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THE ROLE OF MULTIPLE CAUSATION IN THE GENESIS OF THE SPANISH SUFFIX *-ido*

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The role of multiple causation in language change and that of etymology in the advancement of historical grammar are two of the major themes running through the writings of Yakov Malkiel. Diachronists have long realized that more than one force may lie behind a given linguistic mutation. Until Malkiel's pioneering essay (1967), no specialist had attempted to study systematically and at a high level of abstraction the mechanics of multiple causation. This concept invites a dual interpretation. On one hand, multiple causation can refer to a number of discrete factors whose combined action leads to the genesis and spread of a given linguistic shift. In such a case, the analyst may attempt to identify and isolate primary from secondary causes and rank the impact of the individual forces at work (cf. Malkiel 1977). Viewed from the other angle, multiple causation often appears to be synonymous (or to overlap) with the notion of formal convergence. Here a series of unconnected events may tend to yield an identical or at least comparable result. The latter approach to multiple causation may prove invaluable in tracing the rise of a Romance derivational suffix for which there seems to exist no clear-cut single source in the parent language.

Etymologists have long known that successful work in their specialty demands recourse to the knowledge furnished by all branches of historical grammar -- phonology, morphology (inflectional, derivational, and compositional), syntax, and semantics. Unfortunately, today's practitioners of historical grammar, especially students of morphology and syntax, have tended to ignore the findings made available by the probings of etymologists into the histories of individual lexical items, word families, or semantic fields. This attitude has resulted in the well-documented estrangement (to the disadvantage of all parties) of etymology and historical grammar. Two major essays by Malkiel (1980, forthcoming) attempt to restore the balance. The first illustrates the crucial role of etymology in identifying and determining the validity of "minor" sound correspondences. Among the points made in the second paper -- whose avowed goal is the injection of new life into etymology -- is the inclusion within this discipline's scope of the rise of affixal as well as root morphemes.

In what follows I shall make use of multiple causation and the results of individual lexical biographies to account for the genesis of a Spanish derivational pattern. Space limitations rule out a detailed discussion here of the history of each form cited, the airing of all relevant side issues, and a review of the pertinent technical literature. A monograph of mine currently in preparation will treat these matters at appropriate length. Although individual lexical items had received close scrutiny, Malkiel was the first scholar to have drawn attention to the derivational pattern at issue (1946) and to have proposed tentative diachronic analyses (1966).

Medieval and modern Hispano-Romance contain a series of adjectives with the terminal segment *-ido* which synchronically do not function as the past participle of a corresponding *-er* or *-ir* verb. Those few *-ido* adjectives which organically continue such participles represent relics of verbs which had long ago fallen into disuse. Many of these adjectives are linked by a common semantic thread, namely the absence or attenuation of a given physical or mental quality.

I have divided the pertinent material into three groups, depending on the nature of the base. In Group I, *-ido* is a segmentable suffix attached to a clearly identifiable nominal base, to which a prefix has -- in all likelihood, simultaneously -- been added:

adolorido 'sad, afflicted' (*dolor* 'pain'), *amodorrido* 'sleepy, drowsy' (*modorro* 'drowsiness'), Ast. *asombriu* (with *iu* as the local equivalent of *-ido*) 'growing in the shade' (*sombra*

'shade'), *desabrido* 'insipid, unpleasant' (*sabor* 'taste'), *desanguido* 'anemic' (OSp. *sangue*, mod. *sangre* 'blood'), *descolorido* 'pale, colorless' (*color* 'color'), OSp. *desfam-*, *desfambr-ido* 'hungry, famished' (OSp. *famne* ~ *fambre*, mod. *hambre* 'hunger'), *desmedrido* 'downhearted' (*miedo* 'fear'), *despavorido* 'scared' (*pavor* 'fear'), Ast. *enganiu* 'hungry' (*gana* 'desire, want'), OSp. *entenebrido* 'darkened' (OSp. *tiniebras*, mod. *-blas* 'darkness').

All these formations carry a negative connotation, reinforced in many instances by the prefixes *a-*, *des-*, and *en-*.

In Group II, *-ido* is affixed to adjectival bases again as part of a parasynthetic derivational pattern:

amortido 'dead' (*muerto* 'dead'), *denegrido* 'blackened' (*negro* 'black'), *de-*, *re-sequido* 'very dry' (*seco* 'dry'), OSp. *empobrido* 'poor, impoverished' (*pobre* 'poor'), *endurido* 'hardened, obdurate' (*duro* 'hard'), *enflauido* 'weakened' (*flaco* 'weak, thin'), *en-*, *regordido* 'swollen, excessively fat' (*gordo* 'fat'), OSp. *enloquido* 'mad' (*loco* 'mad, crazy'), *enralido* 'rendered sparse' (*ralo* 'sparse' vs *raro* 'rare, uncommon'), *ensangostido* 'narrowed down' (*angosto* 'narrow'), *renegrido* 'very black' (*negro*), OSp. *repretido* 'id.' (OSp. *prieto* 'black'), *revejido* 'prematurely aged' (*viejo* 'old'), *reverdido* 'green' (*verde* 'green').

Except for *reverdido*, all these items have a decidedly negative flavor.

In those adjectives which comprise Group III, *-ido* can best be labeled a "suffixoid". An etymological analysis discloses at least three subclasses. Group IIIa *-ido* adjectives appear to continue Latin bases in *-ITU*:

OSp. *bell-*, *vell-ido* 'handsome, beautiful', possibly traceable to MELLITU 'honey-like', OSp. *sencido* 'intact, virgin (of a field)' < SANCITU, ppc. of SANCIRE 'to forbid entry', OSp. *transido* 'dead' < TRANSITU, ppc. of TRANSIRE 'to cross over'.

Group IIIb adjectives originally functioned as participles of *-er* and *-ir* verbs:

aterido 'stiff with cold, shivering with cold' (OSp. **aterir*; cf. *aterecer*) alongside *enterido* 'shivering with fear or fever', *desvaído* 'lank, gaunt' (**desvair*; see Dworkin 1977), *esperido* 'exhausted, emaciated' (**esperir*), *florido* 'flowered' (**florir*; cf. *florece*. Fr. *fleurir*, It. *fiorire*), *manido* 'spoiled, gamey (of meat)' (OSp. *man-er*, *-ir* 'to remain'), OSp. *tollido* (mod. *tull-*) 'paralyzed' (*toller* 'to take away'; see Dworkin forthcoming).

A handful of Gallicisms adjusted to Spanish morphophonological conditions constitutes Group IIIc:

OSp. *ardido* ~ *fardido* (var. *faldrido*) 'astute, bold, daring' (OProv. *ardit* ~ OFr. *hardi* 'id.'), (*des*)*marrido* 'sad' (OFr. *marri* 'id.'), (*d*)*esmaído* 'feeble' (OFr. *esmai* 'worry, trouble'), *fornido* 'strong, robust' (OFr. *forni* 'id.', mod. *fourni*), *garrido* 'handsome, beautiful' (OFr. *garni* 'adorned, ornate'), *malbaylido* 'poorly cared for' (OFr. *mal-*, *maubailli* 'id.').

It seems worth noting that all the Gallo-Romance forms are of Germanic origin. Once again, I would point out, a sizable proportion of the Spanish adjectives are negatively tinged.

Several adjectives from Group III represent long-standing etymological cruxes. The *v-* of OSp. *vellido*, OPTg. *velido* seems to rule out a genetic link with the family of BELLUS 'beautiful; handsome'. The derivation of *bell-*, *vell-ido* from MELLITU, first suggested by Malkiel (1946), was received with considerable skepticism in some quarters. Although the development is plausible on semantic grounds, its acceptance demands a cogent explanation (such as a lexical blend?) of the change observable in the initial labial. Dworkin 1979 presents evidence to support

Spitzer's hunch that *sencido* harks back to *SANCĪTU* rather than to *SINCĒRU* 'pure', a base favored by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos and Vicente García de Diego. Although most authorities experience no difficulty in linking *transido* directly to *TRANSĪTU*, I wonder whether the Spanish adjective might actually go back to OFr. *transi*. The family of *TRĀNSĪRE* appears to have enjoyed greater vitality in Gallo-Romance which preserved inflected forms echoing *transi*; in contrast, Hispano-Romance provides no additional evidence for such a verb. Experts have failed to settle on a suitable etymon for *aterido*/*aterir* (which may be a Romance formation based, in the final analysis, on *entero* 'whole, intact'). The equation *garrido* < *garni* is suggested in Dworkin 1980.

The starting point for the adjectives in Group II lies in the past participles of OSP. de-adjectival verbs in *-ir*. While Malkiel 1941 and Nelson 1972 retain a fair measure of usefulness, the history of such verbs in Hispano-Romance largely remains to be written. The medieval record indicates that speakers favored parasyntetic de-adjectival verbs which opened with a prefix (typically *a-*, *en-/em-*) and closed with the "inchoative" suffix *-ecer*, e.g., *aclarecer* 'to make clear; to dawn' (*claro* 'clear'), *enriquecer* 'to make rich' (*rico* 'rich'). Variants in *-ar* were not unknown; witness *atristar* 'to sadden' (*triste* 'sad'), ousted by *enrístecer*, *engordar* 'to fatten' (*gordo* 'fat'), *aclerar* 'to clarify' (*claro* 'clear') alongside *esclarecer*. Although scholars agree that many *-ecer* verbs dislodged their *-ir* counterparts, the older language provides only scraps of evidence for the shorter verbs. *Enbravir* 'to anger' (*bravo* 'wild, untamed') turns up in both MSS of the *Alexandre* (2172b). The Aragonese flavored MS P of that poem contains inf. *enflaquir* 'to weaken' (*flaco*) at 537a, 690b, 2259c, and pret. *enflaquió* at 1125c. The gerund *engordiendo* found in both MSS at 2645 (though in different verses) presupposes *engordir* 'to swell up' (*gordo*); cf. *engurdir* in the Leonese subdialect of Céspedes de Tormes. Substantival *enloquimiento* 'madness' reflects *enloquir*. The Old Spanish Bible preserved in Escorial MS 1-j-6 documents pret. *esclarió* < *esclarir* (*claro*). Several texts offer forms belonging to the paradigm of *establr* 'to establish' (*estable*). Also on record are scattered examples of ONav.-Arag. *enrequir* (*rico*), *enfranquir* 'to free' (*franco*) and *ennerir* 'to blacken' (presupposing **nero*, as in Italian, rather than *negro*?).

Consequently, it seems reasonable to contend that the adjectives of Group II entered Hispano-Romance as the past participles of short-lived *-ir* verbs. Almost all instances of these adjectives attested before 1300 are found in texts traceable to the Eastern part of the Hispano-Romance linguistic domain (the poetry of Berceo, also *Libro de Apolonio*, *Libro de Alexandre*, *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca*, *Fueros de Aragón*, *Liber Regum*). Could the formal models provided by neighboring Cat. *amortit*, *desnerit*, *empobrit*, *endurit*, *enflaquit*, *engordit*, *enrarit*, *en-revellit*, *reverdit* have played a role in the survival of their Hispanic counterparts after the local demise of the corresponding *-ir* verbs?

Group I presents the greatest difficulties as a morphological class. True, Latin contained a handful of denominal adjectives in *-ĪTUS*: witness *AVĪTUS* 'ancestral' (*AVUS* 'grandfather'), *FOLLĪTUS* 'provided with a leather bag' (*FOLLIS* 'leather bag, bellows'), *MELLĪTUS* 'honey-like' (*MEL* 'honey'), *ORBĪTUS* 'circle-shaped' (*ORBIS* 'circle'), *PATRĪTUS* 'father-like' (*PATER* 'father'), *PELLĪTUS* 'dressed in skins' (*PELLIS* 'skin'), *PENĪTUS* 'equipped with a tail' (*PENIS* 'tail'), *TURRĪTUS* 'equipped with towers' (*TURRIS* 'tower'). Yet not one of these adjectives underlies a Spanish formation in Group I. Few Romance dialects display denominal adjectives which formally correspond to these *-ido* formations. Noteworthy is the absence of cognates in Portuguese and Catalan. Adams (1913: 304) lists six such adjectives for Old Provençal; *acerit* 'steel-like' (*acier*), *aibit* 'perfect' (*aip* 'good quality'), *maestrit* 'artificial' (*maestre* 'master'), *fraidit* 'rascally' (Gmc. *fraid* 'rascal?'), *poestadit* 'powerful' (*poestat* 'power'), *volit* 'vaulted' (*volta* 'vault'). Wagner (1952: § 91) reports four pertinent formations in the Logudorese dialect of Sardinia: *lanidu* 'mouldy, musty' (*lana* 'wool; mould'), *famidu* 'starved' (*fāmine* 'hunger'), reminiscent of OSp. *desfamido*, *ag-*, *in-ganidu* 'desirous' (*gana* 'desire' a Hispanism; cf. Ast. *enganu*), *limido* 'mouldy, musty' (*limu* 'mould, must'). In all likelihood the adjectives in Group I arose within Hispano-Romance and do not hark back to Latin denominal adjectives in *-ĪTUS*.

I wish to suggest here that the forms in Groups II and III provided the model of *-ido* adjectives bereft of a corresponding verb for the minting of Group I. Why did this group spring into existence? The only attempt to answer this question appears in Malkiel 1966: 333-336. Spanish (and the other Romance Languages) had inherited numerous denominal adjectives in $\bar{\text{A}}\text{TU}$ and a smaller series of such adjectives in $\bar{\text{U}}\text{TU}$. The ranks of such formations had swelled in Late Latin and at the early stages of the Romance vernaculars. In Hispano-Romance the resulting *-ado* adjectives indicated resemblance or some kind of relationship, with no semantic overtones. On the other hand, *-udo* adjectives denoted 'excess, abundance,' especially in reference to overdeveloped parts of the body; contrast *barbado* 'bearded' with *barbudo* 'thickly-bearded'. Students of derivational morphology know that Spanish tends to organize suffixes in gamuts centered on a consonantal pillar, e.g., *-ano*, *-ino*, *-uno*; *-asco*, *-esco*, *-isco*. The Old Spanish verbal system had accustomed speakers to the triadic pattern of arrhizotonic participles in *-ado*, *-ido*, *-udo*, which could secondarily function as independent adjectives. Malkiel hypothesized that speakers attempted to round out the vocalic gamut of denominal adjectives by coining the *-ido* adjectives of Group I which, by denoting the lack or inadequacy of a given quality, contrasted semantically with their *-ado* and *-udo* counterparts.

Several closely-related issues invite further exploration. What is the relationship and affinity, if any, of *-ido* so used to other suffixes with stressed /i/ and to other adjectival suffixes? Why did only a handful of Spanish nouns spawn such negatively-flavored *-ido* adjectives? This paper has limited itself to demonstrating that a careful examination of each lexical item's history is needed to understand the genesis of these *-ido* adjectives. Etymological probings have shown that such formations go back to diverse sources: Latin bases in $\bar{\text{T}}\text{TU}$, past participles of obsolete *-er* and *-ir* verbs, Gallo-Romance adjectives in *-i*, and local vernacular creations designed to fill a gap in the language's derivational pattern. Disparate linguistic events have come together to create this series of *-ido* adjectives. Multiple causation here overlaps with convergence.

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