt* > *t*.

e. Final *p* after a liquid falls, as in French.

CAMPUM > *kâ*; COLPUM > *kö*; CORPUS > *kgr*. The *p* is found in O. Pic.: *canp* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxvi. 22); *coup* ('Mis.,' cv. 2), except in CORPUS where it fell before the dental *s*: *cors* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii. 11). Till the sixteenth century this final *p* was still pronounced in French, but, from that time, the tendency began to unite the terminations *-ap*, *-op*, *-ep*, *-oup*, *-amp*, in rhyme with the terminations *-at*, *-a*, *-é*, *-et*, *-ot*, *-out*, *-ant*.¹⁷³

TREATMENT OF *v*.

a. Intervocalic *v* remains, as in French.

VIVAT > *viv*; LEVAT > *jöv*; LEVARE > *lvi*; DEVENIRE > *dvnir*. O. Pic.: *devinreut* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxxiv. 16); *lver* (*ibid.*, ii. 30); *vivier* ('Car.,' civ. 7); *viveche* (*ibid.*, cxii. 4). In certain cases it falls, as in French: VIVENDA > *vjün*. Here it has disappeared through dissimilation. In this word it had already fallen in O. Pic.: *viaude* ('Mis.,' xx. 10). In *pör*, which G. Paris¹⁷⁴ derives from PAVOREM, the dental labial *v* was assimilated to the labial vowel on each side of it, and became the labial vowel *ü*. This *ü* was afterwards fused with the following *o*.¹⁷⁵

In PAVONEM, which has become *pā*, a similar change has taken place: PAVONEM > *pauon* > *paon* > *pā*. CHARIVARIUM, or, according to some, CHALYBARIUM has given *kâribâri* in the patois.

Littré (s. v.) says the word is unknown in O. Fr. before the fourteenth century, and all the examples given by him after that time have a *v*: *chalivari*, or *charivari*. Scheler¹⁷⁶ gives for the O. Fr. *caribari* and *chalivali*. The forms *chalivari* and *charivari* might come from either of the Latin types given above. The form *kâribâri* would indicate that it is a word of learned origin from a type CHALYBARIUM. It may be that the original form in French was *charibari*, and that the termination *-bâri* has been changed to *-vari* after the analogy of other popular expressions denoting noise, such as: *haurvari*, *boulevari*, and that the original form has been kept in the patois of Cachy. But the insufficient material given in the glossaries renders it impossible to say what the original form was.

b. Final *v*.

OVUM > *ü*; BOVEM > *bü*; NOVUM > *nü*; NERVUM > *nerf*; SERVUM > *serf*. After a diphthongue it falls, and in other cases becomes the

¹⁷³ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franç.,' ii. 21.

¹⁷⁴ Romania, x, 46.

¹⁷⁵ G. Paris, *ibid.*, x. 46.

¹⁷⁶ 'Dict. Etym.,' s. v.

voiceless labial *f*. After a diphthongue it became mute about the middle of the twelfth century,¹⁷⁷ but it still continued to be written in all the texts: *buef* ('Auc. et Nic.,' x, 7; xxii, 17); *nuef* ('Car.,' cxlvi, 4); before the *s* of the nominative case, however, it was dropped in all cases.

In O. Pic., as in O. Fr., all final voiced consonants became voiceless.

c. Words of Germanic origin which had an initial *w* in German.

Gothic, WASTJAN > *wàti*; M.H.G., WASTEL > *wàtjō*; O. H. G., WARTĒN > *wàrdi*; O.H.G., WĀG > *wāg*. The process of bi-lingual crossing has taken place in these words. The initial part of these words is not taken from the latinised form of the Germanic original but the Germanic original is kept, and the rest of the word comes from a latinised base. The same has taken place in these words in French,¹⁷⁸ but, while the Picard has kept the Germanic *w*, the French has changed it in accordance with French phonetic laws.

This initial *w* is found in the 'Chartes du Verm.': *wage* (xxvi, 5); *warandise* (ii, 19); *werpie* (iii, 9); *werpirent* (viii, 5); *williame* (xxxix, 5). In the Wallonian these words have been treated in the same way as in Pic.: *water*, *watiau*, *warder*,¹⁷⁹ *wach*, *wafre*, *wageur*, *wardé*¹⁸⁰ *r'weri*, *wazō*.¹⁸¹

In Cachy, O.H.G. *wat* has given *gé*. In this case the French word has been adopted into the patois. In the patois there are two words in which the initial *w* is not due to German influence, but comes from initial *vu* of the O. Pic. These are *wid* and *widi*, which, in O. Pic. were *vuit* ('Car.,' x, 4); and *vuidier* ('Car.,' clxxxvi, 2). These forms were derived by Storm¹⁸² directly from VIDUUS, and VIDUARE. But, besides the difficulty arising from the change of meaning, the intervocalic *d* would fall. For these reasons Schuchardt¹⁸³ does not accept Storm's originals and gives the bases as *VOCĪTUM and VOCĪTARE, from older forms *VACĪTUS, *VACUITUM, *VACITARE > VACUITARE. Thomsen¹⁸⁴ also considers these forms as the originals, and, later, Flechia¹⁸⁵ came to the same conclusion independent of either of his predecessors. Accepting these as the bases, the present form of Cachy is derived in the following way: VOCĪTUM > VŌCTUM > *vŏictu* > *vŏitu* > VUOIDU > *vuid* > *wid*.

In Cachy the Gothic *balwawēsei*¹⁸⁶ has become *mawé*. According to Diez¹⁸⁷ this has developed as follows: The corresponding adjective must have been *balwawesi* > *balvesi* > *balvais*, and by the change of *b* to *m* through crossing with MALE.—*malvais*. Then a parasitic *u* was

177 Grüber in *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, ii, 461.

178 Suchier, in Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 630.

179 Vermesse, 'Dict. du pat. Wall.,' s. v.

180 Forir, 'Dict. Lièg-fran.,' s. v.

181 Horning, *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, ix, 494.

182 Romania, ii, 327.

183 *Ibid.*, iv, 256.

184 *Ibid.*, iv, 257 et seq.

185 *Archivio Glott. Ital.*, iv, p. 370.

186 I give the original suggested by Diez, as the question still remains *in statu quo*, this origin neither being accepted nor replaced by a better suggestion.

187 'Wörterbuch,' s. v.

188 Romania, iii, 384.

developed before the *l*, after which the *l* fell, giving *mauvais*,—the form in French. Thus far the Cachy form developed in the same way. Before the *u* united with the *a* to form the sound *o* the *v* was assimilated to the *u*, giving *mauvé* > *màwé*.

TREATMENT OF *f*.

a. Intervocalic *f* remains, as in French.

DEFENDERE > *děfĕd*; ELEPHANTEM > *éłéřá*. O. Pic.: *defendre* ('Mis.', vi, 1; clii, 12); *defier* ('Car.', clxxxvi, 5).

b. *f* after *n* and *r* remains, as in French.

INFANTEM > *ĕřá*; INFERNUM > *ĕřer*; INFIRMUM > *ĕřerm*; PERFECTUM > *parřui*. O. Pic.: *enfant* ('Auc. et Nic.', xi, 2); *enferm* ('Car.', lxxv, 6); *parřit* (*ibid.*, cciv, 11); *parřait* (*ibid.*, lvii, 12).

THE DENTALS.

a. As initials the dentals remain unchanged.

DENTEM > *dĕ*; DIGITUM > *đui*; DONNARE > *đoni*; TERRAM > *ter*; TELAM > *tuél*; TARDARE > *tárdi*. In TREMERE the initial compound *tr* has been changed to *kr*, as in French.

G. Paris remarks¹⁸⁸ that changes similar to this take place in other languages,—the Catalan and Provençal,—in which the forms *paire* and *maire* cannot come from PATREM, MATREM, but must come from later forms *PACREM, MACREM. He omits to note, however, that in Provençal, TREMERE does not change the *t* to *c*, but has *tremir*. How the change has taken place is still unexplained.

b. Intervocalic *d* falls as in Fr.

FIDARE > *fji*; NODARE > *nöi*; VEDERE > *vir*; LAUDARE > *lui*. The voiced dental first becomes *t*, and, in the first half of the twelfth century this sound was gradually lost.¹⁸⁹ It had fallen in Pic. before the time of the 'Reclus de Molliens' (1180+), for, in this work, Van Hamel finds it kept only in one case—*sudor* ('Car.', ccxxxviii, 10), beside *suour* (*ibid.*, lxxx, 8). He considers the first of these a word of learned origin.¹⁹⁰ In later Picard texts it has fallen.

c. Final *d* falls as in French.

NUDUM > *nö*; PEDEM > *pji*; CAUDAM > *čö*; CADET > *čé*. Before falling, the voiced dental first became the voiceless dental *t*, and this fell

¹⁸⁹ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 58r.

¹⁹⁰ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxxxix.

about the same time as the original¹⁹¹ *t*.¹⁹² It fell at the same time as intervocalic *d*, in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁹³

d. Intervocalic *dr*.

CREDERE > *kruêr*; CLUDERE > *klgr*; VIDERE > *vir*; RIDERE > *rir*; ADRETRO > *ârjer*. The dental was assimilated to the *r*, giving *rr*.¹⁹⁴ In the patois, in all cases, the two *r*'s have coalesced in sound, and have become *r*.

In the 'Alexis' the writing varies between *r* and *rr*, except for the future tense where *rr* is invariable except in *rire*.¹⁹⁵ In the O. Pic. texts the same is the result, in the future the *rr* is kept: *verrés* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi, 42); *verrioe* (*ibid.*, xiv, 10); *verra* (*ibid.*, iv, 16); *kerrai* ('Car.', cxxix, 9); while, in the other cases the writing varies between *r* and *rr*: *arrier* ('Mis.', clxxii, 11); *deriere* ('Auc. et Nic.', xii, 16); *desirer* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxxix, 36); *enclorre* (*ibid.*, xii, 25); *virent* ('Aniel', 211).

e. In the patois of Cachy, *d* is not interpolated between *l* and *r* and *n* and *r*.

VENERIS+DIEM > *vèrdi*; MOLERE > *möl*; TENERUM > *ter*; TENERE+HABEO > *taré*; VENIRE+HABEO > *väré*; VALERE+HABEO > *vgré*. This is characteristic also of the O. Pic., and distinguishes it from the Norman and French.¹⁹⁶ *Vauroit* ('Auc. et Nic.', i, 1); *vourriés* (*ibid.*, xxxii, 5); *vauroit* (*ibid.*, xxxiii, 10); *vauront* ('Ch. du Verm.', xxii, 41); *teuront* (*ibid.*, xvi, 16); *terroit* (*ibid.*, xxxix, 14); *tenre* ('Mis.', cxxxiv, 9).

f. *d* before consonants is assimilated to the consonant as in French, and then falls.

AD+PORTARE > *âporti*; AD+CAPTARE > *âkâti*; ADVENIRE > *âvnir*. The assimilated element had already fallen in O. Pic.: *avenir* ('Car.', xlvii, 2); *acater* (*ibid.*, ccxxx, 3); *aventure* ('Auc. et Nic.', xx, 24); *aval* (*ibid.*, xii, 18).

g. Final *d* after *n* falls.

PREHENDERE > *prên*; MUNDUM > *mũ*; FUNDUM > *fũ*. This *d* is still kept in O. Pic. texts, but, when final, it became *t*: *prent* ('Auc. et Nic.', ix, 11); *prendre* (*ibid.*, ix, 10); *mont* (*ibid.*, vi, 9); *monde* (*ibid.*, xxii, 31); *fondre* ('Car.', clxxxv, 5).

h. *d* after *r* is kept, as in French.

TARDARE > *târdi*; PER+DONARE > *pardgni*; O.H.G. *wartên* > *wârdi*. O. Pic.: *border* ('Auc. et Nic.', vii, 15); *corde* (*ibid.*, xii, 14); *tarder* ('Car.', cliii, 2); *garder* ('Mis.', lxxviii, 1).

¹⁹¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 46.

¹⁹² See treatment of original final *f*.

¹⁹³ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 581.

¹⁹⁴ Cornu, *Romania*, vii, 367.

¹⁹⁵ Cornu, *Romania*, vii, 367.

¹⁹⁶ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 58.

In the case of PERDICEM > *përtri*, the *d* has become the voiceless *t*. The same change has also taken place in Wallonian—*piètro*, *piètro*.¹⁹⁷ The form *përtrix* is cited by Littré¹⁹⁸ from the French of the thirteenth century. This change from *d* to *t* had, therefore, taken place at a time when final *r* in the cluster *rtr* was still sounded, and the change is due to the analogy of other words ending in *rtr*; for example, O. Pic. *meurtre*, or in *tr*, a combination much more common than *dr*.

TREATMENT OF *t*.

a. Intervocalic *t* falls, as in French.

AMATUM > *émé*; ROTAM > *rö*; ROTUNDUM > *rÿ*; CANTATA > *kâtê*. This *t* first became *d*, then *ð*—the sound it had at the time of the “Alexis”—and then fell at the same time as original intervocalic *d*,—in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁹⁹ This had fallen in all cases before the ‘Reclus de Moll.’ (1180+): *jourées*, *desaornées*, *raornées*, *ratornées* (‘Car.,’ v.); *roond* (‘Mis.,’ cclx. 9); *entrée* (‘Car.,’ vi. 10).

b. Final *t* falls, as in French.

NATUM > *né*; AMAT > *ém*; MARITUM > *màri*; PERDUTUM > *pèrdê*. Final *t* fell in French in the first half of the twelfth century,²⁰⁰ and in Norman at the same time.²⁰¹ In Picard, as well as in Wallonian and Lorraine, it was retained later than this, especially after *u*.²⁰² In ‘Auc. et Nic.’ it is still preserved in *jut* (xiv. 6), although it has fallen in *entendu* (vi. 1), and *perdu* (xxiv. 39). In the ‘Char. du Verm.’ (1200–1250) final *t* is in a state of transition. After a consonant it is beginning to fall.²⁰³ It is still kept between original vowels in the endings *-et*, *-iet*, *-it*, *-ait*, *-ut*.²⁰⁴ In the ‘Aniel’ (about 1291) the final *t* is still kept after a tonic vowel.²⁰⁵ Final *t* was, therefore, preserved in Picard till the end of the thirteenth century—a century and a half later than in Norman and French. It fell first in Picard after a tonic vowel, and was kept longest after a tonic vowel. In AMAT it had fallen in the ‘Rec de Moll.’; *aime* (‘Car.,’ iii. 9); but we find *dechut* in ‘Aniel’ (234).

The French words of learned origin *gastrite* (GASTRITUM) and *nitrate* (NITRATUM) have been introduced into the patois, but the termination *te* has been changed to *k*—*gàstrik*, *nitrik*, after the analogy of the adjectives ending in *k*; for example, *kpmik*, etc.

In the patois SITIM has followed the same course as other words

197 Forir, ‘Dict Lièg.-fran.,’ s. v. 198 ‘Dict. Fran.,’ s. v.

199 Suchier in Grober’s ‘Grundriss’, i. 587. 200 *Ibid.*

201 Suchier, ‘Reimpredigt’, xix. 202 Suchier, ‘Auc. et Nic.,’ 58.

203 Neumann, ‘Laut- und Flexionslehre’, p. 102,

204 Neumann, ‘Laut- und Flexionslehre’, 103, 205 Tobler, ‘Aniel’, xxv.

with final *t*, and has become *sui*. The *t* had already fallen at the time of the 'Rec. de Moll.': *soi* ('Car.,' xcii, 10; 'Mis.,' cxxxiii, 4).

c. *t* after consonants remains, as in French.

RUPTAM > *rut*; PARTIRE > *pärtir*; PORTAM > *pört*; DICTAM > *dit*; CANTARE > *käti*. O. Pic.: *paistre* ('Aniel', 20); *droiture* (*ibid.*, 31); *parte* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii. 4); *parter* (*ibid.*, x. 11); *planter* (*ibid.*, xiv. 22); *tainture* ('Mis.,' lxxxvii. 10).

While in O. Fr. *t* followed by flexional *s* was always indicated by *z*, this transcription is not found in O. Pic.²⁰⁶ In 'Auc. et Nic.' the letter *z* does not occur, and *ts* is always indicated by *s*: *partés* (x. 53); *sergens* (ii. 5); *biautés* (iii. 16) etc.

The majority of rhymes in the 'Chev. as ii. Esp.' show a separation between *s* and *z*.²⁰⁷ In the 'Aniel' *z* is not found, and, although in the 'Char. du Verm.' *ts* is generally represented by *s*, *z* is occasionally found; *aveziz* (xl. 6); *deleiz* (v. 28). But in this work *z* has the value of voiced *s*, as is shown by the transcriptions *couzines* (xlv. 19); *coze* (xlii. 8); *devisée* (v. 29); *mize* (v. 58).

THE SIBILANTS.

S.

a. Initial *s* remains, as in French.

SAPERE > *sävüér*; SANUM > *sě*; SOLUM > *söl*; SECURUM > *sör*.

*SUCTIARE has become *šüši*. Although the writer does not find the word in any O. Pic. text, the form must have been, following the analogy of other similar words, *suchier*. The change of the initial *s* to *š* is due to the assimilating influence of the *š* of the second syllable on the first. A similar influence has taken place in the French *chercher*.

*SORICIAM has given *šörš*. The second *š* has had an assimilating influence on the first in the same way as in *šüši*.

*SORICARE > *šörki*. The initial *s* has been changed to *š* from analogy with *šörš*. Initial *sp*, *st* and *sc* are treated as in French: STELAM > *étuél*; SPINAM > *épin*; SCUTUM > *ékü*. The earliest example of this *s* is *spede*, ('Eul.,' 22) in which the prosthetic *e* had not yet developed. By the time of the "Alexis," however, it had developed both after a vowel and consonant. Suchier²⁰⁸ says this *e* developed from the passage of the *s* into the next syllable, and that it had originally the sound of *i*, or a sound near *i*. In the O. Pic. texts this prosthetic *e* is always found: *escole* ('Mis.,' xxviii. 1); *escrire* (*ibid.*, ccxxvi. 5); *esperer* ('Car.,' xxx. 5); *estelee* ('Ch. du Verm.,' iv. 10); *estoile* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxiv. 87). In the development of this prosthetic *e* the

²⁰⁶ Förster, 'Chev. as ii Esp.,' liii.

²⁰⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as ii Esp.,' liii.

²⁰⁸ Gröber's 'Grundriss', i. 579.

patois of Cachy has gone further than the French, for it has developed it in (*estatê*²⁰⁹ (statua)—a word of late introduction into the language. This prosthetic vowel has fallen in some parts of the Wallonian and Lorraine bordering on German territory.²⁰⁹

b. Intervocalic *s* remains voiced, as in French.

PAUSARE > *pøzi*; MISAM > *miz*; CAUSAM > *köz*. O. Pic.: *poser* ('Car.,' xcviij. 2); *present* ('Mis.,' cx. 8); *devise* ('Auc. et Nic.,' v. 3); *mise* (*ibid.*, v. 1). In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' however, this sound is sometimes represented by *z*: *coze* (xlii. 8); *mize* (v. 58; *roze* (xxvi. 3).

c. Final *s* falls, as in French.

MISUM > *mæ̃*²¹⁰; RISUM > *ri*; SPONSUM > *épu*.

In the sixteenth century final *s* was always pronounced before a vowel or before a pause. For its pronunciation in other cases, Palsgrave²¹⁰ gives the following rules:

1. When a word ends in two consonants, of which the first is neither *m*, *n* nor *r*, the first consonant is mute and the second is pronounced: *coups*, *loups* are pronounced *kuz*, *luz*.

2. When a word ends in three consonants, of which the first is *m*, *n* or *r*, the second is mute, and the first and last are pronounced: *bastards*, *corps* are pronounced *bästürz*, *kørz*.

3. When a word ends in three consonants, of which the first is neither *m*, *n* nor *r*, the first two are mute, and the last is pronounced: *faictz* is pronounced *fèz*.

From the commencement of the seventeenth century final *s* was mute after *c*, *f*, *l*, *r*.²¹¹ There are some words, however, in which final *s* had fallen much earlier. Darmesteter²¹² finds that in the two Hebrew-French MSS. of the Vatican, of the end of the thirteenth century, final *s* had fallen in *les*, *ces*, *tres*, and also in *sans*, *veis*, *nos*.

d. *s* before a consonant falls, as in French.

VESTIRE > *vøtir*; GUSTARE > *guti*; CASTELLUM > *kätjö*; BESTIA > *bët*.

The fall of this *s* began in the twelfth century.²¹³ There are already cases in the 'Oxford Psalter' in which this *s* is mute,²¹⁴ and Förster thinks it first fell before *l* and *n*, but in other combinations continued to be pronounced till later than this work. In the 'Rec. de Moll.' *s* before a consonant is beginning to disappear. It has become mute before *m* in the termination *-isme*.²¹⁵ In this work *s* is generally pronounced before *t*. Beside strophes in *-oist* ('Mis.,' lxxiii) there are some in *-ait*. The terminations *-este*, *-estes*, *-ete* *-etes*, *-oust* *-ouste*, *-out*, *-oule* are found. The 'Car.,' has two strophes in *-ist*, and three in

²⁰⁹ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss', i. 579.

²¹⁰ 'Eclaircissement de la lang. fran.' pp. 24-25.

²¹¹ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franc.,' ii. 66.

²¹² *Romania*, iii. 473.

²¹³ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 586.

²¹⁴ Förster, 'Chev. as ii. Esp.,' li.

²¹⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxliii.

-it. The 'Miserere' has six strophes in *-ist*, and ten in *-it*. There is thus a beginning of the suppression of *s* before *m*, before *t*, in the accented syllable after *i*, in the atonic syllable after *ε*.²¹⁶ In the 'Chev. as ii Esp.' *s* is mute before a consonant.²¹⁷ Neumann thinks it became mute somewhat later in Pic. than in the Norman texts from which Förster draws his conclusions, but thinks it was mute in th 'Ch. du Verm.' of the first half of the thirteenth century, although it was still written. A strong proof of this is that he finds it interpolated where it has no etymological justification.²¹⁸

In the Hebrew-French MSS. of the Vatican of the end of the thirteenth century, *s* has fallen everywhere before a consonant.²¹⁹ REPLICARE has become *respliki* in the patois, and the noun is *resplik*. In both these words the *s* has been inserted from analogy with words of learned origin in which *s* before a consonant is kept, namely, *respiri*, etc. RHEUMATISMUM > *rümàtik*. The termination has been changed after the analogy of the names of other diseases ending in *ik*, namely, *gàstrik*, *kòlik*.

e. *Vowel+ss+vowel*. This combination gives voiceless *s* as in French.

MISSAM > *mēs*; PASSARE > *pəsi*; MASSAM > *màs*. In O. Pic. the *ss* is found: *masse* ('Car.,' lxx, 6); *message* (*ibid.*, lix, 3); *messoner* ('Car.,' cxxxi, 6); *messe* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxix, 11); *passer* (*ibid.*, xi, 22).

f. *z* is treated in the same way as in French.

ZELOSUM > *žàlu*.

THE NASALS.

N.

a. Initial *n* remains, as in French.

NASUM > *nì*; NOMEN > *nǫ*; NUDUM > *nö*. In NOMINARE > *lǫmì*, the initial *n* has become *l*. So also in NUMERUM > *lüméro*. The same change has taken place in Wallonian: *Loumè*,²²⁰ *Loummer*.²²¹ The change of *l* to *n* is seen in French in *niveau*. Here the change is due to dissimilation, the *l* being changed to *n* before the fall of the final *l*. The change of *n* to *l* in the interior of the word occurs in French *gonfalon*, and *orphelin*. Jovancoux²²² says the change of *n* to *l* in the words *lǫmì*, and *lüméro* is very old, and cites from a text of the thirteenth century: "et les ii autres gestes droi ag lommer m'orés"—'Trouvères du Nord.'

In CACHY SCHOLAM NORMALEM has become *ékòl lǫrmàl*. The

²¹⁶ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxliii.

²¹⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as ii, Esp.,' ll.

²¹⁸ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 105.

²¹⁹ Darmesteter, *Romania*, iii, 473.

²²⁰ Forir, 'Dict. Liég-Fran.,' s. v.

²²¹ Sigart, *Dict. du Wall.*, s. v.

²²² 'Glossaire', s. v.

change here is brought about about by assimilation of the *n* to the preceding *l*. It is probable that the change of *n* to *l* in the two words *lomi* and *lüméro* has been brought about in a similar manner—by the frequent occurrence of a word ending in *l* before these words.

b. Intervocalic *n* remains as in French.

MINARE > *mni*; SANAM > *sgn*; VENIRE > *vnir*; PLENAM > *plen*. O. Pic.: *demaine* ('Car.', cxxii, 5); *denier* (*ibid.*, lxxxvi, 6); *tenir* ('Car.', cxxxii, 1); *plenier* ('Auc. et Nic.', viii, 9). In ORPHENINUM > *orfalē*, the *n* is changed to *l* through the principle of dissimilation, as in French.

c. *n* before *r*.

TENERUM > *tēr*; VENIRE + HABEO > *vàré*; TENERE + HABEO > *tàré*; MINARE + HABEO > *màré*; AD + MINARE + HABEO > *àmàré*. The *n* is assimilated to the *r* giving two *r*'s which coalesce into the sound *r*.

Neumann cites a case from the 'Ch. du Verm.' in which this assimilation had taken place: *terroit* (xxxix, 14). So also in the 'Rec. de Moll.' *terrai* ('Car.', cxlix, 12); but generally the assimilation had not taken place: *tenront* ('Ch. du Verm.', xvi, 16); *tenrout* (*ibid.*, xlii, 7); *tenroit* (xxi, 9); *tenroient* (*ibid.*, xxii, 26); *vinreut* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxvii, 17); *tenre* ('Car.', xlvi, 4). When the *r* is final it drops before assimilation takes place: CINEREM > *šen*; PONERE > *pou*. One of the characteristics of the Pic. is that *d* was not interpolated between *n* and *r*:²²³ *tenre* ('Mis.', cxxxiv, 9); *tenrai* ('Auc. et Nic.', x, 55); *venrai* ('Chev. as II Esp.', 7406); *venrons* (*ibid.*, 3978), and examples just given from the 'Char. du Verm.' Rarely the *d* is found under the influence of the dialect of the Ile de France: *chendre* ('Mis.', vi, 9).

d. Final *n* after *r* falls, as in French.

INFERNUM > *ēfer*; DIURNUM > *žur*; HIKERNUM > *iver*. In the 'Brandan' and the 'Confictus Corporis et Animae' this *n* is still retained,²²⁴ and in the 'Reimpredigt' there is only one case where it has fallen (*for*: *honor*, 58). It had, however, fallen in all cases before the end of the century, and does not appear in the 'Rec. de Moll.': *jour*. ('Car.', xi, 9).

e. *n* before a labial remains.

INVOLARE > *ēbli*; INFERNUM > *ēfer*. O. Pic.: *Enbler* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi. 10; xx, 27); *embler* ('Car.', cx, 9); *enferm* ('Car.', lxxv, 6). At the time of the 'Rec. de Moll.' the pronunciation of *m* and *n* was the same after a nasal vowel.²²⁵ Hence *embler* is the same in sound as *enbler*.

f. The group *m'n* intervocalic.

DAMNATICUM > *domaž*; FEMINAM > *fem*; DOMINAM > *dām*; SEMI-

²²³ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', 58.

²²⁴ Suchier, 'Reimpredigt', xxiv.

²²⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxlii.

NARE>*smi*. The *n* has been assimilated to the *m* giving *mm*=*m* in sound. This assimilation had taken place by the end of the twelfth century; for, in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' we find *fame* ('Car.,' ccxixvii, 4); so also in 'Auc. et Nic.': *damage* (xxix, 33); *dame* (vi, 36); *damoisel* (xx, 10).

g. *n* after any consonant, except *m* or *r*, remains, as in French.

JUVENEM>*žqn*; ASINUM>*an*; GALBINUM>*gân*.

h. *n* in the group *ns* falls, as in French.

SPONSAM>*tpuz*; MANSIONEM>*muézž*; MONASTERIUM>*mđjer* (the name of a commune just north of Amiens); PENSARE>*pzi*, and *pžsi*; CONSTANTIAECUM>*kžtžšž*. It falls in words of popular formation, but is retained in words of learned origin. To this latter class belong the two names of places given above, and *pžsi*. In this case the *n* had already fallen in O. Latin, but by recomposition and analogy it was, at a later time, frequently replaced.²²⁶ O. Pic.: *peser* ('Car.,' cxxv, 2); *espous* ('Mis.,' cclxii, 8); *maisue* (*ibid.*, cxxix, 8); *maison* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxx, 6); *moustier* ('Mis.,' clvi, 10). This is of popular formation, while the name of the commune is of learned formation.

i. Interpolation of *n*.

MACIONEM>*māšž*; PIPIONEM>*pžžž*. An example of this interpolated *n* is cited by Du Cange²²⁷ from the fifteenth century,—*penjons*. Examples of this are also found in French: *langouste*,²²⁸ *engrot*,²²⁹ *Ingrande*,²³⁰ *Angouleme*.²³¹

TREATMENT OF *m*.

a. Initial *m* remains as in French.

MANUM>*mž*; METTERE>*mžt*; MANDUCARE>*mžži*; MICA>*mi*; MANSIONEM>*muézž*.

As in French, initial *m* has become *n* in MAPPAM>*nāp*. The same change has taken place in MESPILUM, which in French gives *něfle*. Changes of the reverse kind in the interior of the word occur in French: *venimeux*, *charme*, *latimier*. In Wallonian the original *m* is retained. In the following words initial *m* has been changed to *b*: MISINGAM>*bžžžg*; MITANUM+BOT<*bižžbu*; the O. Pic. *mitaclé* has become *bitáklé*. and MORNIFLE>*bžrnif*. For this change the writer sees no satisfactory explanation.

b. Intervocalic *m* remains, as in French.

AMARUM>*ámžr*; AMANTEM>*žmā*; HUMANUM>*žmž*. O. Pic.: *aime*

²²⁶ Meyer-Lübke in Gröber's 'Grundriss', I, 365.

²²⁷ 'Du Cange', s. v. ²²⁸ Bugge in *Rom.*, iv, 253.

²²⁹ Quicherat, 'Noms de lieux', 24. ²³⁰ *Ibid.* ²³¹ *Ibid.*

('Auc. et Nic.,' xix, 11); *alumer* (*ibid.*, xvii, 13); *amor* (*ibid.*, ii, 16); *lamentant* ('Car.,' clxxxii, 9).

c. Final *m*. Its influence remains in nasalising the preceding vowel.

REM > rʝĕ EXAMEN > ɛsĕ; RACE:MEM > ruézĕ; FAMEM > fĕ.

d. *m* before a dental becomes *n*, as in French. It is partially assimilated to the dental.

SEMITABIUM > sĕtji; COMITEM > kɔt; TUAM + AMITAM > tāt. This partial assimilation had already taken place in O. Pic.: *sentier* ('Car.', ccxxiii, 8); *conter* ('Mis.,' xlii, 7); *conte* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii, 34).

e. *m* before a labial. When the labial falls, the *m* remains; when the labial remains, the influence of the *m* remains in nasalising the preceding vowel.

GAMBAM > gām; TEMPLUM > tĕp; IMPERIUM > ĕpir. As the combination vowel + nb, had, in O. Pic. the same sound as vowel + mb, we find both *m* and *n* in the same text: *ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii, 11); *tans* (*ibid.*, ii, 8); *tempeste* ('Car.,' cxxx, 3); *temprer* ('Mis.,' xxiii, 5).

f. *m* after *r* remains, as in French.

DORMUNT > dɔrm; ARMA > ārm; LACRIMAM > lārm. O. Pic.: SERMON ('Car.,' lxxii, 2); *armeüre* ('Mis.,' xciii, 11); *larmoüer* (*ibid.*, lxxxv, 2). In DORMITORIUM, after the fall of the pretonic vowel, the medial element, *m*, in the triple combination of consonants, fell, as in French, giving *dortuér*.

THE LIQUIDS.

L.

a Initial *l* remains.

LUNAM > lōn; LAVARE > lāvi; LIBRUM > liv; LECTUM > lĕ. O. Pic.: *lairĕs* ('Auc. et Nic.,' viii, 35); *lit* (*ibid.*, qi, 21); *livre* (*ibid.*, xl, 22); *liu* ('Car.,' lxxxv, 3); *lentiu* ('Car.,' cx, 8). In LUSCINIOLUM > ɔrsiñu, the *l* has become *r* as in French. In 'Auc. et Nic.,' the *l* is still kept; *lorseilnol* (xii, 6). In the interior, and at the end of a word, this change of *l* to *r* is common in French: *ĕpitre*, *chapitre*, *apōtre*, *gorpil*.²³² This change was already known in Latin: 233 LATIALIS (Ov. Plin.) = LATIARIS (Cic.); LINEALIS (Amm.) = LINEARIS (Plin.)

From *LUTARE, a frequentative verb *lütli* was formed in the patois. After the formation of this verb, the initial *l* has been changed to *m* by the process of differentiation. Compare a change of *l* to *n* due to the same cause in French *quenouille*, and *cenetier*.²³⁴ In the follow-

²³² Cited by Littré ('Dict. fran.,' s. v.), from the thirteenth century.

²³³ Bugge, *Rom.*, iv, 352.

²³⁴ Tobler, *Rom.*, ii, 244.

ing words initial *l* is vocalised to *j*: LEVO>*jöv*; LEVAS>*jöv*; LEVAT>*jöv*; LEPOREM>*jov*; LUPUM+GERULPHUM>*jö-wäru*; LAPINUM²³⁵>*jäpĕ*. The first four of these words would seem to point to the fall of *l*, the *j* arising from the diphthongisation of the tonic *ĕ*; but the last two words show that this cannot be the case, and clearly show vocalisation. This vocalisation had not taken place in O. Pic.

In the noun *nâmponyé* from A. S. LAPPAN, and *noĕar* from Norse LOCKAERD, the initial *l* has become *n*. This change of *l* to *n* takes place in French *niveau* (O. Fr. *livel*), and *cenelier* through dissimilation. But the same process cannot have caused the change in the two words given from patois.

b. Intervocalic *l* remains, as in French.

ALAM>*el*; TELAM>*tuél*; PALATIUM>*pälĕ*; VOLERE>*vulür*. The It. COLONNELLO has become *kurŋel*; *corpulentia*>*korþoräs*. The forms *coronnels*, *coronal*, *couronnel* were very frequent in the Fr. of the sixteenth century.²³⁶ Littré²³⁷ cites the form *corporance* from Morot. This is the form of the word in the patois of Geneva.²³⁸ The form *kurŋel* is due to the principal of differentiation,—the *l* being changed to *r* to differentiate it from the final sound—*l*. In *korþoräs*, the *l* has become *r* by being assimilated to the preceding *r*.

In the following words the *l* has been changed to *r* through the process of differentiation: ULULARE>*ürli*; CALCULUM>*kürtül*; CALCULARE>*kärküli*. The form *querculant* is cited by Littré from Eus. Deschamps. COMPLICITUM>*köpru*. The *l* is probably changed to *r* through crossing with the O. Pic. *prou*. The change from *l* to *r* is extremely rare in O. Pic. texts, and in those which the writer has examined only two examples are found: *Bertremiu* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xxxv, 4).

In the following words the *l* has fallen without leaving any trace: ELEMOSYNM>*ämgn*; ALENAM>*än*.

Förster²³⁹ points out similar cases of the fall of the *l* before a consonant in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,': *chevacie* (10426); *amosne* (10786); *ques* (8751); *mos* (8405). So also in the 'Ch. du Verm.,': *as* (xiv, 2); *nus* (xlii, 2); *Willame* (v, 18). As *l* falls regularly before a consonant in the Eastern dialects, this is probably due to their influence on the Picard.

c. Final *l* after a labial falls.

TABULAM>*täv* and *täb*; POPULUM>*pöp*; TEMPLAN>*tĕp*. *Tave* ('Crinon Sat.,' I ii, 11); *étave* (*ibid.*, I, ii, 7); *risibe* (*ibid.*, ii, 15; *impossible* (ii, 16); *tave* ('Cél. Mar. Suite', 629). In Picard texts earlier than this it is still found: *amiable*, *amirable*, *caritable*, *durable*, *plorable* ('Car.,' cxxvii); *dampnavles* ('Aniel', 321); *pardonnnavles*

²³⁵ Diez, 'Wörterbuch', s. v.

²³⁶ Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, s. v.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, s. v.

²³⁹ 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlvi.

(*ibid.*, 322); *caritavles* (*ibid.*, 63); *veritavles* (*ibid.*, 64). It fell here owing to the difficulty of sounding the final liquid after a labial.

d. *l* falls after *m*.

IN+SIMUL>*ēsā*; TREMULARE>*trāni*; SIMULARE>*sūni*. *Tranes* ('Crinon,' ii, 42); *sianan* ('Suite du Cél. Mar.,' 40). In earlier texts it is kept; *sanler* ('Mis.,' ccix, 10); *sanle* (*ibid.*, lxxxii, 4): *ensanle* (*ibid.*, cxxii, 7); *sambler* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxxii, 16). The *l* falls in this case in the patois for the same reason as after a labial.

e. Final *l* after *k* falls for the same reason as in the two preceding cases.

MIRACULUM>*mirāk*; SPECTACULUM>*spɛktūk*; ORACULUM>*orāk*.

f. In the combination *l*+consonant a parasitic *u* is developed before the *l*, which then falls.

FALSUM>*fō*; CALIDUM>*kō*; ALTUM>*ō*; CABALLUM>*gvo*; VALERE+HABEO>*vgrē*.

The earliest example known of the development of this *u* is found in a text dated 1044.²⁴⁰ In the "Alexis" it has not yet developed,²⁴¹ but its development was completed in the twelfth century.²⁴²

In the 'Rec. de Moll.' the *u* is everywhere developed,²⁴³ and in all later Picard texts: *temporaus i aus* ('Mis.,' li): *haut*: *s'esvaut* (*ibid.*, cliii); *fius*: *pius* ('Car.,' lxii); *aucun* ('Car.,' xxxix, 9); *aube* (*ibid.*, lxxiv, 6).

g. Transposition of *l* takes place in BUCCULAM>*bluk*.

Here the liquid has been attracted by the labial. The *l* in this word is already transposed in the 'Chev. as ii Esp.': (*blouke* 3022; 4143). Attraction by the preceding consonant takes place in Fr. *sanglot*.

h. Agglutination of *l*.

In the patois *al Luvgrn* corresponds to Fr. L'Auvergne. This is a case of the double use of the article. The first, owing to its close connection with the name, became part of it, so that the popular mind lost consciousness that it was the article, and used a second one. The same took place in Fr.; *le lendemain*, and *le lierre*.

TREATMENT OF *r*.

a. Initial *r* remains.

RABIEM>*rāž*; RATIONEM>*rézō*, REM>*rjē*.

b. Intervocalic *r* remains.

AMARUM>*āmɛr*; DURAM>*dūr*; *ɛr*; VOLERE>*vulubr*; O. Pic.:

²⁴⁰ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 582.

²⁴¹ G. Paris, 'Alexis' 101.

²⁴² Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 582.

²⁴³ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxl.

mirabile ('Auc. et Nic.,' v. 4); *moeuvent* (*ibid.*, vi, 31); *mire* ('Car.,' xxiii, 2); *merite* ('Mis.,' exciv, 3).

In the patois CATHEDRAM has become *käjəl*, meaning a chair. Jouancoux²⁴⁴ cites many cases of *caïelle* from the inventories of the sixteenth century. But the older form appears to have been *caïere*. This is cited by Jouancoux from a document of Amiens of the fifteenth century, and is the only form found in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' Jouancoux quotes from a document of the North East, of the year 1340: "*une cayère et plusieurs bancs et sielles.*"

The substitution of the *l* for the *r* in *käjəl* is, no doubt, due to a crossing between the old form *cayère* and *sielle*, or *selle* (the latter being the pure Pic. form) from SELLAM. In CATHERINAM > *kätlən* the *r* has become *l*.²⁴⁵

In the following cases *r* has been changed to *l* by the process of differentiation: RARUM > *räl*; *miluér* (formed from MINARE); ARMORIUM > *ormoəl*; FRAGRARE > *flérji*.

c. *re* is simplified to *r*.

TERRAM > *ter*; GUERRAM > *džer*. The simplification of double consonants was the rule in O. Pic. texts: ²⁴⁶ *foureur* (Chev. as II Esp.,' 231); *entera* (*ibid.*, 1025); *tere* (*ibid.*, 367); *guere* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 34); the double consonant, however, is frequent: *guerre* ('Car.,' lv, 7); *terre* (*ibid.*, xxvi, c).

d. Final *r* after a labial falls.

LABRUM > *lev*; ARBOREM > *äb*; LIBRUM > *liv*; LEJOREM > *jöv*; VIVERE > *viv*; *fiève* ('Crinon', ii, 42); *ieve* (*ibid.*, ii, 43); *peuve* (*ibid.*, iii, 44). In the O. Pic. texts it is preserved: *livre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl, 22); *levre* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 19); *vivre* ('Car.,' iv, 3); *pompre* ('Mis.,' xli, 2).

In ARBOREM > *äb*, the *r* drops before, as well as after, the labial. This is found in the dialect of the Ile de France in Rusteboeuf: ²⁴⁷ "*Li aubre despoillent lor branches*", and in the O. Pic. in 'Raoul de Cambrai': ²⁴⁸ "*voit sur ces haubres ces oisellons chanter.*" The *r* has also dropped in this case in MARMOREM > *mäb*,—a form which is shown by the *b* to be an introduction from the French, and afterwards modified. The *r* falls in Wallonian before the inserted labial in MARMOREM, and also in ARBOREM. *abe*,²⁴⁹ *abre*,²⁵⁰ *mabre*,²⁵¹ *maberier*.²⁵² The same forms are found in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,': *abre* (6180); *mabre* (4578).

e. Final *r* after a dental falls.

PERDERE > *pərd*; ALTERUM > *öt*; MAGISTRUM > *mət*; METTERE > *mət*. *Mait* ('Crinon', i, 4); *eute* (*ibid.*, i, 28); *r'preine* (*ibid.*, I, ii, 3);

²⁴⁴ 'Glossaire,' s. v. ²⁴⁵ For interchanges between *l* and *r*, see treatment of *l*.

²⁴⁶ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlviii. ²⁴⁷ Cited by Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v., *arbre*.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ²⁴⁹ Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.²

²⁵⁰ Le Grande, 'Dict. du Pat. de Lille', 9. ²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.,' s. v.

In INTRA > *ĕter*; and CONTRA > *kÿter*, the *r* has not fallen but an *e* has been inserted between the *t* and *r* by the process of *svarabakhti*, to render more easy the pronunciation of the difficult combination *tr*.

f. The final combination *sk'r*.

CRESCERE > *kruĕt*; COGNOSCERE > *kġnuĕt*; NASCERE > *neĕt*.

In this combination the *t* has been interpolated between *s* and *r*, as in French, and final *r* has fallen, as usual, after the dental. The *t* was also inserted, and the final *r* retained in O. Pic.: *naistre* (Van Hamel, 'Mis.', 428); *conaistre* (*ibid.*, p. 389).

g. In MASCULUM > *màrl*, the *s* has been changed to *r*.

preinn (*ibid.*, I, ii, 19); *mainde* (*ibid.*, ii, 38). It was retained in O. Pic. texts: *estendre* ('Auc. et Nic.', xviii, 9); *batre* (*ibid.*, xxx, 4); *defendre* (*ibid.*, viii, 16); *autre* (*ibid.*, ii, 25); *aistre* ('Mis.', liv, 7); *apraindre* ('Car.', lxiv, 9).

In the French spoken language final *r* after a consonant, and especially after a voiceless consonant, is on the point of falling.²⁵³ In the patois of Cachy it has fallen both after voiced and voiceless consonants.

The *r* for *s* in this word is also found in the Wallonian dialect.²⁵⁴ Change of *s* to *r* occurs in the 'Chev. as deus Esp.': *harle* (2674); *porterne* (9679). This change is also found in O. Fr.: *marle*, *merler*, *varlet*;²⁵⁵ in Catalan: *fantarma*, and in Port.: *cirne*.²⁵⁶ This change is very frequent in Prov.: *almorna*, *azermar*, *ermenda*, *gleisargue*, *varassor*, *yrta*, *irnelament*, *dirnat*. This change must have taken place in French before *s* became mute before a consonant,

In French *r* has two sounds:²⁵⁷ the guttural *r* made in the back of the mouth, and the lingual *r* made with the point of the tongue. It is the latter of these sounds which has been substituted for *s* in these words.²⁵⁸ This *r* is widely spread in the south of France, but is very rare in the centre and north.²⁵⁹

In BULLAM > *bürl*, the *l* has either been changed to the lingual *r*,—a process rendered easy by the close physiological relation between these two sounds,—or the *r* has been interpolated, as frequently took place in O. Pic. before a consonant: *arme* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi, 22); *pertruis* ('Chev. as deus Esp.', 4191); *armors* (*ibid.*, 5964); *carborniers* (*ibid.*, 9224); *arportes* (*ibid.*, 1080).

h. In FIRMARE > *frĕmi*, the *r* has been attracted by the preceding labial.

r is the most movable of all the consonants in the Romance languages, and is frequently attracted by initial *t* and *f*.²⁶⁰ Compare It.

²⁵³ Beyer, 'Phonetik', 52.

²⁵⁴ Vermesse, 'Dict. du Wall.', s. v. *marle*.

²⁵⁵ Diez, 'Grammatik', I, 239.

²⁵⁶ *Rom.*, iv, 185.

²⁵⁷ Beyer, 'Phonetik', 50.

²⁵⁸ P. Meyer, *Rom.*, iv, 182.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Diez, 'Grammatik', I, 223.

drento, frugare, strupo, Trieste; Sp.: *cralo, fraguar*; Port.: *fremosa*; Fr.: *brebis, breuvage, fromage, tremper, troubler*; O. Fr.: *fremër, bregier*; O. Pic.: *aprecoit* ('Chev. as II Esp.,' 885); *herbregerie* (*ibid.*, 3541); *fremée* ('Car.,' clxv, 4).

Attraction of *r* by the following consonant takes place in GRANA-RIUM > *gernjé*; RANUNCULUM > *gernul*; Goth.: GRĒDUS > *gerdē*; Germ.: KRAÜSEL > *gerzöl*. This attraction also takes place in the other Romance languages: It.: *cocodrillo, farnetico*; Sp.: *corchete, quebrar*; Prov.: *Duresna*. It also occurs in the Lorraine and Wal-lonian dialects: Lorr.: *guerneye, perhé, peurnelle, beurlé*;²⁶¹ Wall.: *guernier*.²⁶²

TREATMENT OF *h*.

It is chiefly in the initial aspirate in onomatopœtic words, and in exclamations, that the patois of Cachy differs from the French in its use of the aspirate. In words of Latin origin the writer is not aware of any difference between the usage of the Patois and French. The same words have dropped the initial aspirate, and the same have it. Of pure Pic. words, Corblet²⁶³ gives fifty-eight which have an initial aspirate, but all of these are not in use in the Patois of Cachy. In the following interjections there is an initial aspirate: *Hék*—an exclamation expressing disgust; *Hu*—a cry for driving pigs; *Hü*—an exclamation to make horses go to the right, and the following onomatopœtic words: *Hék ki*—to endeavor; *huhu*—a species of owl, the cry of which has given to it its name.

THE PALATALS.

c BEFORE *e* OR *i*.

a. Initial *c*.

CENTUM > *šĕ*; CERAM > *šir*; CEMETERIUM > *šimtjgr*; CINEREM > *šen*.

On the development of the palatal *c* in Pic. there are two theories: Diez²⁶⁴ considers the *š* a later development brought about by the desire for a greater separation between *ç* and *s*. Joret²⁶⁵ considers that the Pic. has stopped at a stage through which the French also, at one time, passed: the French *ç* is a development of this complicated *š*.

The physiological development of the sound must have been along the following line: *kt > kj > ij > ts > tš > š*. It does not seem to be doubted that both French and Picard were, at one time, at the stage *ts*. The initial dental sound vanished from the French at the

²⁶¹ Adam, 'Patois lorrains', p. 42.

²⁶² Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.', s. v.

²⁶³ 'Glossaire', s. l. H.

²⁶⁴ 'Grammatik', ii, 460.

²⁶⁵ C dans les langues romanes, 280.

beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁶ The French never got to the stage $tʃ$, or it never could have developed the sound s out of it. The Pic. was already at the stage $tʃ$ in the thirteenth century.²⁶⁷ In 'Auc. et Nic.,' this sound is always written with c : *cerise* (xii, 22); *cerf* (xviii, 27); *ciel* (xxiv, 87); *cilé* (xvii, 19). In the 'Rec. de Moll.,' it is written *ch*, which, according to Suchier,²⁶⁸ had the sound $tʃ$ ($tʃ$ *chertes*) ('Mis.,' lxxvi, 11); *chesne* (*ibid.*, lxxvii, 12); *chertain* ('Car.,' cxxix, 11); *chele* (*ibid.*, v, 6).

In the 'Aniel' c before e or ie from original a had the same sound as c before original e or i , and this sound is sometimes represented by *ch*, but generally by c .²⁶⁹ Tobler thinks that this c had either the sound of modern French *ch* ($tʃ$), or the sound of English *ch* in *church* ($tʃ$).²⁷⁰

The 'Chev. as II Esp.' is not consistent in the transcription of this sound, as it is represented both by c and *ch*.²⁷¹

The evidence of the patois seems to be against the theory of Joret; for, according to Suchier, c before e or i never had any other sound than $tʃ$ in any of the O. Fr. dialects, except those of the N. E. and c^{272} of the O. Pic. and its later development $tʃ$, have developed out of $tʃ$, and are not intermediate between that sound and $tʃ$.

b. *Vowel*+ c + e or i , pretonic.

RACEMUM > *ruézĕ*; VECINUM > *véuzĕ*; DICEBAT > *dizé*; AVICELLUM > *uézjĕ*. This gives z , as in French.

c. Post-tonic *vowel*+ c + e or i .

DECEM > *di*; NUCEM > *nui*; CRUCEM > *kruĭ*; PACEM > *pé*.

According to Siemt,²⁷³ these two categories (b and c) both gave the same result in O. Pic.; namely, iz : but, whether the s was voiced in the former case and voiceless in the latter, he does not state. He also finds cases in which c + e or i gives *ch* or c , but these he considers words of learned origin.

A characteristic which distinguishes O. Fr. from O. Pic. texts is, that, while in the former the final combination c + e or i gives iz , in Pic. it gives is .²⁷⁴

Darmesteter²⁷⁵ develops the iz as follows: PLACERE > *plajcere* > *plajcĕre* > *plaitzir* > *plaisir* (=plezir). But in this he needs to show how *plaitzir* could develop from *plajcere*. This was rejected by Horning, who proposes: ²⁷⁶ RATJONEM > *ratʃonem* > *ratsonem* > *radzonem* > *raison*.

G BEFORE E OR I.

a. Initial g becomes $ʒ$, as in French.

GELARE > *ʒli*; GENTEM > *ʒĕ*; GENTILEM > *ʒĕti*.

²⁶⁶ Schwan, 'Grammatik', p. 88.

²⁶⁷ 'Auc. et Nic.,' 61.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Tobler, 'Aniel', xxi.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' l, 111

²⁷² Gröber's 'Grundriss', I, 580.

²⁷³ Ueber Lat. c vor e und i im Pik., p. 14.

²⁷⁴ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 61; Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxxvii; Siemt, *Op Cit.*,

p. 16.

²⁷⁵ *Rom.*, iii, 387.

²⁷⁶ Geschichte des Lat. c , p. 10.

This must have developed along the following line: $d > gj > dj > d\check{z} > \check{z}$. In French the dental sound was lost at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁷⁷ For 'Auc. et Nic.,' Suchier²⁷⁸ cannot decide whether it had the sound \check{z} or $d\check{z}$.

In GINGIVAM > $s\check{z}iv$ both the initial and medial g have become s . Diez²⁷⁹ explains the Fr. *gencive* by the principle of dissimilation. It is probable that the same change has taken place in the patois, and that, afterward, the initial \check{z} was assimilated to the sound s . If the form *gencive* could be found in any O. Pic. text it would furnish proof of this method of change. This explanation supposes that the principle of dissimilation was stronger in the old language than the principle of assimilation, and that the reverse is the case in the modern patois—a supposition which involves too wide a field of investigation to discuss in this work.

b. *Vowel + g + e or i.*

FRIGIDUM > *frui*; DIGITUM > *dui*; PAGENSEM > *puëizã*; MAGISTRUM > *met*.

The g fell, as in French, after a parasitic i had been developed before it. So also in O. Pic.: *froit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 31); *fraile* (*ibid.*, ii, 7); *raine* ('Mis.,' cclx, 1); *roi* ('Car.,' xxx, 1). In the patois RELIGIONEM has become *rëlizjv*, and *CHIRURGIANUM > *sëriürzjv*. This change of the palatal to a sibilant also takes place in other Romance dialects.

For the dialect of Geneva Littré²⁸⁰ gives *cërusion*. In the Venetian dialect z is the only result of g —arzeno.²⁸¹ In the Sicilian it becomes \check{c} —ançilu.²⁸² In Spanish it becomes s after n and r : *arsen*, *arsila*.²⁸³ In Prov. the same change takes place as in Sp. From O. Fr. Diez cites *estlonziet* and *atarzië*. In Wallonian it is changed to z in *ärzieü*.²⁸⁴

This change of \check{z} to z is due to physiological causes. In both cases the sound following it is a front vowel. \check{z} is produced by closing the teeth and pressing the back part of the tongue against the back part of the hard, and the front part of the soft palate, and expiring a current of air: it is, therefore, sounded partly with organs in the back part of the mouth, and partly with those in the front of the mouth. z is produced entirely by the action of the organs in the front of the mouth. Hence the change from \check{z} to z is produced by the principle of least action—by employing simply the organs in the front part of the mouth, instead of combining these with the action of those in the back part of the mouth.

THE POST-PALATALS.

C BEFORE A.

a. Initial pretonic c remains unchanged.

CANTARE > *kãti*; CALEIFICARE > *kofi*; CARPENTARIUM > *kerpëtli*;
 CANCELLARE > *kãslî*; CARICARE > *kerçi*

²⁷⁷ Schwan, 'Grammatik', 88. ²⁷⁸ 'Grammatik', i, 270. ²⁷⁹ P. 58.
²⁸⁰ 'Dict. Fran.,' s. v. *chirurgien*. ²⁸¹ Diez., 'Grammatik', i, 269.
²⁸² *Ibid.* ²⁸³ *Ibid.* ²⁸⁴ Forir, 'Dict. Liëg.-fran.,' s. v.

In the O. Pic. texts it remains before an *a*, which is preserved: *cattif* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i, 2); *cans* (*ibid.*, i, 8); *cavaiz* (*ibid.*, ii, 12); *acata* (*ibid.*, ii, 29). In this text it also retains the Latin sound (*k*) before an *a*, which has become *e* or *ie*, although the transcription varies from *c*, *qu*, *k*, the former being the most frequent: ²⁸⁵ *lerquier* (xxvi, 17); *aforkent* (xix, 7); *ceval* (ii, 19); *cevalier* (li, 25); *baceler* (ii, 31). In the 'Aniel' it always remains with the sound *k*.²⁸⁶ In the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' *k*, *c* and *ch* are found for *c* and *a*.²⁸⁷ In the 'Rec. de Moll.,' *c* before *a*, which remains, has the same sound as *c* before *a*, which has become *e* or *ie*.²⁸⁸ It is preserved also in the 'Ch. du Verm.' before *a*, or *a* which has become *ie*:²⁸⁹ *acat* (v, 2); *camp* (v, 8); *cambre* (vii, 3); *bakelers* (iv, 2); *eskevins* (vi, 4).

In the 'Rom. de la Viol.' Joret finds the Latin *c* represented both by *c* and *ch*—fifteen times by the former, and forty times by the latter.²⁹⁰ In many other texts he finds the same variation, and concludes that *c* was used in the original, and that the many changes to *ch* were due to the later scribe, and that those are the most authentic MSS. in which *c* is preserved.²⁹¹

In the following words initial *c* has become *g*: CABALLUM > *gvo*; *CATULIARE > *gâtuli*; *CAFODICULARE > *gâfuili*; CARDUUM > *gârd*, and the verb formed from this word, *gârdi*. This change of *c* to *g* is found in the Wallonian: *dégatouier*,²⁹² *gâde*.²⁹³ Jouancoux cites *garde* and *garder* from inventories of the eighteenth century. This change of *c* to *g* has also taken place in the other Romance languages: ²⁹⁴ It.: *Gaeta*, *gambero*, *gastigare*, *gatto*, *gabbia*; Sp.: *gambaro*, *gamella*, *gato*, *gavia*; Prov.: *gat* and *cat*, *gabia*. In French initial *c* has become *g*, although not before *a*, in *gonfser*, *gobelet*, *glas*, *gras*. As a medial the change of *c* to *g* is quite frequent in all the Romance dialects.²⁹⁵

b. *c* in the combination *cons+ica* becomes *ç*, as in French.

VINDICARE > *vêçzi*; JUDICARE > *çûçzi*; GRANICAM > *grâç*; NATICUM > *nâç*.

Förster remarks²⁹⁶ that this is one of the peculiarities which distinguish the Ile de France dialect from the Picard and others; while the former has, as the result of this combination *ç*, the O. Pic. had *ç*: *berchier* ('Chev. as II Esp.,' 7924); *encarchie* (*ibid.*, 3953); *decachier* (*ibid.*, 10593). He says the Picard, however, must have been vacillating between *ç* and *ç*, and that this is shown by the occurrence of such words as: *sagies* (5008); *mengoigne* (5344); *blegies* (8779). The sound *ç* has become universal in the modern patois, except in the following

²⁸⁵ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' 57.

²⁸⁶ Tobler, 'Aniel', xxii.

²⁸⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' liii.

²⁸⁸ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxxii.

²⁸⁹ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 75.

²⁹⁰ 'Joret,' *l* dans les langues romances, 223.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁹² Verresse, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.

²⁹³ Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v. *carde*.

²⁹⁴ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 244.

²⁹⁵ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 244.

²⁹⁶ 'Chev. as II Esp.,' liv.

words: COLLOCARE > *kući*; CANEM > *čjž*; CARICARE > *kęrti*; MERCATUM > *mārći*. These are semi-patois forms, and the change from *c*(=k) to *č* is due to French influence. In 'Auc. et Nic.' the *k* is still unchanged: *cien* (x, 47); *čerquier* (xxvi, 17). The sound *č* in these words has developed along the following line: *k* > *kj* > *tj* > *ts* > *č*^s (=č).

c. *c* in the combination *vowel*+*c*+tonic *a*, where the preceding syllable has a secondary accent.

NECARE > *mući*; PACARE > *pući*; IMPLICARE > *žplući*; LOCARE > *lući*. As is French, the *c* fell after a parasitic *i* had been developed before it.

d. *Cons*+*c*+*final a*.

BLANCAM > *blāk*; MUSCAM > *muk*; SECCAM > *sgk*; BUCCAM > *buk*; VACCAM > *vāk*. O. Pic.: *blanke* ('Mis.', lxxxviii, 6); *bouke* ('Car.', lxxv, 6). In North Normandy²⁹⁷ also *c* before *a* remains unchanged, as in Picard. Joret says the population of the district of the North of Normandy in which the *c* remains is chiefly of Norse origin. This is shown by their physiognomy and by the etymology of the majority of the names of places in this territory.²⁹⁸ But before the Norse were established in this territory it was already inhabited by another Low German stock—the Salian Franks.²⁹⁹ The language spoken by these Low Germans kept the original Indo-European guttural, while the High German tribes which peopled that part of French territory in which *k* became *ç*, changed the Indo-European guttural to a spirant.³⁰⁰ In the Norman-Picard district the Latin language was spoken by Low Germans, whose mother-tongue kept the guttural, and they kept it in their adopted language; in that part of France in which *k* became *ç*, High Germans, whose mother-tongue changed the guttural to a spirant, changed it also in the adopted language.

G BEFORE A.

a. Initial *g* remains.

GAMBAM > *gām*; GARDINUM > *gārdę*; GALBINUM > *gān*. O. Pic.: *ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 11; xii, 28); *gardin* (*ibid.*, iv, 21); *garbe* ('Car.', cv, 3); *gaber* (*ibid.*, lxxii, 2). The same causes which preserved Latin *c* before *a* must have caused the preservation of *g* before *a*.

In GANGRAENAM > *kāgręn*, the principle of dissimilation has caused the change of *g* to *k*. In Ger. WAUDE > L. *GAUDAM > *hōd*, and GOFRUM > *hof*, the patois has an initial aspirate. This is not a change of *g* to *k*, but, after the initial *g*, an aspirate sound was developed, giving *gh*, and then the *g* dropped. It is the same process by which

²⁹⁷ 'Du Patois Normand', 133.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

²⁹⁹ Joret, 'Du Patois Normand', p. 271.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

Latin words with initial *f* have developed *h*, as the initial sound in Sp.: *f* > *fh* > *h*; FERRUM > *hierro*; FILIUM > *hijo*.

b. Intervocalic *g*.

PLAGAM > *plé*; PAGANUM > *pejē*; LIGARE > *lutji*; FUGAM > *fui*. As in French, the *g* falls after a parasitic *i* has been developed before it.

THE VELARS.

C.

a. Initial *c* remains, as in French.

CURSUM > *kur*; CORNA > *korn*; CODAM > *kɔ*; CORNUM > *kɔr*. In the patois initial *c* has become *č* in COQUERE > *čuir*; CONSUERE > *čɔd*; COLLIGERE > *čolir*. These have developed after the analogy of words with initial *c*+*e* or *i*; but the latter have developed one stage further than the former: *k* > *kj* > *tj* > *ts* > *tš* (= *č*),

b. Intervocalic velar *c* falls, as in French.

SECURUM > *sör*; *PLACUTUM > *plö*; FOCUM > *fœ*; JOCCUM > *žœ*; LOCUM > *žœ*. O. Pic.: *fu* ('Auc. et Nic.', iv, 8); *seür* ('Car.', lx, 10); *seü* ('Mis.', ccviii, 9); *liu* ('Car.', lxxxv, 3); *giu* ('Car.', lxii, 4). In the patois ACUTUM > becomes *udžüi*, and ACUTIARE > *adžizji*. In these words the velar *c* must have changed first to the medial velar *g*, and this *g* then developed in the same way as *g* before *e* or *i*: *g* > *gj* > *dj* > *dž*. In O. Pic. the medial velar is found *aguisier* ('Auc. et Nic.', viii, 8; xvi, 24); *agu* ('Car.', xliii, 7); *aguisier* ('Mis.', cxxxii, 12).

c. Initial *c* before *r* or *l*, remains, as in French.

CRUCEM > *krui*; CREDERE > *krúer*; CLAUDERE > *klɔr*; CLAVEM > *klé*.

In CRIBRUM > *grib*, and CLAUDIUM > *glöd*, it is changed to the medial guttural *g*. The same change has taken place in Fr. *glas*.

VELAR *g*.

a. Initial *g* remains, as in French.

GUTTAM > *gut*; GUSTAM > *gu*; GUBERNARE > *guberni*. O. Pic.: *golouser* ('Mis.', cciv, 2); *guerrouër* ('Car.', xxxi, 8).

THE SPIRANT J.

a. Initial *j* remains *ž*, as in French.

JAM > *žq*; JUVENEM > *žqu*; JOCCUM > *žœ*; in the patois JUNICEM has become *věniš*. This change is due to a crossing between *žěniš*—the form we should expect—and *vák*.

THE LABIALS+YOD.

a. *b+yod*.

RUBEUM > ruž; TIBIAM > tiž; CAMBIARE > káži; RABIEM > ráž; *SABIUM > sáž. According to Schwan,³⁰¹ this gives a double result in French: in certain cases, he says, the labial produces a parasitic *i* before it and then falls; in other cases it becomes *z*. Mussafia³⁰² thinks this *bj* has regularly become ž, and that the exceptions are to be explained by the influence of analogy. The patois has developed exactly as the French, and the exceptions to Mussafia's rule are the same; in the patois: *sé, dui, é*, first person present indicative and first person present subjunctive of HABERE. G. Paris³⁰³ considers that the form *é* comes from *ajo* for the indicative and *aja* for the subj. Horning considers the form *sé* to be modeled on *é*. *B+yod* has developed along the following line: *bj > bž > ž*.

b. *v+yod* becomes ž, as in French.

CAVEAM > káž; ABBREVIARE > abréži; SERVIEM > seržé. The only exception to this in the patois is PLUVIAM > plöv. Here the *v* is retained from analogy with *plouér*. The form *pluv* is cited by Littré³⁰⁴ from the O. Fr. of the thirteenth century. The *v+yod* has developed in a manner similar to *b+yod*: *vj > vž > ž*.

c. *p+yod* becomes ž, as in French.

SAPIAM > sáž; ADPROPRIARE > apróži; REPROPIARE > rəproži. The only exception to this is *pžžž*. The *p* before the *yod* in PIPIONEM must have fallen through dissimilation before the transformation of *p+yod* commenced. *P+yod* has developed thus: *pj > pž > pž > ž*. Mussafia³⁰⁵ considers the O. Fr. *recief* an analogical form on the type *receis*, and derives it from RECEFO. The corresponding form—*rsui*—of the patois must be explained in the same way.

THE DENTALS+YOD.

a. *D+yod*.

(1) GUADIA > žué; MEDIUM > má; PODIUM > piú.

(2) DIURNUM > žur; HARDEAM > grž; PEDICAM > pjež.

This, according to Mussafia,³⁰⁶ has given ž in French, but he does not explain the numerous cases in which it has not given this result. Schwan³⁰⁷ thinks it has developed in two different directions: in the one case it has fallen after developing a parasitic *i* before it; in the other, it has developed thus: *dj > dž > ž*. The patois also shows a development in two directions, but, reasoning from analogy with the *labials+yod*, and *t+yod*, the probability is strong that Mussafia's

301 'Grammatik', 64.

302 *Rom.* xviii, 547.

303 Quoted by Mussafia, *Rom.* xviii, 544.

304 'Dict. franc.', s. v.

305 *Rom.* xviii, 546.

306 *Rom.*, xviii, 544.

307 *Grammatik*, 65.

theory is correct, and that the exceptions are to be explained as due to some cause still unknown.

b. Pretonic *t+yod* becomes *z*, as in French.

RATIONEM > *ruézð*; ACUTIARE > *adžüüji*; POTIONEM > *puézð*. In O. Pic. this was written with *s* or *ss*,³⁰⁸ which had the voiced sound *z*: *raison*, *saison*, *poison*, *poisson*, *saisson*, *livrison*.³⁰⁹ The transcriptions *s* and *ss* are found for the same word by Siemt, and in the same text, thus showing that, as medials, *s* and *ss* had the same value in Pic. This is contrary to the opinion of Joret,³¹⁰ who says *ss* was voiceless, and *s* voiced, as medials. *T+yod* developed thus: *tj* > *ts* > *tz* > *z*.

c. Post-tonic *t+yod* before *a*, or *c+yod+a*.

TRACTIAM > *träs̃*; PLATEAM > *pläs̃*; PETIA > *pjĕš̃*; FACIAM > *fäs̃*; SERVITIAM > *serviš̃*; GLACIEM > *gläs̃*. In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' Neumann³¹¹ considers both *ch* and *c* as the product of this, and thinks these two signs had the same sound in all cases, namely, *ž*, and that this is the universal product for Picard texts. One exception to this, however, is *gras*, which Siemt failed to find as *gräs̃* in the texts examined by him,³¹² and which is not found in rhyme with *š̃* in the 'Rec de Moll.,'³¹³ and which was wrongfully introduced as *grache* into the "Alexis" by G. Paris, into the 'Aniel' by Tobler, and into the 'Congiés' by Raynaud. Mussafia³¹⁴ considers the non-occurrence of *grache* in Pic. shows that it is not a word of popular origin. He thinks *s+yod* always gives the same product, whether pretonic or post-tonic, and that French forms with the termination *-ece* come from *-ecja*.³¹⁵ This, of course, implies that the Pic. forms ending in *-eche* for the old texts, and *ĕš̃* for the modern patois, come also from *-ecja*. But it is bold to demand, and hazardous to admit that all such forms as *defianche* ('Mis.,' clxxxviii, 10); *destreche* ('Car.,' cxii, 12); *fianche* ('Mis.,' clxxxviii, 7); *forche* ('Mis.,' cxi, 7); *aguëche* ('Car.,' cxci, 7) come from the ending *-ecja*.

d. *n+yod* after the tonic syllable.

VINEAM > *ven*; LINEAM > *lin*; PINGAM > *pen*; PLANGAM > *plen*; CAMPANIAM > *šāpān*. Here there is no moulliation of the *n*.

šāpān is a semi-patois word in which the moulliation of the *n* has been dropped in accordance with other words in the patois. In the French, Paul Passy³¹⁶ says *ñ* has four different sounds: (1) *ñ* formed on the border of the hard and soft palate, and without any after-sound *j*, as in *reñ*. (2) The genuine palatal *ñ* formed on the hard

308 'Ueber Lat. *c* vor *e* und *i* im Pik.,' 9.

310 "C dans les langues romanes", 126.

312 Siemt, 'Ueber Lat. *c* vor *e* und *i*,' 21.

314 Rom. xviii, 531.

315 Ibid.

316 Phon. Stud., i, 37 ff.—Cited by Beyer, 'Phonetik', 48.

309 Op. Cit., pp. 12-13.

311 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 79.

213 Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxxii.

palate, like the It. *gn*, and Sp. *ñ*, as in *reñj*. (3) Nasalised *j* as in *rejn*. (4) *nj* with a weak palatalised *n*, as in *renj*. In this last case the French has thus reached the point where moulliation has almost disappeared. In the post-tonic position the patois of Cachy has reached the point where it has entirely disappeared. This had not taken place at the time of the 'Cél. Mar.,' for in it, the moulliation is indicated by *gn*: *Prigne* (3); *pigne* (21); *vigne* (22). In the 'Rec. de Moll.' *n* is always separated in rhyme from *ñ*, and both in masc. and fem. rhymes. As pretonics, however, they are found in the same rhyme in *mehaignier*: *grenier* ('Car.,' ccx). Instead of *ñ*, *n* is found in *deschaine* in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' (1461), and *ñ* for *n* in the same text in *digner* (1887).

e. Pretonic *n+yod* becomes *ñ*, as in French.

LINEATICUM > *linâz*^v; UNIONEM > *ônÿ*.

L+YOD.

a. Post-tonic *l+yod*.

BATTALIA > *bâtel*; FOLIA > *föl*; DOLIUM > *döl*; CONSILIUM > *kÿ* > *l*;
BESTIALIA > *bétel*.

b. *l* in the termination—ICULUM.

SOLICULUM > *solël*; PARICULUM > *pârel*; ORICULUM > *wérel*.

c. Post-tonic *ll* between vowels.

BRILLAT > *bril*; ANGUILLAM > *âgil*; MOLLAT > *mul*.

d. Pretonic *ll* between vowels.

BRILLATIS > *brilî*; MOLLIATIL > *mulî*; BULLIAMUS > *bulî*. The exceptions to this are the infinitives ending in *-ir*, in which there is no moulliation of the *l*; *bulir*, *falir*, etc.

It thus appears that the patois of Cachy has everywhere given up the moulliation of *l* after the tonic accent, but has preserved it before the tonic, except in the cases noted. In Crinon, the moulliation is found just as in French, if his mode of writing may be taken as an indication of the usage: *souliel* (ii, 53); *pareil* (ii, 54); *travailli* (iii, 6); *ourgueil* (iii, 77); *pareilles* (v, 53); *travail* (vi, 2); *Breuil* (vi, 5); *Couvreuil* (vi, 6); *accueil* (vi, 10).

There is no reason to believe that in O. Pic. the moulliation of *l* was different from the usage in O. Fr. In the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' *l* is represented by *l*: 317 *salent* (873); *faloit* (1531); *fermal* (4800); *traval* (10744).

In the patois of Lille there is no moulliation of *l*. They say: 318 *mervegl*, *kÿsël*, *famil*, *âdul*, *patrul*, *buli*, *föl*. This rule, says Le Grand, has no exception. In the patois of Liège, however, moulliation of *l*

317 Fürster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlix.

318 Le Grand, 'Dict. du Pat. de Lille', 6.

appears to take place as in French: *bataie, fèroie, fœu, foïou, foie, fouïetou*. (Here $i=ï$.)

In the French of the sixteenth century—especially by the grammarians of that time,³¹⁹ $ï$ was indicated by *lh*, and the pure liquid *l* by *l* and *ll*, except after *i*. For many of these words, which, in the modern French have $ï$ the grammarians of that time give two forms, one with $ï$ and the other without moulliation.

The following forms are cited by Thurot, on the authority of sixteenth century grammarians: *rejallissent, jalir, je, boullis, j'ay bouily, je, bouillisse, je bouls, bouluë, tailis, trelis, mailet, millet, pilon, regalaradir, valant, gentilhome, pialer, prévale, médale, mes-tivales, groiselle, aigule, aigulon, désabiler, rouler, semoule, noules*. From this it appears that the loss of moulliation of *l* was very extensive in the sixteenth century, in the French. How far back the loss of moulliation in the Somme goes, the want of Picard grammars and the inaccurate mode of transcription used in the texts, prevent us from ascertaining. But the Picard was probably influenced by the French of that time; and, whereas of the double forms, one with moulliation, and the other without it, the former triumphed in the French, the reverse has been the case in the patois of Cachy, and in this patois, this tendency was strengthened by the loss of moulliation in *n* after the tonic accent.

³¹⁹ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franç.,' ii, 301.

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