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Author(s): Yakov Malkiel

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ERRATIC DERIVATIONAL OR COMPOSITIONAL DESIGNS AS CLUES TO WORD ORIGINS

Yakov Malkiel

University of California, Berkeley

1. My purpose is to present to you three less than closely connected word-histories—better still, three diachronically skewed reports on Romance word-families and their ramifications. The common denominator is the fact that the words' vicissitudes can be explained only in part through appeal to straight phonology. These otherwise disparate lexical families cluster around certain key-words, which I herewith introduce to you in their respective pristine, i.e., Latin forms: first, uerécundia 'bashfulness, restraint, modesty'; second, the group of personal pronouns, in the ablative case, with the particle -cun, meaning 'with', standing in postposition to them, e.g., mécum 'with me', tècum 'with thee'; third and last, an unexplained derivational model, which involves Spanish nouns and adjectives in -ilón flanking verbs with infinitives in -er and -ir, e.g., com-ilón 'big eater', dorm-ilón 'sleepy-head' alongside com-er 'to eat' and dorm-ir 'to sleep'.

2. The connection between modern Sp. vergüenza 'shame' and its prototype in Antiquity uerécundia has become somewhat hazy, through interplay of several circumstances. First, vergüenza, despite its relative length, is unanalyzable to the naive speaker, in sharp contrast to most abstracts serving to describe human behavior, such as tern-ura 'tenderness', amistad 'friendship', atrevimiento 'boldness', brusquedad 'gruffness'; uerécundia, in contra-distinction, was transparently tripartite, containing a verbal nucleus ueré-, which we dimly recognize in E. (to) re-ver: an adjectival, or adjectivizing, element -cund-; plus the nominalizing suffix -ia, familiar from abstracts such as inert-ia 'idleness' or modest-ia 'moderateness, discretion'. One further complication stems from the fact that, cast for the role of the intermediate stage (if not exactly the mid-point) between ancient uerécundia and modern-day vergüenza, one encounters in the Middle Ages, interchangeably, either vergüenza or vergüeña (predominantly spelled -uena).

2.1. Over a long period of continued productivity vergüenza has given rise to a number of suffixal derivatives, remaining firmly at the center of this newly-grown family; it is also conspicuously present in various widely-used idioms familiar to any native speaker from childhood. The present-day phraseological and derivational contour of the word under study can be thus illustrated: vergüenza 'shame, shyness, embarrassment' as the focus of the entire structure; the phrases tener vergüenza (de) 'to be ashamed (of)'; colloquial es una mala vergüenza 'it is a shame, it is too bad'; the exclamation ¡qué vergüenzal! 'for shame!'; the affixal derivatives vergonzoso 'bashful, shy' (person), 'shameful' (actions), also applied, as a zoonym, to the armadillo, because that species rolls up in a ball when pursued; the rarer vergonzante, apt to qualify a beggar; the two high-frequency reflexive verbs avergonzarse (de) 'to be ashamed (of)' and desavergonzarse (con) 'to be impudent, insolent (to)', flanked by active avergonzar 'to put to shame' and by the past ptc. desavergonzado, used adjectivally or nominally: 'impudent, shameless (person)'; desavergüenza 'impudence', the polar opposite of vergüenza; plus a racier variant, namely sinvergüenza, adjectival or nominal, but under any circumstances focusing attention on the disparaged bearer of the lack of an esteemed quality, hence 'brazen, shameless' or 'scoundrel, rascal'; accompanied by an even more colloquial and distinctly modern-sounding sinvergüencera 'brazeness, impertinence'.

2.2. The picture here sketched out is utterly at variance with the description one can offer of the place occupied by uerécundia in its own lexical space, at the peak of Roman culture and power. That ancestral word belonged, hierarchically, to the very periphery of its far-flung family rather than occupying the latter's center. This subordinate status flows from its set of relations with the adj. uerécundus 'restrained'; with the secondary verb uerécundari 'to show modesty'; and, above all, with the primary verb ueré 'to display reverence or respect for' beside reueré 'to feel abashed before', a distinctly reverential verb indeed.
2.3. This entire edifice was doomed to collapse, perhaps on account of the fragility of deponental verbs past the summit of Latin (except for dispersed vestiges of gerundival *erend-*u, -a in Italian dialects). As a result, OSP. *vergiienna* became an isolate, an atypical situation for any word of that ilk, I repeat (observe the contrast to *loc-su-'croze'/loco 'crazy'). An additional two-edged reason for the isolation was the system-wide recession of the suffixes -ia and -cundi-/bundu.  

2.4. A certain unevenness of the phonological trajectory *urecundia > vergiienna* makes itself felt as soon as one compares it to the near-parallel shift of the phytonym *nastur-ciu, *niu 'kind of cress* to OSP. *mastoero*. A /s/ after a sonorant, to be sure, was as admissible at the height of the flowering of Old Spanish as was its voiced counterpart /s/, except that in the case of *nasturtiu* the genesis of /s/ was expected, to the point of predictability, while it was not immediately foreseeable in the case of *urecundia*, given the presence of voiced d instead of voiceless l in the critical segment. This anomaly made *vergiienna* a prize exhibit in the celebrated controversy surrounding the "Old Spanish Sibilants".  

2.5. The discovery of the OSP. doublet *vergiienna*, which receded during the 15th century, caused embarrassment for the Neogrammarians in the absence of any differentiating evolutionary factor. Aside from going back to the same prototype, *vergiienna* and *vergiienna* had an identical range of meaning and shared the patterns of most affixal offshoots, including the adj. *vergon-osoo*, parallel to *vergon-osoo*, and the verbs a-, *en-vergon-ar*—to the striking exclusion, however, of the negative members of the word-family: des-vergiienna, *vergonha-do*, sin-vergiienna remained unrivaled. Two possibilities of accounting for this lacuna come to mind: Either the items ushered in by des-, sin- sprang into existence at a fairly late date, when *vergiienna* had ceased to be truly procreative; or the -nca variant produced a welcome phonosymbolic effect alien to its counterpart in -nã.  

2.6. What about the state of affairs in neighboring Portuguese? There, *vergonha, desvergonha*, the verbs a-, en-, and des-a-vergonhar; the adj. *vergonh-osoo*, in the company of the expected adverb; plus the phrase sem vergiienna display strong resemblances to, and only moderate discrepancies from, their Spanish counterparts. Note one complication: Until the 16th century *vergonça* (i.e., the counterpart of OSP. *vergiienna*), with its own set of offshoots, was also in use along the Atlantic Coast.  

2.7. An ensemble of three mutually independent circumstances foils any attempt to account for *vergiienna/vergonça* in a single, simple manner. Could this be another instance of multiple causation?  

First, the parallel variants *vergiienna/vergonha* are readily understandable on the side of phonology, provided the posited starting point is not Class. *ue-re-cun-di-a*, but post-Class. Folk Lat. /urvukundja/: Consonantized i triggered a medial triconsonant cluster, /ndj/; next, a built-in tendency of Romance weakened the least resistant, namely second, member of that group, to the point of leading speakers to pronounce /nj/ and, eventually, /n/. Witness, in Italian (specifically, in Tuscan) *vergonha* and in French, obsolete *vergome* (overshadowed, it is true, by *honte*, a borrowing from Frankish, surrounded by hybrid *honte* and the verb *se honte*, initially *soi honte*); also noteworthy is OPtg. *rigonha* 'wrath', a hapax legomenon, from *tráconda*. *Vergiienna/vergonha* thus appear to represent the mainstream of events: but what, in that event, about *vergiienna/vergonça*?  

2.8. Second, one may want to take into account the significant intricacy of Rome’s socio-educational structure. Among certain groups of speakers (e.g., magistrates and teachers), there could well have prevailed the tendency to use an alternative, retardatory style of pronouncing this key-word of exhortation. Since /dž/, as audible in late-medieval *de, de-zir* 'to say' or *fazer* 'to do, make' (from parental *dicere* and *facere*, in this order), was not yet readily available in embryonic Hispanic-Roman, as an alternative to the folk-speech skipping of the /d/ in -ndia, it is conceivable that the more privileged or pretentious nuclei of speakers experimented with the closest approximation within easy reach. It so happened that another affricate, namely /s/, was at that juncture already in existence, being perceptible, e.g., in words shaped like (in-, ex-)tunc-ce 'then', cf. Sp. *entonces* beside OSP. (en-, es-)tense(s) and Ptg. então alongside OPtg. entom. Arguably a leap from "endangered" or "unstable" /ndj/ to /ns/ was executed instead of one, more logical, to */ns/z/ by way of escape from the threat of an unpretigious course of events, namely the rise of the loose pronunciation /ndj/ > /nj/
> /ð/. An alternative direction of escape, no doubt similarly motivated and conducive to the dyadic cluster -nd-, is visible in OProv. vergonda, for a while coexistent with vergonha (which later also manifests itself in Cat. vergonya). The alternative reappears in OFr. vergonde, which has left scattered traces in modern French: devergonde 'brazen', plus the abstract dévergonnage.

2.9. Third, and once more independently, an advantage to the analyst accrues from viewing, as a subsidiary factor, the crystallization of suffixal gamuts (typically, but not exclusively, À-T-Û) in regional varieties of Folk Latin and early Romance. In aiming to find examples, one easily suffers from an embarrassment of wealth. Thus, to convey the idea of 'equipped, provided with', Romans had at their ready disposal the suffix -tus, var. -sus, outwardly resembling the past participle; the preceding long vowel was conditioned by the declension class of the respective noun, thus: alátu 'winged', from ala; críntu 'hairy, long-haired', from críne; cornátu 'horned', from corñü. Yet, in a daughter language such as Spanish, each of the three reflexes -ado, -ido, and -udo carries with it a unique semantic message and sometimes engages in a subtle interplay with an appropriate prefix. Thus, a-mulat-ado 'mulatto-like' signals resemblance; de-sabr-ido 'tasteless' connotes deprivation; while forz-udo 'robust, stout' suggests excess of physical prowess or power. Then again, Latin authorized its speakers to oppose -ánou to -inu, and both of these to -inu, as one gathers from urb-ianu 'relating to (the refinement of) the capital city', from urbs, urbe: mar-ínu 'referring to the sea', from mare; and apr-ínu, capr-ínu, ceru-ínu 'reminding one of a male animal known for the odor it emits: the wild boar, the he-goat, the stag'; Spanish has preserved -ano, -ino, combining them even with Amerindian primitives (peru-ano, and-inó), yet, above all, has expanded the realm of -ono, extending it to all sorts of animal names and beyond (lacay-ono). Given the steady accumulation of such preeminently triadic gamuts, does it not stand to reason that the uninterrupted growth of derivational models such as -antia and -entia (witness inf-antia 'babyhood', dol-entia 'sickness') might have stimulated some speakers to fool around with *uerećantia? ¹³

2.10. For good measure one is tempted to throw in, by way of concluding possibility, the off-chance of some purely lexical pressure, which might, e.g., have spread from a certain standard or taboo word not further identifiable at this instance. Such a blend or merger could easily have become operative in deflecting uerećundia from its straight course. In that eventuality, *uerećundia, launched as a tentative substitute for -cundia, is likely to have involved some crude joke, or pun, or coarse sexual allusion easily associable with blushing. One expects to encounter such twists at every step in the speech...anything but polished...of legionsaries stationed in camps. Conceivably, the joke, having run its course during the aftermath of the Punic Wars, had evaporated by the time the Roman armies seized Southern and, thereafter, Northern Gaul. Recall that, in a variety of languages, the same word or word-family, according to the context in which it lends services, can suggest something as harmless as 'restraint, discretion, modesty, bashfulness' and, at the same time, something as scandalous and shocking as 'shame', often with undeniable sexual overtones. For a typological parallel, cf., in Russian, styd (a) 'feeling of shame', flanked by stydv 'bashful', yet (b) 'revolting action or attitude' (= stam, pozor), accompanied by (p)stvdvi 'ignominious', 'contemptible', etc., which, to be sure, are less vituperative than overtly negative bezstvdstvo 'brazeness', bezstvdničat' 'to engage in vulgar behavior', comparable in tone and content to Sp. sinvergüenza, Ptg. sem vergonha. One is also reminded of Lat. urenda side by side with pudenda, the latter also used in English veiled discourse ('external genital organs, vulva'); of the practically parallel use of Sp. vergüezas 'privates'; and of referentially germane lexical items, such as L. cunus, E. cunt, which are, incidentally, not too far removed, along the phonetic axis, from uerećuntia, *-cunia, as here hypothesized. In case this argument has any merit, uerećuntia and *-cunia would represent a pair of socially differentiated pre-Romance variants of Class. -cundia, except that, unlike the situation described above, *-cunia, far from corresponding to the upper socio-educational layer, might involve a downright vulgarism.

2.11. The last point on my agenda for Section 2 is the casting-about for any cogent reason why, after centuries of wavering, Lusophones opted in favor of vergonha, rejecting its competitor vergonça, while the Castilians, conversely, generalized verguñencia, by the same token repudiating verguena. We have already toyed with the idea that in Spanish a slight phonosymbolic advantage of
vergüenza over its rival (especially in exclamations such as: ¡Qué vergüenza! ¡Eres un sinvergüenza!) could have been operative. To grasp the Portuguese gambit in reverse direction, one may appeal to the recently-identified phenomenon of "excessive self-assertion". Between roughly 1400 and 1600, the Portuguese aristocracy and middle class came close to being bilingual, much as Catalonia has been over the last two centuries. In an exaggeratedly puristic effort to rid Portuguese of any words (or constructions) which, though actually native, gave the embarrassing impression of having been imported from Spanish and, in the process, superficially adjusted, the patriots tended to eliminate them. If so, vergonça became the victim of its suspiciously close resemblance to Sp. vergüenza.

3. The next issue on our program is the gradual decay of a morphosyntactic pattern that once flourished amid Class. Latin personal pronouns (to be specific, me, te, se, nobis, uobis) combined with the postposition cum "with". Whether used as preposition (cum amicō "with, in the company of, a friend''), or intercalated between qualifier and noun (magnā cum laude "with high praise''), or else postponed, as here, cum governed the ablative case in Antiquity. Less felicitous, even if sponsored, as late as the early 'thirties, by a Meyer-Lübke, was the tradition of treating mecum and the other members of the set as so many autonomous lexical units.

3.1. The opening gambit, projectable onto the temporal level of Folk Latin, was the replacement of nobiscum 'with us' and uobiscum 'with you' by nōscum, uōscum, vestigially attested. The process lends itself to several explanations, by no means mutually exclusive. One is free to surmise that the monosyllabicity of me, te, se favored the reduction of bisyllabic nobis, uōbis to nos, uōs; or one can contend that the suitability of the subgroup me, te, se for lending service as accusatives and ablatives alike, after the decay of certain better differentiated archaic forms of the paradigm, stimulated influential groups of speakers to endow the other subgroup, namely nos and uōs, with a similar functional latitude; finally, the precipitate decline, in the "sermo plebeius", of dative and ablative forms, generally speaking, may have swept away nobis and uōbis, even where seemingly concealed in idiomatic combinations with cum. The strict exclusion from this tightly organized paradigm of the units matching 'him', 'her', 'it', and 'them' (as against -him-, her-self, etc.) will cause small surprise to those aware of how sharply Latin, in general, tended to separate 3d-person pronouns of this category from the remainder of the set, unless reflexivity was involved.

3.2. Direct Romance continuators of the meanwhile re-structured pentad mecum(m), tecum(m), secum(m), nōscum(m), uōscum(m) are spatio-temporally confined to (a) Hispano-Romance (including several successive phases of their growth); (b) Old Italian; and (c) several South Italian dialects of any period; i.e., on balance, to a mere minority of the better-known branches of written and spoken Romance, with the pervasive tendency to raise the inherited ē to i throughout the singular and, in parallel fashion if to a less sweeping extent, the ŏ to ŭ in the plural. The mere appeal to the verb 'to raise' in this context alerts one to the likelihood that genuine metapny or Umlaut (a label which precisely means 'vowel-raising') is here involved—a suspicion that might stand the chance of hardening into a certainty if the same vowel changes could be shown to have similarly hit other words closely akin in their phonological arrangement.

3.3. In contemporary Spanish, the singular subgroup migo, tigo, sigo, which snugly fits the description so far supplied, is still clearly recognizable as echoing parental me, te, se except that the final segment -go, surely as a result of the voicing and subsequent spirantization of the intervocalic velar consonant, has been irreversibly separated from con, the normal representative of parental cum, and consequently denuded of all meaning, thus exemplifying the status of an "empty morph". Its original function has been taken over by con, interpreted in its role of prefix (or opening component of a compound). In the plural, -co, the arrested counterpart of -go, as expected after s, has been resolutely cast off; as if by compensation, but actually serving a separate purpose, m. otros, f. otras 'other' have been added; cf. Fr. nous autres Anglais 'we Englishmen', without, it is true, any differentiation of gender so highly characteristic of contemporary Spanish. The close cohesion of nos and otros, etc. prompts Hispanophones to write them as a single word, separating them from less tightly conjoined con; conversely, conmigo, unaccompanied by otro, more easily lends itself to being
spelled as a single word.

3.4. Winding our way back from the splash of this big leap to the less exciting step-by-step realizations of evolutionary trends, we are now in a position to aver that the relative autonomy of as many as four processes involved, namely: (a) vowel-raising; (b) preservation or abandonment of the semantically fading word-final segments -co, -go (traceable to the ancestral postposition); (c) transfer of the key-message 'with' to word-initial position (co-, con-); plus, so far as the plural is concerned, (d) addition or omission of the word-final ingredients ort-os, -as, marked as to gender and number, has been the chief cause of a proliferation of competing (or overlapping) possibilities. One can distinguish among the following principal varieties:

(A) Basic type, in every respect most conservative: mego, tego...nosco, vosco, peculiar to past stages (abstention from vowel-raising, preservation of -co, -go and their continued endowment with meaning, failure of con- to be prefixed, absence of -otros, -otras);

(B) Transposition of the carrier of the 'with' message: comigo...connosco ~ coñusco (hesitant vowel-raising, observable in the singular rather than the plural; downgrading of -co, -go to a pair of empty morphs; continued resistance to intrusion of -otrs, -as);

(C) Abandonment of older Sp. comigo, coñusco, two items marked by weakly-contoured word boundaries, in favor of more easily segmentable commigo, con nosotros (a string of lexico-morphemic losses depletes the ranks of items characterized by a raised vowel ʊ > u, while sparing e > i; or by the segment -co, while sparing -go or by -ñ- caught in alternation with -n; invasion of the turf by gradually more and more mandatori -otrs, -as);

(D) Superior conservatism of Portuguese vis-à-vis Spanish shows in these idiosyncrasies: -otrs, -as, although freely available, fall short of full standardization; convosco is kept in the West of the peninsula, while in the Center it yields ground, at first, to coñusco (the partner of coñusco), and is subsequently altogether dropped there.

3.5. All in all, one can tentatively set off the following stages for Spanish, allowing for overlaps and for certain regional distinctions: (a) mego and (b) migo; (γ) con(m)ego beside (δ) con(m)migo; (ε) coñusco giving way to con nosotros-os, -as, similarly con vosco; and eventually, (ζ) the innovation ustedes 'you' (heralded, where appropriate, by con), for polite address, entering the arena. 20

3.6. Given this foreknowledge, we can now revert, with better prospects of success, to the key questions already hinted at: Can the changes (mécum >) mego > migo, (vósicum in lieu of úbicum) > vosco > vosco, etc. be ascribed to the agency of metaphor? The safest reaction to this query is to answer it in the negative, and to fall back instead on lexical contamination or inflectional analogy. For the object cases of the stressed personal pronouns the individual Romance vernaculars, based on the provincial varieties of colloquial Latin, selected as their model either the accusatives/ablative or the datives of the parent tongue, i.e., either mé, té, s... or mihi, tibi, sibi. Hence the familiar contrast between Fr. moi, toi, soi,... (from older mei, tei, sei,...) and Sp. mí, ti, sí,... We can now assert that the shift mego > migo (and its counterparts) illustrates mihi > mi's impact on mécum, etc.

While a shift like së(g) > sï(g) was being executed, it was liable to have secondary repercussions outside the narrowly pronominal domain. In Portuguese, ancestral së(n)su 'perception, feeling, sensation', advancing past the phase seso(s) 'brain(s)', was ultimately pushed in the direction of siso; Spanish, in contrast, has kept seso(s) unaltered. 21

3.7. There occurred yet other vowel shifts in Peninsular pronouns seemingly isomorphic, but in reality motivated by not at all identical causes, differently oriented, and anything but synchronous. Thus, post-medieval separation of masculines from neuters among demonstrative and indefinite pronouns for which, under a set of circumstances not yet fully explained, 22 there suddenly arose a demand amid late-medieval speakers of Portuguese (though not their Spanish contemporaries), rapidly led to the coinage of isto, isso, aquito, tudo in lieu of preceding esto < istud, isso < ipsu(m), aquelo < acu + illu(d), todo < tómu(m), as against unaltered (m.) este /e/ ~ (f.) esta, /e/; (m.) esse ~ (f.) essa; (m.) aqele ~ (f.) aquela; (m.) todo ~ (f.) toda. This peculiar development occurred at such a late date as to have become amenable to direct observation. Spanish, I repeat, had no share in it,
continuing to tolerate, past the watershed of 1500, triads on the order of (m.) este ~ (f.) estás ~ (n.) esto, or resorting to tricks such as lo veo todo, which in its impact matches Ptg. vejo tudo.

4. The concluding problem of concern to us centers about a handful of Spanish deverbals in -ilón, flanking -er and -ir infinitives; e.g., com-ilón 'big eater', dorm-ilón 'sleepy-head', mord-ilón 'sharp-toothed', romp-ilón 'having a habit of breaking', beside com-er, dorm-ir, mord-er, and romp-er. Regionally (e.g., in Peru) one also runs across a few items ending in -ilón, hugging -ar verbs, among them convers-alón 'chatty', peg-alón 'given to beating', tropez-alón 'stumbling easily', while in Mexico and sections of Central America counterparts in -elón, bracketed with -er infinitives, are reported to have surfaced: com-elón 'big eater', mord-elón as a facetious designation of 'a (bribe-taking) traffic cop'—two additional witnesses to the voice of suffixal vowel gamuts.24

4.1. At the outset, Latin formations in -g/-gón were, typically, denotinal: ped-0/-gón 'foot soldier', later 'road-builder', from pés, pēde 'foot' (cf. Sp. peón). Subsequently, vernacular derivatives from verbs, with (m.) -ón respond-ón, -ona 'ever-ready to reply', extracted from respond-er: grit-ón, -ona 'vociferous', elicited from gritar, a phonosymbolically orchestrated verb, rather than from the corresponding noun grito, including the adverbial phrase a gritos; mand-ón, -ona 'accustomed to giving orders', from mand-er. All derivatives geared to the composite (or, better still, expanded) suffixes -ilón, plus the rarer -alón and -elón, turn out to be deverbal.

4.2. While searching for some suitable attachment, and having made sure that pan-Hispanic dorm-ilón could plausibly have acted as the leader word and (thus tendentially have imposed its characteristic penultimate vowel even on derivatives from com-er, mord-er, and romp-er), we stumble over ftr. dorm-ilgianco 'to dose', to which dorm-ilgionce, -a 'lazy riser' and dorm-ilgioso, -a 'sleepy' seem to be subordinated. By experimentally reversing this hierarchy, we propose dorm-ilgione as the leader of the contingent of Italian cognates; this move gives us the obvious benefit of theword's ready comparability with Sp. dorm-il-ón. Could fairly isolated Sp. dormilón then have been a borrowing from better-integrated ftr. dormiglione? For all its instantaneous seductiveness, this hypothesis, on second thought, loses much of its plausibility. We happen to know a good deal about Italianisms in Spanish, absorbed, as a rule, between 1400 and 1700; they relate to such facets of culture and material civilization as: titles, forms of address, interjections, names of games, plays, and pastimes, features of travel and of rural living, the home and its interior design, garments, jewelry and adornments, cuisine, intimate life, moral qualities, contagious diseases, not to mention terms of fine arts, all sorts of performances, and literary crafts, armed forces and lay-out of fortifications, fleet and merchant marine, etc.25 With all these domains dorm-il-ón, obviously, has nothing at all in common.

4.3. Could dormilón, alternatively, involve *dormirón (from the infin. dormir), with dissimilation of the second t to L, as in cárcel 'jail, prison' (from carcere) and in mármol 'marble' (from marmore), also in corcel 'steed' from borrowed OFr. corsier (=mod. coursier) < cursāriu, akin to currere 'to run'? While the rule (or mere tendency) thus invoked is tenable,26 its application to the case at hand would be unrealistic, since no derivatives are known to have split off from integral infinitive forms in Spanish, except where habitually substantived infinitives were involved, as with pesar-osor 'sorrowful, uneasy' and poder-osor 'powerful'.

4.4. Having staggered through two blind alleys, we may now forgivably turn our attention to an, at first glance, entirely different set of circumstances. The Latin inventory of zooonyms included uesper-t-iló 'bat', from uesper 'evening'—the name of an animal notoriously active by night, yet shockingly sleepy by day; for the roots of intercalated -t- observe the adj. uesper-t-imus 'belonging to evening' (cf. G. 'abendlich', R. 'večernj',), while the segment -iló reminds one of pap-iló 'moth, butterfly' familiar from Fr. papillon. The preservation of uesper-t-iló in two Romance-speaking peninsulas, the Apennine (Olt. vipistrello, mod. pipistrello) and the Iberian (Ast. espertevu, Gal. espertello), either one extracted from the parental nominative picked in exceptional preference to the oblique case) allows one to visualize Sp. *dormiló (which could have given rise to dormilón) and ftr. dormigliare (which defensibly underlies dormiglione) as having been independently transmitted from a common source in Folk Latin—a jocose elaboration on dormire suggestive of the erratic behavior of that animal (which not a few folks in those distant centuries held to be a bird)—namely,
the bat. This impression is reinforced by the existence of dormiller in French and of dormilhar in Old Provençal, which jointly form a territorial bridge between the two aforementioned peninsulas, and thus encourage us to push back into Antiquity the putative date for the mintage of the common ancestor.

5. To compress our stray impressions so far gathered and to cast into bolder relief the intended message: In all three cases here scrutinized, phonological arguments applied in isolation failed to lead us as far as one might, in an optimistic mood, have initially hoped for. Appeals to phonology alone sufficed to account for OSP. vergüenza and Ptg. vergonha, but to justify more successful verguênsa and less lucky vergonha, attention had to be riveted also to entirely different alliances of forces active in language growth, including the possible crystallization of an ephemeral suffixal vowel gamut -ântia/-entia/*-untia. The change of mecum to mego and thence to migo or, via analogy (or symmetry, or plain parallelism) the shift of nosco to nusco, etc., or else the transmutation of se(r)us to sêso and from there, in Portuguese alone, to sîso, cannot serve as valid bits of evidence for the agency of metonymy, at least not under the given set of conditions: archaic mego became migo under heavy pressure from mí 'me', but the unraveling of that knot also required careful study of compositional models involving com, as post- and pre-position, and also outro. Finally, dormilón as the leader of a small group of Spanish colloquialisms ending either in -elón or, less commonly, in -alón, -élon requires meticulous study of an unprecedented suffix, the starting point of whose zigzagging itinerary is best placed in the name of a strangely behaving animal, namely Lat. usperilitor 'bat'. Should the solutions here cautiously advocated in the end turn out to be correct, then nobody should rejoice more in this than the true phonologist, whose path, as a result of the cleaning process here undertaken, may well have become less cluttered.

Endnotes

1 In picking illustrations of modern-day usage, I have checked my memory against the information provided by standard dictionaries, mono- and bi-lingual, including those compiled by Figueiredo (1925), Reynolds (1962), Ušakov (1935-40), and Williams (1955). My principal sources for Latin were: Ernout & Meillet (1959-60) and Glare (1968-82).

2 -Bund- and -cund- were the twin adjectival suffixes not transmitted into Romance, except as weakly characterized ingredients of individual words, chiefly Latinisms (cf. Fr. moribond, Sp. moribundo). Latin examples of the two series were plentiful: fâ-cundus 'eloquent', fe-cundus 'fertile, abundant', trâ-cundus 'hot-, quick-tempered, resentful', üi-cundus 'delightful'; gaudi-bundus 'rejoicing', mîrâ-bundus 'amazed', pudi-bundus 'bashful', uagâ-bundus 'strolling around'.

3 Corominas (1957:713), additionally, lists the 19th-century Latinisms (in)vercund and vercundia and several vernacular items of marginal importance, including sinvergóniz and poca verguênsa, the latter flanked by Cat. pocavergonya. He further documents medieval desvergonç-ar(se) and -amiento as well as isolated occurrences of vergoncar, envergonç-ar and -amiento. The syntax of a- and des-vergoncar was previously studied with microscopic precision by Rufino José Cuervo (1886: 806-7; 1893: 1190-91).

4 The recession of -ia, however, was carried out less energetically than is usually assumed. There was sufficient time, Meyer-Lübke argued in both editions of his influential dictionary, for *spiss-ia 'thickness, tightness' and *strictia 'narrowness, contraction' to have sprung into existence in Gallo-Latin (1911-20, 1930-35:§§ 8159, 8302, 8305), while OSP. premia, which underlies mod. premioso 'tight, close, troublesome, strict, rigid, slow, heavy, dull' and the corresponding abstract in -idad, was independently traced back to Hispano-Latin usage. For circumstantial discussion of this point, with full use of the phrases a premia, por premia, sin premia, salir de premia, etc., see Malkiel, 1953-55: 108-11 ).
The chief protagonists of that controversy—after a short play-off in Paris—were A. Horning (1883), R. J. Cuervo (on two occasions), J. D. M. Ford, J. Saroïhandy, and O. J. Tallgren-Tuulio; but A. Mussafia, G. Baist, W. Meyer-Lübke, R. Menéndez Pidal, J. Subak, and yet other investigators each also played a role in the dispute. For a partial summary of the results (and of the issues left unsolved) see two earlier papers of my own (1971: 1-52; 1982: 586-600).

It is helpful to remind oneself of the long-prevalent pronunciation of the ç as /s/; cf. G. zischen, a verb applying to reproachful or reprovable interjections uttered by spectators, or to R. cykat [ˈsykat] 'to shout in threatening manner'. Conversely, the /n/ is widely associated with tenderness; cf. Sp. niño 'little child', ñño 'delicate, plaintive', 'decrepit, impaired by age' < *noño.

In Galician, vergoña and its word-family (adjectives in -oso and -ento; -ar verbs ushered in by a-, des- or en-, etc.) prevail by a wide margin over vergonça and its system of satellites. Nevertheless, traces of vergonça have been discovered at Redondela; avergonzarse is characteristic of Pontevedra; conversely, in Lugo and Orense vergoña and its prongs clearly prevail. Speakers left undecided have at their disposal numerous synonyms of, e.g., avergonzar(se). For details see Carré Alvarellos (1933) and Crespo Pozo (1963), s.vv.

Dévergondage was preceded by dévergonnement, and dévergoncé for a while stood in competition with desvergonné, not to elaborate on its rivalry with chonté, from honte. The leading French dictionaries, starting with Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, Thomas' (1890-1900), supply excellent information on the early use of the individual variants, but stop short of accurately defining the relation between vergogne and vergonde.

The etymology, which goes back to Cornu (1882: 95), is the more dependable as rigonha occurs in the translation of a passage of a Church Latin text, in which tracundia actually was used. The disappearance of the "dangling" (i.e., word-initial) front vowel can be explained away through application of the Lex Ascoli; the -rä- > ri- step (to say the least, unusual) may, in turn, lose some of its strangeness through appeal to the elimination of (Tracundu).

Romance linguists have demonstrably been operating with the concept of vocalic gamuts, in regard to suffixal derivation, for over a century. For details see two articles of mine awaiting publication (Forthcoming a and b).

There exists a whole congeries of fairly recent writings, most of them middle-sized notes or short articles, on words entering into these three series. The latest approximation to a synthesis is Dworkin's monograph (1985), of which I prepared a lengthy critical appraisal (1986: 282-301).

Over the years, I have devoted several consecutive inquiries into the three series here alluded to (1950: 17-45; 1959: 241-90; 1988: 409-34). The analysis developed there can be advantageously contrasted with the methods put to use by Hanssen (1913: §§ 270, 292); Alemany Bolufer (1920: §§ 21, 27, 107, 110, 170); and Alvar & Pottier (1983:§ 309).

Galician-Portuguese shows the parallel development of -anca and -enca at its most effective. In Castilian, the diphthongization of ñ in -entía > -ienca (cf. OSP. semienza 'seed') may have crippled that parallelism, but this thwarting process has little to do with the late-antique crystallization of *uerέcuntia. The Latin -ientía variant, as in sapientia 'wisdom', had little bearing on the evolution here surveyed, except among words transmitted through learned channels. Some segments of my (1945: 41-186) monograph bear re-formulation.

See forthcoming c and the epitome published in 1989: 44, under No. 117d.
I discuss similar chains of events in certain forthcoming publications; the reasons adduced are summarized in (1989: 42-43, under Nos. 114 and 115). The analysis of verécundia here offered differs in several respects from the approach I had recourse to on a preceding occasion (1944: 501-20). For a critical reaction to those early stirrings of my curiosity see Piel (1949: 283-85).

Even though, in his comparative phonology, the Vienna Romanist correctly interpreted co(n)migo as influenced by mi, and conusco as patterned on conigo (1890:§§ 120, 147), he proceeded somewhat capriciously in his dictionary, by arranging for separate entries for mēcum, tēcum, sēcum (1930[-35]:§§ 5450, 8610a, 7771a), yet neglecting to accord a similar quota of attention to nṓbiscum, uóbiscum. The course taken by French, radically at difference with whatever is observable in the two peninsulas, cannot be separated from the rise in Romanized Gaul of the adv. avec < ab (or ad) hoc, comparable to G. dazu, Fr. davantage, which eventually was called upon to function as a preposition (avec) and thus to act as an heir to con.

E.g., in the Appendix Probi (§§ 220-21). Baehrens (1922: 124-25), in discussing at some length the relevant passage, not only mentions [O]lt. nosco, vosco beside Sp. connigo, contigo, but also adduces arch. quicu(m) 'with whom' and its occasional elaboration conquicu in epigraphic context. He further documents instances of confusion of accusative and ablative (with the former usually emerging as the winner) after other prepositions, e.g., with prae echoing proper; the ambiguity of se proved contagious in the widespread inscriptive formula pro se et suos 'for himself and his kinsfolk'.

For details see Sommer (1914:§§ 261-62), Kent (1946:§§ 308-10), and Ernout (1953:§§ 148-53). Even though reduplicative même and méd (its -d due to transfer from id 'it', illud 'that there', quid 'what') for a while were used interchangeably in accusative and ablative, their differentiation, had it been wanted, might easily have been achieved. Mihi, at the start, was at a certain disadvantage as a result of its lack of structural affinity with tibi and sibi; but the loss of -h- and -b- abolished the differentiating feature, making mi, ti, si eligible for a new role in nascent Luso-Hispano-Romance.

By the same token, the--increasingly prominent--non reflexive 3d-person pronouns in Romance can be bracketed with demonstratives: The progenies of ille, iste, and ipses clearly belong together, and the first two groups, moreover, share a certain susceptibility to adoption of either eccus- or accu- as a prefixed deictic element. In addition to aequel medieval and classical Spanish boasted aqueste, etc. Old French can here serve as a helpful foil to Spanish (Meyer-Lübke, 1913:§§ 264-65).

Only a modicum of sources can here be briefly identified. Williams (1962, 1968:§ 140.3) provides an overview of old and modern Portuguese variants and discusses the rivalry between co- and combefore migo, but remains inexplicit about the relation of g- to i-forms. Examples of OPt. comeo ~ cómg, comigo, migo, nosco, sigo, tigo, vosco can be culled from Rodrigues Lapa (1970: 24, 25, 62, 67, 97, 103, 110). Earlier, an equally valuable network of textual references for OPt. commgo, comigo, con migo, con nosco, consigo, contigo, convosco, convusco, mego, migo, nosco, sigo, vosco ~ voscu, and vosco was established by Michaelis de Vasconcelos (1905-20: 20, 21, 22, 53, 56, 60, 86, and 94). After 1500, the margin of wavering among Hispanophones dwindled to co- ~ con- before -migo, according to Keniston (1937: 56). Lloyd's flawless bird's-eye view presentation of the entire problem (1987: 278) derives its extra strength from mention of Leon. nosco, vosco; whatever his source on that score, it was not the celebrated monograph by Staaff (1907: 271) who, while meritoriously documenting from charters OLeon, connusco and convosco, -vusco, slipped in espousing J. Cornu's untenable conjecture (1884: 291).

See Malkiel (1988b: 44-55). A cross-connection with esso > isso, esto > isto may have been operative (see the following); however, it was Spanish rather than Portuguese that, in the end,
advanced *mesmo* to *mismo* 'same'.

22 See Malkiel (1981: 91-107). One suspects that the differentiation of the stress vowels in (m.) *éste* /es/ and (f.) *esta* /es/ etc. could have acted as the prime stimulus for the transmutation of (n.) *esto* into *isto*, but this motivation does not hold for *todo > tuto*, which must consequently be categorized as an instance of analogically caused repercussion.

23 Considerations of space prevent me from examining in depth the Italian evidence. In the Southern dialect zone, forms with and without *con-* (its nasal subject to assimilation to the following consonant) are seen to alternate. In the Abruzzi, Rohlfs observed the use of /meko/, /nosko/; in Southern Lazio he recorded *comméco*, *cottéco*; to justify metathetic *miecu*, *tiecu* in Northern Calabria and Lucania, he saw himself forced to operate with [*]mécu, [*]técu (1949: 61-62). Schuchardt’s magisterial note on It. *a teco meco* 'you or I' (uttered in a defiant tone) follows the semantic decay of this phrase, after it percolated into Southern German (*Techtel-mechtel* 'secret understanding' > 'confusion, chaos') and, from there, even into Czech: *tchacy-machy* 'rumor mongering'. Equally fascinating is Schuchardt’s allusion to Basque *teke-meke* 'provocation’, except that he stops short of reconstituting convincingly its all-important itinerary (1907: 30-31).

24 I owe knowledge of several items, chiefly those ending in -elón, to John F. Levy (pers. comm.), who, as a child, overheard them in Mexico City, but recently derived pleasure from re-acquainting himself with a few through a thoroughly updated dictionary (Smith et al., 1971). Levy correctly remarks that Mex. *vaci-lón* 'merrymaker, reveller' can be only indirectly invoked in the context of -ilón. The most successful collector of relevant colloquialisms has been, over the years, Beinhauer, roughly from 1930 until 1968 (passim).

25 While details of Terlingen’s Utrecht dissertation, devoted to this topic (1943), were subjected to criticism by J. E. Gillet and, in a more severe vein, by J. Corominas and other reviewers, the cultural ambit of the flow of borrowings he circumscribed turned out to be reliable.

26 For exemplification see Posner (1961: 105-24); and for criticism, Togeby (1964: 642-67, esp. 665-66). The relation between Gallo-Rom. *-el, -i(e)r* and Sp. *-el* was studied in searching detail by A. K. Levy (1967: 296-320).

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