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II.—APOPHONY AND RHYME WORDS IN VULGAR LATIN ONOMATOPOEIAS.

The vocabulary of language is extended mainly through combination of preexisting elements and through semantic change. This however should not induce us to underrate the importance of spontaneous creations at all periods of linguistic evolution. The relation between sound and meaning, as a rule, of course, is merely traditional and conventional. In a few cases however there is some connection between the sounds of a word and the ideas, feelings or sensations associated with it. The sound in that case is a natural symbol, though even there convention is far from being absent. Of that type, of course, are the onomatopoeias that are created from time to time, such as *chickadee*, *bobolink* and other imitative words adopted by the colonists in America. But the imitation is not always so complete. It may be more discrete. The harmony may exist between the movements, tensions, relaxations, etc. associated with ideas and those associated with the production of certain sounds, as e. g. relaxation and *fl* in Eng. *flabby*, Fr. *flasque*, Lat. *flaccus*, Du. *flauw*, etc.; disgust and *-ouille* in Fr. *fripouille*, *bredouille*, *patouille*, etc. There are many other sounds which could as well evoke those sensations and often enough (as e. g. Fr. *-ouille* from *s-ouille* = Lat. *sucula*), the relation is a secondary one but still, in the minds of the people, the association exists and may prove capable of generating new words connected with similar sensations. In that way e. g. Eng. *smash*, *clash*, etc. seem to have been formed from *dash*, *thrash*, etc.

Another harmony exists between pitch and sound. Clear vowels associate better with high notes and dark sounds with low tone. Hence the vowel variation in onomatopoeias of motion as Eng. *chitchat*, *seesaw*, *tiptop*, *pingpong*, Fr. *zigzag*, *tictac*, Germ. *piffpaffpuff*, *bimbambum*, etc. that symbolize the rhythms of various movements. Hence the use of clear vowels for activity or intensity, proximity, smallness, while *o*, *u* are for passivity, gloom, remoteness, broadness, as in Batta

(Malayan) where "to creep" is *džarar* in general, *džirir* for small beings, *džurur* for big ones (cf. Gabelentz, Sprachwissenschaft, p. 222) or as in Woloff (Sudanese) in local suffixes: *baybe* "my here father", *bayba* "my there father", *baybu* "my yonder father". Wundt (Sprache I p. 3, 199) has collected many instances of that kind of phenomena. They play an important part in the grouping of words in our memory. In the same way as ideas are associated because they suggest similar images (metaphors), words can form series on account of a phonetic similitude.

Two types of series are most generally found. Either the same phonetic combination produces several words through variation of the accented vowel (Germ. *bammeln*, *bimmeln*, *bummeln*), or parts of a phonetic combination are transmitted to other words of kindred meaning (Eng. *flash*, *flare*, *flimmer*, or *mash*, *dash*, *clash*, etc.).

While both these types of formations have only been studied superficially in our modern languages, the material that Vulgar Latin can provide has remained practically neglected up to now, although it is especially abundant and presents a special interest for the history of many a Romance word.

I. ONOMATOPOEIC APOPHONY.

In the same way as we have imitative combinations as Eng. *pingpong*, *seesaw*, Fr. *zigzag*, Germ. *bimbambum*, etc. (cf. supra) we keep in our minds series like Germ. *knarren*, *knurren*, *knirren*; *flattern*, *flittern*; Fr. *claquer*, *cliquer*, etc.

Such series are due to variations in the impressions made on us by noises as well as to an unconscious rhythmical feeling in ourselves.

The vocalic scale, according to the general principles expounded above, corresponds roughly to changes in the quality of our sensations or affections. This correspondence, however, is often of a subtle character and often enough the vocalic change is influenced by the reminiscence of words, hovering in our memory. The latter phenomenon, known under the name of contamination, has been very active even in the traditional elements of language. Its action must have been much more decisive on those elements of speech that are directly under the influence of feeling and associations of feelings. Wundt

(Sp. p. 620) in the Germ. series *baumeln*, *bammeln*, *bimmeln*, *bummeln* thus explains *bammeln* as due to the influence of Germ. *Baum*. In *bummeln* on the other hand, I think, one would hardly deny the probability of a discrete influence of *dumm*, *stumm*, *stumpf*, *dumpf*, etc. referring to relaxation and non-sense. In the same way, besides *potta* "thick lip" and **patta* "thick foot", exists **pauta* (hence Eng. *paw*) apparently under the influence of *plauta* "planis pedibus" which itself was a member in a secondary series *plotta* "flat fish" (Gr. τὰ πλωτά), *plattus-platta* "flat" (Gr. πλατός), *plautus* "flat-footed", *plauta* "sole".

The series of *patta* and *platta* to which we are thus alluding here deserves to be the first to attract our attention on account of the various interesting phenomena which it illustrates:

I. **patta* and **pauta* are held to be of Teutonic origin. This, however, is not very likely. It is not common to find a genuine Germanic word with an initial *p*. Moreover the Teutonic representatives of it: Du. *poot*, Germ. *Pfote* are quite isolated in those languages and are almost as clearly derived from Latin as Eng. *paw* comes from O. Fr. *poue*. With Prov. *pauto*, all those words go back to Lat. **pauta*. *Patta*, on the contrary, survives not only in Fr. *patte* but also in Sp. *pata*, Port. *pata* "duck" and appears thus to be the earlier form. In all these languages **patta* and **pauta* are familiar and depreciative words for "foot". In the general derivatives, the word is used of "thick feet": *pataud* "dog with large paws", *patauger* "to dabble"; and of "clumsiness" in general: *patouiller* "to muddle" (depreciative suffix, *-ouiller*), *patois* "clumsy language", etc.

The semantic relation with *plautus*, *-a*, *-um*, "flat-footed" is thus more than sufficient to account for a contamination changing **patta* into **pauta*, as said above. The etymology of **patta* is unknown. The word is either a childlike corruption of *pedem* or a mere "Lallwort". The *tt* in **patta* while **pauta* has *t* is due to the tendency of Vulgar Latin to reduplicate consonants after single vowels while this never takes place after diphthongs. This reduplication is a well-known feature of popular Latin. It is found mostly in familiar words, such as abbreviated personal epithets: *vorri*, *varro*, *lippus*, etc. names of utensils: *cuppa*, *baccus*, *cippus*, *brocca*, *stroppa*, etc. It is

peculiarly frequent in onomatopoeic words, probably on account of its intensive value.

Besides **patta* existed **potta* "thick lip". The affective shade being exactly the same, it is difficult to doubt that both words were associated in the people's minds. One word may have been formed from the other. They are both expressive of a thickness or a clumsiness of the lips. *potta* is likely to be the older word, though it is known only through Prov. *poto* "thick lip", Lorr. *pot* "lip", Swiss *pota* "grimace", Béarn. *putu* "kiss", It. *potta* "cunnus". The French expressions: *main potte* "thick hand", *jambe potte* "swollen leg", *potelé* "plump" show remarkably well the general expressive power of a thick lip.

2. The series *plauta*, **platta*, **plotta*, as aforesaid, is decidedly secondary. *plautus* "flat-footed" belongs to the root of Skr. *pr̥thu* "broad", Gr. *πλατός* "flat, broad", Gall. *litano* "broad", Lith. *platus* "broad", etc. *plauta* in Romance is a "sole" (It. *piota*, Prov. *plauta*).

The other two words are Greek borrowings. *πλατός* at an early period became Latin and underwent the popular reduplication. It is found in all Romance languages. The Low-Greek feminine *πλατύσσα* was also borrowed (**platussa* or **platissa*) as the name of a flat fish, the "plaice", hence Gasc. *platuse*, Catal. *platussa*, O. Fr. *plaiiz*, Wall. *pleis*, etc. (Eng. *plaice*). Another kind of flat-fish was called **plotta* (Lomb. *pyota*, Engad. *plotra*) thanks to a folk-etymology which connected with *plattus* the Greek word *τὰ πλωτά* "migratory fish" from Ion. *πλώω* "to float".

The apophony *o-a* of *potta-patta* is surprisingly frequent in the Vulgar Latin onomatopoeias. Very near in meaning to that pair are the pairs:

ciottus : *ciattus*
motta : *matta*
cioffus : *ciaffus*
floccus : *flaccus*
maccus : *mocca*
baba : *bobba*

all referring either to thick conglomerates and to clods, or to movements of the lips.

3. ***ciottus: *ciattus** refers to clods. The former is Rum. *ciot* "knotty excrescence", It. *ciottolo* "pebble", *piede ciotto* "club-foot", Irp. *ciutto* "thick", Mil. *šot* "solid dirt", Fr. *sot* "stupid". The latter is Mil. *šat* "short, stout", Lomb. *šat* "toad", *šat, šata* "son, daughter".

4. ***motta: *matta** "clod". The former generally is used for "clods of earth" or "mounds". It is of obscure origin though often supposed to be Teutonic. The only Germanic representative, however, outside Eng. *moat* borrowed from French is Du. *mot* "clod of turf", a word completely isolated in that language and most probably borrowed. On the other hand **motta* is found in all Romance languages, even in the south of Italy. The meaning does not seem to have been originally confined to clods of earth as in Fr. *motte* but to any sort of clod: Franch. Comt. *motte* "clod of butter", Engad. *molton* "clod of curdled milk", Sp. *mota* "knot in a cloth". It is very important to observe that in Lombardy **motta* means "thick lip" like *potta* of which it appears therefore in origin to have been a variation.

**matta* is found mostly with the meaning that **motta* has in the Jura and the Alps. It refers to "curdled milk", as in Fr. *matte* "junket", *maton* "pancake". Prov. *mat* however means "compact", while Sic. *matta* is a "group".

5. ***cioffus: *ciaffus**. If **motta* reproduces the ending of *potta*, **cioffus* has the initial of **ciottus*, which may be a combination of *potta* and **cioffus*. **cioffus* is "thick, swollen, stupid" and survives in Neapol. *cioffe* "big sledge", O. It. *ciofo* "man from the mob", Istr. *čoubo* "stout man". **ciaffus* is represented by Lucch. *ciaffo* "thick, round face", Sic. *ciaffu* "chubby face", *ciaffalu* "blockhead", Piac. *ciafardu* "thick", Piedm. *ciaferla* "cheek", Low-Engad. *ciaflun* "belly", etc.

6. **floccus: flaccus**. The ending of **cioffus* is found in **loffa* "wind", **guffus* "clumsy", **baffa* "paunch" as well as in **buffare*, **beffare*, **biffare*, referring to wind or breathing. The *f* in all those words suggests breathing or swelling of the lips, void, unsubstantiality. I am inclined to include in that list *flaccus* "slack, flabby", *flaccēre* "to wither, to get flaccid", words which Walde very unconvincingly tries to connect with Gr. βλάξ "weak" a derivative from the Ind. E. root *melā* "to

be slack". Less probable yet is the connection between *floccus* "flake" and Gr. *φλαδεῖν* "to tear" (intr.). It is clear enough that *floccus*, referring to flabby, unsubstantial conglomerates, is in apophony with *faccus*. Both these words being older than those previously studied, there is a possibility that there existed in Latin an old tendency to the onomatopoeic apophony *o-a*.

7. ***maccus** "bean broth": ***mocca** "grimace of the lips". These words, again connected with the lips, seem to have formed a parallel series to **motta*: **matta* and the other aforesaid onomatopoeias, *maccus* is O. It. *macco*, Sic. *maccu*, Abruzz. *makka* "thick polenta". The word is apparently quite different from Lat. *maccus* "clown, fool", and is most probably a mere onomatopoeia. **mocca* survives in Lomb. *fa la moca* "to put up a lip", *fa di moke* "to fondle with excess", *moka* "vain talk", Fr. *moquer* "to mock", Sp. *mueca* "grimace".

8. ***baba**, ***babba** "slaver", ***bobba** "bean soup, beverage". Of these words, also descriptive of movements of the lips, the former has been very productive in Romance. On the one hand, it survives in It. *bava*, Sard. *baa*, Sp. *baba*, Fr. *bave* "slaver", *bavard* "prattler", *baveuse* (= Sp. *babosa*) "slime-fish", etc.; on the other, in words referring to "babbling", "stammering" (Lat. *babulus*, *babiger*, *babire*) and to childhood and stupidity as Sic. *vava* "infant", *vavaredda* "pupil", It. *babbeo*, *babbione*, *babbalocco* "blockhead", Mil. *babi* "silly", Gen. *baggiu* "ugly-toad", Abruzz. *babbaluke* "cob-web", Sard. *babbayola* "cock-chafer", Sic. *babbalucciu* "snail", Cat. *babo* "earwig", *babolo* "maggot", etc. The bugs, beetles, etc. of this series are all more or less repulsive and have received their names on account of the disgust which our lips express when we behold them. The root still means "lip" in Fr. *babine*, *baboue*, familiar words for "lip", and in Milan. *babi* "chin".

As to **bobba*, it also has various meanings for which the only connecting element is a gesture of the lips. In Abruzz. *bobba*, Milan. Venet. Emil. *boba*, Ital. *bobbia*, it is a "thick soup", a "pap", in Neapol. *bobba*, it is a "hotch-potch", while in Venet. *boba*, it is "pus". On the other hand, in Piedm. *bubu*, Friul. *bobo*, it has the meaning of Fr. *bobo*, a nursery word for "pain, fright", while Friul. *bobo* is "bug-bear", all meanings recalling the names of insects, etc. derived from *baba*, *babba*. As to Sp.

bobo "silly", Sard. *bovu* "clumsy", they must be put on a line with *babbione*, *babbalocco*, etc.

Besides *bab* and *bob* existed *bib* referring not to thick, plump objects, but, on the contrary, to small things. It is also used of fright rather than of disgust. It is also a word for small repeated movements and sensations. In Venet. *bibiyar*, Friul. *bibya*, it is "to swing", in Canav. *bibiyar*, it is "to have one's flesh made to creep". In Triest. *bibioso*, Bresc. *bibus*, the meaning is "a dilatory person". On the other hand, Fr. *bibelots* are "nick-nacks" while Saintong. *bibé* is "to tease".

9. **bombus*, **bambus*, **bimbus*. This series is very close to the preceding one in most of its meanings, though it often also refers to noise. *bombus* is held by Walde to be borrowed from Gr. βόμβος "dull sound". This is possible, but both words are onomatopoeic and may have arisen independently. It. *bomba* "bomb", *bombarda* "gun", *ribombare* "to resound", are the only derivatives clearly referring to a dull sound. The other words are used for "swelling, clumsiness, gormandize" etc., and appear to be variations of the *bob*-words: Prov. Cat. *bomba* is "brag", It. *bombero* is a "clumsy man" (cf. *bob-bione*), while It. *bombo* is a nursery word for "beverage" (cf. *boba*, *bubu*), Sp. *bombare* refers to the same idea, while Prov. *bobanze* "brag", Fr. *bombance* "feasting" are contaminations of this family and that of *bullare* (cf. Meyer-Lübke s. v.; It. *burbanza*).

**bambus* is a more decidedly Latin creation and is clearly a variation of the *bab*-family. It has the same meanings, cf. It. *bambo* "foolish", *bambino* "silly, childlike, child", *bambolo*, *bamboccio* "doll", Sp. *bambolla* "ostentation" (cf. Prov. *bomba*), Gasc. *bamborle* "prattle", Limous. *bamborro* "bass-viol" (cf. It. *bomba*), Sp. *bambarotero* "clamorer", *bambarria* "blockhead".

As to **bimbus*, it shows the diminutive value of the *i* in It. *bimbo* "child", which may be connected in some way with Fr. *bimbelot*, another form of *bibelot*.

On the other hand **bambalare*, **bambare* like the *bib*-family mean "to swing", in Sp. *bambalear*, Norm. *bamboler*, Wallon. *bamber* "to shake one's head", terms that may all be derived from a Vulg. Lat. **bamba*, a word which in origin most prob-

ably is an onomatopoeia of the bell's sound rather than of its movement.

10. **clocca*, **claccare*, **cliccicare*. If a bell was a *bamba*, it also was a **clocca*. The existence of *clog* "bell", *clogaim* "I ring" in Irish induces Sweat and Meyer-Lübke to believe in the Keltic origin of that word. In fact, **clocca* being unknown in Sardinia and Southern Italy is probably not so old as most of the aforesaid onomatopoeias. This however also applies to **claccare* and *cliccicare*, sound-reproducing words found in France and Northern Italy: Fr. *cliquer*, "to clank", *cliquette* "clapper", Fr. *claquer* "to clap", Prov. *claca* "to crack, to gossip", Ital. *chiacchierare* "to babble". It seems therefore likely enough that we have to do with an onomatopoeic series which developed pretty late in the West of the Roman Empire, partly under Keltic influence, partly spontaneously.

**clocca* is found in Spain, Northern Italy, and Gaul.

11. **tūccare*, **taccare*, **tīccare*. No series better illustrates the principle of onomatopoeic apophony. The three words all mean "to knock" with reference to the slight noise, the slight touch or the slight mark accompanying the knocking. **tuccare* more especially means "to knock" with evocation of a dull noise, hence It. *toccare*, Prov. *tocar*, Fr. *toucher* (Eng. *touch*, cf. Modern French: *toquer*). **tīccare*, like Germ. *ticken*, is used for tapping with a pointed, slightly penetrating object and for the mark left: It. *tecca* "spot", O. Fr. *entechier* "to stain", Mod. Fr. *enticher* "to taint, to infect with". **taccare* refers to a somewhat more perceptible mark: It. *tacca* "notch", Engad. *taccar* "to indent", while Fr. *tache*, Prov. *taca* is "stain". From the meaning "notch, jag", it came to be used for "little hook" (It. *tacco*, *taccone* "patch on the shoe") and for fastening (Fr. *attacher*, It. *attaccare* "attach" *attaccare battaglia* "to join battle, to attack—Sp. *taco* "peg"). In It. *taccagno* "stingy", *taccagnare* "to chaffer", Fr. *taquin* "teasing", one finds the idea of "fastening" extended figuratively to a moral adhesiveness, symbolic of importunity.

12. **craccare*, *croc(it)are*, **ericcare*. These are directly imitative words susceptible of being created in the most various languages. **craccare*, which like the Modern French onomato-

poesia *craquer* must have been used for some cracking noise, has come to mean "to spit", a rather vulgar metaphor: It. *scaracchiare*, Prov. *escracar*, Fr. *cracher*. *crocare*, *crocitare* "to caw" is said of *crow*s (It. *crocidare*).

As to **criccare*, its existence in Vulgar Latin is doubtful. It is found in O. Prov. *cricot*, Fr. *criquet* "cricket, locust", *criquer* "to chink", all onomatopoeias that could be fairly recent. On the whole, it is thus unlikely that *craccare*, *croccare*, *criccare* ever constituted a series in Vulgar Latin.

13. **garrío** "to prattle, babble": ***gorris** "hog". The latter survives in O. Fr. *gorre* "sow", Fr. *goret* "young pig", Prov. *gorri* "sucking pig", Sp. *gorrin* "hog". It is a very natural onomatopoeia for pigs. It is, however, not unlikely that *garrío* has influenced the form of this imitative word.

Not very different from the *o-a* apophony is the *u-a* alternation. We find it e. g. in—

14. ***juppare**, ***joppare**, ***jappare**. *juppare* has probably existed in Gaul. O. Fr. *jup* "shout", *juper*, Wallon. *juper* "shout". **joppare* should be the origin of Morv. *joper* "to jump close-legged", Sp. *jopo* "jump" *jope* "hop!". **jappare* "to bark" is confined to Gaul (Prov. *džapa*, Fr. *japper* "to yelp" (Catal. *žaupa*).

15. ***jumpare**: ***jampare**. As one has *bomb-bamb-bimb* besides *bob*, *bab*, *bib*, one has *jump-jamp* besides *jup-jap*. In fact, the nasalized series is more general in Romance: O. Sard. *iumpare* "to leap", Campid. *giumpai* "to jump", Neapol. *dzumba* "to dance", Prov. *jumpla* "to swing", *jumpladero* "see-saw".

**jampare* is found in Modern Sardinian and is likely to have existed since Roman times besides **jumpare*: Sard. *giampare* "to jump", *giampu* "leap". In spite of the phonetic resemblance, Eng. *jump* seems rather to have a Scandinavian origin. As to the relation of meaning between "shouting" and "jumping", it is made clear enough by the existence of interjections like Span. *jope* (hop!) besides Span. *jopo* "leap". One also finds besides *bombus* "dull noise", **bombitire* (Fr. *bondir*) "to bound".

16. ***puppa**, **pappare**, **pipare**. *puppa* is "teat", hence It. *poppa* "breast", *poppare* "to suckle", Fr. *poupe* "breast".

The word is old and most likely refers to the movement of the suckling's lips. *pappare* "to eat" also is a nursery word that is connected with the activity of the lips and mouth. It is Rom. *papa*, Sard. It. *pappare*, O. Fr. *paper*, Fr. *pape* "pap", Sp. *papar*. Besides, Venet. *papota* "thick lips" is a contamination of *pappare* and *potta* (cf. Fr. *papoter* "to babble"). In the same order of ideas, one has: Sp. *papo* "crop", *papado* "double chin", *papudo* "thick-cropped", Portug. *papao* "scarecrow, negro". As *pap* is a very frequent onomatopoeia for eating (cf. Germ. *pappen*), *pip* is no less general for peeping, chirping, whistling (cf. Gr. *πίπος* "young bird", *πιπίω* "to chirp", Germ. *piepen*, etc.). In Latin one has *pipare*, *pipiare*, *pipilare*, *pippitare*, *pipulum*, in Vulgar Latin *pipa* "pipe". (Fr. *pipeau* "shepherd's pipe"). In *pipare* as in **ticolare*, **bibbare*, etc. the *i* stage corresponds thus to the minute form of the movements expressed by the *a*- and *o-u* stages.

17. **bucca: *biccus, biccus.** *bucca* is an onomatopoeia of the swollen cheeks, which prevailed over *os* in Romance (Fr. *bouche*, It. *bocca*, etc.). As to **biccus*, "beak", it is supposed to be Keltic (Gaël. *beic*, Bret. *bec*). The word however is so general in Romance (Sard. *biccu*, Fr. Prov. *bec*, It. *becco*, Sp. *bico*) that it must at an early period have entered the language as an apophony of *bucca* for a thin, pointed buccal opening. **biccus* has also been contaminated with *picare* "to pick", **piccare* "to prick", hence It. *beccare* "to peck".

18. ***buffare, *biffare, *beffare, *baffa.** This very complete series refers to movements of the lips connected with breathing and blowing. Swelling is expressed by **buffare* in It. *buffare* "to breathe with swollen cheeks", *buffa* "cowl, hood", Sic. *buffa* "toad", It. *bufera* "blizzard", Fr. *bouffée* "blast of wind", *bouffer* "to puff up", *bouffi* "swollen", *bouffette* "tuft", Wall. *bofe* "pin-cushion", Prov. *bufa* "to blow", *bufet* "bellows", *bufega* "to eat as a glutton" (Mod. Fr. *bouffer*, Cat. *bofet* "box on the ear", Span. *bofe* "lung", etc.) *baff-* has the same value as *buff* in Piedm. *bafra* "paunch", Fr. *bafre* "gluttony", Sic. *baffa* "pumpkin", O. Lomb., Engad. *baffa* "fitch of bacon". On the other hand Cat. *vaf*, Sp. *baho*, Tosc. *bafore* is "vapor", and, accordingly, Neap. *abbafa* is "to gasp". Both these roots, moreover, refer to mockery as ex-

pressed by swelling of the cheeks and a short blowing (cf. *maccus*: **mocca*), hence: Prov. *bafa* "mockery", Abruzz. *abbafa* "to mock", Sic. *baffiari* "to brawl", or from *buf*: It. *buffare* "to play the buffoon", *buffe* "drollery", *buffo* "buffoon". This is the prevalent meaning of *bef*: It. *far beffe* "to mock", *beffa* "mockery", *beffare* "to mock", Fr. *beffer*, Sp. *befar* "to mock", while the connection with "lip" is preserved in Span. *befo* "lower lip of a horse".

As to *biff*, it is probably later and only found in French: *biffer* "to wipe off", *biffe* "rag", *se rebiffer* "to bristle up".

19. **crappa*, **creppa*, *cruppa*. **crappa* "rock, stone", for which Meyer-Lübke does not know any etymology, is apparently a mere onomatopoeia for something rough that scratches, comparable to Du. *krabben* "to scratch", Germ. *krabbeln* "to crawl". It is commonly found in Italian and Rhaetian dialects (Engad. *crap*, Lomb. *crapa*, Judic. *grapa* "skull") alongside of **creppa* (Friul. *krepe* "skull", Triest. *krepi* "rock", It. *greppo* "protruding rock"), Obwald. *grip* "cliff". A similar onomatopoeia has given O. H. G. *klep* "cliff", Dan. *klippe* "crag" etc.

As to *cruppa*, its belonging to this series is doubtful. It is found in C. Gl. II. 118. 16 for a "thick rope" (perhaps on account of its roughness) but the possibility of a borrowing from Teutonic *kruppa* "twisted moss, crop" is not excluded.

20. *ciccum*, *coccum*, *cacare*. This is decidedly a secondary series. *coccum* reproduces Gr. *κόκκος* a grain or seed, as of the pomegranate. It is used largely in Romance for all kinds of shells and husks. (Abruzz. *kokke* "nut", Prov. *koko* "almond", Sard. *cocca* "round bread" etc.). Its use for an "egg" or a "shell" suggests the possibility of a contamination with *cochlea* from Gr. *κοχλίας* "snail". In the language of the people *cochlea* was changed into **cocula*, **cocila* (Meyer-Lübke p. 161), which let it appear as a diminutive of *coccum*. The latter word came thus to mean "shell", in Span. *coca* "mussel" and "egg", in It. *cocco*, while Fr. *coche* is "fragment, potsherd". The disgust inspired by some snails resulted in a contamination with *cacare*, in Prov. *cacaran*, *cacaluso* "snail".

As to *ciccum*, it is used for "the core of a fruit" or, in general, for "trifle". It appears to be a spontaneous creation

from *coccum* for smaller things by application of the *i*-vocalism. It is the source of many a familiar word as It. *chicco* "kernel, bean", *cicca* "bit, stump", Sp. *chico* "small", It. *cica* "trifle", Fr. *chiquet* "small piece", *chiquer* "to eat".

21. **nanna, ninna, nonna.** In *ciccum, coccum* (**caccus*), the apophony observable in the "Schallwörter" has been found in a "Lallwort". Another word of the latter category shows the same alteration with even greater clearness; it is a term of endearment applied to both children and old people. The forms in *i*, of course, are the diminutive ones. It. *ninnolo* "toy", O. It. *ninna* "maid", Sp. *niño* "child", *niña* "pupil", It. *ninnare* "to rock a child". *nannus* and *nanna* are generally for old people: Sic. *nannu* "grandfather", Sp. *nana* "housewife", but Tusc. *nannolo* is a "toy", Tusc. *nanna*, a "cradle", Sp. *hacer la nana* "to sleep".

nonna is decidedly for older people: It. *nonna* "grandmother", Sic. *nunna* "mother-match-maker", Log. *nonnu* "godfather", Fr. *nonne* "nun" but Sp. *nono* is "childish". The hesitation between "old man" and "child" is due to the fact that these are words of feeling and mere expressions of sympathy for weaker beings.

II. RHYME-WORDS.

The extension of the ending (or the initial) of words to other words with a similar meaning is especially observable with terms of a picturesque or emotional character. New onomatopoeias are created under the influence of those already existing in the language and haunting our memory.

No wonder then if, in Vulgar Latin, series are found of the same type as Gr. γνάπτω: κάπτω: κνάπτω — κράζω: κλάζω—Germ. *Ranke, schlank*—*lügen: betriügen*—*zucken, rucken, ducken, mucken*, etc.

Sometimes words are actually forged so as to fit into such a series; sometimes they have an independent etymology but have been influenced in their form or their meaning by their being introduced into a group of that kind. Most of the spontaneous formations in which apophony is observable are also illustrations of this process. If there is a family: **potta, *patta, *pauta*, there is also a family: **potta, *motta, *ciotta* and a family **patta, *matta, *ciatta*, both referring to clods and thick

objects. (Compare the English series: *hump*, *bump*, *lump*, *clump*.) To the former group, we ought probably to add **bottia* "hump" (Ital. *bozza* "swelling", Fr. *bosse* "hump"), which appears to be a popular alteration of *botulus*, *botellus* "bowel" under the influence of **motta*, etc. To the latter series should be added: **platta* "flat" and, in my opinion, **latta* "flat surface", and *stlatta* "broad flat ship". **latta*, to be sure, is generally held to be Teutonic and akin to German *Laden* but both words, in fact, are very obscure and the connection between them is not clear. Moreover, **latta* is common in all Romance languages and its original meaning is not "lath" but "flat piece of metal or wood" as shown by It. *latta* "thin plate", Port. *lata* "plate of metal", O. Sp. *hoja de lata* "plate of brass". **latta* is thus, most probably, a slangy form of *lata* "wide and flat" with the popular reduplication so often found in those vulgar words (cf. above: **patta*, *platta*, *plotta*, **babba*, *puppa*, etc.) and notably in *stlatta* "broad ship", a doublet of **latta*.¹

Another series depicting swelling, wind, void is represented by **guffus* "thick, plump", **cioffus* "thick, clumsy", **buffare* "to swell, to blow", **ex-bruffare* "to gulp, to gush forth", **loffa* "wind, part", and perhaps *offa* "clod of meal", **muffa* "mockery". (Sp. *mofa* "disdain", Engad. *mofla* "swollen cheek", Henuy. *muflu* "paunched".)

Several dull noises are expressed by a *-utt-* series: *gutta* "drop",² **jutta* "broth" (Engad. *giuota* "barley soup", Parm. *dzota* "liquid food for pigs", Poitev. *žut* "pap for geese"), *muttum* "mutter" (It. *motto*, Fr. *mot*) and possibly **ciuttus* "young lamb" (Engad. *čut* "lamb", Borm. *šotin* "sheep").

There are, moreover, guttural series. One is in *-ucca* representing also dull noises as *bucca* "swollen cheeks, mouth", **mucca* "cow" (It. *mucca* "cow", Romagn. *moka* "milch cow"), **buccare* "to shout with a low voice" (Fr. *hucher*, Prov. *ucar*, Fr. *huchet* "hunting horn", Prov. *uca* "herald", Cat. *ahucar* "to frighten by shouting"), **tuccare* "to knock" (cf. supra). To those words we ought to add **guccius* "dog"

¹ C. Gl. L. II. 188. 50—Gr. L. VII. 107. 1. K.—Cf. Festus 454: "genus navigii latum magis quam altum et a latitudine sic appellatum".

² Walde vainly tries to find an etymology for that onomatopoeia.

(Sp. *gozque*, Wall. *go*, Sic. *guttisu*, It. *cuccio*) and **cuccius* "pig" (Rum. *cucciu*, Fr. *cochon*, Sp. *cocho*, etc.).

Another in *-iccus* refers to small things: **piccus* "point, small" (Rum. *pic* "drop", Megl. *pica* "a little", It. *piccolo* "small", *picco* "point", *piccare* "to prick", etc.), *ciccum* "core of a fruit, trifle" (cf. supra), **ticca* "spot" (cf. supra).

On the other hand, a good many words ending in *-occus* refer to rough things: **roccus*, **rocca* "rock" (It. *rocca*, Fr. *roche*, *roc*, etc.), **froccus* "rough, uncultivated field" (O. Fr. *froc*, Sp. *llueco*), *broccus* "jagged, indented" (It. *brocco* "pointed stick", *brocca* "stake", Neap. *vrocca* "fork", Fr. *broche* "spit", Bologn. *broca* "bough", etc.), three words without etymology, which most likely are onomatopoeias. They rhymed with *occa* "harrow", an Indo-European word, and **söccus* "plowshare", which has changed the *u* of Gall. *sukkos* apparently under the influence of *bröccus*, *öcca*, etc.

A curious group of words in *-uppa*, of varying origin, refers to ropes, strings, and similar objects. Among them is **faluppa* "filament, thread, rod" a widely used term in Romance where it is applied to all kinds of rods, rags, strings, wraps, etc., and is notably the origin of both Fr. *enveloppeur* and Fr. *frapper*. *cruppa* is a "thick rope" (cf. supra), **stuppa* (Gr. *στόπη* "tow") means "raw flax" (Fr. *étoupe*), while **marsuppa* from Gr. *μάσπιπος* "bag" has altered its ending to enter this series (O. L. *marsupium*). It has also come to mean "porpoise" by metaphor (Sp. *marsofa*).

III. THE SUFFIXES: { *-ittus*, *-attus*, *-ottus*, *-iccus*, *-accus*, *-occus*,

The two categories of phenomena considered in this article have, in my opinion, a direct bearing on the history of the mysterious diminutive suffixes of Vulgar Latin.

In spite of various attempts at explanation, the suffixes *-ittus* and *-iccus*, so productive in Romance and important even in familiar Latin, have an obscure origin. A. Horning (Zeit. Rom. Ph. XIX. 170-188, XX. 335-353) has made a list of the examples of *-iccus* and *-ittus* in inscriptions. He considers both suffixes as alterations of *-iculus* in the mouth of children. Meyer-Lübke (Einführung Rom. Sp. p. 184, sqq.) rather inclines to assign a foreign origin to those endings. *-iccus*, he

thinks, is Keltic on account of *Bodicca* CIL. VIII. 2877, *Aveticcos* CIL. XIII. 190, etc., while *-ittus* was introduced from Teutonic by soldiers who heard the Germanic mercenaries using familiar names as *Charietto* instead of *Chari-bertus*, *Chari-winnus*, etc. (cf. Germ. *Kunz*, *Heinz* from *Konrad*, *Heinrich*, etc.). Zimmermann (*Zeit. R. Ph.* XXVIII. 343), on the contrary, believes in the Latin origin of *-ittus* and considers it as a doublet of *-itus*. None of these explanations is absolutely convincing. It may be, however, that they all contain some truth.

We have seen that the elaboration of a suffix of some picturesque or emotional character is a complex process. The success of an ending as a means of expression of that kind is due always to two causes: the natural expressive value of the sounds which has a tendency to render them popular and suggestive and the influence of other words or other endings that are associated with similar feelings, similar impressions. These influences are often various but agree in connecting some sound-complex with the same meaning.

Another character of these emotional suffixes, is the facility with which they are extended. They correspond, not to an intellectual category, but to a state of mind. Whenever the same emotion is experienced by the speaker, the suffix is presented to his mind by a mere association of sensations. This accounts especially for the profusion of diminutive suffixes in many languages. They answer to a sympathetic, affectionate or ironical mood, they are expressive of a "modus sentiendi".

The starting-point of such suffixes often is surprisingly inconspicuous. *-ouille* in French has become depreciative probably on account of *sucula* and *suculare* > *souiller* "to soil". Later suffixes have acquired emotional properties in that way: *alia* has become depreciative on account of a few collectives as *canalia*, *putealia* in which the suffix was infected by compromising contact. In the same way *aceus*, *icius*, *ocius*, *ucius* have acquired special shades of meaning in Italian (and partly in French). They properly have the value of Engl. *-ish* and *-like*: *vinaceus* = "winelike", *melaceus* = "honey-like" but Fr. *vinasse*, *mélasse*, etc., now mean: "poor wine, mock honey", etc. Engl. *-ish* has at times developed in the same direction. Such is also the history of *-aster* of *viridaster* "greenish", which

becomes highly depreciative in *matraster* > *marâtre*, *fliaster* (C. I. L. XIII.) "bastard". The vocalic symbolism has, of course, discretely influenced those evolutions. *a*-suffixes are generally flatly depreciative, *o*-, *u*-suffixes suggest clumsiness, thickness together with depreciation, *i*-suffixes more and more become diminutives.

By contrast with *-on*, which is depreciative and augmentative, *-inus* becomes diminutive: *sub hoc signino* CIL. XII. 874; *scutrinum* "little plate" C. Gl. L. 515. II; *domnina* CIL. II. 1836; and, moreover, *collina*, *pectorina*, *narina*, *radicina*, *pecorina*, *pullicinum*, **nugina*, **absina*, *circinus*, etc. (cf. Meyer-Lübke, s. v.), *rapina* "turnip" VI. 2104 (Olcott 136), *buccina* (Olcott 135).

This diminutive value is also applied to adjectives: Span. *bonina* "daisy", It. *Bellini* (proper name), It. *piccino* (= *piccolo*), etc. A Pompeian inscription (IV. 1405) has *pusina* for *pusilla*, while *pucina* "small" is quoted by Olcott p. 135.

Now besides *-inus*, there was a suffix *-innus*, which was more expressive of endearment and which was obtained by applying to *-inus* the popular reduplication of consonants so often found in imitative and emotional words: of **piccus* "small" (Rum. *pic* "drop", Megl. *pica*, "a little"), one had not only the diminutives **picculus* and **piccinus* but also **piccinnus*, preserved in Sard. *piccinnu*, Tarent. *piccinnu*, Sp. *pequeño* (= **peccuinnus*). Of *pit*- and *pits*-, nursery words for "small" (It. *pizza* "point", *pizzo* "tuft of beard") one had *pitsinnus* in O. Sard. (Log.) *pithinnu*, Gallur. *pitsinnu*. One also had **putinnus* or **putsinnus* from *putus* "boy" in Rum. *putin* (besides *putillus*, Walde p. 627), *pipinna* "parva mentula" (Walde p. 586). The same ending existed in the familiar word *cinnus* "wink" (It. *cenno*, Sp. *ceño*), a kind of parallel formation to *cicum* "trifle" with the diminutive ending *-iccus* (cf. infra), perhaps under influence of *cincinnus* "lock of hair" (*κίκιννος*).

Now, there are other suffixes than *-inus* and those already mentioned, which had in Vulgar Latin a shade of familiarity. Zimmermann is probably right in assigning such value to *-atus*, *-itus*, *-utus* used for adjectives. Properly, of course, those endings are those of the past participles which had the greatest extension in the popular speech. They early came to be used to form all kinds of new adjectives: *auritus*, *crinitus*, *pellitus*—

barbatus, **fatatus*, *exauguratus*,—*canutus*, *cornutus*, **car-nutus*, etc. Thus these endings became more or less typical of the familiar speech and came to be applied even to preexisting adjectives. *bellus*, e. g. had a familiar form: **bellatus* preserved in the comparative: **bellatior* > O. Fr. *bellezor*, while the form that prevailed in Spain was *bellitus* > O. Span. *belido*, Port. *velido*. Besides *russus* e. g., existed *russatus* (CIL. 10062) properly a participle of *russare*, but in appearance a variation of *russus*.¹ Besides *bimus*, existed *bimulus* (CIL. VI. 16739) and *bimatus* (CIL. VI. 28910). It would have been only normal that in proper names and in adjectival terms of endearment, *atus* and *itus* should have developed into *attus*, *ittus*.

Now, in fact, it is in such terms that we first find the ending *-itta*. It is used in inscriptions for names of women as *Suavitta*, *Caritta*, *Bonitta* derived from *suavis*, *cara*, *bona*,² in a "Lallwort" as *Attitta*, or in *Julitta*, *Levitta*, *Gallitta*, diminutives of *Julia*, *Livia*, *Galla*. Gradually the ending is found in masculine names and in all kinds of nouns. Its much greater extension as compared with that of *-itus* is explainable especially by the sound-symbolic value of the *i* and the *tt* and also by the influence of the verbal frequentative and diminutive suffix *-itare*, which frequently appears as an equivalent of *-illare*, *-ulare* in the same way as *-ittus* is found in competition with *-ulus*, *-illus*. One has e. g. in imitative words: *pipitare* besides *pipilare*, *pipare*, "to peep, to chirp", *crocitare* "to caw" (It. *crocidare*), besides *crociare*, *graccitare* besides *gracillare* "to cackle"; *hippitare* (C. Gl. L. V. 601. 18) "to sob", besides *hippare* (Sp. *hipar*), etc. That same influence seems to have produced a diminutive ending *-itus* before *-ittus* prevailed, cf. in Petronius *caccitus* "fine boy" (Walde p. 104) besides *cacus* "servant of the officers in the army" and in *amita* "aunt", besides the "Lallwort" *amma* "mother".³ The Teutonic *-etta* of *Charietta* (cf. supra) may also have helped to make such endings popular among soldiers but our study of the rhyme-words will, I hope, have created in the reader the con-

¹ Cf. a long list of *-aius* formations in Olcott p. 247.

² Grandgent, Inter. Vulg. L. p. 20.—Of that type are preserved *bellitta* in Fr. *belette*, O. Sic. *bilottulu* "weasel", and *birritta* (*birrus* "red") in It. *berretta* "cap".

³ In *cucurbita*, also, *ita* was understood as a diminutive suffix, as shown by the substitution of *ula*, *illa* for *ita* in Lyon. *curla*, Langued. *cugurlo*.

viction that nothing can have helped the spreading of *-ittus* so much as the hitherto unobserved circumstance that *-ittus* happened to be the ending of several "Lallwörter" referring to smallness. Among them was **pittus*, a nursery word for "small", preserved in **pitinnus* (cf. supra) **pitittus* (Fr. *petit*), **piticus* (Sard. *pitiku*) **pitinus* (Mil. *pitin* "little"). **tetta*, another nursery word, was a "teat". *hitta* or *hetta* was a "trifle", a "pellicle". Perhaps even **citto* (It. *cetto*, Sard. *kitto*) "quickly, fast" for *cito*, and **pettia* "piece, bit" (Keltic in origin?), may have helped in associating *-itt -ett* with shortness, smallness, etc.

As to *-iccus*, found under the same conditions as *-ittus*: *Bonica* CIL. VIII. 4560, *Karica* ib. 3288, but more in Spain and Africa, its history is probably not very different from that of *-ittus*, except that the foreign influence here is probably much more important. In Spain e. g. where *-icus* is very frequent it is certainly a Celtiberian patronymic ending. *icus*, however, has also Latin origins. That it may have developed from *-iculus* is, of course, possible though not demonstrable and hardly probable. A familiar reduplication of the suffix *-icus* with a shifting of accent under the influence of *-ittus* and the Keltic *-iccos* is much more probable because *-icus* in the popular speech had become a diminutive ending:

**gemellicus* "twin" (Sard. *amedigga*, Sp. *emelgo*).

**murica* "mouse" (Prov. *murgo*).

**petrica* "stone" (Prov. *peirego* "hail").

**novica* "small boat" (Prov. *nauc* "trough", O. Fr. *no* "cophin").

**cutica* "skin, film" (Lomb. *codega*).

**retica* "sieve" (Wall. *reš*).

**ramica* "rung of a ladder" (Fr. *ranche*).

As a medium between *-icus* and *-iccus*, *-icus* is found in: **narica* "nostril" (It. *narice*), a parallel form to **narina* (Fr. *narine*), *panicum* "millet" from *panus* "bunch of millet" (Walde p. 558) and in **burricus* "pony", besides **burricus* (meaning properly "little red" from *burrus* "red"). Meyer-Lübke, p. 106.

-iccus is thus a variation of *-icus* and *-icus*, due not only to a general tendency to reduplication and to the influence of *-ittus* but to the existence of several frequent familiar words in *-iccus*

referring to smallness. The aforesaid **piccus* is, like **pittus*, a children's word for "small" (Calabr. *pikka* "little", Rum. *picu* "baby") and for "point" (It. *picco* "peak", Sp. *pico* "beak"). Besides **piccus* also existed **miccus* (Rum. *mic*) perhaps influenced by Gr. *μικρός* (Densusianu, Hist. L. Roum. I. 201). We have seen that *ciccum* "core of a fruit, trifle" is apparently an apophony of *coccum* "kernel, egg". The word was used for "small", cf. Span. *chico* "small", Catal. *xech*, Fr. *chiquet* "small piece". It. *cica* is a "trifle". Moreover, **ticca* was a little spot (It. *tecca*) and **biccus* a "beak" (cf. supra).

The endings *-ittus*, *-iccus* existed also in Vulgar Latin with the vocalism in *a* and *o* (or *u*). These alterations, of course, are due to the symbolic value of these vowels, to the pattern of *-acius*, *-icius*, *-ocius*, *-ucius*, *-atus*, *-itus*, *-otus*, *-utus*, but more yet to the existence in onomatopoeias and familiar words of the *a-i-o-u* apophony that we have followed in quite a number of examples. Besides **pittus* "small, pointed" existed *potta*, **patta* referring to thick or clumsy things. Besides **ticca* existed **tacca* and **tucca* with variations of meanings less marked but perceptible. Is it then astonishing that *-attus*, *-ottus*, *-accus*, *occus*, *uccus* developed by the side of *ittus* and *iccus*? *-attus* is depreciative and refers to animals: **verrattus*, **corbattus*, **cervattus* (O. Fr. *corbat*, *cervat*, Fr. *verrat* "boar-pig"). In some way, they rhyme with **patta* "paw" while **pissattum* "urine of cattle" rhymes with **bratta* "dirt" (Gen. *brata*, Ital. *imbrattare* "to soil", *sbrattare* "to clean"), *-ottus* similarly rhymed with *potta*, **motta*, **ciotta*, etc. Like *-accus*, *-occus*, *-uccus*, it was only moderately used in Vulgar Latin. The shades of meaning are generally better preserved in Italian (Meyer-Lübke Gramm. II) than in French where *-ottus*, e. g. is simply diminutive. *occa*, *ucca* in French are only sporadically found: *épinocche* (**spinocca*) "stickle-back", *mailloche* "beetle", Lieg. *biloc* (*bulluca*) "small apple", propr. "small ball", etc. The antiquity of *-occus* is shown by the existence of Sard. *piccioccu* "small".

The formation and the extension of the suffixes *-ittus*, *-attus*, *-ottus*, *-iccus*, *-accus*, *-occus* is a striking proof of the importance of apophonic and rhyming tendencies in the development of those elements of Vulgar Latin vocabulary which have freed themselves from tradition.

These tendencies ought thus to be taken into account in any etymological research dealing with Latin words especially when one has to do with familiar terms or with words referring to country life. And since such tendencies are deeply rooted in the mentality of the speakers, it is obvious that they are still active in the Romance languages and should never be neglected by Romance scholars.

I hope that this article may be useful not only for its general conclusion but also for the etymologies proposed in it for a good many *cruces* among the substrata of Romance words, such as **patta* and *potta*, **potta* and **motta*, *maccus* and **mocca*. A new interpretation is given of *flaccus* and *floccus*. The onomatopoeic character of these words (at least partly) has been emphasized as it has been for *ciccum*, *coccum*, *cinnus*, *gutta*, **jutta*, **jumpare*, **froccus* and *broccus*. Strange words as **rocca*, **greppa*, **crappa*, have been treated as merely imitative while possible borrowings as **clocca*, **biccus* have been shown to have penetrated into Latin as members of preexisting series. A foreign origin, on the other hand, has been denied to **latta* as well as to **patta* and **mottus* in spite of the current opinion.

Certainty, of course, is not attainable in the study of such obscure elements of language and probably better explanations will sometime be proposed for several among the words I have mentioned. The principle, however, will hold good and further research, undoubtedly, will result in emphasizing the importance of these phenomena, which, though not quite unnoticed, are far from having hitherto received due attention on the part of Romance scholars.

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