

A STUDY OF THE PREFIXES DE-, DES- AND DI(S)-
IN MEDIAEVAL FRENCH

by

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CORRIGENDA

P.8, line 2: for '(Paris, 1905)' read '(Paris, 1892 and 1905)'.

P.83: for 'GT 53.4' read 'GT 2.24'.

P.133: after DESTINER insert 'Also : destinee (f.).'

P.245: in the article DESCERCLER, after the word 'cercler' insert 'or encercler'.

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A SELECTED AND CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The works in the Bibliography are arranged in alphabetical order according to the key-letters which precede the name of the author or editor of all dictionaries and texts, and which are used as abbreviated references to these volumes throughout the thesis. Where no key-letters are mentioned, the works are arranged in alphabetical order according to the author's name. The following abbreviations of series of texts and of periodicals have been employed for the sake of brevity :

ANTS - Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford.

EHE - Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris.

CFMA - Classiques Français du Moyen Age, Paris.

RF - Romanische Forschungen, Erlangen.

SATF - Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris.

SHF - Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris.

SVT - Sammlung Vulgärlateinischer Texte, Heidelberg.

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- (ii) French Dictionaries.
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(CDJL) J.Ulrich, "Der Cato Jean Lefevre's," RF, XV (1904),
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(CDJP) J.Ulrich, "Die Übersetzung der Distichen des Pseudo-Cato von J. de Paris," RF, XV (1904), 41-69.

- (CF) J.Froissart, Chroniques, ed. S.Luce, 12 vols. (Paris, 1869-1931).
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Further bibliographical details are to be found
in footnotes to the body of the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

Anyone seeking authoritative information on the subject of prefixation in French will be faced with a difficult problem ; a thorough examination of the linguistic bibliographies will reveal no work of a general nature on prefixation and, indeed, very few studies of individual prefixes. This is all the more lamentable in view of the fact that the relevant sections of the bibliographies contain numerous titles of studies on suffixation from many aspects. In fact, the prefix, as a means of creating new words in French, has been sadly neglected as a subject for study by comparison with the suffix. R.-L. Wagner¹ appears to be very well aware of this not unimportant lacuna, and, since detailed studies of each individual prefix are necessary before any satisfactory work on prefixation as a whole can be undertaken, he has done much to fill the gap, both by working on the subject of prefixation himself and by encouraging others to make a study of the functions of a number of individual prefixes in French. Dé(s)- has not yet received attention ;

¹ "Remarques sur la valeur des préverbes a- et en- (=in-) en ancien français," Festgabe Ernst Gamillscheg (Tübingen, 1952), pp. 51-65.

For instance, Nyrop (op. cit., p. 213) says :
"DÉS ou DÉ (devant consonne) vient du latin dis. Il a eu
une valeur privative et se combine avec des verbes et des
noms." Of de- there is no mention. Meyer-Lübke (op. cit.,
p. 674) maintains that : "Le français ne connaît pas de verbes
nouveaux avec de : il a partout introduit dé, c.-à-d. dis."
If the term "French" includes Old French, this statement
may be shown to be incorrect; further, dé- does not always
represent lat. dis- (see p. 177).

it is, on that account, hoped that this study will make a worthwhile contribution to the study of prefixation in French as a whole.

Although prefixation has not yet commanded enough attention to produce much literature of its own, the major histories of the French language and grammar all contain sections on prefixation or, at least, upon composition. However, these are invariably so brief as to be of necessity inaccurate because of the inadequacy of the details given and of the work devoted to the subject, although, as a general outline, they no doubt serve their purpose in works of such wide scope.² Insert the paragraph found opposite.

Composition in general is treated fully by Darmesteter in his Traité de la Formation des Mots Composés (see Bibliography), which contains a section dealing with prefixes, pp. 89-135, entitled "La Composition par Particules".

² Such sections may be found in the following works :
 W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des Langues Romanes (Paris, 1890-1906), II, 667-685.
 F. Brunot, Ch. Bruneau, Histoire de la Langue Française (Paris, 1906-53), I, 117-121, 285-286.
 C. Bally, Linguistique Générale et Linguistique Française, 2e. édn. (Berne, 1944), pp. 238-243.
 F. Brunot, La Pensée et la Langue (Paris, 1922), pp. 60, 211-214.
 Kr. Nyrop, Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française (Copenhagen, 1899-1930), III, 204-240.
 E. Bourciez, Eléments de Linguistique Romane, 4e. édn. (Paris, 1946), pp. 66-69, 203-207.

Darmesteter, taking Latin as his starting-point, considers the form of both particles and compound verbs, the value and use of the particles, and finally gives a brief sketch of the various particles.

When considering the form of the particles, a theory of recomposition is introduced by Darmesteter, stating that Latin compounds, on passing into Romance, decomposed, and that the two parts were treated as separate entities, each receiving the tonic accent. Thereby, the French form parfaire, which could not have evolved directly from the Lat. perficere according to the established phonetic laws, is explained thus : perficio decomposes to per+facio and becomes in French (je) parfais. In the same way accepto becomes ac+capto, giving OFr. (j') achate, Fr. (j') achète, and Lat. inimicus becomes Fr. ennemi via in+amicus. No explanation of this decomposition is offered by Darmesteter, but, since the theory is put forward by other competent authorities, it cannot be disregarded ; yet it is scarcely acceptable in the form in which it is presented by Darmesteter, and so will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this study.

As for the value of the particles, Darmesteter classes them as either adverbs or prepositions. The adverbs are qualitative, quantitative or negative (with the

exceptions of the prepositional negative in- and of re-), while the prepositions, separable and inseparable, may be used adverbially or prepositionally. Darmesteter's examination of the use of particles in parasynthetic verbs shows that he considers the particle to retain its precise prepositional or adverbial meaning in composition. He analyses déniaiser as 'mettre hors de l'état de niais', presumably taking the prefix dé- to mean 'out of', though this is not in fact so. Eclairer is analysed as 'rendre clair de, au sortir de, en faisant sortir de la nuit', since in the case of e-/ex-, "la particule ajoute au mot l'idée de l'état antérieur, par opposition à l'état actuel qu'indique le composé". It may be shown that not all prefixes retain their precise meanings, least of all dé(s)-, and that such analysis is often unrealistic.

Darmesteter groups together Lat. de-, dis- and de-ex- as sources of the OFr. de-/des- and of Fr. dé(s)-. This is surely not the best way, for the three prefixes are basically distinct in meaning and origin. According to Darmesteter, in Modern French de- and dis- converge semantically and morphologically into the single particle dé-, and dés- before vowels. A more thorough tracing of the evolution of the particles will show that this is no more than superficially true.

On approaching our specific subject more closely, we find a work by König on the prefixes dis-, de- and ex- in Gallo-Roman (see Bibliography). This deals in the main with Latin, but refers directly to Old French. The three prefixes, in many cases allied in use and meaning, are compared and contrasted from many standpoints. A glance at the bibliography preceding König's work will reveal that he has used only dictionaries as sources of his raw materials, and that Godefroy is his sole source of Old French material. The question as to the best source for material which may be used to furnish evidence of the functions of prefixes will be discussed later in this introduction.

König, like Darmesteter, would wish to make very precise and inflexible distinctions between one prefix and another and to allot an exact meaning to each one every time it is used. It is, however, impossible to make a clear separation between each of the various meanings and aspects of these prefixes ; they often overlap to such an extent that we are faced with a choice between equally possible alternatives. He also seems to have overlooked the fact that languages are not necessarily precise throughout their history, nor always consistent, least of all a language in a state of rapid change, as was Old French ; consequently, the resulting study is not strictly in accordance with the

character of the language.

König seems to be very concerned with an approach to his subject which is apparently psychological rather than linguistic, attaching as he does an inordinate importance to "die innere Einstellung oder Einstimmung" of the logical subject of a proposition towards its logical object, and to the subjective or objective stress of a verb. Further, many of his psychological findings seem to be based on the flimsiest of evidence and the nicest of distinctions, with the result that König has to make his material undergo many contortions before each word is classified to his satisfaction. Even the analysis of compounds results in doubtful conclusions. A single example should be sufficient to make this clear. At the beginning of his second chapter König says : "Das Präfix DE- bezeichnet im klassischen Latein in seiner Grundbedeutung Handlungen in der äusserlichen Richtung von oben nach unten : decurrere 'herablaufen', deponere 'niederlegen'." (p. 5.) This analysis would be impeccable, except that one cannot agree that 'down' is the fundamental meaning of de- in Latin, but he continues in para. 22, p. 6 : "Auch bei den Verben des Sprechens wie canere 'singen', clamare 'rufen' usw. kann DE- nur die innere Richtung der Handlung von oben nach unten bezeichnen. Ein decanere 'besingen' ist gleichsam eine Senkung eines geistig hochstehenden logischen

Objekts auf eine Stufe, wo es dem Volk anschaulich wird ; auch ein denominare holt den zu Nennenden sozusagen erst aus seiner unbekannten Sphäre herunter, so dass er sichtbar wird und dann genannt werden kann ; ähnlich ist die Vorstellung bei : declamare 'deklamieren', debuccinare 'ausposaunen', dedamnare 'verdammen', denunciare 'ankündigen, kund tun', denotare 'deutlich bezeichnen; kenntlich machen', delegare '(jem.) beauftragen, hinweisen auf'."

A detailed criticism of König's work has no place in this study based upon criteria of a different nature ; nevertheless, details of his findings will be given whenever they afford a useful contrast or comparison. Suffice it to say that, once König's work has been cleared of the more doubtful material - the abundant use of starred hypothetical Vulgar Latin forms and the psychological considerations mentioned above, for example - the underlying observations are sound, although his attitude seems to imply the possession by the sujet parlant of a highly developed awareness of linguistic niceties and the exercise of extreme care in the creation and use of compounds.

In view of the unsatisfactory nature of the work done up to the present on prefixation and the French prefix dé(s)-, we may assume with justification that little would

be lost by making a completely fresh start. First of all we must establish exactly how the examination of the prefix may best be carried out. Many existing outlines of the use of specific prefixes consider them as they appear in Modern French, without tracing in detail their evolution from Latin, and thus fall into error. Because of the complicated evolution of dé(s)- and the prefixes closely allied to it, the examination would be better carried out along historical lines. It is, therefore, proposed to study the evolution of these prefixes from their Latin origins until the end of the Mediaeval French period in the fifteenth century, by which time the foundations of the language had been consolidated, and the functions of the prefixes determined along lines which have since undergone little change.

Upon what evidence may such a study be based ?

Those who study all the prefixes at once must be unable to examine more than a very few of all the compounds containing any one prefix. In this way, one would be most fortunate to be able to form an accurate conception of the function and evolution of any but the most simple prefix : a definite system of collecting suitable evidence has to be used to obtain satisfactory results. König, in his detailed study, has ensured that well-nigh all words bearing the prefixes dis-, de- and ex- in Old French have come under his scrutiny

by taking Godefroy as the basis of his work. The great disadvantage of this system is that he cannot offer himself a wide selection of contexts of his own choice. The quotations given in a dictionary are not always sufficient to show the use and meaning of the prefix in each case ; a better method is to pick out all the examples of prefixation with de-, des- and di(s)- in a number of Old French texts. In this way one has the maximum control over the choice of contexts, since many different contexts may be found for a single compound in any one text.

Obviously it is not sufficient to use one text alone as the basis for the study of a prefix, for only a limited number of different compounds will be found in the longest and most varied text. Indeed, the 270 found in the works of Deschamps is the greatest number gleaned from any text used in the present study. At the same time the number of texts must be limited for practical reasons, even though this will inevitably mean that some compounds will never come under consideration. This incompleteness of coverage can be avoided by using König's method, but, provided that a large and representative selection of compounds can be obtained, it is not a serious disadvantage. By this method approximately 750 compounds in many different contexts have been collected from forty-five Old French texts, while König's index may be estimated to contain about twice as many compounds, though

many are not examined in detail.

It is also necessary to establish what considerations should determine the choice of texts. There is no doubt that variety is of prime importance. At first it seemed that variety of dialect was essential, but it proved subsequently that, although all texts should preferably not be written in the same dialect, variety of style was in fact more important. This has been obtained in the present study by selecting works written on as wide a variety of subjects as possible, and by authors of differing standards of education and walks of life. At the same time the texts have been chosen so as to cover a span of several centuries, thus making it possible to perceive any changes in the use of prefixes taking place during the Old French period itself. In this way we ~~have~~ have farces of the fifteenth century (F) side by side with a biblical text of the twelfth (4R), or with a soldier's memoirs of the Hundred Years War (CF).

While the chosen context may usually show the sense of the compound, it will not always do so, and the comparison of a Latin text with its Old French translation will often reveal information denied us by the simple context. A writer confronted by a Latin compound to be translated into French is bound to reflect upon the possibility of a correspondence between the Latin and a similar compound in his own language.

If the similar compound is accepted by the translator, it can often be assumed that the two prefixes have the same meaning, unless any definite evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. At the same time, if an obvious translation is consistently rejected, it may be taken that the Latin and French prefixes cannot be equated. In any case, even if the question of a correspondence between the Latin and the French compounds does not arise, the Latin original acts as a check upon the meaning of the French in addition to that afforded by the context. Sixteen of the forty-five Old French texts used in this study are translations from Latin ; they are : AC, AOC, Ap., Br., CDAS, CDJL, CDJP, LM, 2M, MDP, PP, Ps., 4R, RP, SB, SS. In addition to these Old French translations of Latin texts, mediaeval glossaries or lexicons showing the Old French translations of Latin word-lists are of great value, and several contained in a collection of mediaeval French lexicons (L) have been used in this study.

It must, however, be admitted that the success or failure of the use of translations in this way is, to some extent, dependent upon the accuracy and conscientiousness of the translator. Obviously, not all translations are of equal merit, some being more slavishly literal than others. The translators themselves may be of differing competence, some being liable to misunderstand or mistranslate. In some

translations, especially the very early ones such as Le Livre des Psaumes, there will be found an unfortunate tendency to transliterate - often at the expense of the sense - rather than to translate, and we may be misled in consequence. The same considerations apply to the selection of translations as to that of ordinary texts, though the choice is more limited.

In much the same way as we are at the mercy of the translator, we are also dependent on the work of the mediaeval scribe and of the modern editor, through whose hands the text must normally pass before reaching us. The practice of having manuscripts copied by hand opens the way for a variety of scribal errors. These may be either accidental slips or deliberate but misguided alterations : in either case some confusion results when we come to analyse words and their contexts in order to ascertain the function of a prefix. 'New words' may even be created in this fashion, and be accepted in good faith by ^bsubsequent scribes and editors. Eventually a word of this sort can find its way into the dictionaries. Such would appear to be the case of the OFr. desesgarder, found in L/Douai as the translation of the Lat. inspicere, which is included by Godefroy (G II.580c), but supported only by the Douai context, and accepted, though not explained, by König (p. 99), and included without either

translation or context in TL II.1573. The fact that desesperer is found on the line immediately above this entry in the Douai glossary and that, in other translations of the same Latin word-list, inspicere is rendered by either regarder or esgua(r)der points to an error for esgarder. The scribe had almost certainly mistaken the line when writing the beginning of the word and copied the beginning of desesperer from the line above.

Such errors can be eliminated, or noted, by a vigilant and competent editor, while, on the other hand, editors themselves can cause trouble of a similar nature by an excess of zeal in correction when a reading seems at all doubtful, as it may be for many reasons. It is, therefore, important to use the most reliable editions available of all texts.

As for the way in which the function of a prefix may be determined, the most logical way would seem to be to compare the compound containing the prefix with the word from which the compound was formed with the aid of the prefix. This may be a simple verb, an adjective or noun, or even, in some cases, another compound verb. However, the meaning of a compound may have changed radically since the time of its formation and, as a result of semantic divergence, restric-

tion or extension, may sometimes appear quite unrelated to to the unprefixd form from which it was drawn. An example of such divergence is found in Fr. terminer and déterminer, though in this case the morphological connection is quite clear. Consequently, it is necessary to consider the meanings of compounds as they were at the time of their formation, not as they are during the particular period we may be studying. In order to discover the function of the prefix de- in the Fr. descendre, we must examine, not the French, but the Lat. descendere, since the compound was formed in ^{first revealed} Latin and the function of the prefix was [REDACTED] at that time. Further, in French there is no simple, unprefixd form to be compared with the compound. Similarly, if we wish to know what is the value of the prefix in Fr. déchirer, it is to the OFr. compound descirier we must turn, not the modern French. This is particularly true in a historical study, such as the present one, in which the changes in the function of the prefixes from one period of language to another are of great importance for the proper understanding of the modern usage.

The previous observations make it clear that the etymology of each compound must be known. Not only must the date, or, at least, the period and language, of the formation of the compound be known, but also the already existing word

from which it was formed. Such detailed information is hard to obtain, and a lone worker might spend many years in the search for it, since etymological dictionaries do not usually supply it. The Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch is the best aid at present available, though unfortunately it is not yet complete, and so for almost half the alphabet we have rely upon other less satisfactory sources, such as the Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Französischen Sprache, the Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, or the briefer Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Française. The EWFS and REW are far from complete and their etymologies not always to be relied upon ; for these reasons the more cautious and fuller FEW is to be preferred. In this dictionary all words, whether simple derivatives or compounds, are grouped together under the heading of the root-word, usually Latin, from which they spring. Most of the words are accompanied by their various meanings and the date of the first occurrence of each, when it is known, but the exact relationship between the different words under one heading, and between French and Latin compounds is not made sufficiently clear for our purposes. For instance, Fr. décroître is found under Lat. crescere, but no mention is made of the fact that Latin compounds decrescere and discrescere exist, and that it is to them that we must turn if we wish to discover the function

of de- in the French form.

We are, then, left with the task of comparing the meanings and dates (if known) of the compounds and all words from which they could possibly have been formed, in an attempt to discover what word should be compared with any compound in order to determine the function of the prefix. Indeed, it is not always possible to establish, with any degree of certainty, etymologies as exact as required. On the other hand, it is frequently quite clear from what word a compound has been formed ; in the case of désarmer, for instance, we see immediately that this compound is the result of adding the prefix dés- to the simple verb armer, though the possibility of a Lat. ^{*}disarmare should not be ruled out until a careful check has been made. The function of the prefix in this instance is quite clear.

The question of whether a compound is of Latin or French origin is difficult to resolve in some cases ; even though a compound may not exist in Classical Latin, one may have been formed at a much later date, but before the emergence of French. There are few dictionaries which cover Late Latin adequately between the time of the fall of the Roman Empire and the first signs of the French language existing in its own right. Dictionaries such as the REW use quantities of hypothetical Gallo-Roman forms to fill as

conveniently as possible the gaps in our knowledge of the language of the Dark Ages. Thus *devallare is postulated to account for OFr. devaler ; but could not the compound have been formed from OFr. valer ? In order to be able to answer this question, we must know the relative dates of valer and devaler, which might never be known, since many common words were in use before the date of any existing written records of Old French. In this study the use of unattested forms has been kept to a minimum ; they are used only when the function of the prefix seems to demand the existence of a Gallo-Roman rather than an Old French compound.

From the above remarks on etymologies it will be apparent that the problem is beset with difficulties, many of which are insuluble. Not the least of these difficulties is the fact that dictionaries do not necessarily agree any more than the scholars who compile them upon the etymology of certain words. Desver/derver is a case in point. REW 2585a gives the origin of the compound as Lat. derivare, while EWFS 359a connects it with Fr. rêver, from Lat. refragare, and quotes the following Latin compounds which have been put forward by various scholars as the origin of OFr. desver/derver : desipere, diruere, *de-ex-ripare, *disvare, *disaequare, *disviare, *disrivare, derivare, *deaestuare. In this and ~~other~~ other instances the problem is not simplified by the

erratic spelling habits current in Old French, which occasionally make it difficult to decide whether the prefix is, etymologically, de- or des-, see p. 177. A consequence of these difficulties is that the function of the prefix must sometimes remain obscure. In these cases an attempt will be made to present all the facets of the problem, and all reasonable solutions. The way is then left open for a decision in the light of further evidence in support of one solution rather than another. At no time should one lose sight of the fact that the etymology of a compound is always important, often doubtful and sometimes completely obscure. No apology is made for using in the present study etymologies which differ in some respects from the accepted ones wherever there is sufficient justification for them, or for ascribing to some compounds dates differing from those given in the dictionaries whenever the textual evidence warrants such correction.

The French prefix dé(s)- has its origins in the two distinct Latin prefixes de- and dis-, which developed into the Old French popular forms de- and des-. In addition to the popular forms, there are learned compounds with di- and dis-. Compounds formed with these four prefixes are to be discussed in this study.

In order to make the different stages in the

evolution of these prefixes more easily distinguishable one from another, it is proposed to devote separate chapters to each stage. Thus we shall have chapters on the Latin origins of the prefixes, on the developments in Late Latin, on those Old French compounds drawn directly from Latin, and, finally, on the compounds formed for the first time in Old French and for which no direct Latin ancestry can be found. It should be understood that these divisions are of a theoretical nature, and that some compounds could equally well be placed in more than one of the sections. Each section will be further subdivided : compounds in de- will be separated from those in des-, dis- and di-. Once again, because of the variable spelling of Old French words, some compounds may be put into more than one category. Each of these subdivisions will be further subdivided into the different meanings or functions of the prefix, and evidence in support of this differentiation will be supplied by suitable quotations. In conclusion, the different categories into which the meanings may be divided will be summarized, the general lines of evolution of the prefixes will be shown, and an attempt made to establish the relationship between the Modern French and the Old French uses of the prefixes.

II

THE LATIN ORIGINS

The main object of this study is to discover the different functions of the prefixes de-, des- and di(s)- in Old French, yet, for reasons explained in the preceding Introduction, it is thought that the study would be best conducted on historical lines. This being so, we must attempt to establish beyond reasonable doubt the fundamental meanings of the prefixes as they were employed in Latin.

In order that the greatest possible length of time might be devoted to the Old French period, work on the Latin origins has been restricted to the minimum consistent with a reasonable degree of completeness and accuracy. The task of establishing the Latin usage of de- and dis- would constitute an entirely separate study, and it is, therefore, outside the scope of the present thesis to undertake such a task at first hand. Fortunately, the subject has already been dealt with in some detail, and, in consequence, it has been possible to use for the most part only secondary sources ; no texts have been examined, and much of the following chapter is based on the excellent study by Sommerfelt of dē in Italo-

Celtic (see Bibliography). Should more details than are given here be required concerning aspects of dē other than its use as a prefix in Latin, they should be sought in Sommerfelt's work, where the Latin preposition and the purely Celtic developments are discussed at length. There appears to be no study of dis- comparable to that of de- contained in Sommerfelt's work on dē in Italo-Celtic, but a short article by Stolz is to be found in Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik (see Bibliography). This article, although quite brief, contains the essentials concerning the meanings of the prefix dis- in Classical Latin. Neither of these studies contains more than a very few full contexts drawn from Latin literature, though a number of lists of words are given to serve as examples. In order to replace the extensive use of texts, the Latin dictionary of Lewis and Short and the etymological dictionary of Ernout and Meillet (see Bibliography) have been consulted to corroborate the assertions of Sommerfelt and Stolz.

We have already seen in the Introduction that the prefixes found in Old French with the popular forms de- and des- and the learned dis- have their origins in the Latin prefixes de- and di(s)-. In this chapter it is intended to examine in as much detail as possible the fundamental meanings of these two prefixes, and the different subsidiary

meanings which developed from them. Since it is the more important in Latin, let us first consider de-.

What are the origins of the Latin prefix de- ? A common Indo-European form ^{*}dē is postulated by Sommerfelt as the origin of both the prefix and the preposition in the Italic and Celtic languages. Originally in Indo-European each word was independent, neither prefixes nor prepositions existed, and those words which we now know as either prefixes or prepositions, or, in the case of dē, as both, were adverbs. The system was one of juxtaposition of words rather than of subordination. However, with the evolution of the Indo-European languages, subordination began to make its appearance, and eventually affected the adverb and the predicate it determined ; thus a relationship was established between the adverb and its predicate where previously there had been none. Since the word-order was not fixed in Indo-European, it was a simple matter, in the case of a verbal predicate, for the adverb to be placed before the verb it determined, instead of after as is usually the rule in modern languages of the Indo-European family. As the adverb became subordinate to its predicate, its position became fixed in front of it, thereby leaving the word-ending clear, and the two words were united in a single tone. According to Sommerfelt, this stage

in the development of the future prefix may be seen already in the Rig Veda. Although we have now reached the stage at which the adverb may be united to the verb it governs, thus becoming a prefix, it is not always so, for the independent adverb continues to exist, and under these circumstances bears the tonic accent.

In Indo-European the adverb could govern not only a verbal but also a nominal predicate. When governing a nominal predicate, the adverb served to determine the meaning of the case of the noun, and developed into either a preposition or a postposition, just as it had become a prefix when united to a verb, and, as preposition or postposition, bore some of the locative meaning of the case. As was observed before, the adverb could be placed before or after the predicate ; with nouns as with compound verbs the former position became the general rule in most Indo-European languages, because once again the all-important word-endings remained unobscured. With the later weakening of the case-endings of nouns, the former adverb began to bear more and more of the locative sense and became a true preposition, and, when the final syllables eventually disappeared in some languages, their functions were assumed by the prepositions, which thus reached the point in their evolution attained at the present day.

Leaving aside the evolution of Indo-European adverbs as a whole to return to our specific adverb ³dē, we find that it was grouped with the ablative case and with verbs of motion. We may, then, make the reasonable deduction that it must have expressed the idea of movement away from some point ; this is the fundamental meaning of Latin de. However, de is not the only word to express such a meaning in Latin, for we find that it is related to a number of former adverbs - prefixes and prepositions in Latin - expressing analogous ideas : ab and ex are the most important of these words. The meanings of ab and ex are not difficult to define, for ex signifies motion out of, from inside something, while ab expresses the idea of motion away from something. In the case of de we must distinguish between the two related meanings. As in IEur. ³dē, there is firstly the simple idea of motion away from something, but it is not as precise an idea as that expressed by ab ; it is a very general meaning, a very vague notion, which, later in the evolution of the word, enables de- to become a mere grammatical and stylistic tool. This function will assume great importance as the evolution of the prefix is traced. The second meaning is more precise, more concrete : it is the idea of motion in a downward direction. This meaning is thought by Sommerfelt to be the result of a desire to differentiate between de and ab,

though he does not give any reason why 'down' should have been adopted in preference to any other meaning. In the absence of definite evidence for or against this hypothesis, we can only admit that it is a possible explanation, and wonder why this differentiation was not thought necessary in any other Italo-Celtic languages. The fact that the meaning 'down' is peculiar to Latin strengthens the case for believing that the idea of motion away, rather than that of 'down', is the primary meaning of de in Latin. This belief is further supported by the use of the preposition in some instances, as can be seen in the case of : "a caelo ad terram, de terra ad sidera mundi" (Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, I, 788),¹ where de means the contrary of 'down' while still retaining the idea 'away'. König, on the other hand, would have us believe that 'down' is the fundamental meaning of Lat. de- (see Die Präfixe, p. 5, para. 18).

The above remarks concerning the meaning of de are applicable to the primitive adverb. The functions of this adverb developed in two different directions according to whether it was used to determine a verbal or a nominal predicate. In this study we are concerned only with the

¹ Titi Lucreti Cari, De Rerum Natura, ed. C. Bailey (Oxford, 1947), vol. I.

adverb accompanying a verb - of the prefix, in other words - and therefore, leaving aside the prepositional development of the adverb, it is to this subject that we now turn our attention.

It has been seen how, in Indo-European, the adverb ^{*}dē expressed the idea that the action of the verb determined by it took place in a direction away from a starting-point, and that this starting-point could be indicated by the ablative. We have seen that the adverb tended to group itself with the verb and to become a prefix. In Italic, the prefix was welded to the verb, and the two parts became a phonetic and morphological whole. As a result of this close unification and the subsequent shift of the stress from the first syllable of the simple form to the prefix, a Latin compound formed in the pre-literary period underwent the same weakening of the unaccented vowels as any simple word, hence : seder^f/obsidere, cadere/decidere, facere/deficere, tenere/detinere. This unity is of great importance and may be contrasted with the development in the Celtic languages, where the prefix remained proclitic. This then is the position at the beginning of the Latin literary era, in so far as the form and meaning of the prefix de- are concerned ; let us now consider in detail the development of the function of de- in Latin.

The first meaning of de- in Latin is that of 'away'. The prefix serves to indicate that the action represented by the simple verb takes place in some manner 'away' from a certain point. Compound verbs in which de- has this meaning are very common in Latin, and have been so since the earliest times. The meaning of 'away' is quite clear in the majority of the compounds in the list below, yet they are not all perfectly simple. For example, in decedere there is the simple idea of motion, expressed by the form cedere, while the prefix serves to determine the direction of this motion ; on the other hand, in deprecari the prefix adds the idea of 'away' to that of praying already contained in the simple verb, and thus the compound comes to mean 'to ward off by prayer' or 'to pray insistently'. Most compounds are formed from simple verbs, but a few are parasynthetic (e.g., faex/defaecare, nasus/denasare, artus/deartuare). The following list contains some of the more important compounds in which de- adds the idea of 'away' to the simple form :

decedere	defugere	depulsare
decerpere	degređi	deripere
declinare	deicere	derivare
decubare	delectare	deserere
decurrere	delegare	desinere
deducere	delibare	desistere

deerrare	demorari /-e	destituere
deesse	demovere	deterere
defendere	depellere	detinere
defensare	deponere	detrahere
deferre	deportare	devellere
deficere	deprecari /-e	devertere
deflectere	depromere	

The primitive meaning appears only obscurely in some compounds (e.g., debere, decolare, degere, delirare, delinquere). Precise analysis of these compounds is rendered impossible by the semantic changes they have undergone since their formation.

As has already been observed, the general meaning 'away' is accompanied by the more specific 'down'. This meaning is probably almost as old as that of 'away', for the sole example of the use of de as an adverb in literary times is to be found in the expression susque deque, where de appears to mean 'down' rather than 'away'. In his glossary, Festus has the entry : "Susque deque frequens est pro plus minusve . . ."² It should be noted that there appear to be fewer compounds formed with de- in this sense

² Glossaria Latina, ed. J.W. Pirie, W.M. Lindsay (Paris, 1926-31), IV, 391.

than in the sense 'away', and that a number of those included in this category are also to be found in the previous one. This may be a further indication that the meaning 'down' is secondary to that of 'away'. In some compounds the prefix expresses either idea according to the exact context in which the compound is used, while in others the prefix has the sense of 'down' only.

decidere	defluere	deponere
declinare	deicere	deportare
decoquere	delabi	deprimere
decumbere	demergere	descendere
decurrere	demittere	desilire
deducere	dependere	despicere
deferre		detrahere

It is easily seen how much more precise is the meaning of the prefix in the above compounds, compared with those in the first category. In all cases we are concerned with a physical action taking place in a downward direction. In contrast, the compounds of the first category do not all denote a physical action, and the precise significance of the prefix is therefore more difficult to define in some cases, as, for example, in : delectare, delegare, deprecari, depromere, desinere, desistere.

These two primary meanings of de- gave rise to a

number of subsidiary meanings, the first of which developed, in all probability, from the primary 'away'. In some instances the effect of de- seems to be to take away the idea expressed by the simple verb, in other words, to reverse it. This idea is usually one of simple negation, but may, in some cases, be closer to that of cessation. Compounds in this category are much fewer than those in the first two, although, as is often the case, some of the following compounds may be put in the first category.

decrescere	dejungere	desipere
dedignare	depilare	desperare
dediscere	deplere	destruere
deficere	desaevire	detegere
	deserere	

A second subsidiary category of meaning is one in which the prefix seems to intensify or reinforce the meaning of the simple verb. Such intensification may come about in one of two ways. In the first place, intensification would appear to be the natural function of certain prefixes with suitable meanings, for con-, per- and ex- all ~~assume~~ assume this reinforcing function in some cases. The intensive function of de- is an extension of the idea of 'away' according to Sommerfelt, who illustrates his point from his own language : gaa vaek 'go away' may be compared to skrik vaek

'shout away (as much as you like)'. It can be seen that quantities of Latin verbs could have been intensified in this way, especially, if we follow Sommerfelt's analogy, verbs of speaking and related actions (e.g., clamare, lacrimare, narrare). Once the precedent has been firmly established with those verbs where the function of the prefix is logical, the forces of analogy begin to do their work, and cause it to be extended to verbs which cannot logically acquire the prefix used in this sense. The result is seen in compounds such as designare.

In some instances the notion of 'away' or 'down' is already implicit in the meaning of the simple verb ; for this reason, the meaning of a compound formed from such a verb by the addition of de- is not radically different from that of the simple verb, but it may have acquired some degree of intensification, however slight, as may be seen in devorare, deperdere, dedere, decernere. This reinforcement takes various forms, but the compound usually indicates an action carried out with greater precision or thoroughness than in the case of the simple verb. Frequently it is quite impossible to differentiate between compounds where the prefix has a purely intensive function and those where it retains some of the original locative value. Further, in some instances, the prefix seems to add nothing to the mean-

ing of the simple verb, but to leave it without any modification other than the reinforcement of the form of the word by the addition of a syllable ; the simple and compound forms are either synonyms or are separated solely by semantic changes which are not the direct result of the prefixation.

The following list contains compounds in which the prefix has either an intensive function or none at all. It is very often difficult, not to say impossible, to separate the two classes, therefore compounds from both have been included in the one list. It would be possible to justify the inclusion of a number of these compounds in the lists of verbs belonging to one of the first two primary categories.

deamare	deliberare	derelinquere
deambulare	deligere	deridere
debellare	demandare	desaevire
decantare	deminuere	describere
decernere	demonstrare	deservire
declamare	demorari	designare
dedere	demulcere	despoliare
dedicare	demutare	destinare
defatigare	denarrare	destituere
defervere	denegare	desudare
definire	denominare	determinare
defraudare	denudare	detinere

defricare	denuntiare	detondere
deglubere	deperdere	devastare
delacrimare	deperire	devitare
delassare	depingere	devorare
delegare	depopulari	devovere
	depugnare	

It is possible to discern yet a third subsidiary category. It consists of those compounds in which the function of de- is pejorative. This function could well have developed from the meaning 'down' in much the same way as 'away' may come to have an intensive function. It is to be seen in only a very few compounds, indeed no more than five or six spring readily to mind :

decipere	defraudare	deprehendere
	deludere	deridere

There can be no doubt that all the above compounds contain a pejorative element, but it is far from certain that this element is the result of the prefixation with de- ; it may equally well be that the prefix has a purely intensive function, and that the pejorative element is to be found already in the simple verb (e.g., fraudare), or, where this cannot be, that it is a nuance acquired by the intensive form from the popular language, which always abounds in colourful expressions. It would be unwise to state that de- in Latin

may be used to give a simple verb a pejorative aspect, until some examples have been found where the alternative intensive interpretation is inadmissible. Since it seems unlikely that any such instances will come to light, this category must remain hypothetical, at least for the present, and the compounds found in it may ^{be} classified as intensive.

If the tendency for the prefix to denote the pejorative aspect of an action in some instances is unclear, two further unfulfilled tendencies are still less clear. The first of these is for the prefix to denote the perfective, or complete, aspect of a verb, as opposed to the imperfective, or incomplete. In Indo-European, the change of aspect of a verb was denoted by a change of stem (e.g., Lat. stare/sistere), but, except for a few surviving traces, this system has been discontinued in Latin. It has fallen into disuse in the other languages of Indo-European origin, and has been replaced, to some extent in Germanic, and systematically in Slavonic, by the use of prefixes acting simply to differentiate between verbs denoting perfect and imperfect actions. Latin shows the first signs of a tendency towards a similar system, but, in general, the prefixes retain too strong a locative meaning to enable them to produce a system on the scale of that found in Slavonic. The issue is further confused by the strong tendency for Latin prefixes to have an

intensive function, which is frequently indistinguishable from the incipient perfective function. In spite of these difficulties, one suspects the existence of this tendency in the Latin use of de- ; however, it is impossible to quote any examples of compounds denoting the perfect action as opposed to the imperfect denoted by the simple form. In all cases the use of the prefix may be placed in another category, usually the intensive, and, until an example that is above suspicion has been discovered, we can say no more than that the merest beginnings of such a tendency may be divined in some few cases. Consider, for example, the judgement of the fourth century grammarian Donatus on the difference between dare and the compound dedere ; "Dare est quod repetas, dedere ad perpetuum ; et damus etiam amicis, dedimus tantum hostibus."³ The perfective aspect must, however, be more clearly defined than in the case of dedere, if we are to be sure of its existence in even isolated cases of prefixation with de-. One of the better examples is seen in debellare 'to finish a war, conquer completely, vanquish', when compared with bellare 'to wage war'.

The second of these ill-defined tendencies is for

³ Donatus's note on dedere in his edition of Terence's Andria, I, ii.

the compound with de- to be transitive, while the simple form remains intransitive. In Indo-European the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs was not made, and any verb could take an object. The distinction is still difficult to make in many languages, for verbs may pass from one category to the other. In some languages, especially Germanic, there has arisen through the use of prefixation a systematic opposition of the intransitive compound verbs, but no such system developed in Latin. As in the previous category, there are a few verbs which one may suspect of having been made transitive by prefixation with de- (e.g., declamare, deplorare, depugnare, debellare), yet no clear examples are to be found, and, in general, Latin verbs have kept the ability to be either transitive or intransitive according to need, as in Indo-European.

Since they make up by far the greatest class, we have hitherto considered only compounds formed from verbs, but this section would not be complete without some mention of the other classes. Compound nouns themselves form part of the verbal system already discussed, and will therefore be ignored. The value of de- in nouns such as declamatio, decretum, dedecus, defatigatio, dejectio, deliciae, detractor, desperatio is not different from its value in the verbs from which these nouns are derived. In Latin, when de- is in

direct composition with a noun, that is to say, without the intervention of a compound verb, the resulting compound is usually not a noun but an adjective, and the role of the prefix appears to be negative since it denotes the absence of whatever is indicated by the original noun. These adjectives are few in number, because the formation of negative adjectives is normally the function of in-, which has a purely grammatical function, whereas de- always retains some of its locative sense, and is, on that account, less suitable for the role than in- :

debilis	deformis	deplumis
decolor	degener	desomnis
defamis	demens	devius
	depilis	

It may be that decrepitus should be included in this list, but the etymology of the word is too doubtful to allow its inclusion without reservations.

In addition to compound adjectives, there are some compound adverbs containing de-. In Indo-European one adverb could be combined with another, and the function of the first was to determine the locative sense of the second, or, if this was the same as that of the first, to intensify it, as we have seen happen with verbs. Very early in the history of the Italic languages, these groups of adverbs,

previously in juxtaposition, were joined together into single words by agglutination, although a few remained separate (e.g., de improviso). In Latin we find that de- usually has an intensive function, though the locative sense sometimes remains where it was not already indicated by the other adverb. Some of the older compounds are :

dehinc	denique	deorsum
deinde	denuo	derepente

It would be useful to complete this review of the functions of de- in Latin by a brief comparison between de- and the two prefixes of similar meaning, ab- and ex-. Compounds in ab- are far fewer than those in de-. The reason for this may be that the form of the prefix ~~ab-~~, owing to the changes its consonant undergoes, may sometimes be confused with ad-. Ab- always retains its locative meaning, and never serves to intensify the verb. Some compounds in de- and ab- have the same meaning, as may be seen from : "puer inter homines aberravit a patre"⁴ and "inter homines me deerrare a patre"⁵. Where a semantic differentiation is

⁴ Plautus, Menaechmi, prologue, 31. In : Plaute, ed. A. Ernout (Paris, 1932-40), Vol. IV.

⁵ Menaechmi, V, x, 1113.

made between two compounds of similar meaning (e.g, abigere/degere, deesse/abesse), it is always the compound in ab- which retains the strictly locative sense, and that in de- which suffers the necessary changes. Ex- usually retains the meaning 'out of', though, like de-, it may have an intensive function in some compounds, but the locative sense is too strong to permit this use to be as widespread or as important as it is in the case of de-.

Let us now turn our attention to dis-. Unlike de-, which is invariable, the form of this prefix, because of the phonetic laws of Latin, may vary in accordance with the initial sound of the word to which it is attached : before a vowel the -s is intervocalic and becomes -r, as in dirimere/emere (cf. the gen. pl. of the 1st. declension -arum from the earlier -asom) ; before a voiced consonant -s is dropped, as in diligere/legere, digerere/gerere, divellere/vellere (cf. nidus 'nest' from the earlier nisdo-) ; before certain voiceless consonants the -s may be assimilated, as in differre/ferre, because of the difficulty of pronouncing certain groups of consonants ; in short, the -s stands unchanged only before the voiceless consonants p-, t-, c-, s-.

While de- has a parallel preposition of similar meaning, dis- is found in Latin only as a prefix attached,

like de-, in the vast majority of cases to a verb. The prefix is descended from a form of the root dwo-, dwi- 'two', from which the -w- disappears when the form is unstressed. The accented form, with the -w- retained, dwis, results in the Lat. bis 'twice', and is obviously connected with duo. The prefix may also be connected with OHG zir- (Ger. zer-), and with the Gr. duo, Ger. zwei, Eng. two.

In view of the primitive meaning of the antecedents of dis- and of the words related to it, it is not difficult to accept the idea of separation, or 'apart', as the fundamental meaning of the prefix in Latin ; later, as we shall see, it may assume a number of different nuances. That the meaning of separation is the fundamental one is to some extent supported by the users of the language themselves, for in the "Glossae Affatim" di- is defined : "praepositio est disjunctiva, quae divisionem significat".⁶

Originally the idea was probably that of simple separation in two, as may be perceived in a compound such as dimidium. However, sometimes the verb denotes the physical separation of something into more than two parts (e.g., dissecare, dividere) ; in some compounds the idea is that of

⁶ Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, ed. G. Loewe (Lipsiae, 1888-1923), IV, 505, 47.

separation of the subject or object of the verb from somewhere or something (e.g., discedere, divellere) ; at other times the separation is of one thing from another, or from a group of things (e.g., distrahere) ; the idea of separation may be carried a little further, producing the meaning 'in different ways', and then 'in opposite ways' (e.g., discrepare) ; these concrete meanings may become abstract when they refer to the action of separation carried out as a mental process, in other words, the act of judgement, of deduction, or of distinguishing one thing from another (e.g., dijudicare). As is usually the case, it is impossible to confine a compound to any single category, and some may be found in more than one of the following sections, because of the variable meaning of the compound, or of the possibility of more than one interpretation of the use of the prefix. This uncertainty of interpretation would appear to be even greater in the case of dis- than it was in that of de-, because of the fact that the idea of separation is open to so many shades of meaning that any distinction tends to be purely arbitrary. Compounds in which the above meanings may be observed are common in Latin ; some of the more frequent ones are :

differre	diruere	disponere
digerere	dirumpere	disputare
dijudicare	discedere	disserere

dilabi	disceptare	dissolvere
diligere	discernere	dissuadere
diluere	discerpere	distare
dimidium	discindere	distendere
dimittere	discolor	distinguere
dinoscere	discrepare	distrahere
dinumerare	discutere	distringere
dirimere	dispensare	divertere
diripere	dispicere	dividere

The meaning of separation is not far distant from that of 'away' already attributed to de-, and there are, in consequence, numerous compounds of the same simple form with both de- and dis- which have very similar meanings, and may sometimes be confused even in texts of the Classical period, while in Late Latin confusion is common (e.g., deferre/differre, decedere/discedere, decernere/discernere, detrahere/distrahere, demittere/dimittere).

The fundamental meaning of dis- may, in suitable compounds, take on a significance rather stronger than that of simple separation : it may become 'in all directions'. This sense appears in those verbs denoting an action which especially lends itself to being carried out in all directions. Light and sound, for example, are obvious cases of things which, by their very nature, are liable to be the subjects of

such verbs. Hence such verbs as diffulgurare, in which the meaning of the prefix, while remaining basically the same as in the previous section, is clearly something more. We may also place in this category compounds denoting distribution and expansion (e.g., dispendere, dilatare), since these actions are not merely separation, and normally take place in all directions. Examples of compounds in this category are :

diffflare	dimicare	displodere
diffugere	discribere	disseminare
diffulgurare	discurrere	dissilire
diffundere	dispellere	dissipare
dilargiri	dispendere	distribuere
dilatare	dispergere	divulgare

The first extension of the meaning of dis-, which was discussed in the preceding paragraph, may be carried a stage further, and the meaning of the prefix becomes intensive. Again, this intensification occurs at first only with those verbs which already contain or imply one of the basic shades of meaning of dis- (e.g., solvere, coquere). When the simple verb already denotes an action implying one aspect of separation, the prefix assumes the meaning 'to pieces' or 'completely', and hence has an intensive function (e.g., discoquere 'to cook to pieces, to cook thoroughly'). Once

this function has been firmly established, dis- may then be attached to verbs which cannot be said to contain any notion of separation (e.g., cupere 'to desire'), and dis- becomes a true intensive prefix. Such instances, however, seem to be very rare ; only two cases in the following list, in addition to that of discupere, are examples of dis- intensifying a simple verb which does not denote a separative action of some description : distaedet, dispudet.

diffringere	discoquere	disseparare
dilabi	discupere	dissolvere
dilacerare	dispercutere	distabescere
dilargiri	disperdere	distaedet
dilaudare	dispergere	distribuere
dirumpere	dispudet	disturbare
discerpere	dispulverare	

It is not a very long step from the idea of separation, especially separation in opposite directions, to that of negation, and the transition may come about in much the same way as did that from the meaning 'away' to negation in the case of de-. This function of dis- would appear to have arisen at an early date in the history of the Latin language, for some of the oldest compounds containing the prefix are purely negative (e.g., difficilis). As was observed in the section on de-, simple negation tends to be

the function of a grammatical tool such as in- rather than of a prefix full of other meanings and function, and verbs containing the prefix used as a negative particle are comparatively rare. It is noteworthy that a number of them are antonyms of compounds in con- of the same simple verb. It would be useful to know for certain whether or not these compounds with dis- were formed first as antonyms of those with con-. In some compounds this would appear to be true ; if it were in fact so for the majority, the precedent for the use of dis- as a means of negating existing compounds would appear to have been well established by an early date in the history of the prefix. In compound adjectives dis- has the negative function rather than any other, as had de- under the same circumstances. Of the following two lists, the first contains compounds with dis- which are antonyms of compounds with con-, while the second contains ordinary compounds :

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) | diffidere/confidere | disjungere/conjungere |
| | diffiteri/confiteri | dissentire/consentire |
| | disconvenire/convenire | dissonus/consonus |
| | discors/concors | dissuere/consuere |

Note that dis- may replace or precede con-.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------------|------------|
| 2) | diffibulare | discooperire | dispar |
| | difficilis | discredere | displicare |

discarricare

disculciare

displicere

discingere

disjejunare

dissimilis

This category is not very numerous, and some of the verbs are of late origin, as may be seen from the retention of the -s of dis- before j-.

Having examined de- and dis- separately, let us compare the two prefixes. The primary meaning of de- is one of motion away from a starting-point, that of dis- is separation in many different forms. It can scarcely be denied that motion away from a starting-point is nothing more than a form of separation ; the two prefixes are, therefore, very similar in their primary meanings. The subsequent evolution could have brought about some divergence, but, in fact, a rapid review of the secondary meanings and functions of both prefixes suffices to reveal great similarities. In each case the primary meaning is extended in such a way as to develop negative and intensive functions. As we have already observed, this similarity of meaning and function may result in the existence of two different compounds of the same simple verb which have similar meanings, and even similar forms in some instances later in the history of Latin. The result is that there can arise confusion between the compounds, and this confusion merely increases with the passage of time and

the continued evolution of the two prefixes.

The language must rid itself of the danger of ambiguity which arises in cases where clashes occur between the forms and meanings of two prefixes and their compounds. Two courses of action are possible : either one of them must be eliminated, or a clear differentiation must be established between the two. In view of the importance to the language of both prefixes and their respective compounds, it would be surprising if the first course were adopted, and, in fact, the future development of de- and dis- will show that the second course of action is pursued to its logical conclusion. This being so, it will be appreciated that the precise nature of both the meanings and the values of the prefixes in Latin is not without significance for Old French. In the next chapter the development of the functions of both prefixes in Late Latin will be outlined.

III

LATE LATIN DEVELOPMENTS

Having discussed the origins of the prefixes in prehistoric Latin and the full development of their meanings in literary Latin of the Early, Republican and Classical periods, we come now to Late Latin. For the purposes of this study, the use of the term Late Latin has been somewhat extended. Late Latin is usually defined as the Latin written after the end of the Silver Age until the fall of the Western Empire. In this study, however, Late Latin refers to the Latin written from the beginning of the post-Augustan Silver Age until the appearance of the separate Romance languages which replaced it in part as the literary medium. In using this definition we have a Late period longer than all the preceding literary periods of Latin put together, and this use of the term is justified only on grounds of convenience, for it is not to be supposed that Latin remained unchanged during the centuries covered by this definition. During the period of Late Latin the conservative influence of Classical literature was, to some extent, diminished, and the character of the language became increasingly popular,

since the Latin speakers and writers tended more and more to adopt the usage of Vulgar Latin. It is the popular, as opposed to the Classical or literary, nature of Latin during this long period that makes it convenient to treat it as a whole. The term Vulgar Latin¹ is sometimes used to denote the language just defined as Late Latin ; in this study the term Vulgar Latin applies only to the Latin spoken by the common people, as opposed to literary Latin and the Latin spoken by the educated man influenced by the traditions of the language of literature.

Both Vulgar and Late Latin have been the objects of a considerable amount of study, but prefixation has been neglected, while syntax, morphology and phonology seem to have commanded the most attention. No specialised work on prefixation in Late Latin is to be found, while even general introductions to Vulgar Latin, such as those by Grandgent and Battisti,² contain no more than a passing reference to prefixation, while there is scarcely any mention of prefixes to be

¹ On the definition of Vulgar Latin see E. Pulgram, "Spoken and Written Latin," Language, XXVI (1950), 458-466.

² C.H. Grandgent, Introducción al Latín Vulgar, tr. F. de B. Moll, 2nd. edn. (Madrid, 1952) and C. Battisti, Avviamento allo Studio del Latino Volgare (Bari, 1949). Neither of these works contains more than a very general summary of the use of prefixes in Vulgar Latin.

found in the works of Löfstedt on Late Latin.³ There are, however, numerous studies of the style, syntax, morphology and phonology of the Latin employed by many writers during the period with which we are concerned in this chapter. Bonnet's work on the Latin of Gregory of Tours⁴ is a classic of its kind, and contains an appreciable section on the use, at the time when Gregory was writing in Gaul, of compound verbs formed with the aid of prefixes. However, the majority of works similar to Bonnet's are concerned not so much with prefixation and allied subjects as with syntax and vocabulary. There appears to be only one major work given over to any extent to an examination of the use of prefixes outside Classical Latin. This is Cooper's study of word-formation in Vulgar Latin (see Bibliography), which contains a section on prepositional compounds in general (pp. 246 ff.), and a brief examination of the individual prefixes, including de- (pp. 271 ff.) and dis- (pp. 275 ff.). It should be noted that the works of both Bonnet and Cooper are more than sixty years old.

³ E. Löfstedt, Spätlateinische Studien (Uppsala, 1908), Syntactica, 2 vols. (Lund, 1928-33).

⁴ M. Bonnet, Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours (Paris, 1890).

Before continuing our study of de- and dis-, let us consider for a moment some of the wider aspects of Late and Vulgar Latin, in order that the two prefixes might appear in their proper perspective. It should, however, be understood from the first that, if no mention is made of the evolution taking place in prefixation during the great periods of Latin literature, it is because an examination of literary Latin up to the end of the Golden Age would reveal no great changes in the use of prefixation. The reason for this may be sought in the fact that literary Latin was, like most literary languages, strongly attached to its traditions, and was archaic by comparison with the spoken language, which, unhampered by traditional usage, had forged ahead continuously, while Classical Latin was marking time. The conservative nature of the literary language prevents us from distinguishing any steps in the development of the use of prefixation made in Vulgar Latin during the Classical era, but we must, in view of the increased importance of prefixes, and of de- in particular, in Late Latin, assume that some evolution did in fact take place, as it were, behind the scenes.

Late Latin, even as used in works of a literary nature by the more highly educated people, showed numerous characteristics of popular origin. It would seem probable that these characteristics came from two main sources. The

first is the indigenous Vulgar Latin spoken by the Roman people during the periods when the educated classes were using what is sometimes loosely called Classical Latin, but which would be better described as good Latin. Such illiterate people would be only slightly influenced by traditional literary usage, and would have a large vocabulary and usage of their own, which, after many years, would infiltrate into accepted usage in spite of the conscious opposition of the educated classes. Thus the slang of one generation would be the accepted spoken language of the next, and, once the hold of the conservative literary style was broken, what was accepted in speech one day would be accepted in the written language the next. For instance, the popular diminutives eventually became normal expressions, and passed into the Romance languages (e.g., avicellus and agnellus give the Fr. oiseau and agneau), similar fuller popular forms such as fabulare and parabolare replaced CLat. dicere and were handed on to the Romance languages, Sp. hablar and Fr. parler, while slang words such as testa replaced caput (Fr. tête), and even CLat. decipere was probably a hunting term originally, and therefore to some extent popular. In this way the literary language would pursue the spoken, without ever catching up, and the written form would evolve continuously towards the popular spoken form at a tempo controlled by the degree of

literacy enjoyed by the mass of the users of the language.

With the expansion of Rome, the second source of the popular elements of Latin came to make its contribution, and it is from this source - the languages of the provinces - that came the means of destroying the dominant influence Classical Latin had on Latin usage. Once the use of the Roman tongue had established itself far outside the walls of the city itself, it was quite impossible for the traditions maintained while Rome was a small republic to remain in force. The standards of language introduced into a newly conquered territory would not be set by the intellectual or educated classes, but by the armies of occupation and the traders following in their wake. Thus it was that the Latin adopted in the Italian peninsula, as a result of the civil wars, which saw the cream of the Etruscans forced from their lands and replaced by army veterans, was of a military, and therefore popular, nature. Similarly, when Dacia was finally conquered and depopulated, the missing inhabitants were replaced by ordinary colonists drawn from all parts of the Empire and by soldiers guarding the frontiers ; consequently, the Latin of Dacia was of both popular and largely non-Roman origin. Spain and Gaul had a much more representative population, for many noble families were to be found there who set up good schools for the education of their children. Roman culture found

ready acceptance among the vanquished population, and there eventually arose an intellectual and cultured section of the community speaking a Latin which was good, but not without its regional peculiarities. With the decline of the genuinely cultivated Roman nobility, many of the men who carried on the literary work and administration in Rome were not Romans but provincials, and by the first century A.D. a considerable part of the Roman intellectual class consisted of men of Spanish origin, such as Seneca and Lucan, who introduced their provincialisms into the very heart of the Empire. With the further expansion and decentralisation of the Empire, any steadying conservative influence from Rome, now little more than a figurehead, became out of the question. So it was that Late Latin showed many characteristics of popular origin, either because they developed directly from the Roman sermo plebeius, or because of the fact that the standards of Latin were set by the conquering soldier rather than by the poet and the man of education. The tendency was assisted by the different substrata on which Latin was imposed. Later, after the break-up of the Western Empire, those provinces which retained their Roman character in the face of the barbarian invasions followed their individual paths in the domains of pronunciation and vocabulary, for they were, in some cases, isolated from one another, and the Latin spoken in each area

evolved along slightly different lines dictated by the usage of the people rather than by that of literature. The barbarians could destroy books, but not the language, which they merely modified still further by adopting it as their own.

Once the popular elements had been well established in the manner described, the influence of the popular language was both increased and extended as a result of the rise of Christianity. This religion, with its democratic aspect, made its appeal chiefly to the lower strata of society, for which the passive revolt of Christianity had a greater attraction than the energetic ideas of the rival Mithraism ; while the traditional paganism, with its stress on the fleeting joys of life, could appeal only to those rich enough to be able to seize their opportunity and live for the day. Christianity made the lower classes feel that life held something for them, and filled them with optimism. This change of attitude was bound to be expressed in some manner, and the eagerness for expression caused their language to become more emphatic, to have more stress than the artificial Classical Latin. The popular language, now more emphatic by virtue of its tonic accent and its reinforced vocabulary, was spread to the ends of the Roman Empire at the same time as the religion which gave it strength enough to rise above

its lowly origins.

Having established the existence of an important popular element in the make-up of Late Latin, let us then examine the main popular characteristics of that language which are important for our study of de- and dis-. There are two principal ones : the first is the immoderate use of many prefixes, the second is the tendency towards the recomposition of some compounds.

Classical Latin had shown great reluctance to form neologisms, while the compounding of verbs with more than one prefix was avoided, and tolerated only when a prefix, having lost its identity, had come to be regarded as an integral part of the stem (e.g., emere/promere/depromere, dare/perdere/deperdere). On the other hand, popular speech retained much of the freedom of composition to be found in other Indo-European languages, and made full use of prefixes, attaching them quite freely to almost any stem, verbal or nominal. The large number of compound verbs is one of the characteristics of both Vulgar and Late Latin. Popular speech is usually full of expressive vocabulary of a less subtle nature than is found in the literary language, and the extensive use of the prefixed form was one of the ways of gaining greater expressivity employed by the common people in Vulgar Latin and by everyone in Late Latin. Similar methods are the use of

fuller forms such as frequentatives, inchoatives and diminutives (e.g., cantare, florescere, genuculum), of the names of parts of animals to refer to human beings (e.g., gamba), of colourful expressions (e.g., manducare for edere, cf., comedere, giving Fr. manger, Sp. comer), of pleonastic expressions (e.g., omnes universi, ambo duo, sursum ascendere, itaque ergo, sic taliter). This could be regarded, in the case of de-, as an extension of the intensive function of the prefix.

The immoderate use of compound forms, especially of those formed with ad-, con-, de-, ex-, led to the devaluation of the prefixes they contained, resulting, in some cases, in a complete loss of significance. Certain compounds, especially verbs, tended to lose their special meaning and to become nothing more than synonyms of the simple forms because of the exhaustion of the prefix through its uncontrolled use. Since prefixes could be found in compounds where they had lost their value, other verbs created by analogy with these compounds also contained virtually empty prefixes, and the tendency towards meaningless prefixes was merely strengthened (e.g., pertransire, where per- adds nothing not already expressed by trans-, may have been created by analogy with verbs such as perexire, where the prefix probably had some slight meaning when the compound was first

formed, but which is virtually a synonym of exire). In order to repair the damage to the expressive value of the compounds, further prefixes were added, and these in their turn became valueless. Forms such as con-col-ligere and co-ad-im-plere reveal to what lengths the indiscriminate use of prefixes went.

We have seen that the devaluation of compounds can lead to the use of prefixes where they have no real meaning, but the devaluation of simple verbs may also have the same result. The devaluation of simple verbs appears particularly distinctly in verbs of motion. The difference between the action accomplished on the spot and the action implying a movement from one point to another became imperceptible. Verbs such as mittere, originally 'to send', lost all idea of motion, becoming synonymous with ponere 'to put' (hence Fr. mettre), and the precise nature of the action and the motion involved had to be expressed by a prefix, e(x)-, de-, di(s)-, ob- or trans- (e.g., transmittere was used in place of the former simple mittere). Here the prefix is used to repair the damage to the simple verb, and is, therefore, justified ; but this addition of a prefix was extended to cases where it was no longer ^{logically} justified, for, although trans- is used to strengthen and clarify the weakened meaning of mittere, in fact it adds nothing to the original meaning of

the verb, and, to people ■■■aware of this original meaning, transmittere appeared to establish a precedent for the use of empty prefixes.

It should not be thought that this weakening of the force of compounds came about in a uniform manner. A great number of the older compounds retained the special value resulting from the prefixation, while the devaluation is to be seen most clearly in the later compounds, but even here there is no uniformity. In some instances the prefix has no value, in others there remains some vestiges of meaning. We should not lose sight of the fact that the user of the language has the last word in the interpretation of what he hears or reads, and that he may interpret the words employed in a manner unjustifiable from a linguistic point of view. The meaning of a word is what is understood by the speaker and the hearer of the word, not what the linguist says they should understand. Consequently, the extent to which a prefix contained in a compound may be said to have lost its value varies in accordance with the context in which it is used, and with the meaning of the word itself. In order to assess the value of any given prefix, then, we must turn to the context and try to interpret it as would have done the original user of the word.

The second characteristic of popular and Late Latin

is the tendency towards recomposition. It is important that this phenomenon should be clearly understood if we are to account for the form of some compounds both in Late Latin and Old French. In Classical Latin the stress⁵ of a word is on the penultimate syllable, if its vowel is long, or, if it is short, on the antepenultimate. However, at some early time, before the literary period, this Paenultima Law of accentuation did not prevail, and the stress fell on the first syllable of every word. This early accentuation has left two marks on the form of Latin words : the first is the syncopation of the second syllable of a word when the vowel of that syllable was short (e.g., undecim, not ^{*}unodecim, from OLat. oinos + decem) ; the second is the reduction, in some cases, of vowels which would bear the accent under the Paenultima Law of accentuation (e.g., frangere but confringere, caedere but concidere, annus but perennis, claudere but occludere, tenere but detinere, pater but Juppiter). When the change from the earlier system to the one prevailing in Cicero's time took place is not known exactly, but it was no doubt a gradual one, and was still incomplete at the beginning of the literary period. The metrical treatment of certain

⁵ An account of Latin accentuation may be found in : W.M. Lindsay, The Latin Language (Oxford, 1894), pp. 148-217, or A. Maniet, L'Evolution Phonétique et les Sons du Latin Ancien, 2e. édn. (Paris, 1955).

words in the plays of Plautus and Terence shows that the stress was still on the first syllable in these words if not in others. Similarly, e is still retained in unweakened spellings of the oldest manuscripts of Plautus (e.g., detenet for detinet,⁶ and contenuo for continuo⁷). It is probable that the change in the position of the stress began in very long words such as sapientia, tempestatibus and elementum, which must have had a secondary stress in the position where the main stress was to fall in Classical times.

We are not interested so much in the syncopation of the second syllable as in the reduction of the unaccented vowels. As may be seen in the examples given below and above, when a simple verb received a prefix the accent moved, under the earlier law of accentuation, from the stem to the prefix, and thus the root vowel or diphthong, now unaccented, could be modified in some cases, although, under certain circumstances, the vowel was left unchanged. One such circumstance was the consciousness of the relationship of a compound to a simple word. This restoration of compounds to their original form, or recomposition, is a feature of the late Republican and the Imperial period, and all probability is a

⁶ Persa, line 505.

⁷ Stichus, line 623.

result of the grammatical studies imported from Greece at the end of the Republican period, and pursued with diligence for many centuries. For this reason we find at a comparatively early date the new form consacrare alongside the older consecrare, commandare side by side with commendare, while depremere is to be found later for deprimere. Once the precedent for recomposition had been established, it was zealously applied in Vulgar Latin to as many compounds as possible, for the people usually prefers the regular to the irregular.

Compounds created in the pre-literary period would undergo, whenever possible, weakening or reduction of the radical vowel, but those created later in the history of Latin would not. At the same time, the number of cases of recomposition would steadily increase in Late Latin thanks to the power of analogy and the popular nature of the language at the time. It may be observed that in Late Latin not only compounds with unweakened vowels in the syllable following the prefix are found, but also the prefixes themselves may be unweakened, where earlier compounds would have had, for example, assimilated forms. Compare, for instance, LLat. disjejunare with CLat. dijudicare, LLat. disglutinare (Hieronimus) and disgregare (Martianus Capella) with CLat. digredi : Classical Latin would not have allowed the -s to

stand before a voiced consonant. Not only dis- is restored to its original form in this way. In the works of Gregory of Tours we find, for example, conlocare for collocare, adfligere for affligere, inluminare for illuminare, as well as disrumpere for dirumpere. Later, compounds such as disfacere, dimittere, disvestire are found, and they have the meanings of the earlier forms deficere, dimittere, devestire. Thus the awareness of composition arising from grammatical studies tended to produce recomposition and the restoration of both weakened root-vowels and modified prefixes to their original form. This theory of recomposition accounts for the otherwise inexplicable forms of compounds encountered in Late Latin and in the Romance languages.

Since the Romance languages must, in the first place, have developed from spoken Latin, we should, ideally, base our examination of Late Latin on the spoken, rather than the written language. This is obviously impossible, for even the most spontaneous inscriptions and graffiti are bound to be to some extent influenced by the traditions of the written language, and, in any event, such inscriptions rarely afford good contexts. In spite of the popular character of Late Latin, texts, particularly those of a religious nature, must show a varying amount of influence from literary sources, and this

fact should be borne in mind when we come to select the texts to be employed as the basis of this part of the study. As was observed before, variety is of great importance, and, in accordance with the opinions expressed in the Introduction, the texts used have been selected with a view to giving the widest possible variety within the limitations imposed by the little time one may justifiably devote to Latin texts in a study of Old French. The following five texts⁸ have been used in this chapter :

Petronii Cena Trimalchionis (CT), from the novel Satyricon, an account of a feast at the house of a freedman written during the reign of Nero (54-68 A.D.) by one of the Emperor's closest associates, belongs to the very beginning of the Late Latin period. Although we may suppose that Petronius was a well educated man, the language of the text is full of provincial, familiar and vulgar expressions, for it is a skit on some of the manners of the time.

Peregrinatio Aetheriae (PA), written in a simple epistolary style by a member of a religious order, is the account of the journey of an abbess to the Holy Land. The language is that of southern Gaul, and the original is dated

⁸ Full details of the editions used may be found in the Bibliography.

by the editor about 380, while others put it as late as c. 540.

Mulomedicina Chironis (MMC) is a veterinary work dating from the second quarter of the fourth century. It is written in poor Latin, possibly of Italian origin.

The selections from the works of Gregory of Tours (GT) is probably the text showing, in the subject matter, the greatest degree of learned influence of the five. Gregory was Bishop of Tours from 573 up to the time of his death in 594, and his works were written during this period. They are mostly of a religious or historical nature. The disadvantage of using this learned text is off-set by the fact that Gregory was writing for the people, at least in part, and that his Latin has many of the characteristics of its time.

The Merovingian and Carolingian legal texts (MKF) date from the sixth to the ninth centuries, and come, for the most part, from Gaul, though a very few are from Córdoba, and others from Reichenau. In general the Merovingian texts represent the Latin of their time better than the Carolingian, no doubt because of the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance. The latest of these texts represent the last stages in the development of Gallo-Roman before the appearance of the Romance dialects in written form.

All the examples quoted in the remaining parts of this chapter are drawn from the above texts, and the spelling of the editions indicated in the Bibliography has been retained in all instances, except for the semi-vowel u, which has been replaced by v.

Let us see to what extent the prefixes de- and dis- accord with the general picture of prefixation outlined earlier in this chapter, considering first de-, then dis-.

In Late Latin there are not very many compounds in de- which are new to the language, and a number of those which are in fact new are cases where de- has been added to existing compounds with ex-. These compounds will be discussed later in this chapter. If there are few new compounds, there are no new categories of meaning ; the meanings and functions of de- in Late Latin do not appear to have been either restricted or extended in comparison with Classical Latin. The tendency for the compounds and prefixes to lose their specific value has been discussed earlier in this chapter, and this devaluation would appear to be the chief difference between the Classical and Late Latin uses of de-. Let us try to assess to what extent this general weakening of prefixes and compounds has affected de- and those compounds formed by it.

Bonnet says (p. 229) that de- was one of the favourite prefixes in Late Latin, and that compounds with de- were used frequently where the simple verb alone would have sufficed. To support this view, he quotes a number of short phrases drawn from the works of Gregory of Tours, and some of these are reproduced below. According to Bonnet (and one can but agree with him in this), it is impossible to mistake the difference between the first and sixth centuries in their use of compound verbs : at the later time the compound is almost invariably used where the people of the first century would probably have contented themselves with the simple form. Bonnet cites :

deambulantes per ecclesiam . . .

in frustis decisus . . .

in strato decubabat . . .

velis depictis . . .

ecclesiae depraedatae sunt . . .

illoque demorante . . .

tributa publica deferens . . .

regionem depopulati estis . . .

se in sanguinem volutari decernens . . .

servitium dereliquit . . .

and many more.

Since there are no new categories of meaning in

Late Latin, let us consider the old ones in turn, and try to discover to what extent the compounds in each have maintained their special meanings. The first category consists of those verbs in which de- means 'away'. Most of the verbs in this class are old compounds and the locative meaning is strong in many of them ; therefore many compounds retain the locative meaning of the prefix without any noticeable weakening at first, as may be seen from the following examples :

CT 62: et habet unde : relictum est illi sestertium trecenties, decessit illius pater male.

CT 154: ergo ebrietate discussa in aliud triclinium deducti sumus, ubi Fortunata disposuerat lautitias . . .

However, at a later date such compounds are not so strong ; at times the prefix retains its full locative meaning, at others it adds little or nothing to the sense of the simple verb. Consider, for example, the following compounds in which the full meaning of the prefix remains even at a late date :

GT 41.35: . . . in cubiculo suo inter manus fidelium deportatus et in suo lectulo conlocatus est.

GT 45.32: Ex hoc inimicitia orta, dum sepius regis presenciam adeunt, et hec res patris defensare cupiens, hae viri, Bertegundis donacionem Berthechramno germani sui ostendit, . . .

MMC 6.8: . . . deinde per dies plures desub ipso oculo sanguinem copiosum detrahes et curas cottidie fomento calido . . .

GT 56.37: . . . omnes thesauros quos de spoliis

pauperum detraxerat secum tulit.

MMC 7.13: . . . ipsum terrigium trahicies cum lino tenuissimo et suspendes ipsum terrigium superius et scalpello decarnabis subtiliter.

The above examples may be contrasted with those which follow.

In these compounds the sense 'away' is either completely lost, or, where it may still be discerned, is not strictly necessary, since it adds nothing essentially different to the meaning of the simple verb :

PA XVIII.2: . . . ita enim decurrit habens impetum, sicut habet fluvius Rodanus, nisi quod adhuc maior est Eufrates.

PA VII.2: . . . ut cata mansiones monasteria sint cum militibus et praepositis, qui nos deducebant semper de castro ad castrum.

MKF 38.29: . . . bonum habens testimonium bonamque continentiam et innocentem vitam deducens.

We may say, then, that the majority of compounds in which de- means 'away' retain their locative meaning, in spite of the fact that there are some cases where a few of these compounds have, in fact, lost their special meaning and become synonyms of the simple verb.

If the general meaning 'away' tends to be preserved in Late Latin compounds, the more concrete meaning 'down' is likely to be even stronger, and this is shown to be the case in the following examples where the compounds retain their full meaning :

CT 6: . . . alter numerabat pilas, non quidem eas quae inter manus lusu expellente vibrabant, sed eas quae in terram decidebant.

GT 33.30: Denique quadam nocte vigilias in basilica sancti antestitis celebratas, dum lectulo decubans obdormissem, vidi angelum per aere volantem.

GT 15.31: . . . inveniunt puerum quasi super plumas mollissimas decumbentem.

MMC 15.2: . . . capud demissum habebit, quod adlevare a terra non potest, . . .

MMC 7.10: . . . depone iumentum et oculum eius aperis, similiter quomodo claucoma pungenti, . . .

CT 140: . . . lucernam de sinu fictilem protulit et amplius semihora tubicines imitatus est succinente Habinna et inferius labrum manu deprimente.

MMC 50.9: . . . sanguinis laxari, que a verticibus usque a tempora descendunt.

If the prefix has retained its full significance in most of the examples drawn from the first two categories, it is no doubt because of the fact that in these cases, especially in the second class, the meaning of the prefix is quite well defined. In the third category, the meaning of de- is particularly precise, and we should, therefore, expect the verbs containing the negative prefix to retain their meaning unweakened, and the following examples will show that it is so :

MKF 34.29: Et haec signa in extremo digito portarae non dedignetis, subplecor altitudine vestrae, ut . . .

GT 35.5: Subito defecerunt et perierunt propter

iniquitates suas.

MMC 37.17: catulum lactantem vivum in aqua fervente missum, foris depilatum ibique decoctum, donec ossa eius remaneant, . . .

GT 9.35: Mense autem secundo ordinationis meae, cum essem in villa, incurri disenteria cum febre valida et taliter agi coepi, ut imminente morte vivere omnimodis disperarem.⁹

GT 4.21: Sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad distribuendam⁹ mundanae sapientiae vanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praelegit ?

The fourth category is that in which the function of de- is to intensify or reinforce the meaning of the simple verb. Although the most frequent in Late Latin, this is the least strong of the meanings of de-, and the one which is the most susceptible to devaluation. Any genuine intensification of the simple verb, which may have existed as a result of the logical use of the prefix when the compound was first formed, has almost invariably disappeared by the Late Latin period. In Vulgar and Late Latin, as has been observed before, de- was frequently used in an arbitrary fashion to support the simple verb, although it did not make any fundamental modification to its meaning. The value of the prefix in old compounds, then, is often diminished, while in new compounds it may be very slight or non-existent. Consider,

⁹ The writing of di- for de-, as here, is discussed below, p.92.

for example, the following quotations, where in every case the simple verb could have been used in place of the compound, had the writer so desired :

MMC 20.18: . . . sic in locum equalem postea producere ad deambulandum sinire pascere.

PA XXXVII.1: . . . stant in giro mensa diacones et affertur locus argenteus deauratus, in quo est lignum sanctum crucis, aperitur et profertur, . . .

CT 140: sic me saluum habeatis, ut ego sic solebam ipsam meam debatuere, ut etiam dominus suspicaretur;

GT 30.26: . . . de quibus nihil doloris sed laetitia magis habebat, sicut quondam Nero, cum inter incendia palatii tragoedas decantaret.

MMC 3.22: sanguinis detractionem facis de temporibus et uteris aqua calda, radices feniculi decoctas, . . .

MMC 23.26: cum enim coactum iumentum itinere vel labore plurimis diebus defatigatum non bibit aut non edidit vel estuavit aut perfrixit . . .

CT 12: sub eodem titulo et lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat, et duae tabulae in utroque poste defixae, quarum altera, si bene memini, hoc habebat inscriptum:

GT 53.4: . . . si in his omnibus ita fueris exercitatus, ut tibi stilus noster rusticus, nec sic quoque, deprecor, ut avellas quae scripsi.

CT 114: . . . quidquid habui, in illius sinum demandavi, nec umquam fefellit sum.

MKF 24.7: . . . multa mala ibidem perpetravit, strumenta sua de loca denominata vel de diversis facultatibus suis subtus terra in villa illa misit, . . .

PA XXIX.5: Iam autem, ut fiat missa, denuntiatur pascha, id est subito presbyter in ~~altiori~~ ^{altiori} loco et leget illum locum, . . .

MMC 8.15: cum bene ceciderit et deplanaveris locum,

aceto et oleo lintheolis vel lichynio madido eum
locum comples et fasciabis.

Of the above compounds only debattuere contains a prefix which has any real significance. This compound is of vulgar origin and its use is obscene ; in this case the prefix serves to distinguish the obscene meaning of the compound from that of the simple battuere 'to beat', and therefore, because the prefixation has been accompanied by semantic restriction, its function cannot be regarded as mere intensification, although this restriction is not a direct result of the prefixation, since it is not one of the functions of de- to change the meaning of a verb in this way. We see, then, that the prefix may serve to distinguish the meanings of the simple verb one from another, some being given to the compound and others retained by the simple form. This is not a function of the prefix, but a use to which it may be put after the creation, for reasons of either genuine or meaningless reinforcement, of the compound bearing the prefix. However, in the majority of cases in Late Latin the simple and intensified or reinforced forms appear to be virtually synonymous (e.g., in the above examples, deambulare, demandare in which the prefixation is not accompanied by any semantic change).

The remaining category, the fifth, in which de-

appears to have a pejorative function, was ill-defined in Classical Latin and remains so in Late Latin. We can scarcely be any more certain of the pejorative function in Late Latin than in Classical Latin. In the first of the following examples de- could be merely intensive, while in the second we see the uses of the simple and the compound side by side, and in this case the compound would seem to be definitely pejorative by comparison with the simple verb.

CT 62: iam Manios aliquot habet et mulierem essedariam et dispensatorem Glyconis, qui deprehensus est, cum dominam suam delectaretur.

CT 114: satius est rideri quam derideri.

Thus we see that in Late Latin the meanings and functions of de- are little changed. Those meanings which were clearly defined in Classical Latin remain so, with the exception of 'away', which in some few cases is weakened. The intensive function, on the other hand, is seriously weakened in many instances, and the tendency for de- to be virtually meaningless, which was perceived in Classical Latin, is accentuated to a considerable degree, until new compounds with de- are doomed from the first to rapid devaluation by analogy with the compounds in this category, unless they are saved by some subsequent arbitrary differentiation between the simple and the compound forms.

A number of the new compounds in de- are formed

from existing compounds in ex-. In these verbs the function of de- must originally have been to reinforce the older compound, yet there is no evidence to suggest that this reinforcement is real, for compounds such as deexhortari, deexsequi, deexacerbare and deexercitare do not appear to mean any more than the compounds with the single prefix ex-. However, as will be seen in the ensuing chapters, this category is not entirely without significance for Old French.

In Late Latin de- is added to an increasing number of adverbs and prepositions. In some cases de- appears to leave the meaning of the simple form unaltered, but probably reinforces it to some extent by the addition of another syllable. In other instances de- may be considered to add the idea of 'away' to the meaning of the adverb or preposition. It is open to doubt whether such compounds are examples of true prefixation, as will be seen from the examples given below. It would perhaps be more accurate to consider them as separate adverbs and prepositions joined together by agglutination. Where de- is intensive, the compounds may be regarded as products of true prefixation, and this use of de- contaminated those compounds in which de- had a locative value, with the result that all adverbs and prepositions with de- seem to be regarded as reinforced forms in Old French (e.g., dejuxta - dejoste, meaning the

same as Lat. juxta). Compare the following example in which the prefix merely reinforces the preposition :

MMC 36.19: Si quis hinc morbo subvenire volet, non prius deforas causam curet aliquo medicamento, . . .

with the examples below, where de- can be said to denote 'away, from', although the presence of this nuance is not always entirely certain. The intensive use of de- in compound adverbs and prepositions is probably the result of extending this justifiable use of the prefix to instances where it can have no logical significance.

MMC 20.7: auferes tamen sanguinem secundum vires animalis et de prioribus pedibus iuxta ungulam partes in apparenti venenata vena deintro, . . .

MMC 20.2: curatur autem hec passio emissionem sanguinis divisim deiuxta tempora et supercilia venis aut ex his iuxta naturam, . . .

MMC 14.27: urito decusatim genua incontra, puncta in se locis eminentibus interponito ad latera dextra sinistraque parte deretro, nervos ne tetigeris.

MMC 6.7: . . . deinde per dies plures desub ipso oculo sanguinem copiosum detrahes et . . .

In the last example, the necessity of adding de- to sub is some indication of the weakness of the prefix in the verb detrahes.

We have seen that de- was a prefix used with great frequency in Classical Latin, and that in Vulgar and Late Latin it was still actively employed, although it had lost

much of its meaning in one major category, and had become little more than a device to facilitate the creation of new words demanded by the common people. Dis-, on the other hand, was used with increasing frequency in Late Latin, particularly in the spoken language. Whereas de- had suffered the weakening described in this chapter, dis- underwent no such devaluation, and compounds with dis- continued to be used with their full meaning. Let us examine the different categories of meaning attributed to dis- in the preceding chapter in the same way as we have examined those of de-.

The compounds of the first category are formed with dis- used in its separative sense. This meaning remains unchanged in Late Latin, since it is the fundamental sense of the prefix, and is to be found in the earliest compounds, where the prefix often produces such a considerable change in the meaning of the simple verb that the compounds are no longer transparent. The following examples should suffice to show that compounds of this category have suffered no devaluation :

MKF 6.8: "Dulcissima et cum integra amore diligenda sponsa mea, filia illius, nomen illa, ego illi."

MMC 32.26: quos oportet sub divo in agro dimittere, ut solem et auram paciantur et ambulando per tempore morbum digerant, . . .

GT 52.34: Post obitum vero Chariberthi, cum in Sigiberti sorte civitas illa venisset, transeunte eo ad Chilpericum,

omnia quae inique adgregaverat a fidelibus nominati regis direpta sunt.

GT 55.16: Mox, disruptis vinculis, confracto cippo, reserato ostio, sancti Medardi basilicam, nocte nobis vigilantibus, introiit.

GT 17.30: Accepta itaque septem viri indulgentiam abeundi, discedente imperatore ad aliam urbem, abierunt ad domos suas, . . .

CT 72: sed Trimalchio expectatione discussa "quem" inquit "ex eis vultis in cenam statim fieri ?"

GT 3.28: Nemo ergo de anteactis virtutibus dubitet, cum praesentium signorum cernit munera dispensari, cum videat clodos eregi, caecos inluminari, . . .

CT 30: rotundum enim repositorium duodecim habebat signa in orbe disposita, . . .

PA XLVII.2: Disputante autem episcopo singula et narrante tante voces sunt collaudantium, . . .

PA X.9: . . . et statim divertentes a via secuti sumus presbyterum, qui nos ducebat.

CT 132: "quomodo nosti" inquit "illam" Trimalchio "nisi argentum composuerit, nisi reliquas pueris diviserit, aquam in os suum non coniciet."

Since the second category is simply an extension of the first, we may expect this meaning also, that of separation in all directions, to have resisted any tendency towards devaluation, and, in fact, this is so, as the following examples should prove :

MMC 11.26: aneumtrisma est tuberum, in quo sanguinis spirito cum dilacione vene, similis ut varex incurabilis.

CT 44: . . . et ecce canes Laconici etiam circa mensam discurrere coeperunt.

GT 26.10: Cuius parentes condolentes propinqui exitum, commota seditione, extractis gladiis, eum in frusta concidunt membratimque dispergunt.

CT 114: . . . "omne me," inquit "lucrum transeat, nisi iam dudum gaudimonia dissilio, quod te talem video."

MMC 39. 26: in quo loco per digestionem separata per totum organum interius distribuuntur.

The vast majority of the compounds belonging to the third category, in which dis- has an intensive function, may be considered to belong to either the first or the second, consequently, no useful purpose would be served by giving further examples showing how the various nuances of the separative meaning all retain their full significance.

Let us instead pass on to the negative category. Once again we find that the function of dis- has suffered no devaluation. All the old compounds with a negative dis- retain their original meanings in Late Latin, as may be seen from the few examples available :

MMC 33.4: atque hec s. s. signa morbum maleos in corporibus iumentorum intellegere obscura et difficilis ratio intelligendi aput prudentes veterinarios invenitur.

CT 52: . . . durae buccae fuit, linguosus, discordia, non homo.

GT 40.29: . . . cum ipsi fatigati de itinere vestimenta haberent inculta, ~~cl~~ciamenta scisa, ipsosque equorum adque carrucarum apparatus adhuc, sicut plaustreis evecti erant, seorsum esse disiunctos.

GT 43.14: "Nobis prorsus hec facta displicent, et magis ac magis ea cupimus ulciscere."

GT 12.33: . . . nihil in sancta Trinitate dissonum,
nihil esse dissimile, fatearis.

If we consider the new compounds in Late Latin formed with dis-, we observe that in most of them the prefix has a negative function (e.g., discarricare, discooperire, disjejunare, disligare), and this function is the one that is to have the greatest importance in Old French.

This brief examination has shown that all the meanings and functions of dis- that were found in Classical Latin are maintained in Late Latin. Unlike de-, dis- shows no signs of devaluation, for it is still used less frequently than de-, and the precise nature of its meaning does not lend itself to weakening and prevents the prefix from being turned into a grammatical tool. In the case of de-, it is the weak intensive function that is to be found in the new compounds, while it is the strong negative function of dis- which is perpetuated in the majority of Late Latin compounds. Dis-, then, may be considered the stronger prefix from several points of view. Its old meanings are unweakened, while new compounds are formed with a definite and strong meaning of the prefix, and, thanks to the process of recomposition, the form of dis- remains clearer than does that of de-. In consequence, compounds with dis- remain transparent, while de- is more easily confused with the simple verb, and its

compounds do not always succeed in retaining their identity. In some instances compounds with de- may be regarded as simple words (e.g., Lat. deaurare becomes OFr. dorer, debilis becomes deble, where the composition, apparent in Latin, is obscured in Old French) as has already happened in Lat. debere, while in other instances (e.g., deambulare) the compounds manage to retain their identity. The greater strength of dis- is of some importance in the history of the two prefixes.

We saw, in chapter II, how a simple verb could have compounds formed with both de- and dis-, and how these two were often similar in both form and meaning (e.g., deferre/differre, demittere/dimittere). During the Classical period, such compounds would not have been confused, for the distinction between the two compounds was maintained by the different pronunciation of de- and di-. However, in Late Latin, it was possible for such compounds to be confused with one another. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that Late Latin spelling was not the same as that of Classical Latin, as a glance at the quotations in this chapter will reveal, and that it had altered in order to represent the pronunciation of Latin, which had, naturally, changed considerably throughout the whole of Romania since the beginning of the Christian era. The confusion of de- and di- arose simply because the former prefix was written di- in

accordance with its pronunciation, for : "Un des traits les plus marquants du latin mérovingien est la transcription de l'e tonique (e du latin vulgaire) par i ; on le constate dans tous les textes de basse époque, mais c'est en Gaule qu'il prit le maximum d'expansion. Cette graphie est due d'abord à l'identité de prononciation qu'avait dans la langue vulgaire ē et ĭ ; peut-être aussi au caractère très fermé qu'avait en Gaule la prononciation de e."¹⁰ Gregory of Tours was no exception, and his writings contain many instances of the replacement of e by i, and, especially, of de- by di-. Bonnet gives a large number of examples of this phenomenon (pp. 105-117), but we are concerned only with the replacement of de- by di-, which may be clearly seen in the following quotations :

GT 4.21: Sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad distruendam mundanae sapientiae vanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praelegit ?

GT 13.8: Diaconus vero, licet trepidus, tamen dinudat brachium.

GT 54.32: Interea ingressi in fluvium super pontem, qui duabus lintribus tenebatur, navis illa, quae leudastem vehebat, dimergitur, et nisi natandi fuisset aminiculo libertus, cum sociis forsan interisset.

¹⁰ J. Vieillard, Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne, EHE, fasc. 251 (Paris, 1927), p. 5.

Nor is the phenomenon confined to Gregory's writings, for we find also :

MMC 51.23: post hec omnia dispunabis eum pro arbitrio.

In the examples given thus far there has been no possibility of confusing one compound with another, because no compound in di- has existed parallel to the one in de- (written di-). However, this situation does arise, as the following examples will show :

GT 20.28: . . . nihil enim diminutum erat neque de vestimentis neque de corporibus eorum.

GT 37.21: Cumque mater eius contra eam valde frenderet peteretque ab ea, ne humiliaret diutius nobile genus, sed, demisso servo, similem sibi de genere regio, quem mater providerat, deberet accipere, nullatenus voluit adquiescere.

GT 6.3: Nam, ut, opinor, unum beneficium vobis haec scripta, praebebunt, scilicet ut, quod nos inculte et breviter stilo nigrante discribimus, vos lucide ac splendide stante versu in paginis prolixioribus dilatetis.

In the above examples it is probable, of not certain, that in each instance the form of the prefix would have been de- in Classical Latin where Gregory has di-, and di- where he has de-.

We must suppose that neither Gregory nor his readers were greatly troubled by the possible confusion of deminuere with diminuere, demittere with dimittere, or of describere with discribere, since the context would elucidate most cases of possible ambiguity. Nevertheless, with the

passage of time, some degree of confusion must have arisen in the minds of some people as to exactly which prefix was used in certain compounds. The confusion was only increased by the existence of the opposite phenomenon, namely the writing of de- for di-. Bonnet quotes (pp. 125-126) : demisso, deviderent, deferret for differret, deruta, deripuit, demicemus, degressus, but the same exchange may be found elsewhere (e.g., MKF 10.17 : denoscitur, MKF 4.6 : devidere).

This confusion alone would probably have had no important consequences, but, coupled with the recomposition of some compounds, it is possible for a genuine change of prefix to take place. For example, devestire would, by Merovingian times, be written divestire in many instances, and, if divestire were to be recomposed in the same way as dirumpere to disrumpere (very frequent in GT), the result would be disvestire, a form which is found with the same sense as the Classical devestire. Compounds with de- in which the meaning of the prefix was the same as, or akin to, one of the meanings of dis- (e.g., negative or 'away') would be particularly liable to this change of prefix, by which the form, but not the meaning of the compound would be altered. Late Latin compounds which could well have been formed in this way are : diffinitio for definitio, discernere for

decernere (see Bonnet p. 106, n. 4), disfacere for deficere, difformitas for deformitas, dishonestare for dehonestare, as well as disvestire for devestire. Some, but not all, of these forms were adopted in the Romance languages (e.g., Fr. difformité, but Eng. deformity, OFr. des(h)onester, desfaire). Once the precedent for the replacement of de- by dis- was established in the manner discussed above, the change of prefix could have been made, by analogy, in other compounds where the meaning of the prefix was suitable, and thus a tendency for the strong prefix to replace the weak would arise. Such a tendency would have found acceptance all the more readily, because the devaluation of de- in some of its compounds must have contaminated even those compounds where the full sense of the prefix was still strong, and, as a result, de- would have been thought unsuitable for the rendering of a precise notion under any circumstances.

By the middle of the second half of the first millenium, then, as far as active composition was concerned, de- had become little more than a grammatical tool for the formation of compounds, while dis- was principally used for negating simple forms. The other former meanings of the prefixes were very rarely used for the active creation of new compounds, but, in the case of dis-, they were maintained in

existing compounds, as they were also in the case of de-, with the exception of the intensive function, which had been so weakened by overwork that it had become virtually without meaning. Owing to the strength of dis- and the weakness of de-, coupled with the homonymic clash of de- and di-, and with the phenomenon of recomposition, there had arisen a tendency for dis- to replace de- in some rare instances. Recomposition was playing a considerable role in determining the form of both prefixes and stems in some compounds. Such is, in brief, the outline of the semantic and morphological position of de- and dis- during the period before the appearance of the Romance languages and after the collapse of the Western Empire beneath the pressure of the invading Germanic tribes. It is to one of the newly emerged Romance dialects, Old French, that we now turn in order to follow the evolution of the two prefixes to the end of the Middle Ages.

IV

MEDIAEVAL FRENCH COMPOUNDS OF LATIN ORIGIN :

DE-, DES- AND DI(S)-

We have already seen in Chapter III that the evolution of de- and di(s)- in Late Latin was determined by the popular rather than the literary influences. It is important to know whether or not Old French is the continuation of the popular elements in Late Latin, if we are to understand fully the use of these same prefixes in Mediaeval French. The nature of the transition from Latin to the Romance vernaculars has been the object of much work, though the known facts would appear to admit of a variety of interpretations,¹ and a full discussion of this subject would be outside the scope of the present study. Suffice it to say that, after the Carolingian Renaissance had rendered Latin

¹ Various, and often conflicting, views of Late Latin and the Romance vernaculars, as well as of their historical and social background, are to be found in : H.F. Muller, A Chronology of Vulgar Latin, ZRP Beiheft 78 (Halle, 1929) and L'Epoque Mérovingienne (New York, 1945) ; L.R. Palmer, The Latin Language (London, 1954) ; E. Pulgram, "Spoken and written Latin" Language, XXVI (1950), 458-466 ; K. Vossler, Einführung ins Vulgärlatein, ed. Schmeck (München, 1954) ; W. von Wartburg, Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume (Bern, 1950).

incomprehensible to the masses and Charlemagne had been obliged to grant what was tantamount to official recognition of the lingua romana at Tours in 813, the popular vernacular rapidly gained the upper hand in France, and became both the official and, to some extent, the literary language, as well as the language of everyday life. This situation may be contrasted with that which existed in Italy and Spain² at this time. We may, therefore, expect to find in Old French the continuation of many popular characteristics already observed in Late Latin, including the extensive use of prefixes.

The recognition in 813 of the lingua romana and its subsequent use for the teaching of dogma, morality and tradition in the Church had one result of major importance for the study of many French words. This sudden recognition meant that the lingua romana acquired the status of a written language much sooner than it would otherwise have done, because of the necessity of having translations of religious works and of some parts of the liturgy in the same language

² The position of the vernacular in Italy and Spain is discussed by G. Devoto, Profilo di Storia Linguistica Italiana (Firenze, 1953), pp. 19-53, and by W.J. Entwistle, The Spanish Language, 3rd. imp. (London, 1951), pp. 46-50.

as was spoken by the majority of the population. Written Old French was not, then, the direct development of written Late Latin, but of the spoken lingua romana. The further development of the conservative written language was halted by the Carolingian Renaissance, and, since a written language is normally less advanced by many years than a popular spoken language, the Latin found in texts right up to 813 is far from representing the state of the lingua romana at that time. The first extant text in Old French is the Serments de Strasbourg dating from 842, or twenty-nine years after the recognition of the separate popular language, and about sixty after the start of Charlemagne's purge of Latin. Therefore, although the gap in time between the latest Latin texts uninfluenced by the reforms carried out during the Carolingian Renaissance and the earliest examples of written Old French is only small, a century or so at the most, there is a considerable break in the continuity of the written tradition. Owing to the unnatural acceleration of the change from Latin to French as the literary language, there exist no texts which can indicate the state of the language as it was before the stage in its evolution represented by the French of the Serments de Strasbourg and after that represented by the Latin texts of about 775. This latter point must in fact have been reached many years before that

date, if we may assume that the Latin written by one generation would reproduce some of the chief features of the language spoken by an earlier one.

The effect of this gap is increased by the fact that the Latin of legal documents such as MKF is as much an artificial language, in spite of its popular characteristics, as was Classical Latin. As ever, the real state of the spoken living language is to a large extent obscured when it is written down. Consequently, just as we are prevented from observing the evolution of our prefixes in Classical Latin, we are prevented from observing the real vocabulary, and the compounds it undoubtedly contained, of the Late Latin period which is so important a link in the chain of evolution connecting French to Latin.

The existence of this gap means that we are unable to trace the direct line of evolution of some French words from their Latin origins, as we should, presumably have been able to do in the majority of cases had there been a constant production of texts in the one language, instead of the partial change-over from one to the other. As it is, we can only suppose a connection between some Old French forms and similar ones found in the Latin of several centuries before the appearance of French. This gap is particularly unfortunate for the study of prefixes, in which the etymology

of a compound may be of great importance. The gap may be bridged by the use of hypothetical Gallo-Roman forms, but at best this is an unsatisfactory solution, and some etymologies must remain doubtful until the discovery of further documents of the period in question. It would, for instance, be convenient to be able to connect with certainty OFr. desonester with CLat. dehonestare. Since the existence of any direct connection, via a form^{*} dishonestare, can neither be demonstrated nor finally disproved, the etymology of the Old French compound remains in doubt, and FEW IV.461b does not admit the connection with the Classical Latin, which leaves unexplained the disappearance from the language of a perfectly good Latin compound. The existence of the break in the succession of written evidence increased the possibility of the connection of the Old French with the Latin compound, but, at the same time, prevents us from finding any textual evidence which would constitute acceptable proof.

To turn from general considerations to the questions of the present study, the manner in which the compounds have been classified according to etymology, prefix and function of prefix has already been described in the Introduction. Doubtful or exceptional cases are considered separately at the end of the appropriate section.

In addition to the Old French translations of Latin models already listed (p. 22), use has been made of the following texts which are either written originally in French or are loose adaptations of Latin texts so far removed from the original that they cannot be considered as translations : BB, CB, CF, CHM, CKB, Cl., CN, D, EE, F, FV, G, HEH, HSL, LT, MC, P, PJS, 4PV, R, RCC, S, TAC, VCC, VCJB, VSA, VSCH, WB, WR.

In order to gain some idea of compounds in the earliest recorded French, the following short texts were also examined : Les Serments de Strasbourg, La Séquence de Sainte Eulalie and La Vie de Saint Léger.³ The first two of these three texts contain no compounds with either de- or des-, while the Saint Léger contains only four : demonstrer, devenir, devastar and decoller, all of Latin origin.

Although the spelling of compounds considered in isolation has been modified in accordance with that used in the dictionary of Tobler-Lommatzsch (TL II), when they appear in a quotation, the spelling remains that of the edition indicated in the Bibliography, except in some cases where

³ All three texts are to be found in : A. Henry, Chrestomathie de la Littérature en Ancien Français, Bibliotheca Romanica, ser. alt., Scripta Romanica Selecta (Berne, 1953), pp. 2, 3, 9-13 respectively.

the semi-vowel u has been replaced by y. Most of the quotations drawn from Mediaeval French translations of Latin texts are accompanied by enough of the original Latin to enable a comparison of the two versions to be made.

In this chapter we consider those compounds which were drawn directly from Latin ; they are the Old French forms of compounds which already bore the prefix de- or di(s)- in Latin. As we saw in the Introduction, since these compounds were first formed in Latin, the functions of the prefixes ^{tend to be} those which they had in Latin, and these functions may be divided into the same categories as were used in Chapters II and III. Although the functions of the prefixes in Old French may be the same as they were in Latin, we may expect to find in some cases that the meaning of the Old French compound is different from that of its Latin counterpart. In general such changes of meaning are the result of circumstances affecting the compound as a whole, and are not to be attributed to the prefixation. Old French may have adopted only a secondary meaning of the Latin compound, or the meaning of an Old French compound may have been greatly extended or restricted by comparison with the Latin usage. Such changes in the meaning of a compound may be quite considerable when it has come into Old French through the

of heredity

popular channels, while if the compound is a learned borrowing its meaning tends rather to remain the same or to undergo only slight changes. In some cases, however, where the Old French compound appears to have meanings unknown to Latin, it is found that these meanings may have been acquired by the Latin compound at a very late date, and not during Classical times.

Since the compounds discussed in this chapter acquired their prefix in Latin, our purpose would not usually be served by examining them in Mediaeval French contexts. Although such contexts might reveal interesting information concerning the meaning of the compound as a whole, they can shed little light on the function of the ^{first revealed} prefix, which was in Latin. The functions of the prefixes in Latin have already been discussed in some detail in the previous chapters, therefore, in order to establish the function of the prefix in an Old French compound of Latin origin, it normally suffices to determine the etymology of these compounds and to classify the meaning or function of the prefix in the Latin compound. For these reasons, in most cases, no contexts are given for the compounds discussed in this chapter. However, in a minority of cases, slight differences of prefixation may be seen between Latin and Old French compounds, and such differences

may be illustrated to advantage by quotations from texts.

In such instances contexts have been included.

The categories of meaning in this chapter are not precisely the same as those used in Chapters II and III. Compounds containing de- are divided into four main categories, and one category consisting of those compounds which may belong to either 1 or 3 according to context :

1. De- meaning 'away';
2. De- meaning 'away' or 'down';
3. De- meaning 'down';
4. De- having a negative function;
5. De- having an intensive or reinforcing function,

Compounds with di(s)- are divided into three categories :

1. Di(s)- denoting separation in all its forms;
2. Di(s)- having an intensive function, real or unreal;
3. Di(s)- having a negative function.

Compounds which offer any problems or which cannot be placed in any of the above categories without serious reservations are considered separately at the end of the appropriate section or chapter. If the intensive categories seem larger in proportion than they were in Chapter II, it is because they now contain compounds previously placed in other categories, but which could legitimately be regarded as cases

of intensification or reinforcement.

Some categories are very numerous, and, in consequence, it is not practicable to examine every compound in detail ; nor would anything be gained by so doing. Only the chief compound - usually a verb - in any group is dealt with in detail, but all the others of the same group are recorded under the same heading (e.g., demorer is the chief compound of a group containing also demor, demorance, demore, demoree, demorement, demorier).

Latin compounds in de- give an Old French form which also has de-, except in the rare instances where de- has been reduced to a simple d- (e.g., dorer). The other prefix is found in a greater variety of forms. Dis- and di- remain dis- and di- in compounds which are learned borrowings or which were latinised after their entry into Old French, while the popular forms of dis- and di- are des- and de-.

Let us consider de- first. Category 1 consists of compounds in which de- means 'away'. The idea of 'away' may take the form of absence or motion away of the subject or object of a deverbative compound, or of whatever is denoted by the root-noun in the case of a denominative compound.

DEBILE (adj.) 'weak, infirm', 13th. c., Lat. debilis 'disabled, feeble'. Sommerfelt prefers the etymology de-+³⁶b- (as in Skr. bálam 'strength') to that of de-+habilis, for de- was not used in Latin to negate adjectives. Although debilis was placed in the negative category in Chapter II, the prefix may also be regarded as denoting absence (of strength). This is the learned form parallel to the popular deble. Also : debilité (f.), 14th. c., Lat. debilitas ; debiliter, 14th. c., Lat. debilitare.

DECAPITER 'to behead', 1320, Lat. decapitare 'to behead', a parasynthetic compound of caput 'head'. Also : decapitacion (f.), 14th. c.

DECEDER 'to die', 15th. c., Lat. decedere 'to depart, disappear', a compound of cedere 'to go'. Old French has adopted a figurative meaning, probably by analogy with decès. This form is parallel to decedir, 14th. c. Also : decès (m.) 'death', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. decessus.

DECLINER 'to turn away; sink, come to an end, disappear', 12th. c., Lat. declinare 'to turn aside, deviate from', connected with the root cli- 'to lean, bend' (EM 227). The original meaning of de- seems to have been 'away', giving the meaning 'to turn away' to the Latin compound. In Old

French, the specific sense of the prefix appears to be weaker, for the stress may be put on the object to which one turns, rather than that from which one turns, as in :

SS 437: Kar teus appetiz l'alme decline
As corruptibles volentez, . . .

Lat.: Carnales enim appetitus inclinant animum ad
corruptibiles voluntates anime bestialis, . . .

LT 1.CXIII.38: Et por ce decline li tens vers la
froidour, tot autresi comme en mars vers la cholor.

CHM 311: Les utilités pour quoi il se decline vers
senestre sont .2. : la premiere qu'il ne comprime le
foie, ou qu'il ne soit comprimé de lui ;

This shift of stress appears to have originated in Late Latin,
for Lat. declinare is found with the sense 'to turn away to',
as may be seen in the following quotations :

Ps. CXXIV.5: Mais ki declinent a lur felunies,
demerrat els od ces ki ovrent iniquitet;

Lat.: Qui autem declinant ad pravitates suas, deducet
eos cum his qui operantur iniquitatem;

SB 169.32: . . . si declignons nos ades en pechiet. c'uns
niansz est. quant nostre sires nos lait a nos mismes.

Lat.: . . . constat quia si nobisipsis relinquimur, in
peccatum semper, quod nihil est, declinamus.

Compare the above with the following :

Ps. XXVI.10: Ne repunes ta face de mei, ne declines en
forsenerie de tuen serf.

Lat.: Ne abscondas faciem tuam a me, ne declines in
furore a servo tuo.

In some cases the meaning of the prefix seems to be nearer
'down', while one of the Old French meanings of the compound

is 'to come to an end, draw to a close', which could be an extension of 'down'.

CHM 456: S'il estoit en l'un des costés tant seulement,
il feroit tout le cors decliner a cel costé;

G 2081: "E! Deus," fait, "qui mains en trinité,
E gouvernes terre e ciel esteillé,
Cum se vait declinant ma grant nobilité,
E cum est destruit tut mun riche parenté!"

The uncertainty of the much discussed line from the Roland typifies the mystery which surrounds the meaning of the prefix in this compound :

R 4002: Ci falt la geste que Turolfus declinet.

Also : declin (m.), 12th. c. ; declinacïon (f.), 12th. c. ;
declinaison (f.), 13th. c.

DECOLER 'to behead', 10th. c. (Léger), Lat. decollare
'to take off from neck; behead', a parasynthetic compound of
collum 'neck'. Exceptionally de- denotes removal (from neck).
Also : decolacïon (f.), 1268, Lat. decolatio.

DEFENDRE 'to defend, forbid', 11th. c., Lat. defendere
'to ward off, avert', a compound of *fendere 'to strike'.
The prefix des- is also found, and in VCC all the following
forms appear : defendre, desfendre, deffendre. The -ff-
dates from Merovingian Latin, but see p. 177 for des-. The
prefix means 'away' in the sense 'to defend'. The meaning
'to forbid' appears to have developed in Gallo-Roman (see

BW 174b) independently of the prefixation.

Also : defendable (adj.) ; defendement (m.) ; defendëor (m.) ; defens (m.), Lat. defensum ; defensable (adj.) ; defense (f.), Lat. defensa ; defensïon (f.), Lat. defensio.

DEFIRE 'to fail, come to an end; undo', 12th. c., Lat. deficere 'to fail, cease; abandon; free from, remove', a compound of facere 'to do, make'. The meaning of the prefix is primarily 'away', but may be negative in the sense 'to undo'. The prefix des- is found in this compound, which is parallel to the recomposed desfaire (disfacere), see p. 160, perhaps because of the negative sense of the verb, or perhaps in error, see p. 177 .

Also : defectif (adj.), 1314, Lat. defectivus.

DEFORMER 'to deform, change form', 13th. c., Lat. deformare 'to deform, disfigure', a compound of deformis or parasynthetic compound of forma 'shape, form'. In either case the prefix denotes removal of forma. The spelling desformer is also found and may possibly be connected with Lat. difformare (^{*}disformare), see diformer, p. 144, or it may be that des- was felt to be more suitable than the weak de-, but see p. 177 for a discussion of the writing of des- for de-.

DEJETER 'to throw away, out; drive away; throw about', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. dejectare 'to throw away, back', a compound of jactare 'to throw, hurl'. Although jactare only is given in FEW V.20a, the compound etymology is to be preferred because of the fact that the locative sense of the prefix is retained, whereas it was lost by the beginning of the Old French period, see Chapter V, and, consequently, dejeter cannot have been formed from jeter + de- in Old French. In VSA the prefix has an almost intensive function :

VSA 427: Chi dunc vit sun grant dol demener,
 sum piz debatre e sun cors deieter,
 ses crins derumpre e sen vis maiseler,
 e sun mort fiz baisier e acoler,
 mult fust il dur kin estoüst plurer.

The same meaning is seen in WR :

WR I.588: Ki oist le felun crier
 E le veist eschalcirrer,
 Denz rechignier, braz degeter,
 Jambes estendre e recurber,
 Suvent sangluter e baallier,

Also : dejetement (m.).

DELECTER 'to charm, delight, enjoy, savour', 1340, Lat. delectare 'to entice away; delight, charm', a compound of lactare, the frequentative form of ^{*}lacere 'to entice, allure'. This compound is a learned form parallel to delitier. Also : delectable (adj.), 14th. c., Lat. delectabilis ; delectableté (f.) ; delectacion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. delectatio.

DELITIÉ (adj.) 'fine, soft, delicate', 13th. c., Lat. delicatus 'delightful, delicate', related to delicere (^{*}lacere). This compound is parallel to delgié, deugié and delicat.

DELITIER 'to enjoy os., please, charm', 12th. c., Lat. delectare, see delecter, p. 112. This group consists of the popular forms parallel to the above learned group.

Also : delice (mf.), 12th. c., Lat. delicium, deliciae (BW 177a, FEW III.34a) ; delicier ; delicios (adj.), 12th. c., Lat. deliciosus ; delit (m.), 12th. c. ; delitable (adj.), 12th. c. ; delitement (m.) ; delitos (adj.).

DEMENTER 'to grieve, be mad with grief', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. dementare 'to craze; rave', derived from demens 'mad', a compound of mens, mentis 'mind'. The meaning appears to be restricted to the expression of grief at first in Old French. The prefix denotes absence or perhaps negation, cf. deformer, p. 111. Also : dementaison (f.), 12th. c.

DEPORTER 'to remove; behave, amuse, enjoy (os.)', 12th. c., Lat. deportare 'to carry away', a compound of portare 'to carry'. The prefix denotes 'away' in the primary meaning, and probably the same in the secondary meanings, which are the more important in Old French.

Also : deport (m.) ; deportable (adj.) ; deportement (m.).

DERAMER 'to tear, tear off (branches)', 10th. c. (Pass.), Lat. deramare 'to cut off branches', a parasynthetic compound of ramus 'branch'. The form desramer is found (Ps. LXXIX.16) as a translation of Lat. desramatam [sic].

DESISTER 'to cease from', 1350, Lat. desistere 'to cease from', a compound of sistere 'to stand', a collateral form of stare 'to stand'.

DESTITÜER 'to dispossess, rob, deprive', 1322, Lat. destituere 'to place; abandon, rob', a compound of statuere 'to set, fix, stand, decide'. Old French has adopted only the sense 'to rob' in which the prefix denotes 'away', while the other meaning 'to place', in which the prefix must have an intensive function, is confined to Latin.

DETRIEMENT (m.) 'damage', 1236, Lat. detrimentum 'loss, damage', from deterere 'to rub, wear away', a compound of terere 'to rub, grind'. It would perhaps be possible to regard the function of the prefix as intensive.

Also : detri (m.).

DEVENIR 'to become', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. devenire 'to come from, arrive at', a compound of venire 'to come'.

The stress has moved from the idea of 'to come from' (de-) to that of 'to arrive at' (venire), and hence to 'to become'.

Category 2 contains those compounds which may belong to either 1 or 3. De- denotes 'down' or 'away' according to the context of the compound.

DECORRE 'to flow, flow down, away', 12th. c., Lat. decurrere 'to run, flow, sail down, away', a compound of currere 'to run'. The prefix appears to mean 'down' or 'away' according to context, as the following quotations show:

2M 2.XIV.45: e quant il espoir encore si se leva de grant cuer e come son sanc decorut forment e il fust durement plaiez . . .

Lat.: Et cum adhuc spiraret, accensus animo, surrexit: et cum sanguis ejus magno fluxu deflueret, et gravissimis vulneribus esset saucius . . .

SB 45.11: Ceu disoit il de luy misme ki est li fontaine de vie. en cuy habitet et de cuy decort li planteiz de totes graces.

Lat.: (se autem dicit, qui est fons vitae, in quo habitat et unde manat plenitudo omnium gratiarum)

In some cases the prefix appears to have lost all precise locative sense, and to be almost intensive in function :

CHM 18: . . . c'est assavoir quanque nous qui or sommes et nos predecesseurs avons aquis de cyrurgie, en alant et en decourant en chascun lieu par terres perilleuses . . .

LT 1.I.40: . . . tot autresi comme une vive fontaine dont maint ruisel issent et decourent ça et la, si ke li un boivent de l'une et li autre de l'autre;

Ps. LXVII.2: sicum devient decurable cire de la face del fu, issi perissent li felun de la face Deu.

Lat.: . . . sicut tabescit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant impii a facie Dei.

Also : decorable (adj.), 12th. c. ; decurement (m.), 12th. c. ; decors (m.), 12th. c., Lat. decursus.

DEDUIRE 'to draw out; spend, lead (life, time); behave, amuse os.', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. deducere 'to lead, bring down or away; conduct', a compound of ducere 'to lead'. The locative sense of the prefix found in Latin is lost in Old French, as the following examples show :

VSA 262: Suz le degret ou il gist e converset,
illoc deduit ledement sa poverte.

VSA 452: Filz Alexis, de la tue carn tendra !
a quel dolur deduit as ta iuventa !

EE 5318: Maint faucon et maint esprevier
et maint oster sor et gruer
et maint brachet et maint levrier
fist Guivrez avoec ax porter
por aus deduire et deporter

Also : deduisable (adj.) ; deduit (m.), 12th. c.

DEFLUER 'to flow down, away' is similar to decorre, p. 115.

DETRAIRE 'to pull, tear; disparage, detract from', 12th. c., Lat. deträhere 'to pull down, away', a compound of trähere 'to pull', via ^{*}deträgere (see BW 613a). The idea of disparagement may be connected with either 'down' or 'away',

while in some cases the prefix seems to be intensive only.

Consider, for example :

4R 2.XIII.31: é chaïd á terre, é tuz ces ki entur lui
furent detraistrent é depanérent lur drás.

Lat.: . . . et cecidit super terram et omnes servi
ipsius qui adsistebant ei sciderunt vestimenta sua . . .

The meaning 'to tear' is not found in the simple traire, but seems to be the result of genuine intensification of the meaning 'to pull'. It is, however, difficult to say whether the meaning of the compound is different from that of the simple in some cases :

VSA 431: Trait ses chevets e debat sa peitrine,
a grant duel met la sue carn medisme:

R 2930: Sa barbe blanche cumencet a detraire,
Ad ambes mains les chevets de sa teste;

This intensification cannot be differentiated from the meaning 'away' in such cases, for 'to pull away' is close to the idea of 'to tear'.

Also : detracción (f.), 12th. c., Lat. detractio ;
detractor (m.), 14th. c., Lat. detractor ; detrañeor (m.).

Category 3 consists of those compounds in which the prefix means 'down'. The idea of 'down' may take the form of the downward motion of the subject or object of a compound. In rare cases 'down' refers to the act of diminishing.

DECHÉOIR 'to fall, cause to fall', 11th. c., Lat.

*decadere, the recomposed form of decidere 'to fall down', a compound of cadere 'to fall'. Although both the prefix and the simple verb express similar ideas, the stress on the idea of 'down' appears to be sufficiently strong to justify the inclusion of the compound in this category rather than the intensive. Consider the following examples :

WB 550: Nus descrestrums e il crestrunt,
Nus descharrums e il sordrunt;

WR III.4123-26: Mais dechaeir vit son esforz,
Vit de ses homes plusors morz;
Franceis de totes parz espeissent,
Normant dechient e decressent;

LT 1.CXXII.8: Et d'autre part quant il a en Mauritaine
grans pluies ou grant noif ki decheent en celui lac,
lors croist li fleuves de Niles et enonde la terre
d'Egypte;

Also : dechëable (adj.) ; decheement (m.), 12th. c. ;
dechié (m.), 13th. c.

DECOCCION (f.) 'decoction', 13th. c., Lat. decoctio
'decoction' from decoquere 'to boil down, diminish by boiling',
a compound of coquere 'to boil, cook'. The idea 'to diminish
by boiling does not appear to have survived in Old French,
where the prefix seems to be merely intensive, as in :

CHM 1323: Le baing soit fait de eau douce et de eaue
de decoction de violes et mauves et de choses semblables.

DEGOTER 'to drip, trickle down', 12th. c., Lat. deguttare
'to drip' (see, for example, the Latin version of PP 774),

probably a compound of guttare 'to drip' (attested in Donatus). König regards this compound as a parasynthetic formation from gutta. In either case the prefix could perhaps be regarded as intensive.

Also : degout (m.) 'drip; drain', 12th. c.

CB XXIV.22: . . . car es viles campestres nul ne pot mesonner si pres de moi que li degous de me meson ne me demeure toz frans.

CB XXIV.22: Et se li murs est entre deus teres, çascuns a l'aiselement du mur et pot mesonner dessus, en tele maniere que çascuns mete goutiere par devers soi, si que les degous ne tambe pas sor son voisin.

DEGRADER 'to remove from office', 12th. c., Lat. degrad- are 'to reduce to a lower rank', a parasynthetic compound of gradus 'step; rank' rather than a recomposed form of degredi 'to go away', because of the considerable difference in meaning.

DEMOLIR 'to demolish', 1383, Lat. demoliri /-ire 'to tear down, demolish', a compound of moliri /-ire 'to work at, set in motion, work, cause'. The form desmolir is also found, see p. 177.

DEPENDRE 'to hang down; depend upon', 12th. c., Lat. dependere 'to hang down; depend upon', a compound of pendere 'to hang'.

Also : dependance (f.).

BB 102: Car, combien que ce soit des dependences, toutesfois les bergers n'ont pas coustume de tondre leur brebis.

CHM 711: . . . et c'est que en toutes plaies la lieure doit commencer du lieu navré et de la partie de la leivre de la plaie qui plus pent ou qui plus est esleevee, se il y a aucune tel chose en la plaie, en traiant tous jours, et en eslevant, et en reportant icele dependance o le trait de la fassie vers l'autre levre;

DEPOSER 'to depose, put down, rid os. of', 12th. c.,
Lat. deponere 'to put down, aside; resign office', a compound of ponere 'to put, place'. The form of this compound is analogous to that of poser, from Lat. pausare (BW 476a), and a compound ^{*}depausare is postulated by EWFS 307b. 'Down' appears to be the meaning of the prefix in Old French, though in some instances in Latin 'away' is an equally possible interpretation; consider :

4PV 279: Et eu cas qu'il avoit esté sacré par les diz cardinaulx, ilz ne le povoient par droit deposer ne debouter, se ce n'estoit qu'il fut herese ou bougre.

LT 1.CLXXII.7: Et quant ele comence a lever, depose ses oes et les coevre de sablon, et s'en vet porchacier son affere, . . .

P 1152: Prouver, sire ? Sainte Marie !
par tous les saintz de paradis,
pour ung il en trouvera dix
qui contre moi desposeront ! (testify)

Also : depost (m.) 'lodgment, deposit, store', 14th. c.,

Lat. depositum.

D VIII.69.69: J'en ay encore une bouteille
Fait mettre delez mon coissin,

Pour mieulx digerer un poucin
 Que j'ay encor en mon depost,
 Lequel je doy manger en rost.

DEPRIENDRE 'to oppress, subdue', 12th. c., Lat. deprimere
 'to press down', a compound of premere 'to press', probably
 via a recomposed form depremere.

DEPRIMER 'to press down', 14th. c., Lat. deprimere. A
 later learned form parallel to depriendre above.

DESCENDRE 'to descend', 12th. c., Lat. descendere 'to
 climb down, descend', a compound of scandere 'to climb'. The
 meaning of the prefix is clearly 'down', though the contrast
 with a(d)- in ascendere suggests that it might have been
 'away' originally.

Also : descendance (f.), 1283 ; descendement (m.), 13th.
 c. ; descendue (f.), 13th. c. ; descente (f.), 1304.

DESPIRE 'to despise, disparage', 12th. c., Lat.
despicere 'to look down on, despise', a compound of specere
 'to see, look'. The meaning 'down' is accompanied by a
 strong pejorative nuance inseparable from it.

Also : despisable (adj.), 12th. c. ; despisement (m.), 12th.
 c. ; despisier, 13th. c. ; despit (m.), 12th. c., Lat.
despectus ; despitable (adj.), 13th. c. ; despitement (m.),
 13th. c. ; despitos (adj.).

DESPITIER 'to despise', 12th. c., Lat. despectare 'to look down on, despise'. The meaning of the prefix is the same as in the previous group to which the compound is closely related.

Category 4 consists of those compounds in which the function of the prefix is to negate the simple verb. In some instances it would be possible to interpret the meaning of the prefix in such a way as to place it in one of the locative categories.

DEROQUER 'to depart from custom, from the rule; disparage', 14th. c., Lat. derogare 'to disparage, detract from; repeal part of a law', a compound of rogare 'to ask'. The semantic content of this compound appears to fall into two parts. The meaning 'to depart from custom' may be attached to the Latin meaning 'to repeal part of a law'. In this sense de- negates the legal sense of the Latin simple verb as seen in the expression rogare legem 'to propose a law'. The meaning 'to disparage', found in the derivatives, is the same as that of the Latin compound. In this sense de- seems to mean 'away', although it is not clear how rogare 'to ask' passes to derogare 'to disparage' even with the aid of the prefix.

Category 5 is the largest of the five, and contains compounds in which de- serves to intensify or reinforce the simple verb. As was seen in Chapters II and III, the degree of genuine intensification or reinforcement effected by the prefix is very variable. In parasynthetic compounds the function of the prefix is imprecise, for it appears to be little more than a tool for forming a verb from a noun or adjective.

DEBATRE 'to strike, fight, struggle', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. debattuere 'to beat severely', a compound of battuere 'to strike, beat'. The existence of an intermediate form *debattere may be reasonably inferred from that of battere for battuere (BW 61a).

Also : debat (m.), 13th. c. ; debatement (m.).

DEBELLER 'to defeat', 14th. c., Lat. debellare 'to finish a war; vanquish', a compound of bellare 'to wage war'. Compounds such as this seem to be simple calques which never really become part of the French vocabulary. Debeller is probably used only as a convenient translation for the Latin compound, as in L/Aalma 2738.

DECEVOIR, DECOIVRE 'to deceive', 12th. c., Lat. decipere 'to ensnare, trap, delude, deceive', a compound of capere

'to take, seize, grasp'. The meaning of the prefix is unclear, but it is suggested that the compound was originally a hunting term (EM 171). If this is so, the function of de- is probably to reinforce the expressivity of the term, but there is, at the same time, a strong pejorative nuance.

Also : decepcion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. deceptio ; decevable (adj.) ; decevanca (f.) ; decevement (m.) ; decevëor (m.).

DECLA(I)RER 'to clarify, explain', 1250, Lat. declarare 'to show, make clear, demonstrate', a compound of clarare 'to make clear' or of clarus 'clear'. The form desclairier is also found, and BW 173a postulates *disclariare to account for it. The function of the prefix in this case is not clear, unless we suppose that dis- has replaced de- and assumed its function, but see p. 177 for a discussion of the writing of des- for de-. These two forms result in a third hybrid form déclairer.

Also : declaracion (f.), 1200, Lat. declaratio.

DECRET (m.) 'decree', 12th. c., Lat. decretum 'decree', from decernere 'to decide, determine', a compound of cernere 'to sift, separate, distinguish, perceive, decide, determine'.

Also : decretale (f.) ; decretiste (m.).

DEDIIER 'to dedicate', 12th. c., Lat. dedicare 'to

'to declare, announce; dedicate, consecrate', a compound of dicare 'to proclaim, dedicate', most often used with the special religious significance. In Old French the primary meaning 'to proclaim' is not found, and the compound is not always used in its strictly religious sense.

Also : dediement (m.).

DEFRAINIRE 'to break in pieces', 12th. c., Lat.

defringere 'to break in pieces', a compound of frangere 'to break', probably via a recomposed form defrangere. One cannot rule out the possibility that this compound might have been formed from OFr. fraindre 'to break'.

DEFRAUDER 'to trick, deceive', 14th. c., Lat. defraudare

'to defraud, cheat', a compound of fraudare 'to cheat'.

DEFUIR 'to flee', 12th. c., Lat. defugere 'to flee,

avoid, escape', a compound of fugere 'to run away; seek to avoid'.

DEGLOTIR 'to swallow', 12th. c., Lat. deglut(t)ire 'to

overwhelm, swallow up', a compound of glut(t)ire 'to swallow, gulp down'. The Latin compound may be found in the Latin version of Ps. CV.16 :

Aperta est terra, et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit synagogam Abyron.

DELACERER 'to tear to pieces', 12th. c., Lat. delacerare 'to tear in pices', a compound of lacerare 'to rend, mutilate, lacerate'. The form dilacerer, dilazrer is also found, and is no doubt a learned form representing Lat. dilacerare 'to tear apart'.

DELEGUER 'to delegate', 1330, Lat. delegare 'to assign, confide, delegate', a compound of legare 'to send as an ambassador, appoint as deputy'.

Also : delegat (m.), Lat. delegatus.

DELIBERER 'to weigh, consider', 13th. c., Lat. deliberare 'to consider, deliberate, consult, resolve', a compound of librare 'to balance' or of libra 'balance, scales, measure'.

Also : deliberacion (f.), 13th. c., Lat. deliberatio.

DELIMER 'to file away', 1250, Lat. delimare 'to file', a late compound of limare 'to file off, away', possibly formed by analogy with the earlier delimator and delimatus.

DELIVRER 'to liberate, despatch, deliver', 12th. c., Lat. deliberare 'to free', a compound of liberare 'to release, free, deliver'.

Also : delivraison (f.) ; delivrance (f.), 12th. c. ; delivre (adj.), 11th. c. (Alexis) ; delivrement (m.) ;

delivrëor (m.).

DEMANDER 'to ask, demand; hold responsible for, reproach with', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. demandare 'to entrust, commit', a compound of mandare 'to commit, entrust, confide, command'. Also : demande (f.), 12th. c. ; demandëor (m.), 1283.

DEMORER 'to remain, stay, stop, delay, wait', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. demorari 'to linger, delay', a compound of morari 'to delay, remain, detain, wait', via the alternative form demorare.

Also : demor (m.) ; demorance (f.), 12th. c. ; demore (f.) ; demoree (f.), 11th. c. (Alexis) ; demorement (m.) ; demorier (m.).

DEMOSTRER 'to show, demonstrate', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. demonstrare 'to indicate, show, prove', a compound of monstrare 'to show, teach, announce'.

Also : demonstracion (f.), 13th. c., Lat. demonstratio ; demonstrance (f.), 12th. c. ; demostrement (m.), 12th. c.

DENIGRER 'to blacken', 1358, Lat. denigrare 'to blacken', a compound of nigrare 'to be black; blacken'.

Also : denigracion (f.), Lat. denigratio.

DENOIER 'to deny, refuse', 12th. c., Lat. denegare

'to deny, refuse', a compound of negare 'to deny, refuse'.

DENOMER 'to name, define', 12th. c., Lat. denominare 'to name, designate', a compound of nominare 'to name, nominate'.

DENONCIER 'to announce, make known, denounce', 12th. c., Lat. denuntiare 'to announce, declare, denounce', a compound of nuntiare 'to announce, report, inform'.

Also : denonciacion (f.), Lat. denuntiatio.

DENOTER 'to denote, designate, define', 1350, Lat. denotare 'to mark, specify, take note of, brand', a compound of notare 'to mark, note, signify'.

DEPARTIR 'to separate, divide, depart', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. departire 'to divide', a compound of partire 'to divide, distribute' and attested in the works of Boethius. Also : depart (m.) ; departement (m.) ; departëor (m.) ; departie (f.).

DEPEINDRE 'to paint', 13th. c., Lat. depingere 'to paint, draw, portray, represent, imagine', a compound of pingere 'to paint, embroider'.

DEPLAINDRE 'to complain, lament', 12th. c., Lat. deplangere 'to bewail, lament', a compound of plangere 'to

beat (head, breast), lament'.

Also : deplaign (m.), 11th. c. (Alexis) ; deplaigne (f.).

DEPLORER 'to weep for', 12th. c., Lat. deplorare 'to weep, lament bitterly, bewail', a compound of plorare 'to cry out, weep'.

DEPRIER 'to pray for, pray', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. deprecari 'to pray, intercede for', a compound of precari 'to pray, entreat, beseech, request', via the form deprecare. In Classical Latin de- meant 'away' and the compound 'to ward off by prayer', but in Old French this sense has been lost, and the compound simply means 'to pray (earnestly)', as the following examples show :

VSA 309: Li apostolie e li empereor,
li uns Acharies, li altre Onories out num
e tut le pople par commune oraisun
depreient Deu que conseil lur an duins,
d icel saint hume par qui il guarirunt.

WR II.2571: Bernart fu a Roem, n'out mie grant sommeil,
Suvent depreia Deu, ki fist lune e soleil,
Qu'encor puisse as Franceis faire le blanc
[vermeil.

F XXIII.362: Je l'ay priay et depriay
Autant que m'a esté possible,
Mais aucune chose visible
Je n'ay veue de ma femme
Ne ouye aulcune nouvelle,

Also : deprecaçion (f.), Lat. deprecatio ; deprïable (adj.) ;
deprïement (m.).

DEPUTER 'to depute, delegate', 1328, Lat. deputare 'to prune, cut off; esteem, consider; allot', a compound of putare 'to clean; prune, lop; order, arrange; reckon, consider, think'.

DERERE 'to cut off, shear', 12th. c., Lat. deradere 'to shave, scrape off', a compound of radere 'to scrape, shave off; brush, graze'.

DERISION (f.) 'derision, mockery', 13th. c., Lat. derisio 'mockery', from deridere 'to deride, scoff, laugh at', a compound of ridere 'to laugh, smile (at)'. It is possible that in Latin the prefix had a pejorative nuance, but this cannot be distinguished from the intensive function, though it seems to be an essential part of the semantic content of the French compound.

DERORE 'to gnaw', 13th. c., Lat. derodere 'to gnaw, nibble' (the past participle only is attested in Classical Latin), a compound of rodere 'to gnaw, eat away; waste, consume; slander, disparage'. This compound appears to be another of those calques which never established themselves in the language, and it is used to translate Lat. corrodere, SB 137.13.

DERUIRE 'to act in a deranged manner', 13th. c., Lat.

deruere 'to throw, fall down; detract', a compound of ruere 'to fall, throw down; rush'.

DESCRIRE 'to describe, recount, explain, write down', 12th. c., Lat. describere 'to copy, write down, describe', a compound of scribere 'to write, draw; describe'.

Also : descriçion (f.), Lat. descriptio.

DESECHIER 'to dry up', 12th. c., Lat. desiccare 'to dry up', a compound of siccare 'to dry up, drain, heal'.

DESERVIR 'to serve, deserve, merit', 12th. c., Lat. deservire 'to serve zealously', a compound of servire 'to serve'.

Also : desert (m.) ; deserte (f.).

DESICCER 'to dry up, heal', 14th. c., Lat. desiccare 'to dry up'. This compound is a learned form parallel to desechier above. The present participle only is attested in CHM.

Also : desic(c)aciõn (f.), Lat. desiccatio ; desic(c)atif (adj.), Lat. desiccativus.

DESI(G)NER 'to designate', 14th. c., Lat. designare 'to mark, denote, designate, define; contrive, arrange; appoint', a compound of signare 'to mark, designate; seal, stamp; distinguish'.

DESOLER 'to abandon, leave alone', 14th. c., Lat.

desolare 'to forsake, abandon, desert', a compound of solus 'alone', not of solare (EM 1120). Most commonly found as a past participle.

Also : desolacion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. desolatio.

DESOTER 'to surprise, attack suddenly', 12th. c., Lat.

desubito 'suddenly', probably via the OFr. adv. desote 'suddenly', and a compound of subitus 'sudden, unexpected'.

DESPOILLIER 'to undress, take off, rob', 12th. c., Lat.

despoliare 'to rob, plunder, despoil', a compound of spoliare 'to plunder, deprive'.

Also : despoillement (m.) ; despueille (f.).

DESTINER 'to destine, determine, prophecy', 12th. c.,

Lat. destinare 'to make firm, establish, determine, destine', a compound of ^{*}stanare (stare) 'to stand, fix' (EM 1150).

DETENIR 'to detain, hold back, retain', 12th. c., Lat.

detinere 'to detain, delay, engage', a compound of tenere 'to hold, keep, have'. The prefix could mean 'away' and give the compound the sense 'to keep away', and hence 'to detain', but in the sense 'to retain, hold' it appears to be merely intensive. Compare the following examples :

Cl. 2216: Grant piece a que il volsist estre

El tref la reïne venuz,
Se aillors ne fust detenuz.

CF I.37.10: . . . la royne d'Engleterre donna congiet
as gens de son pays, que çascuns s'en ralast à se maison
et en ses besongnes, hor mis aucuns barons et chevaliers
que elle detint pour lui consillier;

4PV 130: Neantmoins le dit monseigneur d'Angou fit
demander sauf conduit de venir à son pere le roy Jehan,
pour ce qu'il se doubtoit que le roy son pere ne le
voulst detenir prisonnier.

HEH 396.654: Et tant fissent ke li pons fu detenus tant
ke chil ki estoient arriere furent venu.

SB 29.36: Maintes sunt les miseres de cest cors ke nos
detiennent.

Lat.: Necessitates multae miseris hujus corporis
detinet nos.

SB 29.26: Cez beues nos detienent les piez de nostre
affection nes mal greit nostre.

Lat.: . . . quae etiam invitis nobis pedes tenent
affectionis.

According to BW 183a the form of the Old French compound has
been modelled upon that of the simple tenir, but the possibil-
ity of a recomposed form *detenere must not be ruled out.

Also : detenëor (m.).

DETERMINER 'to decide, determine; end', 12th. c., Lat.

determinare 'to limit, determine, fix', a compound of

terminare 'to define, limit, determine'.

Also : determinement (m.).

DETRENCHIER 'to cut up, hack to pieces', 12th. c., Lat.

detruncare 'to cut off, mutilate', a compound of truncare 'to cut off, mutilate'.

Also : detrenchement (m.).

DETRIILER 'to delay', 12th. c., Lat. detricare (Lex Sal.) 'to detain', a compound of tricare 'to dally, delay'.

DEVORER (1) 'to swallow, devour; harm', 12th. c., Lat. devorare 'to swallow, gulp down, devour', a compound of vorare 'to swallow up, devour'.

Also : devorement (m.).

DEVORER (2) 'to execrate, curse', 13th. c., Lat. devotare 'to curse; enchant; dedicate', an intensive form of devovere 'to vow, devote; curse', a compound of vovere 'to vow, devote, dedicate'. The idea 'to curse' is close enough to that of 'to vow' to warrant the inclusion of this compound in the intensive category. This compound was frequent in Old French, but disappeared probably because of the homonymic clash with devorer (1). The FEW suggests that the unusual -r- is the result of analogy with OFr. orer 'to pray'.

DEVOT (adj.) 'devoted, devout', 12th. c., Lat. devotus from devovere 'to vow, devote; curse', a compound of vovere 'to vow, devote, dedicate'.

Also : devociōn (f.), 12th. c., Lat. devotio.

DORER 'to gild', 12th. c., Lat. deaurare 'to gild', a compound of aurare 'to gild'.

We saw in Chapter II how adverbs formed with de- were in some cases reinforced forms, while in others the prefix retained some of its locative sense. This locative sense appears to have disappeared completely in Old French, and the prefix has only a reinforcing function. Without de- many Old French adverbs would be monosyllabic and, therefore, weaker than the prefixed forms which seem to have been preferred as a rule. The rare denz remained monosyllabic, while the fuller dedenz was quite common.

DEFORS, DEHORS (adv., prep.) 'outside', 10th. c. (Léger), Lat. deforis (deforas, FEW III.702a) 'outside, from outside', a compound of foris 'without, from without'.

VCC 136.234: . . . si aroit lo quart de tote la conquete et dedenz la cité et defors, . . .

VCC 152.259: . . . et ferma on l'uis par dehors, si qu'il ne remest nus avec aus; et li baron et li chevalier remestrent en un grant palais dehors.

DENZ (adv., prep.) 'in, into, inside', 12th. c. (DE 228b), Lat. deintus 'inside, from inside', a compound of intus 'inside, within'. This compound is extremely rare until the 16th. c., before which en and dedenz were generally preferred in Old French.

DESOR (adv., prep.) 'on, over, above', 11th. c. (Alexis),
 Lat. desuper 'from above, above (later)', a compound of
 super 'above, over, upon; beyond; during'.

HEH 338.559: "Mais deseur tout, gardés toutes voies
 ke vous jâ por lor amour ne por lor acointance, . . . ,
 retraiiés vostre cuer de nostre gent amer, . . .

DESOZ (adv., prep.) 'under, underneath', 12th. c., Lat.
desubtus '(from) under, underneath', a compound of subtus
 'below, beneath, underneath'.

HEH 400.659: . . . et li aighe ert si profonde desoz et
 si radement courans, que nus n'estoit sor le pont ki ne
 fust toz esbahis de regarder en l'aighe.

In the majority of the above compounds the
 function of the prefix has been reasonably clear, but in
 some cases it is impossible to establish with any certainty
 the complete etymology of the Latin compound. There is
 little doubt that the following compounds represent Latin
 forms with de-, and, therefore, that they should be included
 in this chapter, yet they cannot be assigned to any particular
 category, either because the etymology is incomplete, or
 because the meaning of the prefix is not clear.

DECREPIT (adj.) 'decrepit, feeble', 14th. c., Lat.
decrepitus 'infirm, weak, feeble', the etymology of which is
 not known.

Also : decrepité (f.).

DEPOPULER 'to depopulate', 13/14th. c., represents Lat. depopulare, /-ari 'to ravage, pillage', which is either a compound of populari 'to ravage', in which case de- is intensive, or a parasynthetic compound of populus 'people', in which case de- would most probably mean 'away', and the compound denote the removal of people. The second etymology is preferred by EM 923 on the grounds that populari is thought to have been formed later than the compound depopulari.

DEPURER 'to purify', 13th. c., Lat. depurare 'to purify'. The Latin compound would appear to have a double origin : it is a parasynthetic compound of either purus 'pure', in which case the prefix is intensive, or of pus, puris 'impurity', in which case the prefix means 'away' and the compound denotes the removal of impurity. Both etymologies are admitted by BW 180b, but a distinction is drawn between the two compounds of identical form. The simple verb purare is rejected completely because the compound is thought to be anterior to it.

DESIRER 'to desire', 11th. c. (Alexis), Lat. desiderare 'to wish for, miss, regret the absence of'. This is probably a ²parsynthetic compound of sidus, sideris 'star' EM 1101), and may be connected with considerare 'to examine

carefully' of which it may originally have been the antonym. Both words are thought to be of astrological origin. The prefix, then, could have a negative function or mean 'away' (absence).

Also : desider(i)e (m.), Lat. desiderium ; desiier (m.) ; desir (m.) ; desirrabable (adj.), Lat. desiderabilis ; desirrance (f.) ; desirrement (m.) ; desirros (adj.)

DE(S)RUBE (mf.) 'crag, cliff, torrent', 12th. c., the REW (2687) connects this compound with a Lat. *disrupare 'to fall from a cliff'. If this etymology is correct, the meaning of the prefix dis- is completely obscure, and de- would appear much more logical. It is possible that dis- replaced de- and assumed its meaning, but this hypothesis would only be justifiable if no other etymology could be found. This is not the case. In early texts (e.g., 4R, Br., 2M) the spellings derube and derup are more frequent than desrube, which suggests that a Latin compound in de- might be the real origin of the Old French. The choice falls on Lat. deruptus 'steep, precipitous', from *derumpere. It is noteworthy that a plural noun derupta exists with the meaning 'precipices', which would account for the double gender of the Old French. The forms with an s may perhaps be the result of an analogy with disrumpere (desrompre), but see p. 177 for

a discussion of the writing of des- for de-. The verb desruber may be a derivative of de(s)rube.

Also : desrubant (m.) 'cliff, gorge'.

DETESTER 'to hate, detest', 15th. c., Lat. detestari, /-are 'to curse, abominate, denounce', a compound of testari 'to testify, show, invoke as witness'. It is impossible to form any clear idea of the meaning of the prefix in the Latin compound : 'down' and 'away', as well as intensification, are possible interpretations (see EM 1217, LS 562c). Also : detestable (adj.), 14th. c., Lat. detestabilis ; detestacion (f.), 14th. c., Lat. detestatio.

Another compound worthy of special consideration is :

DEFENIR 'to define', 12th. c., Lat. definire 'to define', a compound of finire 'to finish'. The Lat. definire 'to define' gives the OFr. difiner 'to define' (both the Latin and the Old French compounds in di- are later than those in de-). This compound is similar in form and origin to OFr. definir 'to end, die; decide', see p. 190. This similarity, coupled with the fact that the simple forms finer and fenir 'to end, die' are interchangeable, makes the confusion of defenir and definir almost inevitable. Consider :

R 2889: Unques nuls hom tel chevalier ne vit
Por granz batailles juster e defenir

D V.91.27: L'ente ne puet lors a grant fruit venir,
C'est ce qui fait ton arbre deffenir.

CHM 286: . . . et l'autre partie tent au bras par
dehors, et est dite dorsal, et la est devisee, de la
quele le greignour rain et se defenist en la main
par dehors.

Compare the above etymologically incorrect uses of defenir
with the correct :

CHM 559: Cyrurgie est exposee et deffenie de diverses
gens selonc ce qui leur monte es testes, ou selonc
divers regars;

Also : definicion (f.), Lat. definitio ; definitif (adj.),
Lat. definitivus.

We now turn to dis-. Category 1 consists of those
compounds in which di(s)- denotes separation. The idea of
separation has many different nuances, as was shown in
Chapter II, and the specific nuance will be indicated for
each compound, but it should be remembered that the distinc-
tion between the different shades of meaning is sometimes
very fine.

DELUGE, DELUVIE (m.) 'flood, deluge; misfortune', 12th.
c., Lat. diluvium 'flood, deluge, destruction', from diluere
'to wash to pieces, away; dilute, dissolve, drench', a
compound of lavare, lavere 'to wash, bathe'. In Latin the
prefix appears to denote separation into many p^eces when

added to lavere, but this sense was probably lost already in the derivative diluvium.

DESPENDRE (1) 'to give, share out; spend', 12th. c., Lat. dispendere 'to weigh out, administer', a compound of pendere 'to weigh, pay'. The original function of the prefix is to denote distribution, while the idea of spending may be regarded as separation as well. These functions are maintained in Old French :

WB 2648: Mult ert preisez pur sa proësce
Et mult amez pur sa largesce,
Kar largement se conteneit,
Mult donout e mult despendeit.

PJS 213: Et, quant au regard de vostre despence et
abillier honnorablement, veez cy en ce sacht VIm escus,
et despendez honnorablement, et a Dieu soyez !

Also : despens (m.), Lat. dispensum ; despensable (adj.) ;
despensacion (f.), Lat. dispensatio ; despense (f.), Lat.
dispensa ; despensier (m.) ; despoise (f.) 'alloy', Lat.
(*) dispensa.

DESPONDRE 'to indicate, develop, explain', 12th. c., Lat. disponere 'to dispose, arrange in order, draw up', a compound of ponere 'to put, place'. The prefix denotes distribution, of things in Latin, but of ideas in Old French :

AOC 10543: Aristotes et tuit li autre,
I vodrent maintes raisons metre
Et despondre et deviser,

König, in his index (p. 107), derives this compound from Latin spondere 'to promise', and considers the prefix to be de-, but offers no explanation of the semantic shift.

DESPUTER 'to debate, dissert, dispute', 12th. c., Lat. disputare 'to reckon, estimate, examine; discuss, contend, dispute', a compound of putare 'to lop; reckon; consider'. The function of the prefix is intensive when the compound means 'to reckon', but in the more important sense 'to discuss' it denotes mental separation, and sometimes separation in opposite directions. In Old French the prefix has only the second and third of these functions :

HSL 18.32: Quant nous aviens grant piéce desputei, si rendoit sa sentence et disoit ainsi :

LT 1.V.10: Dont la premiere est dyaletique, et enseigne tencier, contendre, et desputer, les uns contres les autres, et faire questions et deffenses.

SB 77.24: Eswarzent ceu cil ki de la volenteit et de l'oyvre suelent desputeir et tencier.

Lat.: Considerent haec qui de opere et voluntate contentiosis solent disputationibus corrixari;

The learned form disputer is also found.

Also : desputaison (f.).

DIFAMER 'to slander, disparage, dishonour', 13th. c., Lat. diffamare 'to publish, declare, make known; decry, defame, malign', a parasynthetic compound of fama 'rumour, public opinion; fame, reputation; infamy, scandal'. The form

defamer is found, and probably represents defamare, a derivative of defamis 'infamous', see p. 48. The prefix di- denotes separation in all directions, since the fundamental idea of the Latin compound is that of spreading reports. The pejorative aspect seems to be secondary in both diffamare and fama, while the Old French compound is never without it :

LM I.1303: Mon nom diminue et diffame,
Et toutes mes paroles blasme.

Lat.: Diminuit nomen et diffamat mea verba.

Also : difame (adj., mf.).

DIFERER 'to defer, put off; differ, vary, distinguish', 14th. c., Lat. differre 'to separate; defer, delay; differ', a compound of ferre 'to bear, carry'. The prefix denotes separation and difference.

Also : difference (f.), 12th. c., Lat. differentia ;
diferent (adj., m.), 14th. c., Lat. differens.

DIFORMER 'to deform', 14th. c., Lat. difformare 'to deform', which was formed by change of prefix in the 13th. c. from the earlier deformare whose meaning it retains. Consequently di- has the same meaning as de- in deformer, see p.111. Lat. difformis (adj.) and difformitas (f.) were formed at the same time as the verb difformare.

DIGERER 'to digest; order', 14th. c., Lat. digerere

'to separate, distribute, dispose; dissolve, digest', a compound of gerere 'to carry, act, do'. The prefix denotes separation and distribution.

Also : digestif (adj.) ; digestion (f.), Lat. digestio.

DILACERER, see delacerer, p. 127.

DILACIÖN (f.) 'deferment, delay, (dilation)', 1290, Lat. dilatio 'delay', from differre (see diferer, p. 144). The meaning of the prefix is the same as in differre. The 'dilation' is incorrect and has been acquired by the confusion of dilaciön with dilataciön (see under dilater, below). This confusion seems to be of Late Latin origin. Compare the following examples :

MMC 11.26: aneumtrisma est tuberum, in quo sanguinis spirito cum dilacione vene, similis ut varex incurabilis.

CHM 83: Les utilités de la creation des arteres ou cors sont .3.: La premiere est que par la dilacion d'elles, l'air [soit] atrait au refroidissement et au confort du cuer.

F XVI.268: Ne faictes point dilation,
Baillez-nous ce que demandons.

Only in the last quotation is the use of dilaciön etymologically correct.

Also : dilatoire (adj.), 13th. c., Lat. dilatorius.

DILATER 'to swell, dilate', 14th. c., Lat. dilatare

'to enlarge, extend, dilate', a derivative of differre 'to spread; separate' (LS 579c), or a compound of latus 'broad, wide', (EM 612). In either case the prefix seems to denote separation.

Also : dilatacion (f.) 'dilation, (delay)', Lat. dilatatio. In the confusion with dilacion this compound has acquired an etymologically incorrect meaning, as the following example shows :

D V.180.39: estre en bonne union,
 Bien obeir mainte victoire donne,
 Haster son fait sanz dilatacion:
 Advise cy toute noble personne.

Compare this with the correct use :

CHM 304: La .l. qu'il obeissent plus legierement a la
dilatacion [et] a la constriction des membres nutritis;

DILECCION (f.) 'love', 12th. c., Lat. dilectio 'love', from diligere 'to value highly, love', a compound of legere 'to collect; choose, select, pick out; see, read'. The prefix denotes separation or distinction (the act of choosing one from a number).

DILIGENT (adj.) 'diligent', 12th. c., Lat. diligens 'assiduous', from diligere 'to value highly, love'. The function of the prefix is the same as in dileccion above.

Also : diligence (f.), Lat. diligentia ; diligenter.

DISPENSER 'to distribute, spend; dispense (from)', 1283,

Lat. dispensare 'to weigh out, distribute, pay out, dispense, manage, arrange', a compound of pensare 'to weigh, compensate, consider'. This compound is parallel to despendre, for pensare and pendere are different forms of the same root. The function of the prefix is, therefore, the same as in despendre (separation and distribution).

Also : dispensacion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. dispensatio ;
dispense (f.), 15th. c.

DISPOSER 'to dispose, set out, order, prepare', 1181,
Lat. disponere 'to dispose, settle, arrange', a compound of ponere 'to put, place'. The form of the compound is analogous to that of the simple poser (Lat. pausare). The fundamental meaning of the compound is 'to set out, arrange' and, therefore, the prefix denotes separation and distribution (in an orderly fashion), as in :

MC I.160: Ilz entendirent l'enseigne. Incontinent se
disposèrent à l'assault.

MC I.26: Et en cela monstra Dieu que les batailles sont
en sa main et dispose de la victoire à son plaisir.

Also : disposicion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. dispositio.

DISSONER 'to be discordant', 14th. c., Lat. dissonare
'to disagree, differ, be dissonant', a compound of sonare 'to sound, utter, resound'. Dis- denotes 'in different or opposite ways', and the compound is an antonym of consonare

'to sound together, agree, harmonize'.

DISTANT (adj.) 'distant, apart', 14th. c., Lat. distans 'distant', from distare 'to stand apart, be distant, differ', a compound of stare 'to stand'. Dis- denotes separation. Also : distance (f.), 13th. c., Lat. distantia.

DISTINGUER 'to distinguish', 1385, Lat. disting(u)ere 'to distinguish, separate, divide, discriminate; decorate', a compound of *stigare, *stingere 'to be sharp, burn', not of stinguere 'to extinguish'. Dis- denotes separation, as does des- in the earlier (13th. c.) form destinter 'to differentiate' :

PP 1360: Tant out colurs de maneres,
Tant preciuses e tant cheres,
Ke ne poreie deviser
Ne entre lur beltés destincter.

Also : distincion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. distinctio ;
distinct (adj.), 1314, Lat. distinctus.

DISTRAIRE 'to distract, amuse', 14th. c., Lat. distrahere 'to divide, tear apart, separate, distract, draw away', a compound of trahere 'to pull'. The compound takes this form from traire, or possibly from *distragere. Dis- denotes separation.

DIVERS (adj.) 'different, unlike; various, particular;

evil, cruel', 12th. c., Lat. diversus 'opposite, contrary, different, hostile', from divertere 'to turn, go opposite or different ways, separate, deviate', a compound of vertere 'to turn'. Dis- means 'in different or opposite directions'. Also : diversefier, 13th. c., Lat. diversificare ; diverser ; diverseté (f.), 12th. c., Lat. diversitas ; diversion (f.), 1314 ; divertir, ca. 1400.

Category 2 consists of compounds in which di(s)- has a meaning similar to that of the simple verb and, therefore, an intensive function.

DE(S)JUGIER 'to judge', 12th. c., Lat. dijudicare 'to judge, decide, distinguish', a compound of judicare 'to judge, examine, decide', perhaps but not necessarily via a later form dejudicare occasionally found for dijudicare. Desjugier may possibly represent a recomposed form *disjudicare, but see p. 177 for a discussion of the writing of des- for de-. Di- denotes separation, but the idea of mental separation or distinction is already expressed in judicare, and di-, therefore, is intensive. The Old French verb appears to have a pejorative sense in some cases where the meaning comes close to 'to criticise, condemn'. Consider :

SB 88.19: Si tu ensi encommences griement a soutenir la religion. si tu encommences a deiugier ton prelait et a murmurer en ton cuer.

Lat.: Haec si moleste coeperis sustinere, si dijudicare praelatum, si murmurare in corde;

SB 159.39: et or deiugent les oyvres orribles et mortels.

Lat.: . . . et horribilia facta dijudicantes.

But the idea 'to condemn' is not always found :

Ps. LXXXI.1: Deus estut en la compaignie de Deu; en milliu dejuged les deus.

Lat.: Deus stetit in coetu Dei; in medio deos dijudicat.

It does not appear that this pejorative nuance is the result of the prefixation, for the simple jugier may also mean 'to condemn'. Compare the three different uses of jugier in the following contexts :

R 1409: El plait ad Ais en fut jugét a pendre
De ses parenz ensembl'od lui tels trente
Ki de murir nen ourent esperance.

R 754: 'Sire parastre, mult vos dei avoir cher,
La reregarde avez sur mei jugiét.

R 3751: 'Seignors barons,' dist Carlemagnes li reis,
'De Guenelun car me jugez le dreit!'

DE(S)ROMPRE 'to break, tear up, destroy', 11th. c.

(Alexis), Lat. dirumpere 'to break, dash to pieces; sunder, sever', a compound of rumpere 'to break, burst'. Di- denotes separation into pieces, and thus intensifies rumpere. This intensification seems to remain real in Old French in many instances :

4PV 299: Puis vindrent et rompirent les prisons du roy de Chastellet et delivrerent les prisonniers et derompirent et depiecerent les registres, actes et chartres . . .

The form desrompre is frequently found and may represent the recomposed disrumpere. König's remarks on this compound are not without interest (Die Präfixe, p. 54). He distinguishes between two verbs : derompre (GRom. *derumpere) 'to tear off, part' and desrompre (GRom. *disrumpere) 'to tear apart, in pieces', derompre implies only "die äusserliche (objektivische) Schädigung des logischen Objekts", while desrompre "führt das logische Objekt (gleichsam in dessen Innerem) in einen neuen Zustand über, in dem es gänzlich verändert erscheint". In support of these opinions he quotes the following examples :

Ferez, paien, pur la presse derumpre (Rol. 1500)

Ses vestimens a tos desros
Dusqu'a la ceinture desos. (Wace, Brut 2767, Ler. de
Lincy)

Against this evidence the following point may be made : Old French is not consistent enough to allow of such fine distinctions between two closely related verbs. Against the Roland context one may quote :

G 452: "Ferez, seignurs, od voz espees beles !
Ferez, Franceis, desrumpez ceste presse !

where des- appears in an identical context. To underline the lack of consistency, we find in the same text the alternative form :

G 640: Criai "Munjoie!" pur la presse derumpre;

The same applies to König's second context. The SATF edition

has the following version :

WB 2721: Ses vestemenz ad tuz deroz
Jesqu'a la ceinture desuz;

The form in de- is found elsewhere in a similar context :

WB 11376: Une vielle feme ad truvee,
Ses dras deruz, eschevelee;

Clearly there is no support for such distinctions as König seeks to make. To regard derompre and desrompre as separate verbs in which the prefixes have different meanings is unrealistic, and contrary to the fluid character of Old French, especially in view of the fact that des- could be written for de- in certain circumstances, see p. 177.

DESCHARPIR 'to separate, tear in pieces', 13th. c., Lat. discerpere 'to tear in pieces, mangle, destroy', a compound of carpere 'to pick, pluck, gather, tear, cut to pieces'. The simple verb and the prefix express allied ideas, therefore dis- is intensive. The compound may have passed into Old French via a recomposed form *discarpere, or the form may have been altered by analogy with charpir. Descherpir is also found.

DESCORRE 'to shatter; discuss', 12th. c., Lat. discutere 'to shatter, break up, disperse; (2nd. c.) examine, discuss', a compound of quater 'to shake, strike, break in pieces'. The prefix is intensive. This is the popular form of Lat.

discutere. The learned doublet is discuter 'to discuss', 14th. c., which has only the later Latin meanings, while descorre retains the literal sense as well as the figurative.

R 1946: Le blanc osberc li ad descust el cors,
 Parmi le piz sun espiét li mist fors,
 E dit après : "Un col avez pris fort.

However the meaning 'to discuss' is perhaps more frequent, and may be found as the translation of Lat. discutere in the Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape (see TL).

DESFENDRE 'to split', ca. 1180, Lat. diffindere 'to cleave, divide', a compound of findere 'to split, cleave, separate, divide', perhaps via a recomposed form *disfindere. Dis- is intensive, since both prefix and simple verb denote separation. The form defendre is also found. In either form this compound must have clashed with defendre 'to defend', which may account for its disappearance from French in spite of its frequent use in Old French.

DESPARDRE 'to spread, scatter, strew', 12th. c., Lat. dispergere 'to scatter about, disperse', a compound of spargere 'to scatter, spread, strew, sprinkle', via a recomposed form dispargere attested in the works of Tertullian. Di- means 'in all directions' and intensifies the simple verb.

⁵
DESEVRER 'to separate, divide, divorce, depart', 11th.

c. (Alexis), Lat. disseparare 'to part, divide', a compound of separare 'to sever, disjoin, part, separate', perhaps via the form *disseperare (REW 2689). Dis- denotes separation, which is already indicated by se-, and is, therefore, intensive.

Also : dessevrable (adj.) ; dessevraille (f.) ; dessevrance (f.) ; dessevree (f.) ; dessevrement (m.) ; dessoivre (fm).

DESTORBER 'to disturb, hinder, confuse, prevent', 12th.

c., Lat. disturbare 'to destroy, frustrate, hinder, disturb, throw into confusion', a compound of turbare 'to disorder, disturb, confuse, disorganise'. The precise meaning of the prefix is not clear, but in view of the similarity in meaning of the simple and compound verbs it may be classified as intensive. This classification is supported by the fact that destorber translates Lat. conturbare and perturbare, where the prefixes are clearly used to reinforce turbare, as well as disturbare.

Also : destorbance (f.) ; destorbe (f.) ; destorbement (m.) ; destorbier (m.).

DESTREMPER, DESTEMPRER 'to dissolve, mix, soak', 12th.

c., Lat. distemperare 'to mix', a compound of temperare 'to mingle, combine; qualify, moderate, abstain, be moderate'.

In the Latin compound dis- denotes separation into pieces (involved in the act of dissolving and mixing), but must be intensive, for the idea of mixing is already in the simple verb. The function of the prefix remains the same in the Old French compound, except in some cases when the past participle is used as an adjective, as in :

L/D 1349;⁴ destemprés = immodestus

CKB:⁵ . . . mais quant sont inegales et destemperees que l une domine l autre, lors est malade ou dispose pour l estre.

Here the prefix clearly has a negative function. There does not seem to be any reason for thinking that Lat. distemperare later acquired a negative sense, therefore this use must be of Old French origin. Indeed, we see that the past participle used in this way is the antonym of OFr. temprer, tremper which has the same meanings as the Latin simple verb, including the second group which is not found in the Latin compound. The use of the prefix in the negative sense is probably of Old French origin in this case, and has been imposed on an existing form of Latin origin, or a new homonym has been formed as an antonym of temp(e)ré.

⁴ D = Abauus, MS. Douai.

⁵ Neither pages nor lines are numbered in this text, a facsimile of an edition of 1493.

Also : destrempance (f.) ; destrempëure (f.).

DEVISER 'to divide, share, differentiate; order, wish, plan; describe, recount', 12th. c., Lat. dividere 'to divide, separate, distinguish', a compound of *videre (EM 317) or of vidh- (LS 602a) 'to part, split'. Both root and prefix denote separation, therefore di- is intensive. BW 184b postulates the intermediate forms *divisare and *devisare.
Also : devis (m.) ; devisable (adj.) ; devise (mf.) ; devisement (m.) ; devisiōn (f.).

DISCERNER 'to discern, distinguish', 13th. c., Lat. discernere 'to part, separate; distinguish, discern; determine', a compound of cernere 'to sift, separate; distinguish, perceive; decide'. Dis- denotes separation and intensifies the simple verb.
Also : discré (adj.), 12th. c., Lat. discretus ; discrecion (f.), 12th. c., Lat. discretio.

DISPERS (adj.) 'widespread, scattered, dispersed', 15th. c., Lat. dispersus, past participle of dispergere 'to scatter, disperse', a compound of spargere 'to scatter, spread, strew, sprinkle'. The function of di- is intensive, as is that of de- in despardre. This compound is not connected with despers 'quick, cruel, wild, terrible', 12th. c., Lat. expertus

'experienced, expert' (whence OFr. espert 'quick, alert', 13th. c.), by change of prefix (FEW III.309b), cf. pp. 326-332.

Also : dispersion (f.), 13th. c., Lat. dispersio.

DISSOUDRE 'to dissolve', 12th. c., Lat. dissolvere 'to unloosen, dissolve, destroy, disunite, separate, abolish', a compound of solvere 'to loosen, release, dissolve, destroy'. Dis- denotes separation, and hence is intensive.

Also : dissolu (adj. past participle), 12th. c., Lat. dissolutus ; dissolution (f.), 12th. c., Lat. dissolutio.

DISTILER 'to drip; distil', 13th. c., Lat. distillare 'to trickle drop by drop', a compound of stillare 'to drip; distil', or possibly of stilla 'drop'. The prefix is, therefore, intensive or denotes separation. FEW III.55b proposes Lat. destillare in which de- would mean 'down' or be intensive.

DISTRIBÜER 'to distribute', 1248, Lat. distribuere 'to divide, distribute', a compound of tribuere 'to assign, allot, bestow, give, pay, yield, concede, divide'. Dis- denotes distribution, which is implied in the simple verb. Consequently the prefix intensifies tribuere. The sense of distribution on all sides is not always strong in Old French. Consider the following example where distribüer has the

meaning 'to give, bestow' belonging to tribuere rather than distribuere :

D III.306.3: Loyaulté soit a vous attribuée,
Honneur aussi, branche des fleurs de lis,
Ysnelece vous soit distribuée,
Sapience dont vous estes eslis,
Diligence vous conserve.

Category 3 consists of those compounds in which the prefix has a negative function. In most cases it is the root verb which is negated, but occasionally the compound is the antonym of another compound formed from the same root.

DESCEINDRE 'to free, remove belt, ungird', 12th. c.,
Lat. discingere 'to ungird, deprive of girdle', a compound
and antonym of cingere 'to surround, encircle; gird, crown'.
The opposition of the simple and compound is clearly seen
in the following context :

PJS 404: Et, en prenant congiet d'elle, la voist
chaincte d'un tissu bleu et ferré d'or ; lors la va
deschaindre, disant : . . .

DESCHARGIER 'to unload, rid so. or os. of a burden',
12th. c., Lat. discarricare 'to unload', a compound and
antonym of carricare 'to load a cart'.
Also : descharge (f.).

DESCHAUCIER 'to take off shoes', 12th. c., Lat.

discalciare, discalceare 'to remove shoes', a recomposed form of disculciare, a compound of calciare, calceare 'to shoe, put on shoes'.

Also : deschautz (adj.), Lat. discalceatus, for discalceus.

DESCORDER 'to be discordant, clash, quarrel, disagree', 12th. c., Lat. discordare 'to disagree, differ, quarrel, be out of harmony with', a parasynthetic compound of chorda 'rope; gut, string (of musical instrument)'. The prefix means 'in opposite ways' and consequently negates concordare 'to agree, be united, harmonize'.

Also : descordable (adj.) ; descordance (f.) ; descorde (f.) ; descort (adj., m.).

DESCOUCHIER 'to get up (from bed)', 12th. c., Lat. discollocare 'to get out of bed' (attested in the Gloses de Reichenau), a compound of collocare 'to place; go to bed'. This compound, at first sight denoting a very positive action, is also the antonym of OFr. acouchier 'to go to bed', 12th. c., and retains this meaning until ca. 1680. The sense 'to sleep out, elsewhere than in one's own bed' appears at the end of the 16th. c. The FEW seems to regard the two meanings as belonging to the same verb at different times in its history, but does not explain the semantic shift.

DESCOVENIR 'to be unseemly, unsuitable', 13th. c., Lat. disconvenire 'to disagree, be inconsistent, inharmonious', a compound and antonym of convenire 'to unite, combine; be seemly, suitable, appropriate'. The form disconvenir is found in 1529.

Also : descovenable (adj.) ; descovenue (f.), 12th. c.

DESCOVRIR 'to reveal, disclose, uncover, discover', 12th. c., Lat. discooperire 'to uncover, lay bare, disclose, expose', a compound and antonym of cooperire 'to cover; overwhelm'.

DESFAIRE 'to destroy, defeat, kill; undo, not to do; remove, revoke', 12th. c., Lat. disfacere, a compound and antonym of facere 'to do, make' which is attested in the year 941 (DC). The form defaire is also found and may represent a recomposed ^{*}defacere (for deficere), but see p. 177 for a discussion of the confusion of de- and des-. In the majority of cases the prefix is clearly negative, but occasionally its meaning seems to be nearer that of 'away'. Consider the following examples in which des- is negative :

AOC 5202: Si que tantost un pont l'on face
 Lié de clos, qu'il ne defface
 Et de cordes forz ausimant,

2M 2.XIV.28: E quant Nichanor vit ces lettres si fu
 mult dolent e mult li desplot de desfaire co que il
 avoit promis.

Lat.: Quibus cognitis, Nicanor consternabatur, et graviter ferebat, si ea quae convenerant, irrita faceret, nihil laesus a viro:

CF I.83.16: . . . et par quoi li premiers mariages fust deffais et anullés de celle dame qui en prison estoit, et tout par le declaration dou pape, . . .

CB XXV.12: Puisqu'il est dit que nus empiremens ne doit estre fes en quemins, il est certaine coze que cil l'empire qui deffet les cauchiés qui furent fetes por le quemin amender, . . .

and compare them with the following, where the prefix could be considered to denote removal :

MC I.40: . . . tous lesquelz dessus nommez, le roy avoit desapointéz et deffaictz de leurs estatz, quant il vint à la couronne, nonobstant qu'ilz . . .

Also : desfaite (f.) ; desfaiture (f.).

DESFUBLER 'to unhook; remove (outer garment)', 12th. c., Lat. diffibulare 'to unclasp, unbuckle', a compound and antonym of fibulare 'to fasten together by means of a clasp, pin, or buckle', probably via a recomposed form ^{*}disfibulare. The Old French compound is strictly an antonym of afubler (affibulare, FEW I.49b).

DESJEUNER 'to eat, break fast', 12th. c., Lat. disjejunare 'to break fast', later ^{*}disjunare (BW 176a), a compound and antonym of jejunare 'to fast'.

DESJOINDRE 'to separate, divide', 12th. c., Lat. disjungere 'to disjoin, unyoke, separate', a compound and

antonym of jungere 'to join, yoke'. A later form is disjoindre, 14th. c.

DESLIER 'to open, untie, free', 12th. c., Lat. disligare 'to untie', a compound and antonym of ligare 'to tie, bind, fasten'.

DESLOIER 'to untie, free', 12th. c., is an alternative form of desliier (see BW 351a).

DESMEMBRER 'to dismember, hew in pieces', 12th. c., Lat. dismembrare 'to dismember', attested in the 9th. c. (Du Cange) as an alternative form of demembrare. Dis- negates membrare 'to provide with limbs', while demembrare is probably a parasynthetic compound of membrum 'limb' in which de- means 'away'. The form demembrer is found (e.g., G 3309), and may represent Lat. demembrare.

DESPLAIRE 'to displease', 12th. c., Lat. displicere 'to displease', a compound and antonym of placere 'to please', via the recomposed form *displacere.
Also : desplaisance (f.) ; desplaisir (m.).

DESPLOIER 'to unfold, untie', 12th. c., Lat. displicare 'to unfold, explain', a compound and antonym of plicare 'to fold, coil up'.

DIFFICILE (adj.) 'difficult', 1330, Lat. difficilis 'difficult', a compound and antonym of facilis 'easy'.
Also : dificulté (f.), 13th. c., Lat. difficultas.

DISLOCACION (f.) 'dislocation', 1314, Lat. dislocatio 'dislocation', from dislocare 'to separate; put out of place', a compound and antonym of locare 'to place, set, dispose, arrange'. The prefix denotes separation or has a negative function according to the meaning of the compound, but the negative seems to prevail. Latin formerly had delocatio, in which de- meant 'away'.

DISNER 'to dine', 12th. c., is a doublet of desjéuner, see p.161.

DISPARITÉ (f.) 'difference', 14th. c., Lat. disparitas 'difference', derived from dispar 'unequal, unlike, dissimilar', a compound and antonym of par 'equal'.

DISSENSION (f.) 'quarrel, dissension, strife', 12th. c., Lat. dissensio 'disagreement, dissension', from dissentire 'to disagree, differ', a compound of sentire 'to feel' in which the prefix means 'in opposite or different ways', and which is, in consequence, an antonym of consentire 'to agree, accord, harmonize with'.

DISSIMULER 'to conceal, disguise', 14th. c., Lat.
dissimulare 'to dissemble, feign, hide', derived from
dissimilis 'unlike, dissimilar', a compound and antonym of
similis 'like, similar'.
 Also : dissimulacōn (f.), 12th. c., Lat. dissimulatio.

As was the case with compounds in de-, there are some instances of doubtful and incomplete etymologies.

DESPARPAILLIER 'to scatter', 12th. c., represents the Lat. ^{*}disparpallare according to REW 2674a, but BW 218b gives Lat. ^{*}sparpiliare as the etymology of OFr. esparpeillier and It. sparpagliare, which suggests that a Latin compound might have a slightly different form. There seems to be no reason to prefer the prefix di- for the hypothetical Latin compound. Since the idea of separation is already found in the simple form, the prefix could well be de-, in which case it would have an intensive function. This is more likely in a Late Latin compound than the Classical meaning of separation which di- would express in the compound proposed by the REW. In view of this, a better, but equally hypothetical, etymology would be ^{*}desparpiliare. In either case the function of the prefix is intensive.

DESTREINDRE 'to oppress, force, torture, keep in

difficult circumstances, be in need', 12th. c., Lat.

distringere 'to force apart, hinder, molest, occupy, detain, distract, puzzle', a compound of stringere 'to draw, bind tight; rule, hold, grasp; touch lightly; pluck', is the accepted etymology. It must, however, be admitted that the meanings of the Latin and Old French compounds can scarcely be said to correspond exactly, and one is, therefore, tempted to seek another word with more suitable meanings. The simple stringere appears to fit the requirements as far as meanings are concerned, and the reinforced form destringere has the required prefix. Originally destringere meant 'to graze, unsheathe; criticise, censure', but by the 4th. c. it has come to mean 'to bind tightly, punish', while the derivatives destrictus 'severe, rigid' and destrictio 'severity, rigour; asceticism; punishment' show the same trend in meaning. The following examples show that the Old French compound has the meanings of the intensive de- compound rather than those of the separative di- compound :

SB 58.6: mais li bries iors nos destrent; ke nos abreviens nostre sermon.

Lat.: . . . sed dies brevis cogit breviare sermonem.

CB XV.12: Et qui fet contre ces cozes, li sires y doit metre le main et destraindre celi qui le bail tient, a ce qu'il ne le face pas.

4PV 17: Le roy Edouart maintint le siege devant Calais plus de dix mois et tant destraint ceulx de la ville qu'ilz n'avoient que mengier.

PJS 234: Lors son cuer fust d'angoisse tellement destraint, que il ne peust ung seul mot parler.

The view that the prefix has a reinforcing rather than a separative function is supported by the fact that destreindre frequently has the same meaning as Fr. étreindre and contraindre, which represent the Lat. simple stringere and the reinforced constringere. Further, the Old French compound is used to translate both simple and reinforced forms :

2M 2.X.19: . . . e il a ses batailles qui plus le destreignoient ala.

Lat.: . . . ipse ad eas, quae amplius perurgebant, pugnas conversus est.

SB 177.15: destregnanz plus per crimor que per amor a atrahanz.

Lat.: . . . urgens magis timore quam provocans dilectione.

In spite of the above considerations, the etymology of this compound remains uncertain because of the variety of its semantic content.

Also : destrece (f.), 12th. c., Lat. ³⁶de-/districtia ;
destroit (adj., m.), 12th. c., Lat. de-/districtus ;
districtiōn (f.), Lat. de-/districtio.

It has been observed, in Chapter III, that there originated in Late Latin a tendency for dis- to replace de- in some instances where the change of prefix would not alter the meaning of the compound to any great extent. Such changes

of prefix continue to occur in Old French compounds of Latin origin. We have seen, in this present chapter, that considerable numbers of Old French compounds occur in two forms : one with de- and the other with des- (e.g., de(s)fendre, de(s)rompre, de(s)membrer). In some cases this double prefixation is the result of the convergence of two distinct Latin compounds, while in others there is only one Latin compound. Only in the second case can there be any question of a change of prefix. In the following three compounds we have the convergence of two Latin compounds of allied meaning :

DE(S)CROISTRE 'to decrease, grow smaller, make smaller', 12th. c., Lat. decrescere 'to grow smaller, diminish' and discrescere 'to grow out in various directions', compounds of crescere 'to grow'. Both decroistre and descroistre are found, and, in view of the meanings of the Latin compounds, etymologically speaking, the former must be correct, although it seems to be less common. De- has a negative function. Negation is a common function of dis- also, and it is, therefore, conceivable that discrescere came with the passage of time to be regarded as a negative compound, and that the original Classical sense was lost.

Also : descroissance (f.) ; descroissement (m.).

DE(S)METRE 'to lay down, aside, give up; depose', 12th. c., Lat. demittere 'to put down, lower; cause to fall' and dimittere (via the recomposed form dismittere) 'to send different ways, dismiss, discharge', compounds of mittere 'to send'. Both demetre and desmetre are found with the same meaning, as the quotations below will show. In many contexts the meanings of the Latin compounds are so close as to cause no obstacle to the convergence of the two forms.

D III.68.35: Des portes ont les clefs en ses mains mis,
De leurs armes firent ostancion,
Les gouverneurs furent des lors desmis;

CN 16: Adonc fist le roy Jaques de Saint Pol
gouverneur de Flandres, et Raoul de Neelle en fut demiz.

DE(S)PERDRE 'to destroy; lose', 12th. c., Lat. deperdere 'to destroy; lose' and disperdere 'to destroy, ruin', compounds of perdere 'to destroy, ruin, waste, lose'. Both Latin compounds are close in meaning, except that deperdere contains the additional idea 'to lose', and convergence must have been inevitable.

Also : deperdicion (f.), 1314.

This convergence of two Latin compounds results not only in Old French forms with alternative prefixes, but also in compounds corresponding in form to one Latin compound, but in meaning to another. Such are :

DIMINUËR 'to diminish, decrease', 1308, Lat. diminuere 'to break into pieces; violate, outrage', a compound of minuere 'to lessen, diminish'. The Old French clearly has the form of the Latin compound with di-, but its meaning is closer to that of deminuere 'to lessen, diminish'. Confusion of these two compounds started at a relatively early date in Latin.

Also : diminucion (f.), 13th. c., Lat. diminutio, a reading for deminutio.

DESCOLORER 'to lose colour, go pale', 12th. c., Lat. discolorare /-ari 'to change colour', a derivative of discolor 'of another colour', a compound of color 'colour'. The Old French appears to have the form of discolorare, but in meaning it is nearer to decolorare 'to discolour, deprive of natural colour', a derivative of decolor 'faded, discoloured', a compound of color. Once again the meanings of the two compounds are close enough to allow convergence. According to FEW II.923b and BW 173b, descolorer is a parasynthetic compound of Fr. couleur, and was reformed in 1559 as décolorer [but is this really a change of form ?] by analogy with decolorare. Presumably this etymology is adopted because of the discrepancy between 'to lose colour' (descolorer) and 'to change colour' (discolorare).

The above examples illustrate cases where two Latin compounds existed from an early date, but in some cases the change of prefix takes place either very late in Latin or in Old French itself. Since it is very difficult to distinguish between these two types of prefix-change, no attempt has been made to deal with them separately, but some indication of the type will be given under each heading. The change of prefix always takes place in the same direction : from de- to des- (or dis-). Two sorts of compound result : those which are found with the prefix des- only, in which case the change appears to have been complete by the beginning of the Old French period, and those where both prefixes occur. In the latter case, de- is found at an early date, up to and including the twelfth century, though perhaps not to the complete exclusion of des-, while des- appears at a later date and gradually assumes the role of de- which eventually disappears. At the same time the alternative explanation of incorrect spelling, see p. 177, must always be borne in mind.

It is unfortunate that there must be some doubts about the etymologies of these compounds. In most instances there is the possibility of an Old French etymology quite independent of the Latin compound. Indeed the Latin compound is only admissible if we accept the possibility of the prefix-

change in these cases. However, if we reject the Latin etymology in favour of the Old French, we must explain why existing Latin compounds were allowed to fall into disuse when the need for them was great enough to necessitate the creation from the same root of new compounds to take their place. For instance, why allow denudare to become extinct and have to create an Old French form from nuer (nudare), and later recall the Latin in order to form dénuder ? While the theory is not without its difficulties, the prefix-change seems to be the most satisfactory way of explaining a number of Old French forms.

DESDEIGNIER 'to despise, scorn', 12th. c., Lat.
dedignare 'to scorn, despise, disdain', a collateral form of dedignari, a compound of dignari 'to deem worthy'. EWFS 297b and REW 2666 both propose the unattested *disdignare, but it is impossible to say with any certainty whether the change of prefix took place in Latin or Old French ; the former is perhaps the more likely in most cases. Naturally des- + deignier would give the same compound, and there is no evidence of the existence of an OFr. *dedeignier. The negative sense of the prefix would facilitate the change from de- to dis- or des-.
 Also : desdeignos (adj.) ; desdeing (m.) ; desdeignece (f.).

DESFLORER 'to deflower', 12th. c., Lat. deflorare 'to deflower', a parasynthetic compound of Lat. flos, floris 'flower'. Neither Lat. *disflorare nor OFr. *deflorer appears to be attested.

Also : desfloracion (f.), 1314, Lat. defloratio. The form in the text (CHM) is defloration without the -s-.

DE(S)FOIR 'to exhume, dig up; dig', 12th. c., Lat. defodire (earlier defodere) 'to bury, dig down, dig deep; dig up', a compound of fodire, fodere (see BW 260b) 'to dig'. The prefix means 'down' or has an intensive function, while 'to dig up' is a rarer meaning. The usual sense is seen in the following example taken from Horace, Sat. I.i.42 :

quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
furtim defossa timidum deponere terra ?

The situation is reversed in Old French where 'to dig up' is the more usual meaning. The form desfoir may come from a Lat. *disfodere, but it is also possible that it was formed as an antonym of enfoir (OFr.) 'to bury', 11th. c., in which case the change of prefix is from OFr. en- (or Lat. in-) to des-. The two forms may be seen in the following quotations, where they have the meaning etymologically correct for the form of the compound :

RP 661: Mut fist mal de grant manére
Cil ki primes quist minére,
E defuïr fist la terre
Pur or e pur argent querre.

LM II.3211: Elle en orgueil multiplia,
 Son bon mari tost oubliä
 Et le desfouï et pendi.

DE(S)NÜER 'to bare, uncover', 12th. c., Lat. denudare 'to lay bare, uncover, disclose, reveal, plunder', a compound of nudare 'to lay bare, expose'. De- has an intensive function in the Latin compound as in OFr. denüer, which is the earlier correct form. Des- later replaced de- as the more common form of the prefix. The form denuder was created by analogy with Lat. denudare in the 15th. c. It is, of course, impossible that desnüer was formed in Old French as an antonym of nüer.

DESONESTER 'to dishonour os., behave dishonestly', 12th. c., Lat. dehonestare 'to disgrace, dishonour', a derivative of dehonestas 'dishonesty, dishonour', a compound of honestas 'honesty, honour'. De- denotes absence or removal of honour. The Old French compound is not a derivative of desoneste, for the adjective is not attested until the 13th. c. OFr. oneste and onester could be negated by des-, yet a Latin origin is suggested by FEW IV.463a, where we find: "In der gruppe 1 treten alle vier lt. wörter, honestus, -as, -are und dehonestare ins fr. über, . . ." A Lat. ^{*}dishonestare is suggested by the fact that forms such as Sp. deshonestarse, deshonesto, and It. disonesto

exist and seem to be parallel to the Old French.

Also : desoneste (adj.), 13th. c., Lat. dehonestus ;
desonesté (f.), 13th. c., Lat. dehonestas ; desonesteté
 (f.), Lat. dehonestatio.

DESONORER 'to dishonour, discredit os.', 12th. c., Lat.
dehonorare 'to dishonour', a late compound of honorare 'to
 honour' or of honos, honoris 'honour'. This case is very
 similar to that of desonester, and again the Latin etymology
 is suggested by the existence of parallel forms in other
 Romance languages (e.g., Sp. deshonrar and It. disonorare).
 However, we are more fortunate in that dishonorare (for
dehonorare) is attested and found in Du Cange.

Also : desonor (m.), 12th. c., Lat. dishonor, attested 964
 (Du Cange) ; desonorable (adj.), 13th. c.

DE(S)PANER 'to tear', 12th. c., Lat. depanare (7th. c.)
 'to tear', a parasynthetic compound of pannus 'piece of cloth'.
De- is the original form in spite of the fact that both FEW
 and TL accept despaner, and depaner is frequently found in
 early texts (e.g., 4R and G). The possibility of the form
 with des- being of Old French origin remains, for it could
 be parasynthetic, a compound of pan (Roland), though it is
 not likely to be a compound of pan(n)er 'to seize, wipe'.
 Under the circumstances it is not possible to tell whether

we have a case of prefix-change or two verbs of different but related origins and identical meaning.

DE(S)PLUMER 'to pluck', 13th. c., Lat. deplumare 'to pluck', a negative compound of plumare 'to feather' or a parasynthetic compound of pluma 'down, feather'. The form desplumer could be a parasynthetic compound of plume.

DESTOLIR 'to take away', 12th. c., Lat. detollere /-ire 'to take away', a compound of tollere /-ire 'to take away'. The form distollere is found in Late Latin with slightly different meanings, and *distollire could have been formed by analogy with tollire. The prefix is intensive, which would have been impossible if the prefix des- had been used to form a compound of Old French origin.

DESVESTIR 'to divest, undress, remove garment', 12th. c., Lat. devestire 'to undress', a compound of vestire 'to dress, clothe, adorn'. De- has a negative function. REW 2698 proposes (*)disvestire, which is found in Du Cange with the meaning of devestire. Des- could negate OFr. vestir, and thus produce the same form.

In all the compounds examined above, the change of prefix, whether in Latin or French, has not resulted in any

alteration of the meaning of the word. This is because de- meaning 'away' and dis- denoting separation are virtually synonymous, and both de- and dis- have a negative function in some cases. Since dis- had remained strong, while de- lost much of its value, it is not surprising that the former should be preferred, consciously or unconsciously, to the latter in those compounds where they could be exchanged without affecting the meaning of the compound. There is, however, one exception to this generalisation : de(s)nüer. In this compound the prefix is intensive, a function that neither dis- nor des- could have when added to nudare (nüer). In such cases the change from de- to dis- or des- must be made by analogy with other compounds where it is a perfectly natural phenomenon. We have, then, three stages in the evolution of the tendency for des- and dis- to replace de- : in the first, two compounds exist on an equal footing but dis- tends to predominate ; in the second, this tendency leads to the formation of new compounds in dis- giving Old French compounds in des- ; in the third, des- replaces de- because it appears more suitable to express the meaning of the compound than the weakened de-. This is yet another stage in the removal of de- from active service as ~~prefix~~ a prefix used for the creation of new compounds expressing new ideas.

However, although there is no doubt that the sense

of a compound could be better expressed sometimes with the aid of des- rather than of de-, we must ask ourselves, in cases where both prefixes are to be found, whether or not it is merely a question of confused spelling. We saw in Chapter III that the two prefixes could be confused in speaking and writing in Late Latin, and that this confusion, coupled with the similarity of the meanings of the two prefixes, enabled a change of prefix to take place. It appears that similar considerations must be taken into account in Old French, when, in some instances, the s of des- (and of es-) was not pronounced, and de- and des- could have similar pronunciations. The s was then regarded as a sign used to indicate the quality of the preceding e and was, therefore, liable to be inserted in compounds where it had no etymological justification, since the prefix was really de-, not des-.

C. Beaulieux, in a chapter on twelfth century spelling, describes the situation in the following way :

"En syllabe protonique initiale, on avait dans beaucoup de mots un e suivi d's et d'une autre consonne. Cet s était amui déjà quand la consonne qui suivait s, était l, n, m, i (=dj), u (=v), f, b, d, g ; il était encore prononcé devant les consonnes sourdes.

On avait cet e dans une foule de mots commençant en latin classique par sc, sl, sp, st et dans les nombreux

composés de ex et dis. . . .

En syllabe protonique, il n'y avait pas d'allongement, mais l'e qui précédait l's amui était toujours un e moyen ou fermé. L's était donc réduit au rôle de signe diacritique. On ne se rendit pas compte que certains composés comme eslever, eslire ... viennent régulièrement de ex + leuare, legere, et non pas de eleuare, eligere, et l'on crut, quand l's fut amui, qu'il avait été ajouté pour marquer la valeur de l'e précédent. On l'ajouta alors à d'autres mots qui ne l'avaient pas eu primitivement. C'est de cette époque aussi que date la confusion entre les prépositions de et dis: l's n'étant plus prononcé, on écrit indifféremment de ou des les composés de de ou de dis."⁶

Bourciez dates the falling silent of the s of des-even earlier than the twelfth century :

"Le s devant consonne n'a été supprimé graphiquement qu'au milieu du XVIIIe. siècle (3e. édition du Dictionnaire de l'Académie, en 1740), mais en réalité il s'est effacé de bonne heure dans la prononciation française. Cet effacement a eu lieu du reste à des époques diverses, suivant la nature de la consonne qui venait après. A la fin du XIe. siècle, le s ne sonnait déjà que devant les occlusives sourdes: c'est

⁶ Histoire de l'Orthographe Française (Paris, 1927), I, 48-49.

à cette époque que des mots restés en Angleterre feast, tempest, escape, etc., y ont été importés par la conquête normande (cf. au contraire les mots anglais de même origine isle [ayl], blame, efforce, etc.). Cent ans plus tard, on ne faisait guère sentir le s devant aucune consonne dans les parlers français du continent (sauf au Nord-Est, et du côté des Vosges)."⁷

This being so, it would be a mistake to attach too great an importance to the fact that we find spellings such as desduire, desfendre, desrompre, despecier, where the from the purely etymological viewpoint prefix should ----- be de-. The form with the unetymological s would be preferred either because of the confusion and the use of s as a diacritic, or because des- suited the sense of the compound better than de-. The tendency to write des- for de- increases with the passage of time, until, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is very frequent, though both forms still appear. Only when there is no sign whatsoever of the existence in French of the form in de- can we be reasonably sure that a change of prefix has taken place in fact.

⁷ E. Bourciez, Précis Historique de Phonétique Française, 8e. édn. (Paris, 1945), pp. 216-217.

The pre-consonantal s was not the sole cause of confusion between the two prefixes, for in many cases the pronunciations of the two vowel sounds were very similar, or even identical.

We see (M.K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French (M.J.P., 1934), pt. II, ch. 5) that the short i of Clat. dis- became Lat. i and subsequently e. At the same time the long e of Clat. de- became Lat. e, and thus the two prefixes had the same pronunciation in Late Latin. This must have caused some confusion.

In early Old French (9th. to 11th. centuries) some differentiation occurred when free counter-tonic e became e, while it remained e in a blocked position. However the confusion was renewed by the freeing of many vowels by the disappearance of the pre-consonantal s, and even in Middle French there was hesitation between e and e in the counter-tonic syllable.

The similarity of pronunciation of the vowels, together with the insertion of the pre-consonantal s as a mark of a long vowel, caused the two once distinct prefixes to become inseparably confused even to the most discerning scholars of the day.

We have seen that in Old French compounds of Latin origin the Latin meanings and functions of the prefixes are maintained in the vast majority of cases. Some slight shifts of meaning do, in fact, take place, but appear to be isolated cases rather than instances of a definite category of tendency in any direction. It must be remembered that the prefixes in these compounds are no longer active, but rather petrified, as it were, in their Latin state. The only active change is that of des- for de-, but even this change seems to have occurred in Late Latin in a number of cases. This change may come about for semantic reasons, but is encouraged by the confusion in speaking and writing between de- and des- brought about by the dropping of the s. In order to discover the active uses of the prefixes in Old French, we must examine them in compounds created in Old French itself, and it is to this chapter that we give our attention in the next two chapters.

V

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V

COMPOUNDS OF MEDIAEVAL FRENCH ORIGIN : DE-

In the previous chapter we examined compounds created in Latin and handed down into Old French. We have now to consider those compounds formed for the first time in Old French from simple words of Latin or Germanic origin, and to examine the function of the prefix as revealed by quotations drawn from Mediaeval French texts.

Whereas we have hitherto been concerned with establishing the connection between Old French and Latin compounds, we must now relate Old French compounds to Old French simple forms. This presents at least one problem, that of dating both compound and simple forms. Obviously, it is not reasonable to suppose that a compound has been formed from a simple word if there is no evidence of the existence of the simple form until three or four centuries after the compound is first attested. The dates given in etymological dictionaries are not always accurate, and the difficulties arising from the inaccuracies of the dictionaries are increased by the usual discrepancies existing between the written and the spoken language. Difficulties of an etymo-

logical nature which may be traced to problems of dating are comparatively rare except in cases where a compound is attested earlier than the twelfth century. There are so few extant texts of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries that it is quite possible for a simple form to be unattested before the twelfth century, while the compound is found in a text dating from an earlier century. We should not, therefore, reject reasonable etymologies in such circumstances, even when the dating is unsatisfactory, for we may assume that the simple form did exist and may well have been written down in a manuscript since lost. Later, when there are more texts and the chances of any accepted form going unattested are proportionately fewer, such a discrepancy is more serious, and it is necessary to take the precaution of searching for an alternative etymology, though, of course, it may not be possible to find one.

We have seen that de- in Classical Latin had a number of different yet related meanings, but that in the popular speech of the Late Latin period this prefix lost much of its semantic content, and was normally used to reinforce or intensify existing words without changing their sense. Since Old French is the continuation of the popular lingua romana, we must expect to find that the popular tendency for de- to become devoid of meaning is continued

in Old French. This is, in fact, the case. In almost all compounds of Old French origin de- is without semantic content. It has, however, a function, as in Late Latin. That function is generally to reinforce the simple verb and, occasionally, to differentiate between the simple and the compound, while in parasynthetic compounds its function is merely that of enabling a noun or adjective to become a verb with the appropriate meaning. Let us examine the function of de- in greater detail, and, having done so, try to assess its value in Mediaeval French.

In the majority of compounds de- has no semantic content. Compounds are, therefore, in many cases merely fuller forms of the simple verb. Sometimes, however, the meanings of the compound and simple are slightly different, and de- serves to mark this difference, which should not be confused with intensification, for it is usually a case of a slight extension of the meaning of the simple verb.

DEBOTER 'to push, strike, thrust (away)', 12th. c., a compound of boter 'to push, strike', 12th. c. In some cases de- merely reinforces the simple verb :

Ps. CXVII.13: *Estei debuté que je chaïsse, e li Sires sustint mei.*

Lat.: *Impulsus pellebar ut caderem, et Dominus sustentatus est me.*

WR III.2074: Le chaperun li unt oste,
 Mult l'unt enpeint e debute,
 Mult li dunerent colps e buz,
 E li bons hom clinout a tuz.

The compound frequently has the sense 'to thrust away'.

Since 'to push, thrust' already contains the idea of 'away', this is not surprising, and it is not certain whether, in these cases, we should consider the prefix to mean 'away' or to intensify the idea already implied in the simple verb.

Consider :

Ps. LXXXVIII.39: Tu acertes debutas e degetas le,
 iriez ies envers tun crist.

Lat.: Tu autem repulisti et projecisti, iratus es
 adversus christum tuum.

2M 2.XIV.7: e ie fu debotez de l'honor de mes peres.
 Ie di del grant prestraige. si sui venuz a toi . . .

Lat.: Nam et ego defraudatus parentum gloria (dico
 autem summo sacerdotio), huc veni:

4PV 7: . . . et vint à Jacques d'Ardevelle, ung Flamenc
 godalier, que les Flamens, apres ce qu'ilz eurent debouté
 et cachie leur droit seigneur, esleurent à seigneur et
 à conte.

Whether the prefix means 'away' or not, this idea is often found to be expressed by a preposition or an adverb used in conjunction with the compound deboter. 'Away', therefore, may be expressed once, by a preposition or an adverb but not by the prefix, or perhaps twice, by the prefix and by a preposition or an adverb, as in the following cases :

CHM 240: Dont il avient que comme homme menjue et
 veult parler, des lors il tousse continuelment duc'a
 tant que ce qui est entré, soit debouté hors.

VCJB I.221: Ainsy furent les Brabanchons à grands despens durement blechiez, gastez, et départis et déboutez de leur honnour, pour l'orgueil des bonnes villes, . . .

MC II.147: . . . laquelle fille la royne Ysabel, seur dudit roy domp Henry, debouttoit de la succession de Castille, disant que la mere l'avoit conceüe en adultère.

Also : debotement (m.). Debot (m.) 'end', 12th. c., is a compound of bot (m.) 'end; blow', 12th. c., from boter.

DEBRISIER 'to break, tear in pieces', 12th. c., a compound of brisier 'to break', 12th. c. The action denoted by debrisier is perhaps more thorough than that expressed by the simple verb, while both are stronger than casser. This is probably a case of slight intensification :

G 3098: E Reneward le fiert si del tinel,
Tut le debruse, mort l'ad acraventé,
E le cheval li ad par mi colpé.

CF II.1498: . . . et à monsigneur Loeis d'Espagne qui tenoit le siège par devant et avoit si debrisié et defroissié le ville et le fremeté, par les engiens, . .

Ps. XLV.9: Il ad appaisié les batailles desque a la dereineté de la terre, l'arc debruserat, e trencherat la hanste;

Lat.: Compescuit bella usque ad extremum terrae, arcum confringet, et concidet hastam;

AC 97: Et lors pluseur las et debrisié par travail et par amy laissent l'ost;

AOC 5622: Et lors quant son ost a laissie,
Plusours jant las et debrisie
Per travail, per ennuit, per pouine,
Laissent l'ost, . . .

Lat.: Tum fracti labore et taedio plurimi deserunt, . .

DEBROCHIER 'to stab, prick', 13th. c., a compound of brochier 'to put on a spit; spur', 12th. c. The prefix serves to reinforce the simple verb, and the compound denotes slightly different actions from the simple form. The prefix, therefore, distinguishes between the different meanings :

R 1197: Quant l'ot Rollant, Deus! si grant doel en out,
Sun cheval brochet, laiset curre a esforz,
Vait le ferir li quens quanque il pout.

Cl. 3668: L'arrabi broche et esperone,
Et vet desor la targe pointe
An Sesne doner tele anpointe,
De tel vertu, tot sanz mantir,
Qu'al cuer li fet le fer santir.

RCC 28: . . . si venoient chil a qui il avoit meffait,
si le debrocoient et depicoient et feroient, li un de
coutiaus, li autre d'alesnes, li tiers d'espees, . . .

DECHACIER 'to pursue, put to flight, send away', 12th. c., a compound of chacier 'to hunt, pursue, drive out', The idea of 'away' does not seem to be an essential part of the semantic content of either the compound or the simple form, but it may be found in both. The compound and simple forms are virtually synonymous :

WB 5798: Cil n'i ad un Romain laissied
Qu'il n'eit ocis u dechacied.

CF I.41.5: Avint que li rois Robers d'Escoce, qui avoit esté moult preus, et qui moult avoit souffert contre les Engles, et moult de fois avoit esté decaciés et desconfis au tamps le bon roy Edowart, . . .

VCJB I.9: Quant ledit messire Hue vit qu'il avoit fait une partie de ses vountez, . . . , la royne et son ainsné filz hors du royaume déchassé, et qu'il avoit ainsy le roy a sa vounté attrait, . . .

4R 1.XXVI.18: Purquei dechaces si mei, tun serf ?
Que ai fait ?

Lat.: . . . quam ob causam dominus meus persequitur servum suum quid feci . . .

Also : déchacement (m.).

DECHAUCHIER 'to trample, crush', 12th. c., a compound of chauchier 'to press, trample', 12th. c. A form with des- is also found, probably by analogy with the many verbs denoting destruction which have that prefix, but also because of the confusion of de- and des-. The prefix does not alter the meaning of the simple verb, and appears to correspond to con- in the Lat. conculcare. The compound may translate either the Latin simple form or the compound, which indicates that the prefix has merely a reinforcing function :

2M 2.VIII.2: E prioient deu que il regardast son pople qui estoit dech[e]auchez des mescreanz e eust merci del temple qui estoit conchiez des felons . . .

Lat.: Et invocabant Dominum, ut respiceret in populum, qui ab omnibus calcabatur: et misereretur templo, quod contaminabatur ab impiis:

Ps. LV.1: Aiez merci de mei, Deus, kar decalçat mei huem;

Lat.: Miserere mei, Deus, quoniam conculcavit me homo;

DECONOISTRE 'to know, recognize', 12th. c., a compound

of conoistre 'to know, recognize; inform', 11th.c. (Alexis). This compound should not be confused with desconoistre of opposite meaning, see p. 250. The FEW recognizes only the one form desconoistre, but attributes to it both the positive and negative meanings 'ne pas reconnaître, méconnaître' (until ca. 1700) and 'distinguer, reconnaître' (until the 13th. c.). This involves some difficulties in the meaning of the prefix, and the double meaning is explained as follows (FEW II.848b, n. 10) : "Während des- bei den vorangehenden ablt. (meaning 'not to recognize') privative bed. hat, drückt es hier aus, dass man verschiedene personen oder gegenstände erkennend zu trennen vermag." That is to say that in one case the function of des- is negative, but in the other it is separative. The separative function belongs properly to Lat. dis-, and the proposed explanation implies, therefore, the existence of a form *discognoscere. It is surely more satisfactory to adopt the TL spelling as the correct one, in which case de- is the prefix and has a reinforcing function :

SB 99.29: Hui fut assi deconuz per lo tesmoignaige de deu lo pere quant il iai en la dispensation de la char ot pres peraemplit trente ans.

Lat.: Hodie quoque, cum jam triginta ferme in dispensatione carnis egisset annos (. . .), inter populares turbas absconditus, ad Jordanem baptizandus advenit; sed testimonio Dei Patris innotuit.

WB 9824: Ne voldrent estrange hume attraire

Ne d'estrange hume seinnur faire;
 Ainz sereient tuit viel chanu
 Qu'il l'eüssent decuneü;

DEFAILLIR 'to fail, cease, be wanting', 12th. c., a compound of faillir 'to fail', 11th. c. (Alexis). EWFS 298a suggests Grom. *defallire as the origin of the Old French compound, but this view, though not impossible, is supported only by the existence in Du Cange of defauta and defalta, which appear to be confined to Mediaeval Latin. The compound frequently translates Lat. deficere, while the prefix has a reinforcing function. The idea of absence is already implied in the simple faillir, and the compound appears to mean little more than the simple form, as is shown by the examples from AC and AOC :

Ps. XXV.1: Jugiez mei, Deus, kar jeo en la meie simplicité alai, e el Seignur jeo afianz ne defaldrai.

Lat.: Judica me, Deus, quoniam ego in simplicitate mea ambulavi, et in Domino confidens non deficiam.

4R 3.XVII.14: "La farine ne defaldrad ne l'ólie ne avalerad jesque Deu envéit plúie en terre."

Lat.: hydria farinae non deficiet nec lecythus olei minuetur usque ad diem in qua daturus est Dominus pluviam super faciem terrae

SB 23.23: . . . et si nos nos essaions de faire lo bien; tost defaillons.

Lat.: . . . si tentamus facere bonum, deficimus;

AC 79: . . . mais l'espargne est tardive quant on a tout despendu ou quant li avoiers deffaut.

AOC 4383: Mès l'esparne est moult terdive
 Et mult foible et mult chaitive

Quant au gaster out entandu
 Si que l'on a tot despandu
 Et que li avoires est failliz;

Lat.: Ceterum sera parsimonia est tunc sévare, cum deficit.

VOC 34.59: . . . que encore est-il mienz que nos metons
 toz noz avoires ci, que ce que nos perdisiens ce que nos
 i avons mie, et que nos defaillisiens de noz convenances;

TAC 58: E se cil qui est acusez se defaut plus, il
 sofferra la paine as defallanz e li requenoissanz
 sera fez autresi comme se il fust presanz, . . .

Also : defaillance (f.) ; defaille (f.) ; defailllement
 (m.) ; defaut (m.) 'lack, want', 13th. c. ; defaute (f.).

DEFINER 'to end, finish, die', 12th. c., a compound of
finer, fenir 'to end, die', 12th. c. The prefix does not
 seem to add anything to the simple verb, but merely reinforces
 it. This compound is frequently confused with defenir, see
 p. 140, but its derivatives remain unequivocal :

LT 1.XIV.11: . . . car il i a choses en .iii. manieres,
 unes ki sont temporaus lesqués commencent et fenissent,
 les autres sont perpetueles ki commencent mais ne
definient, ce sont li angele et les armes, les autres
 sont sempiternelles ki ne commencent ne ne definient, c'est
 Dieus en sa divinité.

HEH 326.539: Quant li capelains ot son sermon definé,
 et il ot monstre le crois à Nostre Sires rechut, . . .

Ps. XXXVI.37: . . . kar iert al definail al barun pais.

Lat.: . . . quia erit ad extremum viro pax.

R 1434: Dient plusor: 'Ço est li definement,
 La fin del secle ki nus est present.'

The idea of 'down' is as much a part of the simple as of the compound form, and, therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that the prefix means 'down', though of course it may do, and thus reinforce and intensify the simple verb.

DEFORCIER 'to use force to take away, seize, resist', 12th. c., a compound of forcier 'to force, break, violate', 11th. c. In some cases the prefix clearly reinforces the simple verb, and this reinforcement is accompanied by a marked restriction of meaning :

WB 11430: Sa force m'estuet otreier,
Ne li puis mie defforcier.
Jo nel faiz mie de mun gré,

But in other compounds we see the meaning 'to take by force' and the prefix seems to mean 'away' :

TAC 83: . . . aparellié a requenoistre par leur serement se la terre, que B. li deforce a Baieues, est fieuz ou guages engagiez puis le coronement le roi Richart, . . .

TAC 59: Se l'en desforce a aucun l'eritage a son encessor, il se porra plâindre dedanz l'an de l'esforcement;

However, it cannot be said that de- means 'away'. The use of esforcement in the above context suggests that the prefix es- (ex-) has the Latin meaning 'out of', but this is not so, and, in fact, ex- also may have a reinforcing function not unlike that of de-, as is seen in the following example :

WB 13086: Cil des nefz d'ariver s'esforcent, ('strive')
Cil de la terre lur deforcent. ('resist')

This supports the view that deforcier is a reinforced form of the simple, and that 'away' is not an essential part of its semantic content. Further support is given by the fact that the two substantival derivatives both mean simply 'force, violence, use of force'. The action denoted by the compound is 'to use one's force or strength to do something (implied) against the will of the other person(s) concerned'.

Also : deforcement (m.) 'violence, force' ; deforz (m.) 'force'.

DEFRIRE 'to burn, tremble with emotion', 12th. c., a compound of frire 'to fry; shudder, tremble, shake with emotion', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb, without affecting the meaning, though the compound does not appear to have the literal meaning 'to fry'. The prefix would then serve to differentiate, in some cases, between the literal and figurative senses.

WR III.5295: Mult veissiez son cors defrire
E son viaire teindre d'ire;

WR III.3377: Mult veissez Normanz defrire
E dementer de duel e de ire
Del chastel ke refait veeient:

D I.294.20: A paines puet riches homs reposer
Ne bien avoir, tousjours merancolie,
De l'un avoir veult a l'autre tirer, [crie
Tousjours defrit, tousjours brait, tousjours
Que povres est, et ne lui souffist mie:

DEFROISSER 'to shatter, break in pieces', 12th. c., a compound of froisser 'to shatter', 11th. c. The prefix serves to reinforce the simple verb without altering its meaning :

R 2588: Par mains le pendent sur une culumbe,
Entre lur piez a tere le tresturnent,
A grant bastuns le batent e defruisent;

VCJB I.62: . . . et ilz nous povoient bien tous lapider
et défroisser de pierres se nous fussons passez celle
rivière, et si ne poions nullement retourner.

DEGABER 'to mock, make fun of', 12th. c., a compound of gaber 'to joke, mock', 11th. c. (Sponsus). The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning :

L/P 3983:¹ degaber = illudere,

L/P 5038: degaber = ludificare.

DEGASTER 'to ravage, destroy, waste', 12th. c., a compound of gaster 'to ravage, lay waste, lose', 12th. c. This compound was perhaps formed by analogy with Lat. devastare, which gave OFr. devaster, 1339 (BW 184a, 276a). The prefix reinforces the simple verb, but does not appear to alter its meaning, as the following examples show :

Ps. XXX.10: Kar deguastées sunt en plur mes vies, e li mien an en gémissement.

Lat.: Quia consumptae sunt in moerore vitae meae, et anni mei in gemitu.

¹ P = Abauus, MS. Paris.

AC 162: . . . car l'enrouilleüre degaste les cleus de fer par le tens et par l'umeur, . . .

AOC 10317: Car la roille les clos degaste
De fer, l'eve et li tans les taste
Et lor done roil et ordure
Per le maür, . . .

Lat.: . . . nam ferreos claves tepore et umore celeriter robigo consumit, . . .

WR II.698: N'a buef ne charue, ne vilain en aree,
Ne vigne provigniee, ne culture sème,
Mainte iglise i a ia eissillie[e] e gastee;
Se ceste guerre dure, la terre ert degastee.

4PV 150: Lequel ala à son seigneur et chevauca o ses Bretons le long de Normandie, destruisant et gastant la terre du roy de Navarre et entra en Costentin qu'il degasta en partie.

CHM 755: Les navrés es quix ventosation est competente, sont ceux es quix sanc noir engroissié remaint environ la plaie après evacuat~~m~~ions universeilz, le quel sanc ne puet estre vuidié, resolz ne degasté par celes evacuations universels, ne par choses qui soient dessus mises.

DEGUERPIR 'to leave, abandon', 12th. c., a compound of guerp 'to leave', 10th. c. (Passion). The prefix serves to reinforce the simple verb without altering its meaning. Note that deguerp translates both relinquere and derelinquere, and is used in the same way as laisser :

Ps. IX.10: E il s'afierunt en tei ki cuneurent le tuen num; kar tu ne deguerpis les queranz tei, Sire.

Lat.: Et confident in te qui noverunt nomen tuum; quoniam non dereliquisti quaerentes te, Domine.

Ps. XXXVI.8: Lesse ire et deguerpis forsenerie, ne voilles tencer que tu mal faces.

Lat.: Dimitte iram et relinque furorem, noli contendere ut malefacias.

SB 12.32: Coment puissiez vos autrement dewerpir de vostre espoine greit l'amor de vos amins; lo deleit de la char . . .

Lat.: Alioquin quando tibi persuaderi posset charorum affectibus, corporis voluptatibus, . . . sponte abrenuntiare, . . .

WR II.893: Li plusur des Normanz unt Rou fuiant sivi,
Li altre Normant unt le siege deguerpi,

VCC 54.96: "Bel seignor, en Surie ne poez vos rien faire; et si le verroiz bien à cels meismes qui nos ont deguerpi, et sont alé as autres porz.

DEHURTER 'to strike, shake', 12th. c., a compound of hurter 'to strike, knock, bump; spur, prick', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning :

WR III.4026: Entre ses homes fu chaez,
Ne fu dehurtez ne destreez,
Legierement releva sus,
Hardiz fu ainz, mais pois fu plus.

DELAISSIER 'to leave, forsake, abandon, renounce; pardon', 12th. c., a compound of laissier 'to leave', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix reinforces the simple verb, but does not modify its meaning. Both the simple and compound may be used to translate the same Latin word :

Ps. CIV.20: Enveiat li reis e desliad lui, li princes des pueples, e delessad lui.

Lat.: Misit rex et solvit eum, princeps populorum, et dimisit illum.

Ps. XXXVI.8: Lesse ire et deguerpis forsenerie, ne voilles tencer que tu mal faces.

Lat.: Dimitte iram et relinque furorem, noli contendere ut malefacias.

4PV 297: . . . elle descript par certains messages à monseigneur le duc d'Angou qu'elle lui delessoit toute sa terre, maiz ce fut à tort.

CHM 587: . . . les queles .8., s'il sont bien considerees artificiellement et faites sans rien oblir ne delessier des choses qui leur apartiennent, toutes teles plaies seront curees briefment et legierement sans peril.

PJS 33: Et tant d'aultres auctoritez, que treslongue chose seroit a l'escrivre, desquelles ad present je me vueil delaissier, pour venir a mon propos:

Also : delaissement (m.) appears to have a meaning connected with 'to abandon, cease' : sanz delaissement, sine intermissione.

DELAPIDER 'to stone; decry', 13th. c., a compound of lapider 'to stone', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning. The Lat. delapidare means 'to pave; clear of stones' and later 'to destroy (a building) stone by stone', yet it is translated, probably in error, by the Old French compound in L/Aalma 2824. The form dilapider, delapider 'to squander', 13th. c., as in L/V 2128² where dilapider is used to translate dilapidare.

DEMANGLIER 'to swallow, eat, gnaw', 13th. c., a compound of mangier 'to eat', 12th. c. In the 13th. c. the meaning of

² V = Abauus, MS. Vatican.

the compound does not appear to have been different from that of the simple verb, and the prefix must merely have reinforced the latter, as is shown in the following context :

AC 163: . . . mais cele qui est tranchie es autres
jours, li ver le menjuent par dedens, . . .

AOC 10344: Mès icele qui est tranchie
Es autres jors est demengie
Per vers et torne en porriture

Lat.: . . . reliquis autem diebus praecisa etiam eodem
anno interna vermium labe exesa in pulverem vertitur, . . .

By the 15th. c. the modern sense of the compound has appeared. The function of the prefix remains the same, and in addition de- serves to differentiate between the simple and the compound which has undergone a slight change of meaning :

F IX.91: Gaultier, vous ne me gratez pas,
Où me demengue.

DEMA(N)GLER 'to torture, mutilate', 13th. c., a compound of mangler 'to mutilate, cripple', 13th. c. This compound is rare enough to have escaped inclusion in either G or TL, but seems to be a reinforced form of the simple verb. It is used to translate cruciare :

PP 683: E surketut mals lur feseint
Les debles ke entre eus esteint,
Ke del lur cros les demaglerent
Char e nerfs lur depecerent.

Lat.: Demones inter et super eos transibant et eos
cedebant et cruciabant.

PP 726: Peine mult grant lur feseit
U vent ki fu bruillant esteit
E les debles ke entre eus erent

Ke de lurs cros les demaglerent.

Lat.: Et vente frigido et urente flagrisque demonum cruciabantur.

DEMARCHIER 'to trample, crush', 12th. c., a compound of marcher 'to trample', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning. The compound is found in L/Aalma 1139 as a translation of calcare, and in Ps. of contere :

Ps. LXXXII.4: Il distrent: Venez e si demarchuns eals de gent, e ne seit jamais memorie del num d'Israel.

Lat.: Dixerunt: Venite, et conteramus eos de gente, et non sit memoria nominis Israel ultra.

Ps. CXLIV.21: Li Sires guarded tuz ses amand, e tuz les feluns demarcherad.

Lat.: Custodit Dominus omnes diligentes se, et universos impios conteret.

DEMENER 'to lead, behave, do, carry on, show (emotion), live', 11th. c. (Alexis), a compound of mener 'to lead', 10th. c. (Passion). The prefix reinforces the simple verb, but does not appear to alter its meaning to any great extent. Both compound and simple forms have a very general meaning which varies according to the complement of the verb. It is very difficult to decide whether or not demener has a slightly wider meaning than mener. In Old French this compound is used where Modern French would employ the simple form. For instance in Old French demener une vie seems to be more

frequent than mener une vie, whereas in Modern French the simple form is used in the same expression. Occasionally demener has the literal meaning 'to lead' and may be used to translate deducere, while in some instances it is very close in meaning to OFr. deduire where the prefix has a predominantly reinforcing function. The great breadth of meaning attached to demener may be seen in the following examples :

Ps. XXVI.13: Mustre a mei, Sire, la tue veie, e
demeine mei en dreite sente pur mes agueiteürs.

Lat.: Ostende mihi, Domine, viam tuam, et deduc me in
semita recta propter insidiatores meos.

Br. 1308: Tu ne veiz rien~~de~~ ma peine
Que enz en enfern jo demaine;

Lat.: Hic autem penas non patior;

2M 2.XI.8: . . . si apparut un chevalier au devant eaus
alanz qui avoit vesture blanche e avoit armes dorees
e demenoit sa lance.

Lat.: . . . apparuit praecedens eos eques in veste
candida, armis aureis hastam vibrans.

SS 758: Si vus avez dunc le voleir
En ceo pur vus deliter,
Itele vie au plus demenez
Treis jurs ou katre,

Lat.: Si tu igitur in talibus volueris delectari; ad
ad plus persevera in tali vita tribus diebus vel
quatuor, . . .

VSA 104: Quant il ço sourent qued il fud si alet,
ço fut granz dols quet il unt demenet
e granz deplains par tuta la citiet.

R 525: Il est mult vielz, si ad sun tens usét,
Men escient dous cens anz ad passét;

Par tantes teres ad sun cors demenéd,

WB 3493: Tant demena Argal tel vie
E tant dura sa felonie
Que li noble home s'assemblerent
E de la terre le jeterent.

WR III.7355: Mult les veïssiez demener,
Treper e saillir e chanter.

CHM 1170: La .3. maniere: soit mis le pacient envers
en un baing, ausi com en pendant par les piès et par
les mains, et soit demené aucun poi, en tel maniere que
l'eau n'atouce la plaie.

CF I.17.10: Quant li rois Charles eut oy et entendu les
complaintes de sa suer, et comment elle estoit demenée
par le fait dou Despensier, si en eut grant pitié et le
reconforta moult doucement . . .

MC I.221: Tant fut demené le mariage dont j'ay parlé
cy dessus dudict duc de Guyenne et de la fille du duc
de Bourgogne, qu'il s'en feït quelque promesse de
bouche, et encores quelque mot de lettres.

FV 1596: Quant viennent gens, je cours et happe ung pot,
Au vin m'en voys, sans demener grant bruit;

Also : demenement (m.).

DEMUCIER 'to hide', 12 th. c., a compound of mucier 'to
hide', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb
without altering its meaning :

WR II.2077: Mult s'ala par la vile la nuvele espeissant,
Que li reis tint Richart si l'alout demucant;

WB 14309: Le jor s'est alé demucant,
Entre les povres tresturnant,
La nuit issi de la cité
Tut suavet e a celé,
De la cuntree s'esluina.

Ps. XXXIII.20: Li Sires garde tuz les oz de lui; un de ceals ne serat depeciet.

Lat.: Dominus custodit omnia ossa ejus; unum ex his non confringetur.

2M 1.I.66: E ne voustrent depescier la loi de deu. e furent oscis.

Lat.: Et noluerunt infringere legem Dei sanctam, et trucidati sunt:

SS 1122: Dunt il depecerent covenant
Des choses establiz devant
Al profit e sauveté de gent

Lat.: . . . frangentes federa stabilita ad salutem
humani generis et utilitatem.

Ap. XVI.19: & la grant cite est despecée en trois parties, & les citez des genz cheïrent.

Lat.: Et facta est civitas magna in tres partes et civitates gentium ceciderunt, . . .

R 3880: Par grant vertut vait ferir l'uns li altre,
Tuz lur escuz i fruissent e esquassent,
Lur osbercs rumpent e lur cengles depiecent,
Les alves turnent, les seles cheent a tere.

EE 5791: Mes por neant vos esmaiez
jusqu'a itant que vos voiez
que mes escuz iert depeciez
et ge dedanz le cors blechiez,

CB XVIII.18: Car uns chevaliers prist une feme, et quant il orent esté grant piece ensanlle, tant qu'il orent enfans, li mariages fu après acusés et fu depeciés et fu tenus por malvès par le jugement de sainte Eglise, . . .

4PV 331: maiz les Anglois ne vouldrent qu'il passast la mer, et pou s'en fallut que le traictié ne fut depecié.

HSL 342.625: . . . par quoy nous doutons que quant vostre neis venra en la haute mer, que elle ne puisse souffrir les cos des ondes, qu'elle ne se despiesce.

MC I.31: . . . et luy, fort sanglant, se retira à eulx comme au millieu du camp, et estoit l'enseigne du bastard de Bourgogne toute despecée, tellement qu'elle n'avoit pas ung pied de longueur, . . .

Also : depecement (m.).

DEPIQUER 'to prick, stab', 13th. c., a compound of piquer 'to prick, pierce with a sharp point', 13th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning :

ROC 28: . . . si venoit chil a qui il avoit meffait, si le debrocoient et depicoient et feroient, li un de coutiaus, li autre d'alesnes, li tiers d'espees, . . .

DEPOPLER 'to make known, publish', 13th. c., a compound of popler, puepler 'to make known', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning :

SS 466: Ke en bone fame en verité
Seit sun nun despeoplé,

Lat.: . . . ut fama sui nominis divulgetur in laudabili sapiencia, . . .

It is unusual to find the prefix des- in a verb of such positive sense, but it may have replaced the normal de- by analogy with other verbs of distribution, or it may be the result of the insertion of an unetymological s.

DEROCHIER 'to stone, damage (a building)', 12th. c., a compound of rochier 'to stone', 12th. c. This compound should not be confused with desrochier, see p. 335. The

prefix serves to reinforce the simple verb without altering its meaning :

4R 2.XVI.13: . . . sil maldiseit, sil derochouît é
puldre jetouît sur els.

Lat.: . . . maledicens, et mittens lapides adversum
eum terramque spargens.

DETAILLIER 'to hack, cut up, to pieces', 12th. c., a compound of taillier 'to split, cut', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix reinforces the simple verb, the meaning of which is not altered, but may perhaps be intensified in some cases :

EE 962: Molt ont lor haubers desmailliez
et les escus si detailliez
qu'il n'ont tant d'antier, sanz mantir,
dont il se puissent recovrir,
tuit se fierent a descovert:

CF II.152.17: Et les gens d'armes qui venoient après
ces arciens en occisent aucuns, et abatirent ce grant
engien, et le detaillièrent tout par pièces.

DETIRER 'to tug, pull, pull about', 12th. c., a compound of tirer 'to pull', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb, and in some cases there appears to be some intensification, giving the compound the meaning 'to pull violently'. The compound also has an ill-defined meaning referring to personal appearance, perhaps 'unkempt' (past participle) :

Br. 1227: Mult ert pelfiz et detirez,
Delacherez et descirez;

Lat.: . . . homo . . . qui nudus et incomptus, et
figura miseranda dilaceratus, . . .

D IX.282.8717: Ja n'iert saiges homs mal vestuz,
 Mais uns cocars, uns malostruz,
 Uns paillars ou une paillarde,
 Ja nulz d'eux gaillars ne gaillarde
 Ne seront fors que detirez,
 Desrompuz et deffigurez.

Br. 954: A denz tant fort la detirat
 Que en tres meitez la descirat;

Lat.: Nec mirum, quia acumine dentium in tres partes
distraxit.

WR III.4168: Cil quis enchaucent nes manaient,
 Mult les detirent e detraient,
 En Ogne en ont tant trebuche
 E tant ocis et tant neie,
 Que li molin de Borbeillon
 En estanchierent, . . .

EE 3774: Li uns l'autre sache et detire,
 que de rien ne s'antr'espargnoient.

DETORDRE 'to twist, wring (hands); torture', 12th. c.,
 a compound of tordre 'to twist', 12th. c. The prefix
 reinforces the simple verb without altering its meaning.
 The compound is frequently used to denote agitated motions
 of grief, as in the following contexts :

R 772: Li empereres en tint sun chef enbrunc,
 Si dūist sa barbe e detoerst sun gernun,
 Ne poet muer que oilz ne plurt.

WR I.584: Les braz estent, les puinz detort,
 Chascuns kil veit dist qu'il seit mort.

DETRAÏNER 'to draw, pull', 12th. c., a compound of
traïner 'to draw, drag, pull', 12th. c. It is not impossible
 for detraïner to represent the Lat. deträhere, via ^{*}detragere

and*detraginare (cf. trainer, BW 613a), but if this is the case, de- has lost the locative sense it had in the Latin compound :

FV 477: 'Sy ne me sceust tant detrayner,
Fouler aux piez, que ne l'aymasse;

Compare the above example with the Latin use :

. . . scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod
ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit . . .
(Caesar, Bellum Gallicum, II, 25.)

DETRIBLER 'to smash, crush', 12th. c., a compound of
tribler 'to grind, crush', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces
the simple verb without altering its meaning. The compound
often translates Lat. contere :

Ps. IX.36: Detrible le braz del felun e del maligne;
Lat.: Contere brachium impii et maligni;

Ps. CXXIII.7: . . . li laz est detriblet, et nus
delivret sumes.

Lat.: . . . laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati
sumus.

DEVANCIER, DEVANCIR 'to precede, arrive before', 12th.
c. This compound is probably a derivative of avancier,
avancir 'to increase, further, advance', 12th. c. The change
of prefix no doubt took place by analogy with avant/devant.
It has brought about a slight change of meaning :

WB 9377: Par une veie qu'il saveit
D'aler a Toteneis plus dreit
Cheldric e sa gent devanci;

LT 1.XV.16: Mais li cors a .v. autres sens, veoir, oïr, odorier, gouster, touchier. Et si come li uns devancist l'autre par honorableté de son estage, tout autresi devancist il l'un de l'autre de vertu.

LT 1.X.14: Cele matire de quoi ces choses furent formees les desvance de naissance, non mie de tens, autresi comme li sons devant le chant;

Also : devancier (m.) 'predecessor'.

DEVËER 'to forbid, prevent, refuse', 12th. c., a compound of vëer 'to forbid, refuse', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple verb, but does not alter the sense. The compound usually translates prohibuere (L/P 6845, /Aalma 9770) :

Ps. LXXXIII.11: Kar soleilz e escut mes Deus, grace e glorie durrat li Sires, ne deveerad bien ad ices ki vunt en perfection.

Lat.: Quia sol et scutum Deus meus, gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus, nec prohibebit bonum ab his qui ambulant in perfectione.

WR III.9319: Io devie a toz e defent
De par Ihesu omnipotent
E par l'apostoile de Rome
- Nel pois veer de plus haut home -
Que vos Guilleme n'enterrez
El lieu ou metre le devez,

CB XXIV.14: . . . et aussi maint aaisement commun et qui sieent es lix communs, fes et establis de lonc tans, ne doivent estre deveés à nului.

4PV 263: Maiz comme les François cuiderent prendre port, le conte d'Arundelle et monseigneur Robert Canole, à bien huit cens hommes d'armes et bien plus de deux mille Anglois, furent au port et leur deveerent le descendre.

Also : deveable (adj.) 'forbidden' ; deveement (m.).

D II.340.160: Gieus de dez et de merelles
 Vous soit toudis deveables.

The above examination of Old French compounds with de- is sufficient to show clearly that, in the vast majority of cases, the prefix serves to reinforce the simple verb without making significant alterations to its meaning. However, we have already seen that in some instances the prefixation may be accompanied by a not unimportant semantic shift, as, for instance, in the case of devancier, devancir. This is not an isolated case, for a similar semantic shift accompanies prefixation with de- in other verbs, four of which are examined below. As may be expected with a prefix having as little meaning as de-, the semantic shift is normally only slight.

DEFAUTRER 'to crush, trample', 12th. c., a compound of fautrer 'to beat, strike', 12th. c. The meaning has changed from the simple 'to strike' to the compound 'to crush'. It is very difficult to decide whether a shift of this nature, in which the difference is so slight and the connection so direct, is really a semantic shift or merely an intensified form of the original meaning. The following example shows that the compound means 'to crush' rather than

'to strike', and that it is considered to be stronger than the simple chauchier, since it is used to render the intensified form conculcare :

Ps. XC.13: Sur le serpent e le basilisc calcheras, tu defaltreras le liun e le dragun.

Lat.: Super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem.

DELAIER 'to hinder, delay, defer, neglect', 12th. c., a compound of laiier 'to leave', 12th. c., a collateral form of laissier 'to leave'. This compound may sometimes mean 'to leave', in which case it is merely a reinforced form of the simple verb :

WR II.2220: Des que li quens se offre tut a deraisnier,
Bien le poez sanz faille souffrir e delaier.

Nevertheless its meaning is usually 'to delay', which represents a slight shift of meaning from 'to leave', which is not far from 'to defer, neglect', and hence from 'to delay, hinder'.

EE 742: Erec ne volt plus delaier:
or s'an va, delez lui an coste
an mainne la fille son oste;

TAC 72: Quant fame est vueve, se elle est emplediee de son heritage, elle avra terme des respondre jusqu'a j. an e un jor, se elle n'a garant qui la puisse desfendre e elle veult delaier le plet.

HSL 100.184: A ce flum passer envia li soudans cinq cens de ses chevaliers, les miex montez que il pot trouver en tout son host, pour hardier l'ost le roy, pour delaier nostre alée.

The connection between the prefix and the shift of meaning

is not clear unless we assume that de- reinforces the simple form and that the reinforcement is accompanied by an extension of meaning. It is significant that one of the senses of the Lat. laxare (whence laissier) is 'to defer' or 'to prolong'. Since laiier and laissier are closely related, it is not impossible that delaiier might express the extended meaning which in Latin is retained by the simple form. In this case the extended meaning has been applied to the prefixed form, and the prefix serves to distinguish the meaning 'to leave' from 'to delay'. The derivatives of delaiier are all connected with the sense 'to delay'.

Also : delai (m.) ; delaiement (m.).

DEPESTRIR 'to trample', 12th. c., a compound of pestrir 'to knead', 12th. c. This compound is similar to defautrer in that the change of meaning may be the result of a significant intensification of the simple verb by the prefix. On the other hand, the shift could be the result of the prefixation, in that the compound with de- could be a colourful metaphor created from the literal simple verb by the addition of the prefix. In this case the prefix serves to differentiate between the everyday literal sense of the simple form and the more emphatic metaphor :

WR III.4021: De la sele l'ont desaers,
Chaeir le firent tot envers;

As chevals fu tot depestriz,
E illoc fu por mort guerpiz.

DERAISNIER 'to explain, prove, contest, argue the case, defend os.', 12th. c., a compound of raisnier 'to talk, speak', 12th. c. In this instance the prefixation seems to have been accompanied by semantic restriction. The simple form has a very general meaning, while the meaning of the compound denotes, initially, the same action in a restricted field and for a special purpose. Later the meaning was extended to cover other manners of settling arguments than by talking. Once again, it does not appear to be the prefix that decides the exact direction in which the semantic shift takes place. The prefix still has no semantic content, but serves to differentiate between the meanings of the simple and compound forms. The compound is frequently found with the prefix des-. The reason for this is not easy to see in view of the positive sense of the compound, unless it is regarded as yet another case of the use of s as a diacritic, although the idea of defending oneself against an accusation could possibly be regarded as the negating of the charge, and, therefore, of the idea expressed by raisnier.

WR III.855: Tant i a prevoz e bedaus
E tanz bailiz, viels e nuvels,
Ne poent avoir pais une hure,
Tantes choses lur mettent sure,
Dunt ne se poent derainier.

WR II.2219: Des que li quens se offre tut a deraisnier,
 Bien le poez sanz faille suffrir e delaier.

WB 5837: Car se il Cunan eritout
 E sa fille aillurs mariout,
 Sis mariz desraisnier vuldreit,
 Qui l'erité aveir devreit.

EE 55: n'i a nule qui n'ait ami
 chevalier vaillant et hardi,
 don chascuns desresnier voldroit,
 ou fust a tort ou fust a droit
 que cele qui li atalante,
 est la plus bele et la plus gente.

TAC 50: Cil qui est restez e respont mot a mot a
 chascune parole e osfre a desrenier s'en, est bons
 pledierres;

Also : deraisne (mf.) ; deraisnement (m.).

Semantic shift is not the only change which may accompany prefixation with de-. In some instances the reinforcement of the simple form may be accompanied by an intensification of the meaning. In compounds hitherto considered, detaillier and detirer for instance, this intensification has not been very clearly defined, but, in the cases examined below, there seems to be some definite intensification of the meaning of the simple verb. As was pointed out in the preceding section, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between semantic shift and genuine intensification.

DECASSER 'to smash, shatter', 12th. c., a compound of casser 'to break', 11th. c. The action denoted by the

compound appears to be more violent and more complete than that expressed by the simple verb. The compound translates the intensive concutere :

Ps. XLV.6: Conturbées sunt les genz, dequaissié sunt li regnes;

Lat.: Conturbatae sunt gentes, concussa sunt regna;

Ps. XLV.2: Pur ceo ne crendrums cum serat translâtée la terre, e dequassé li munt el quer de la mer.

Lat.: Ideo non timebimus cum fuerit translata terra, et concussi montes in corde maris.

LT 1.CV.36: . . . il convient a fine force, se cele terre est foible, par la force de celui debatement rompe et dequasse, si ke li airs s'en isse hors.

In this last example, dequasser seems to express a more violent and more complete action than rompre ; rompre denotes the initial break and dequasser the complete bursting asunder of the ground by the pressure of pent up air. In the quotations from Ps., the compound denotes complete annihilation.

DECOPER 'to cut up, cut to pieces, massacre', 12th. c., a compound of coper 'to strike, cut', 12th. c. The compound usually denotes an action which is much more thorough than that expressed by the simple verb :

4R 1.VI.14: Une grant pierre fud en la place, é vindrent cil é decolperent le char é des vaches firent sacrefise á Deu.

Lat.: . . . erat autem ibi lapis magnus et conciderunt ligna plaustri vaccasque inposuerunt super ea holocaustum Domino.

2M 2.VII.7: Lors li demanderent si il mangeroit devant
co que il fust decoupez membre e membre.

Lat.: . . . interrogabant, si manducaret prius quam
toto corpore per membra singula puniretur.

RCC 39: . . . et tiroit se barbe et deschiroit ses
caveax de duel, qu'il veoit se gent decauper devant
lui, ne ne leur pooit aidier.

CF I.35.10: Apriès, quant li dis messires Hues fu ensi
atournés, comme dit est, on li coppa le teste, et fu
envoiee en le chité de Londres; et puis fu il decopés
en quatre quartiers.

The last example gives a clear illustration of the difference between the simple and the compound form. The prefix may serve to intensify the meaning in another way, as is revealed in the following quotation, where the compound means 'to cut short, cut down' rather than 'to cut up, cut to pieces':

F XVI.491: Aussi vault mieulx la couverture,
Quant il fait froit, d'ung long habit
Que d'ung qui est si tres petit,
Ne que de robe decoupée.

DEGLAIVIIER 'to put to the sword, massacre', 12th. c.,
a compound of glaivier, glavoier 'to pierce with a sword',
12th. c. Once again, the action denoted by the compound seems
to be more thorough and more complete than that expressed by
the simple form. The derivative of this compound supports
this view :

WB 8527: E li Bretun les deglaigoent
Ki tuz senz armes le truvoent;

Percent ventres, percent corailles,
Traient bueles e entrailles.

WB 8514: Dunc veïssiez grant tueïz
E merveillus deglageïz,
Ventres percier, piz enfundrer,
Testes e piez e puinz voler.

Also : deglaveïz (m.) 'massacre by the sword'.

When discussing de- in Latin, in Chapter II, we noted that, in some rare instances, prefixation with de- could change an intransitive simple verb into a transitive compound. The same phenomenon may be observed in Old French, though it appears to occur as rarely in that language as in Latin. In view of the rarity of such cases, there is no justification for supposing that it has ever been the function of de- to form a transitive compound from an intransitive simple verb in Old French. Nevertheless the following two compounds are of interest :

DECRACHIER 'to spit upon', 13th. c., a compound of crachier 'to spit', 12th. c. According to TL the simple form is used transitively only when it means 'to spit out' (e.g., cracher sang), but in G II we find an example of crachier meaning 'to spit upon'. This evidence suggests that the transitive use of the simple form, except in the special sense 'to spit out', is very rare in Old French, and it is noteworthy that Modern French cracher cannot mean 'to

spit upon'. However, the compound is clearly transitive, as the following examples show :

D I.275.24: Par Dieu qui pour nous fut batus,
Par le Dieu que l'en decracha,
Par le Dieu qui nous rachata
Fut completee la prophecie,

L/E 43:⁴ decrachier = conspuere

DERACHIER 'to spit upon', 13th. c., a compound of rachier 'to spit', 12th. c. In view of the fact that the simple form is not dealt with in either TL or G it is not possible to say with any certainty whether or not rachier could be used transitively in Old French. The close connections of this verb with crachier suggest that it would be exclusively intransitive, yet the compound form is clearly transitive, and translates the Lat. conspuere.

SB 38.33: ki soffret totes necessiteiz k'altres enfes soffret. cuy om bat. cuy om derachet. cui om crucifiet. cuy om met el sepulcre. et cuy om enclot entre dous pieres ?

Lat.: . . . qui omnium infantilium necessitatum injurias patitur, qui flagellatur, qui conspuitur, qui crucifigitur, qui ponitur in sepulcro, et inter duos lapides concluditur, . . .

In view of the similarity of derachier to decrachier, we are tempted to think that it might be scribal error for this compound. Had derachier occurred in a single text only, there

⁴ E = Abauus, MS. Evreux.

would have been some justification for this view, however TL mentions four different texts in which it may be found, and this appears to preclude the possibility of any scribal error.

In the great majority of cases de- is added to a verb, but it may also be used to form a compound verb from a noun or adjective, usually parasynthetically. In parasynthetic compounds no definite meaning or function may be ascribed to the prefix. In many cases it appears to be used only to enable a verb to be formed from the noun or adjective. It rarely has any semantic content, and it would appear to be a mistake to try to give de- any real meaning in parasynthetic compounds, for those cases where an appropriate meaning can be discerned may be regarded as coincidences. The prefix does not appear to have any direct influence upon the meaning of the compound verb, and the semantic connection between the compound and its root is often vague.

DEBITER 'to cut up a tree trunk; retail', 1387, a compound formed from bitte 'plank, timber for building', 1382. According to the FEW the original meaning of debiter is "den Bitte genannten Balken aus dem rohen Baumstamm heraus-schneiden", but in 1464 it is found meaning 'to cut up in order to sell piece by piece, retail'. The basic idea, then, is of making bittes, and de- must be used, along with the

verbal suffix, to form a verb from bitte, the finished product of the action denoted by the compound. Compare the Eng. to log up, where the product of the action is denoted by log, while up has none of its locative sense, but appears to have an intensive function as in to cut, tear, check up. A simple verb bitter 'to wind on' and its antonym débitter 'to unwind' are found in the 17th. c., but are derived from a restricted meaning of bitte 'bollard, capstan'. The secondary meaning of the Mediaeval French compound is merely an extension of the primary meaning, and has become more common than it :

CKB: Ung marchand deit congnoistre et debiter sa
marchandise sans frauder autrui plus que vouldroit estre.

DEBOISSIER 'to carve in wood', 12th. c., a parasynthetic compound of bois 'wood', 12th. c. In this compound the noun does not denote the product of the action but its starting-point, and de- could, therefore, be regarded as meaning 'away', though it is uncertain if the prefix can ever have this shade of meaning in Latin. In spite of the unusualness of having a Latin meaning in an Old French compound, it is hard to find any other interpretation of the role of de- in deboissier than that it denotes that the object of the compound is made from, or out of, wood ; yet it could be argued that this idea is already expressed by the stem bois, and that de- in

fact adds nothing to the semantic content of the stem. In this case de- would merely reinforce the change of part of speech already indicated by the verbal suffix. One must also consider the possibility, however remote, that the compound is not the product of prefixation but of agglutination of de bois '(made) of wood'.

Cl. 5315: Un mestre ai que j'en vuel proier,
Qui mervoilles taille et deboisse;

Cl. 5318: N'est terre ou l'en ne le conoisse
Par les oevres que il a feites,
Et deboissiees et portreites;

Although the compound is found only in Cl. of the texts consulted, TL shows that the word was far from uncommon in the 12th. c.

DECERVELE 'to brain', 13th. c., a parasynthetic compound of cervelle 'brain', 12th. c. In this compound also de- could be interpreted as meaning 'away' (i.e., denoting the removal of the brain), but this is essentially a Latin meaning, and there does not appear to be any Latin compound after which the Old French could have been modelled. Alternatively this compound could perhaps have been formed by change of prefix from escerveler, 12th. to 17th. c., or acerveler, 12th. to 13th. c., both of which have the same meaning as decerveler, which lived until the 16th. c. It is not clear why such a change should have taken place, for,

unless we accept 'away' as the meaning of the prefix, de- is less suitable than es- or a- to express the meaning of the compound. Finally, it would be possible to regard de- as having no semantic content, in which case the sense of the compound would be borne by the stem alone, while -er would indicate that the compound is a verb, and de- would merely reinforce the suffix (cf., Eng. to brain, where the sense is expressed without the aid of a prefix).

S IX.31: Et, meschans folz desservellez,
 Je suis vostre mere Bobance,
 Que veulx assembler ma puissance
 De folz a troupeaux et a tas.

DEGOISIER 'to sing, twitter, chatter', 13th. c., a compound of gosier, gosillier 'throat', 13th. c. This compound is not strictly parasynthetic, for the ending of the stem is used as the verbal suffix. The prefix may be regarded as meaning 'out of', but, once again, it seems more likely that the semantic content of the compound is contained in the stem, while the prefix serves to denote the change of part of speech and the necessary semantic shift undergone by gosier.

The texts consulted contain no context sufficiently revealing to be worthy of inclusion.

DEVIER 'to die, kill', 12th. c., a parasynthetic compound of vie 'life', 10th. c. König, in his index (p.115),

proposes Lat. deviare 'to turn aside, deviate', via 'way', as the etymology of this compound, and is justified in searching for a possible Latin etymology by the fact that 'away' seems to be the only meaning attributable to de- in this compound. Unfortunately Lat. via gives OFr. voie, and there is no evidence to suggest that the Latin compound ever had a meaning in any way similar to the Old French. Further, the meaning 'to kill' is transitive, but deviare is intransitive. The form desvier is occasionally found, and indeed des- would seem to be more logical, but the form devier is more usual, especially in early compounds, and we may assume that des- was used by analogy with other negative verbs or with desvoier, rather than in error.

Cl.4270: "Dame, mes peres me pria,
Quant il morut et devia,
Que por rien nule ne leissasse
Que je an Bretaigne n'alasse,
Tantost con chevaliers seroie;

LT l.XXIV.29: Lors fu il navrés d'une saiete dont il morut a la fin; mais avant k'il fust deviés et k'il avoit tenu son regne .xlii. ans, Thares, li fiz Nacor de la lignie Sem le fiz Noé, engendra .iii. fuis, . . .

FV 986: Deux estions et n'avions qu'ung cuer;
S'il est mort, force est que devie,
Voire, ou que je vive sans vie
Comme les images, par cuer,
Mort !

DEVILER 'to insult, despise, disdain', 12th. c., a parasynthetic compound of vil 'low, mean', 12th. c. In

this compound the meaning is borne by the stem, while the verbal suffix indicates the change in part of speech. The prefix is devoid of semantic content, and apparently serves only to assist in the formation of a verb from the adjective. Another parallel compound avilir is first attested in 1350, while the simple form viler is later still.

WR II.1463: Asez m'as laidengie, asez m'as devile,
Ja m'i verras ferir cumę hume desve;

A number of compound adverbs and prepositions were formed with de- in Old French. In most cases the function of the prefix is simply that of reinforcing the existing adverb or preposition without altering its meaning to any great extent. However, not all the compounds are easily analysed, and it is in this group that we find the discrepancies in dating mentioned in the introduction to this chapter.

DALEZ, DELEZ (adv., prep.) 'near, beside', 12th. c., a compound of lez 'beside', 11th. c. The prefix clearly reinforces the simple form without altering its meaning. Lez is a noun 'side' and preposition, but the addition of de- makes it into an adverb as well.

VCC 122.212: Et delez aus seoit l'empereris qui ere
fame al pere et marastre al fil, . . .

HSL 396.728: Li roys lour acheta une maison et vieilles
places entour pour aus herbergier, delez la vieille
porte dou Temple à Paris, . . .

EE 742: Erec ne volt plus delaier:
 or s'en va, delez lui an coste
 mainne la fille son oste;

D'une chanbrete iqui dalez
 Oï ovrir un huis estroit
 Que que il iert an cel destroit.
 (Yvain, ed. Foerster, 970.)

DEBOT (adv.) 'end to end; on end, standing', 12th. c.,
 a compound of bot 'blow, end', 12th. c. This compound
 should not be confused with debot, de bot 'immediately;
 beside', 13th. c. Debot may have been formed by the agglut-
 ination of an expression such as de bot 'on end', or by the
 addition of the prefix by analogy with other adverbs and
 prepositions. The function of the prefix is to form an
 adverb from the noun, unless we accept the hypothesis of
 of formation by agglutination.

MC I.55: Le duc de Berry, frère du roy, presidoyt,
 assis en chaire, et tous les autres seigneurs debout.

MC I.73: . . . et noz chevaucheurs, qui s'estoient
 fort approchez de Paris, veoient plusieurs chevaucheurs
 et, bien loing oultre, veoient grant quantité de lances
debout;

DECOSTE (adv., prep.) 'beside, next, near', 13th. c.,
 a compound with three possible origins : from coste 'rib,
 side', 11th. c., by agglutination of de and coste ; from
encoste 'near, beside', 12th. c., the change of prefix being
 by analogy with other adverbs and prepositions ; from the
 prep. coste 'beside', 13th. c., in which case the prefix

reinforces the simple form, and makes it into an adverb as well as a preposition. The last explanation is probably the most likely by virtue of its greater simplicity.

HSL 332.608: Une foiz estoit li roys decoste la royne sa femme, et estoit en trop grant peril de mort, pour ce qu'elle estoit blecie d'un enfant qu'elle avoit eu.

HSL 220.404: Tandis que nous fumes en la mer, par six jours, je qui estoie malades, me séoie touz jours decoste le roy.

Atant vint d'une chanbre fors
La pucele,

.
Et sa mere revint de coste
Que mostrer lor voloit lor oste
Li sire qui les ot mandees.

(Yvain, ed. Foerster, 3963.)

DEDENZ (adv., prep.) 'in, inside, within, during', 11th. c. (Alexis), a compound of denz 'in, into, inside', 12th. c. The fact that the compound is attested before the simple form does not weigh heavily against the proposed etymology because of the fact that denz was extremely rare and of Latin origin. It seems reasonably certain that, in fact, denz existed before dedenz. The function of the prefix is to reinforce the simple form without appreciably altering its meaning. It is noteworthy that denz is itself a reinforced form of enz (intus), and that the original Latin has, therefore, been twice reinforced. This points to the continued weakness of de-.

VSA 374: Li apostolie tent sa main a la cartre;
 sainz Alexis la sue li alascet;
 lui le consent ki de Rome esteit pape.
 Il ne la list ne(d) il dedenz neguardet:
 avant la tent ad un boen clerc e savie.

AC 163: . . . mais cele qui est tranchie es autres
 jours, li ver le menjuent par dedens, . . .

VCC 118.205: Tuit li Latin qui estoient hebergié
dedenz Coatantinoble, de quelque terre que il fussent,
 n'i osserent plus demorer, . . .

DEJOSTE (adv., prep.) 'beside, nearby', 12th. c., a
 compound of joste 'beside', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces
 the simple form without altering its meaning.

VCC 106.185: . . . là troverent l'empereor Sursac
 (. . .), et l'empereriz sa fame dejoste lui, qui ere
 mult bele dame, suer le roi de Ongrie.

DEVANT (adv., prep., conj., m.) 'before, in front,
 front', 10th. c. (Léger, davant), from avant 'before', 11th.
 c. (Alexis), by change of prefix, or by normal prefixation
 accompanied by the loss of one of the vowels (e in the case
 of the early davant). The prefixation does not alter the
 meaning of avant, but extends its use to other parts of
 speech. The modern differentiation of devant and avant does
 not exist in Old French.

2M 2.VII.7: Lors li demanderent si il mangeroit devant
 co que il fust decoupez membre e membre.

Lat.: . . . interrogabant, si manducaret prius quam toto
 corpore per membra singula puniretur.

VCC 144.248: Et issirent des herberges, et cuidarent plus grant bataille trover que il n'avoient fait le le jor devant;

RCC 39: . . . et tiroit se barbe et deschiroit ses caveaux de dual, qu'il veoit se gent decauper devant lui, ne ne leur pooit aidier.

DEVERS (prep.) 'towards', 12th. c., a compound of vers 'towards, against, in comparison with', 12th. c. The prefix reinforces the simple form without altering its meaning to a marked extent, though the meaning of the compound might possibly be restricted by comparison with that of vers.

VCC 110.191: E l'endemain proia l'empereres as contes et as barons et ses fils meismes que il por Dieu s'alassent herbergier d'autre part del port devers l'Estanor et devers Galatas;

VCC 118.202: Et sachiez que de cele partie del Braz Saint George devers occident, poi en failloit que il ne l'en avoit tolu près de la moitié.

We have seen that Old French parasynthetic compounds in de- are difficult to analyse, and that many of them might well be regarded as problems unsolved by the etymologists. The following three compounds present greater difficulties than the majority, and are, therefore, considered separately :

DEBARDER 'to squander', 12th. c., as in :

Br. 1278: Jo sui qui sun avoir guardai,
En larrecin le debardai;

Lat.: Sum, qui sumptuum ejus servator fui, set
latenter in malis consumpsi.

The meaning 'to squander' is clearly indicated by the Latin, yet König (p. 35) gives the meaning 'to steal', and derives the compound from barde 'saddle, harness', the etymological sense of the compound being 'to take away the harness or saddle'. This etymology is not supported by the FEW, where debarder is listed under barrum 'loam, mud'. The connection of the compound with other words under the same heading is far from clear. Commynes has a simple barder 'to arm', while, according to the FEW, a regional form barder means 'to cover with mud' ; it would be difficult to connect our Old French compound directly with either of these simple forms. Fr. débarder 'to unload' and Swiss débarda 'to squander' may well be connected with the Old French, but their etymology is as much in doubt as that of the Old French compound. In view of the complete uncertainty of the history of this compound, we must be content to admit that the meaning of the prefix is unclear, but that 'away' and negation both suggest themselves as possible interpretations.

DEFRIPER 'to wriggle, shake os., struggle, scratch', 12th. c. This compound appears to be connected with frepe 'rags, tatters', Norm. fripe, but the semantic connection is not clear, and the noun is not attested before the 13th. c.

degré does not contain the idea of 'down' that is found in degradare and degrader, see p. 119.

VSA 218: "Eufem(i)iens, bel sire, riches hom,
 quar me herberges pur Deu an tue maison:
 suz tun degret me fai un grabatum
 empur tun filz dunt tu as tel dolur;
 tut soi amferm, sim pais pur sue amor."

R 2821: Par les degrez el paleis muntet sus,
 E Bramidonie vient curant cuntre lui,

EE 5645: Quant armez fu, si s'an avale
 trestoz les degrez contre val,
 et trueve anselé son cheval,
 et le roi qui montez estoit.

CF I.75.21: Car, sans le congiet dou Saint Père,
 faire ne se poroit, pour le linage de France dont il
 estoient moult prochain, si com en tierch degré, car
 leurs deus mères estoient cousines germaines, issues
 de deus frères.

CHM 1233: . . . medecine plus desiccative est a ce
 necessaire, aussi comme au derrain degré de desiccation,
 la quele ne soit pas brullant, . . .

LT 1.CXII.10: Ensi f'ont .iiii. fois .lxxxx. grés, ki
 montent .iii. et lx. degrés ki sont el cercle, si come
 li contes a devisé ça arieres.

BB 13: Aulcuns autres en y a qui acquièrent nom de
 maistre sans cause et sans ce qu'ilz en soyent dignes,
 ne qu'ilz ayent aucun degré de science.

SB 21.14: ou ki volentiers ne s'agesist desoz ses
degreiz ou en cendres mismes por doner lo plus bel leu
 a son hoste si cum droiz est ?

Lat.: . . . non libenter in angulo domus suae, aut sub
gradibus suis, vel in ipsis cineribus accubabit,
 cedens hospiti suo locum (sicut dignum est) potiore ?

The above contexts should suffice to show that degré in Old
 French does not necessarily contain the idea of 'down'. The
 problem of a French or Latin etymology is discussed in FEW

IV.207b : "Deren (of Fr. degré, Pg. degrao) de wird von Jaberg auf einfluss von descendre zurückgeführt, was aber deswegen wenig wahrscheinlichkeit hat, weil wir dann eher afr. *desgré erwarten müssten. Vielleicht ist in dem de- eher einwirkung eines verbums DEGRADARE zu suchen, das zwar nur in der bed. 'absetzen' belegt ist, aber auch in der bed. 'abstufen' gebildet werden konnte. Ein so gebildetes *degradus wäre dann ziemlich alt." One can only say that, if degré is derived from latin sources, the prefix has not maintained its locative sense 'down', though of course steps do lead downwards as much as upwards. In view of this absence of locative meaning it is not unreasonable to ascribe to de- the function of reinforcing gré without doing more than extend its meaning slightly. The verb degrader may have been of some influence, but did not hand on the full meaning of its prefix.

We have seen that in the vast majority of Old French compounds the prefix de- has no semantic content, and that its function is usually to reinforce the simple forms or to increase the expressivity of the simple form to some extent. A function of this nature belongs properly to the popular language, which at all times feels the need for forms reinforced and intensified in some manner. Old French was essentially a popular language and reached its

full maturity in the twelfth century, when it possessed a great richness of expression, especially in the military and social spheres, thanks to an abundant and varied vocabulary. The prefix de- played a considerable part in the augmentation of the Old French vocabulary, and it is not at all surprising, therefore, to find that a great many of the compounds examined in this chapter are attested for the first time in the twelfth century. A closer inspection of the dates of compounds in de- formed in Old French reveals an interesting rise and fall in numbers up to and after the end of the twelfth century. The sixty compounds examined in this chapter are distributed over the centuries covered by the texts used as the basis of this study in the following way : none from the ninth century, one from the tenth, three from the eleventh, forty-four from the twelfth, eleven from the thirteenth, one from the fourteenth, and none from the fifteenth. While it is not pretended that this survey is in any way complete, it must reflect to a great extent the varying frequency with which de- was used in Old and Middle French.

We see that many more compounds in de- are first attested in the twelfth than in any other century. It must not be thought that these figures are falsified by the choice of texts used as sources for the material upon which this

study is based. While the choice of texts from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries is obviously limited, and this limitation must be reflected in the small number of compounds ascribed to those centuries, only nine texts from the twelfth century were used, as against no less than seventeen from the thirteenth, and, if we consider D to belong to both, ten and nine from the fourteenth and fifteenth respectively. This abundance of compounds in de- created in the twelfth century is part of the general richness of Old French vocabulary.

At this time many words were created by the use of the various prefixes and suffixes, but did not differ greatly in meaning one from another. The same idea is expressed by many different words which were not all strictly necessary. It might almost be said that we have in the popular Old French, as seen in the twelfth century, a repetition of the excessive use of prefixes, including de-, that had occurred in Late Latin.

There is a marked decline from forty-four compounds in the twelfth to eleven in the thirteenth and one in the fourteenth century, and the reason for this must be sought ^{we have few texts from the eleventh century and that} in the facts that the initial expansion of Old French had come to an end. The language was well established and well equipped to express the ideas current at that time. Feudalism was coming to an end by the middle of the fourteenth century,

the form of society was slowly changing, and with it the language. There was less freedom in both syntax and vocabulary than there had been in the twelfth century. Further, the language was becoming less popular as its use was extended to the recording of history and to the compiling of coutumiers. By the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, the need for the type of compound produced by prefixation with de- must have been much less keenly felt than in the twelfth, and in consequence it was less used. The need was for more precise words appertaining to more specialised spheres than had formerly been the case, but these could not be provided by a prefix with as little meaning as de-.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the further extension of the use of French to domains hitherto the preserve of Latin ; since the cultivated public was becoming interested in scientific works and more serious works of literature and philosophy, these were being written in French rather than Latin as was formerly the case. These new subjects required a vocabulary not possessed by Old French for the reason that the feudal society of the twelfth century had shown scarcely any interest in such matters, but it was not from French that this new vocabulary was drawn. The Latin words familiar to all the scholars and men of science

came readily to mind when it was required to express an idea new to French, and, in consequence, Latin words were adopted into the language more or less disguised in French form, hence the great influx of learned words during this period. Compounds with de- occurring for the first time during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are almost invariably learned borrowings direct from Latin dealt with in Chapter IV, and their prefix has the same function as it had in Latin.

Thus it was that after the end of the thirteenth century the prefix de- became virtually redundant, and gradually ceased to be used for the active formation of new words in French. It seems unlikely that de- has ever been revived since, and that, if any cases of prefixation with de- are to be found in words formed in Modern French, they are isolated exceptions. Only a continuation of the present study into Modern French would show to what extent prefixation with de- survived the end of the fifteenth century.

In this chapter we have seen that the great majority of compounds in de- formed in Mediaeval French are very similar in meaning to the simple verb from which they are formed. In general the function of the prefix is to reinforce the simple form without altering its meaning to any marked degree. It seems likely that this use of

de- corresponds to the popular desire for more expressive forms. In some cases the prefix marks only a slight difference in meaning, for the prefixation may be accompanied by a semantic shift, or the compound may, after its formation as a synonym of the simple verb, have its sense restricted or extended to some degree. These remarks apply equally well to compounds other than verbs. In general, parasynthetic compounds are difficult to analyse satisfactorily, and this difficulty makes it impossible to perceive the precise function of de- in such compounds, though the evidence suggests that the prefix usually has no semantic content, being merely a grammatical tool used to aid in the formation of a verb from a noun or adjective.

Since de- had no semantic content, there was no necessity for continuing to use it to form new words when the popular need for reinforced forms was no longer felt, for it was unable to fulfil the requirements of the changing language after the end of the thirteenth century. Inevitably, then, de- ceased to be employed for the creation of new words in French, and, as far as can be discerned without special study of the question, has not since returned to active life. The case of de- contrasts sharply with that of des- to which we turn in the next chapter.

VI

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VI

COMPOUNDS OF MEDIAEVAL FRENCH ORIGIN : DES-

We come now to the prefix des-, the popular form representing the Lat. dis-, which is one of the most common prefixes in French. In the Middle Ages, and even before this period, des- was used more frequently than de-, and this fact serves to increase the difficulties mentioned in Chapter V as being encountered when we are trying to establish accurate etymologies. The considerations concerning the etymologies of compounds in de- apply equally to those in des-, but, as will be seen in the course of the present chapter, we are faced with an additional difficulty when dealing with compounds in des-. It will be shown that, in the great majority of cases, the function of des- is to negate existing words. Usually there is little doubt that the word negated by the prefix is a simple form. However, in a number of instances, it is impossible to decide for certain which of two or three different words - a simple form and one or two compounds - is in fact negated by des-. Sometimes one possibility appears to be ruled out by the date of the first occurrence of the word in question, but such decisions cannot always be final.

In addition to the difficulties just mentioned, the usual obscure etymologies are met, and are treated separately, as in other chapters.

Although the function of des- remains, with a small number of exceptions, constantly negative, the precise form of this negation varies, and thereby enables us to divide the great mass of compounds in des- into several categories, which are considered in turn. The most numerous category is that in which the prefix simply negates or reverses the action or state denoted by the simple word. The simple form is usually a verb, but may be a noun or adjective. A number of words in des- which are the antonyms of compounds, particularly compounds in co(n)-, have been included in this category because the compounds are of Latin origin and often have the appearance of simple forms in Old French and seem to be treated as such, e.g., conter (computare), cosdre (consuere), avancier (^xabantiare).

DESABILLIER 'to undress', ca. 1400, a compound and antonym of (h)abillier 'to equip, prepare, dress', ca. 1300. The prefix reverses the direction of the action denoted by the simple form.

MC II.153: Je l'ay veü maintes fois habiller et deshabiller en grand reverence et de grans personnaiges;

PJS 404: et quant il fust tous desabillié et voist Madame deschevellee et son attour reverssé, . . .

DESABITER 'to lay waste, make uninhabited, cease to inhabit', past participle 12th. c., verb ca. 1400, a compound and antonym of (h)abiter 'to live, stay, inhabit', 12th. c. The prefix negates the state denoted by the adjectival past participle and the action denoted by the simple verb.

LT 1.CXXII.181: Et sachiés que li yndien sont grignor que nule gent; et grandesime partie de cele isle est deserte et desabitee por la chalour.

DESAISIER 'to make, become uncomfortable, unpleasant', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of aisier 'to care for, make easy, comfortable', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

AOC 6148: . . . car mesaise
L'ome dessote et desaise.

Lat.: . . . et longiore conflictu non fatigarentur inedia.

DESAMER 'to cease to love, not to love', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of amer 'to love', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix negates the action denoted by the simple verb.

LT 2.XXIII.29: Et aime et desaime apertement, non pas en repost; car chetive chose li samble celer sa volenté, et se moustre aspres selonc droit as gens, se ce n'est as choses de geu et de solas;

DESANCRER 'to weigh anchor, unmoor', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of ancrer 'to anchor, moor', 12th. c.

The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

HSL 204.374: Et maintenant il nous déancrerent, et nous remenerent bien une grant lieue ariere vers Babiloine.

CF I.25.27: Et quant il eurent par avis vent bon pour eulz, il se commandèrent en le garde de Nostre Signeur, et entrèrent en leurs vaissiaus, et desancrèrent et se misent en mer.

DESARMER 'to disarm, lay down arms', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of armer 'to equip, man, arm', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb. A Latin form dearmare exists, meaning 'to disarm', but there is nothing to show that the Old French form is derived from it, although disarmare is attested in the 13th. century.

4R 3.XX.11: . . . que ne se deit pás si glorifiér cil ki encóre est arméz cum quant ápres sa victórie se est desarméz.

Lat.: . . . ne gloriatur accinctus aeque ut discinctus.

R 2498: Li emperere s'est culcét en un pret,
Sun grant espiét met a sun chef li ber,
Icele noit ne se volt il desarmer,
Si ad vestut sun blanc osberc saffrét.

WB 2820: L'espee desceinst, l'elme osta,
E del halberc se desarma.

G 1682: La bataille out vencue Deramé,
A l'autre feiz que Willame i fu al curb niés.
Si ont pris l'eschec e les morz desarmez;

VCC 298.498: Et quant li marchis oï le cri, si sailli en un cheval toz desarmez, un glaive en sa main.

DESAVANCIER 'to hold up, hinder, harm', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of avancier 'to increase, further, advance', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action denoted by the simple verb.

AC 88: . . . se desconfissent par le force de lor
anemis et par leur propre desesperance.

AOC 5008: Per la force des enemis
Et per lor propre desparance
Qu'as desconfit et desavance;

Lat.: Qui vero extremi sunt, deserti a suis vi hostium
et propria desperatione superantur.

D I.127.13: Garde a qui tu feras promesse,
La cause pour quoy; et t'avance
De l'acomplir: cuer de noblesse
Doit accomplir sa convenance.
Qui ne le fait, il desavance
Son honeur;

DESAVANTAGE (m.) 'disadvantage, loss, damage', 1290, a compound and antonym of avantage 'advantage', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple noun.

AC 100: . . . car se riens lor mesavient en la bataille,
c'est sa coupe et li comuns damages.

AOC 5817: Car s'aucune chose sanz faille
Lor mesavenoit en bataille,
Corpe i ha et desavantaige,
Et li comuns i ha domaige.

Lat.: Si quid enim illis eveniat in bello, et ipsius
culpa et publica videtur iniuria.

CN 161: Mais la venue estoit estroite entre les II
ostz et en grant desavantaige pour celui des II ostz
qui eust voulu courre seure à l'autre.

MC II.103: . . . aller au devant d'eulx à l'entrée des
montaignes, où ilz estoient encores, qui estoit bien

son desadvantaige, car ilz estoient bien en lieu
avantageux pour les attendre . . .

Also : desavantageux (adj.), 15th. c.

DESAVISER 'to lead into error, err, be uncertain', 12th.
c., a compound and antonym of aviser 'to recognize; think
out; aim; advise, tell', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix
negates the meaning of the simple verb, which appears to
imply positive or correct advice or opinion, while the compound
implies absence or incorrectness of advice. The opposition is
normally between the considered opinion and the lack of it.

AC 54: . . . quant la bataille estoit commencie, que
les ordres sont tantost tourbleez et confuses, . . .

ACC 2932: . . . quant comencie est la bataille,
Les ordres sont tantost troblees,
Confuses et desavisees,

Lat.: . . . quia sciebant in acie commissio bello
celeriter ordines aciesque turbare atque confundi, . . .

CB LXV.10: et quant il avient ainsi, cil qui sunt
avisé ne se meffont de riens, s'il requierent respit
aveques cix qui ne sunt pas avisé, porce que par le
delai li desavisé se puissent aviser por jugier ensanlle
et por eus acorder.

DESAVOIR 'to lack, want', 12th. c., a compound and anto-
nym of avoir 'to have', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix
negates the simple verb, and the compound translates the
Lat. carere in L/V 1021, /P 1113.

DESBARATER 'to put to flight, put out of action, lay

waste', 12th. c., probably a compound and antonym of barater
 'to be busy, in action', 12th. c. The prefix reverses or
 negates the action denoted by the simple verb.

4R 2.VIII.10: Merçiád le que il óut desbareted é
 descunfit le rei Ádadezer, . . .

Lat.: . . . gratias ageret eo quod expugnasset
 Adadezer et percussisset eum.

WB 7086: Li reis, pur amur sa muillier,
 Se tint a els, nes vult laissier,
 E li fiz suvent les chaça
 E suvent les desbareta;

Cl. 4830: Mes or se vont aparcevant
 Que par un seul ont tuit esté
 Desconfit et desbareté;

RCC 67: Et quant Morchoffles vint ariere en
 Coustantinoble, si fist acroire qu'il avoit desbareté
 et desconfit seigneur Henri et se gent, . . .

König, p. 44, claims that this compound is derived from a
 VLat. *disbarattare 'in die Flucht schlagen, aus dem Zustand
 des Kampfes oder (örtlich) vom Kampfplatz fortbringen', a
 parasynthetic compound of ON *baratta 'battle'. It is not
 clear on what grounds the hypothetical Latin compounds is
 justified, and, indeed, the existence of barater makes it
 unnecessary. It is possible that König was unaware of the
 early existence of the simple form (BW 56a dates it 1546),
 but it is found in WR II.3517.

Also : desbaratement (m.), 12th. c.

DESBLASMER 'to excuse, exculpate, justify', 13th. c., a

compound and antonym of blasmer 'to reproach, accuse', 11th.

c. (Alexis). The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

D VII.135.18: Mais au derrain, tien ce vray jugement
Que li menteur ne seront desblasmé,
Ainçois aront honte, paine et tourment,
D'onneur seront et de joye affamé;

DESBOCHIER 'to unblock, free', 14th. c., a compound and antonym of bochier 'to block (a hole)', 13th. c. The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

HSL 113.214: . . . pour ce que nostre gent ne savoient tant bouchier d'une part comme il en desbouchoient d'autre.

DESBORDER 'to overflow, pass the limits, edge', 14th. c., a compound and antonym of border 'to border; have an edge, limit', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple verb.

MC I.209: Mais quant aux autres, qui estoient avecques luy, jamais ne furent si desbordéz, car ceulx que je pensoye les meilleurs pour ledit roy estoient ceulx qui plus le menassoient, . . .

DESBROCHIER 'to take from spit; take out, "fork out"', ca. 1400, a compound and antonym of brochier 'to spur; impale on a spit', 12th. c., or perhaps an antonym of embrochier 'to impale, pierce (with a spit)', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple or compound verb.

D IX.153.4661: Mais ceuls qui en tiennent la broche
 Ne veulent leur or desbrochier;
 Ne on n'ose ceuls approuchier
 Qui ont mains d'or, langues d'argent:
 L'en ne tient compte d'autre gent.

DESCACHIER 'to discover, reveal', 15th. c., a compound
 and antonym of cachier 'to conceal, cover', 13th. c. The
 prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

D VIII.221.302: Près de la quarriere descaiche,
 Appuiant sur sa fourche fiere
 Et se complaint en tel maniere:

The exact meaning of the compound in this context is obscure ;
 the Notes give 's'arrête' but the Vocabulary 'poursuivre son
 chemin', while the dictionaries admit neither.

DESCELER 'to make known, betray', 13th. c., a compound
 and antonym of celer 'to conceal, hide', 10th. c. (Léger).
 The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

CKB: Trahir - Esguetant le pecheur pour deceler son
 mal.

DESCERCLER 'to knock reinforcing metal bands (from a
 helmet, etc.)', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of cercler
 'to equip with metal hoops (helmet)', 12th. c., both of which
 are attested only as past participles used adjectivally.
 The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple or
 compound verb.

G 2744: Ben ad set anz que jo oi le tinel

En la quisine de Loun la cite;
 Unc nel vi freindre ne desercler.

DESCHANTER 'to sing descant', 1226, a compound and antonym of chanter 'to sing, say, play', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix does not here negate the simple verb, but rather causes the compound to denote an action in opposition to that of the simple verb, for deschanter means 'chanter le contraire d'un chant', i.e., of a piece of plain song. Later the compound comes to mean 'to sing badly' according to FEW II.222b.

D VI.112.18: Je vous monstreray la figure
 Du contrepont, et la mesure
 Des semibreves acorder
 De faindre la voix, de monter
 Et de deschanter a rebours.

DESCHEVAUCHIER 'to unhorse, dismount, fall from horse', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of chevauchier 'to ride on horseback', 12th. c. The prefix appears to reverse the action denoted by the simple verb.

WB 12217: Plus de cent en deschevalchierent
 Ki unques puis ne redrescierent.

R 1556: Puis ad ocis le duc Alphasien,
 Escababi i ad le chef trenchét,
 .vii. Arrabiz i ad deschevalcét;

DESCLOËR 'to unfasten, unnail, break open', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of clöer 'to stud, fasten with nails',

12th. c. The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.

EE 2110: lances brisent et escuz troent,
li hauberc faussent et descloent,
seles vuident, chevalier tument;

PJS 171: . . . et Saintré l'attaint au bas de la
rondelle, et clinssa sur la piece, puis sur l'arrest,
qui du tout se descloa; et au descloer, messire
Enguerrant tresfort branla.

DESCLORE 'to disclose, open, tear open (mail)', 12th.
c., a compound and antonym of clore 'to close', 12th. c.
The prefix reverses the action denoted by the simple verb.
The Lat. form discludere is unlikely to be the root of the
OFr. compound, since it means 'to shut up separately;
expel'.

4R 3.VII.26: é li úrs, si cume f'uille de l'ilie
desclóse, fud defors alques recurbéz.

Lat.: . . . labiumque eius quasi labium calicis et
folium repandi lilii

R 1199: L'escut li freint e l'osberc li desclot,
Trenchet le piz, si li briset les os,

WB 11464: Al flo retraiant de la mer
Ad fait ses compainuns munter.
Al grainur munt vindrent tant tost
Cume la mer le munt desclost.

CN 78: En ce temps passa le roy Edouart par Normandie
et ala de sa gent jusques devant Rouen et passa par
Louviers, et fut arse et fourrée, car desclose estoit.

D IX.23.612: Helas! s'en est ly plus dolens
Et qui moins vouldist que la chose
Fust esclarcie ne desclose;

DESCONFÈS (adj.) 'unshriven', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of confès 'shriven', 12th. c. The prefix negates the state denoted by confès.

WB 8360: Uther, kis ad sewiz emprés,
Les fait murir tut desconfès.

F VIII.387: Helas! je m'en voys à ce prestre
Lui prier par devocion
Qu'il me donne confession
Que je ne meure desconfès.

DESCONFIRE 'to destroy, annihilate, defeat', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of confire 'to make, arrange, prepare', 12th. c. The prefix reverses or negates the action of confire.

4R 1.IV.17: 'Les noz de l'ost s'en sunt fuiz é
laidement sunt descunfiz, é morz sunt ambesdous tes
fiz, . . .

Lat.: . . . fugit . . . Israhel coram Philisthim et
ruina magna facta est in populo insuper et duo filii
tui mortui sunt . . .

Ap. XII.7 (gloss): . . . quant le diable asaut seinte
Glise, li angele Nostre Seignur li viennent a succurs
& le descunfisent.

CDAS 379: La nef est plus tost desconfite
En grant eaue qu'en petite.

Lat.: tuta mage est puppis, modico quae flumine fertur.

R 1247: L'escut li freinst, l'osberc li descunfist,
Sun grant espiét parmi le cors li mist;

HSL 134.244: Car pour combattre à vos ennemis avez
passei une riviere à nou, et les avez desconfiz et
chaciez dou champ, . . .

BB 42: David gardoit les brebis quand il fut asleu
pour aller combatre à Golias de Jeth, le fort géant,
lequel il déconfist par la pierre qu'il jecta de la
fonde, . . .

MC I.40: Les Bretons avoient prins aucuns prisonniers de ceulx qui fuyoient du party du roy, et quant ilz eussent esté ung peu plus avant, ilz eussent prins et desconfit le tiers de l'armée.

The rather general meaning of confire, which may, for example, mean 'to mix (liquid, poison), write (letters), prepare (dish), carve (sculpture), build (building), embalm (dead), bring up (child), make (speech)', undergoes some restriction upon prefixation, for the compound refers usually to warfare and, occasionally, to hunting.

Also : desconfison (f.), 12th. c. ; desconfiture (f.), 12th. c.

DESCONFORTER 'to discourage, sadden; be downcast', 11th. c. (Alexis), a compound and antonym of conforter 'to console, encourage, comfort', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix negates the action denoted by conforter.

Ps. LXXVIII.7: Kar il manjerent Jacob, e sa bealtet descunforterent

Lat.: Quia comederunt Jacob, et decorem ejus desolaverunt

AC 129: . . . cil soit li plus fors qui ne s'esbaudit pas, ne ne se desconforte quant il li meschiet.

AOC 8055: Que cil soit plus forz voiremant
Qui ne s'esmaie ne desconforte,

Lat.: . . . fortior creditur quem adversa non frangunt.

VSA 304: a lui en vindrent e li riche e li povre,
si li requerent conseil d icele cose
qu il unt odide, ki mult les desconfortet:

EE 3708: Molt se despoire et desconforte,
car son seignor dire ne l'ose,

CF I.17.14: si ne vous esbahissiés ne desconfortés
de riens: nous avons assés pour nous et pour vous.

D I.213.1: Trop esjouir, ne trop desconforter
Ne se doit homs pour chose qu'il aviengne,
Mais doit tous cas tresconstamment porter;

Also : desconfort (m.) 'discomfort, sadness'.

DESCONOISTRE 'not to recognize, not to know, be ignorant', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of conoistre 'to recognize; know, get to know', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates the action denoted by conoistre. This compound should not be confused with the positive deconoistre, see p. 187.

D I.198.2: Esbahis sui, et ce n'est pas merveille,
Comment les gens sont si descongneu
Que l'un n'oït bien puis qu'il a bonne
[oreille,
L'autre a bon oeul et si n'a rien veu;

BB 41: . . . sa femme Thamar estoit reposée, ou
chemin, en une logette, et se estoit déguisée et
descongneue.

Also : desconoissance (f.), 13th. c.

DESCONRÉER 'to disorder; undress', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of conréer 'to order, prepare, equip', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix reverses the action of conréer.

AC 117: . . . et plus legierement s'i embateroient lor
anemy, quant il verroient ciaux desconrés et desordenés.

Lat.: . . . et in imparatos conturbatosque facilius
hostis incumbit.

HEH 310.511: et nonporquant il desconréa toz les Blas
ke il à cele pointe consivi.

DESCONSEILLIER 'to dissuade, discourage, confuse',

11th. c. (Alexis), a compound and antonym of conseillier 'to
take counsel, advise, speak in confidence', 11th. c. (Alexis).

The prefix negates the action denoted by conseillier.

AC 7: Mais a l'encontre li pueples devers septentrion,
qui sont loing des ardeurs dou soulail, sont plus
desconsillié et mains sages, mais il ont plus grant
habundance de sanc, . . .

Lat.: Contra septentrionales populi, remoti a solis
ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen largo
sanguine redundantes, . . .

VSA 319: iceste cose nus doüses nuncier,
a tut le pople ki ert desconseilez;
tant l as celet mult i as grant pechet.

VCC 36.61: Mais Diex, qui les desconsiliez conseille,
ne le volt mie ensi soffrir.

VCJB I.11: . . . le roy Charle de France fut si
enhorte par son conseil qu'il manda sa serour et luy
desconseilla et deffendi si hault qu'il poeut qu'elle
se relayast de celle chose qu'elle avoit emprise.

PJS 207: Et jassoit que vous soyez mon seul ami,
trestout mon bien, et tout quanques je puis dire,
parquoy sur tous aultres le vous deveroye desconseillier
et, qui plus est, deffendre de vous plus mettre en
telz perilz,

DESCONTER 'to deduct, discount, reduce in price', 12th.

c., a compound and antonym of conter 'to count, reckon,
evaluate, pay', 11th. c. The prefix negates the action
denoted by conter, for 'to discount' is 'not to count'.

D V.254.15: Pour leur deffroy n'est fourrier qui
[descompte:
L'en leur oste leurs drois de jour en jour.

DESCOSDRE 'to split, dislocate, undo, unsew', 12th. c.,
a compound and antonym of cosdre 'to sew, lace', 12th. c.

The prefix reverses the action denoted by cosdre.

Cl. 5860: Et li troi mire ont descosu
Le suaire la dame a force,
Onques n'i ot costel ne force;

CHM 743: Car les unes sont cousues principalement [pour l'assemblément] et pour l'incarnation d'iceles, et en cestes la costure ne doit estre descousue devant que elles sont encharnees, fors en .3. cas.

DESCOUPER 'to exculpate, justify', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of couper 'to blame, accuse', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

VOC 170.285: Et li marchis se descolpa mult, et dist
que por le tort que l'empereres li avoit fait, avoit-il
issi exploitié.

Note that König, in his index, p. 97, makes this compound a synonym of the simple form and gives it the meaning 'beschuldigen'.

DESCROTER 'to clean', 13th. c., a compound and antonym
of crot(t)er 'to foul, dirty', 13th. c. The prefix reverses
the action of the simple verb.

LM II.3387: Et quand lassée revendra,
Bien servir la te convendra,
Laver les piés et descroter,

Lat.:eritique necesse
 Quod sibi sis servus plantasque laves sibi resse;

DESCUIRE 'not to cook, digest', past participle 'raw, undigested', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of cuire 'to burn, smart, cook', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

SS 1798: Kar dunc, desquit, le manger descent
 Al funt del estomac veirement;

Lat.: . . . quia tunc descendit cibus indecoctus
 ad inferiores partes stomachi . . .

This compound cannot be derived from Lat. discoquere because of the great difference in meaning. In the Latin compound the prefix has a separative or intensive function giving the meaning 'to cook to pieces, thoroughly'.

DESDAMAGIER 'to make good loss or damage', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of damagier 'to cause loss or damage', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb, but could also reverse that of the compound endommagier 'to cause loss or damage to so. or sth.', 12th. c.

CB XXXIII.2: car nus pleges ne doit enriquir de ce dont il est pleges, el damace de celi qui en pleges le mist, mes tant solement estre desdamaciés et estre mis el point là u il estoit quant il devint pleges.

DESDIRE 'to deny, refuse, contradict', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of dire 'to say', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix negates and reverses the action of the simple

verb in that the compound denotes an action in opposition to it. This opposition takes a variety of forms, as shown in the following examples :

WR III.3908: Guill. est sis naturels sire,
E il sis hoem, nel poet desdire;
Pos'a que il li fist homage,
Veiant son pere e son barnage.

HSL 12.24: Il me dist que je me gardasse que je ne dementisse ne ne desdeisse nullui de ce que il diroit devant moy, . . .

CF I.17.1: Et n'est nulz en Engleterre, f'aut soit nobles ne de grant afaire, qui l'ose couroucier ne desdire de cose que il voelle faire.

MC I.228: Pour ceste cause fut la trefve desdicte et manda à madame de Nesle, qui estoit dedans, qu'elle saillist . . .

DESESTABLIR 'to overthrow, destroy', 13/14th. c., a compound and antonym of establir 'to establish, fix', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

L/V 2067, /P 2376: desestablir = destituere

DESFERMER 'to open', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of fermer 'to fix, fasten, close', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

AC 155: . . . li murs chiet soudainement, et lors est defermee et ouverte l'entree de la ville par la routure dou mur.

Lat.: . . . atque tabulatis muro subito corrutente inruptioni aditus reseratur.

G 1279: Ele avale contreval les degrez,
Vint a la porte, si li ad desfermé,

En sus le ovre, laissad le cunte entrer.

CF II.52.23: Messires Guillaumes Douglas avoit bien veu que li portiers avoit toutes les clés de le grant porte dou chastiel, et avoit couvertement demandet au portier le quèle deffremoit le porte, et la quèle le guicet.

VSCH 85: Et le mardy matin, lendemain 11^{me} jour d'aoust, les Sarrazins nous deffermerent et mirent hors dudict sepulchre et de là, chascun s'en alla à son ordinaire.

DESFERRER 'to remove irons, lose shoe (horse)', 12th.

c., a compound and antonym of ferrer 'to put irons on, shoe (horse)', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

CF I.60.26: Et ne savoiēt de quoi chiaus ferrer qui estoient defferret, ne de quoi couvrir, fors que de leurs tournikiaus d'armes.

MC II.40: Après qu'il l'eust ouy, il le feït desferrer; mais encores demours gardé.

König, p. 44, postulates VLat. *disferrare, a parasynthetic compound of ferra, ~~ma~~ which is attested in the 14th. c.

DESFIER 'to distrust, challenge, defy, break word', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of fier 'to trust, pledge faith', 12th. c. The prefix reverses and negates the action denoted by the simple verb.

R 2002: 'Sire cumpain, faites le vos de gred ?
Ja est go Rollant ki tant vos soelt amer,
Par nule guise ne m'aviez desfiét.'

EE 4019: Et cil le leisse;
el champ plus d'un arpant s'esleisse,

puis retorne, si le desfie
com hom plains de grant felenie.

MC I.77: Ces allées ne plaisoyent pas à tous, et
commençoient ja ces seigneurs à se deffier l'ung de
l'autre et à se laisser;

F XIV.238: Venez-vous, je vous deffie,
Je ne vous crains pas une maille,
Soudain mettez-vous en bataille,

Also : desfiance (f.) ; desfflement (m.).

DESFIGURER 'to disfigure, destroy, disguise', 12th. c.,
a compound and antonym of figurer 'to shape, create, fashion',
11th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

SB 134.41: car il defegurent lor fazons por ceu k'il
as hommes poyent aparoir geunant.

Lat.: Exterminant enim facies suas, ut appareant
jejunantes.

Cl. 4831: Mes chascun jor se desfigure
Et de cheval et d'armeüre,
Si sanble autrui que lui meïsmes.

VSCH 56: Toutes les ymaiges des eglises sont
decouppées de haches et defigurées desdictz Sarrazins
qui ont couppe lesdictes ymaiges painctes contre les
murs, tant le crucifix, . . .

DESFONDER 'to destroy, overthrow completely', 14th. c.,
is regarded by the FEW (III.873b) as being connected with the
noun fond 'bottom', 12th. c. This explanation has the great
disadvantage that both the connection of the compound with
the noun and the significance of the prefix are unclear,
whereas it is much more satisfactory to regard the compound

as an antonym of fonder 'to found, make firm', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

D V.234.18: Pour mort nulz d'eulz ne desconseille
Ce bien garder que l'en deffonde
De tous pouns, dont je me merueille;

DESGARNIR 'to take away, be without, bare, leave unprotected', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of garnir 'to guard against, protect, equip, supply', 11th. c. (Alexis).

AC 119: . . . il a achoison d'avoir les cornons
departis et le milieu desgarni de la bataille.

Lat.: . . . et mediam aciem destitutam.

WR III.4381: Cil furent forment desgarni
E des manaces esbahi;
Le chastel ont al duc rendu
E li dus l'a d'els receu;

4PV 26: Charles d'Espaingne se fia tant en son avoir
et eu roy de France qu'il ne prisa en riens les menaces
de monseigneur Philippe de Navarre et chevaucoit
desgarny de gens d'armes et vint en la ville de Laigle
en Normendie.

PJS 303: Mais quant le seigneur de Saintré se voist
desgarny de sa lance, incontinent a l'espee met la
main, et fiert a dextre et a senestre, qu'il n'y avoit
Turcq qui place ne luy feist.

The prefix reverses and negates the action denoted by the simple verb.

DESGIEL (m.) 'thaw', 13th. c., is either a derivative of desgeler 'to melt, thaw', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of geler 'to freeze', 12th. c., or an antonym of giel 'frost', 12th. c. In either case the prefix serves to

reverse the action of the simple form.

BB 86: Et s'il advenoit que par jour survinst roussée, ou pluye, ou dégel, dont les herbes fussent mouillées, le berger doit donner à ses brebis, au soir, du fourrage de favatz de fèves et non pas de celui de pois:

DESGORGIER 'to say, express sth.' 14th. c., 'to pour out water', 1299, a compound and antonym of gorgier 'to swallow', 13th. c., or perhaps an antonym of engorgier 'to swallow up', ca. 1200. The prefix reverses the direction of the action of the simple or of the compound in en-.

LM III.1087: Si m'en vueil a toy desgorgier.

DESHAITIER 'to afflict, discourage; sorrow', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of haitier 'to seem good, please, be pleasant', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

4R 1.1.5: É á Anne, sa muiller, que il tendrement amad, une partie dunad, ki forment ert deshaitié, kar Deu ne li volt encore duner le fruit desired de sun ventre.

Lat.: Annae autem dedit partem unam tristis quia Annam diligebat Dominus autem concluderat vulvam eius

AOC 8855: Et s'est moult bons, sanz nule faille,
Por doner es janz deshaities,
Quassees, navrees et blecies.

Lat.: . . . et propter aegrotantes sunt necessariae.

LT 1.CI.27: Ele croist en yvier, por ce que ce est de sa nature; por ce sont en celui tans deshaitié li flegmatique vieus, mais li colerique sont haities, et li joene ausi.

D V.151.19: Ce m'ennuye et deshette,
Quant regner voy le mendre des .vii. ars.

Also : deshait (m.) ; dshaite (f.).

DESHARNESCHIER 'to unfasten sails or rigging', 12th. c.
a compound and antonym of harneschier 'to equip, arm', ca.
1200. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

WB 11210: Quant as nés furent tuit entré
E tide orent e bon oré,
Dunc veïssiez ancras lever,
Estrens traire, hobens fermer,
Mariniers saillir par cez nés,
Deshenechier veilles e trés;

DESHEAUMER 'to remove helmet', 14th. c., a compound and
antonym of helmer 'to put on helmet', ca. 1200 (heaumer,
14th. c.). The prefix reverses the action of the simple
verb.

4PV 249: Et comme François retournent de devant
Ardre, les Anglois les surprindrent, car ilz estoient
desheauméz pour le chault qui estoit moult grant, et
leur coururent sus.

DESHERBERGER 'to dislodge, expel, move camp', 12th. c.,
a compound and antonym of herberger 'to live, lodge, shelter',
11th. c. (Alexis). Des- negates and reverses the action of
the simple verb.

PP 1449: paray's terestre,
Dunt Adam fu desherbegé
E sa mulier pur lur pechié;

Lat.: . . . paradisus, unde pro peccatis ejectus est
primus homo.

R 701: Parmi cel ost funt mil grailles suner,
 Franc deshherbergent, funt lur sumers trosser,
 Vers dulce France tuit sunt achimineez.

DESHO(U)SER 'to remove boots', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of houser 'to put on boots', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb. König, p.47, regards this compound as parasynthetic and formed from Frk. ^{*}hosa 'boot'.

MC I.23: Ledict conte de Charroloys trouva le conte de Saint Poi à pied, et tous les autres se mectoient à la fille comme ilz venoyent, et trouvasmes tous les archiers deshouéz, chascun ung pau planté devant eulx, . . .

DESIGAL (adj.) 'unequal, unfair', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of igal 'equal, even', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple adjective.

LT 2.XXVIII.39: Et si comme la justice est chose ygal, autresi est la non justice desigal.

LT 1.CLXXVI.13: Et sachiés que cist asne sauvage, que l'en apele onagre, a chascune heure dou jour et de la nuit crie une fois, si ke l'en i poroit bien connoistre les eures et savoir certainement quant la nuit est igal au jour u quant il sont desiguel.

Also : desigalance (f.) ; desigaler 'to break ranks, break step', 13th. c.

AOC 1888: Et après lour tel oirre aloient
 Qu'il afiert a chevalerie,
 Ne se desigaloient mie.

Lat.: . . . interdum sequantur interdum cedant et recursu quodam impetus reparent.

DESLACIER 'to unlace, unfasten', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of lacier 'to lace, fasten', 12th. c. The compound enlacier tends to mean 'to ensnare, entangle'. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

SB 59.14: Restroiz est chier sires tes sains per iugement. deslace ta cointure et si vien habondanz de pitiet et sorussanz de chariteit.

Lat.: Restrictus est, Domine, judico sinus tuus; solve cingulum tuum, et veni miserationibus affluens, et supereffluens charitate.

R 2170: Sun elme ad or li deslaçat del chef;
Si li tolit le blanc osberc leger
E sun blialt li ad tut detrenchét;

EE 460: La pucele prant le cheval,
si li deslace le peitral,
le frain et la sele li oste.

DESLAVER 'to purify' ; past participle 'dirty, unwashed'.

Although the verb is not attested until the works of Deschamps (14th./15th. c.), the adjectival form deslavé is attested in the 12th. c. The past participle is clearly the antonym of the corresponding part of laver 'to wash', 10th. c. (Passion). The meaning 'to purify' is strange, but is perhaps borrowed from the Lat. diluere. A Latin meaning is ascribed to the prefix in FEW V.220b, n. 31. It may be that we should regard the different meanings as belonging to two different verbs, and that G II.480b is right to ascribe the positive meaning to the form delaver, in spite of the fact that two of the three examples given have the prefix des-.

In view of the confusion of the two prefixes in speech and writing, deslaver would naturally tend to absorb the meaning delaver.

D VI.72.12: Cendre et cuvier par ma faulte li rens,
Nape n'y a qui ne soit deslavée,
Laissive n'ay ne feu en cheminee
Et pas ne puis buer comme je vueil;

DESLEAL (adj.) 'disloyal, wicked, illegal', 12th. c.,
a compound and antonym of léal 'loyal, faithful', 12th. c.

The prefix negates the simple adjective.

2M 2.VII.34: E tu desleal e le plus cruel de toz les
homes ne te orgoillir en vain por neent corrociez es
e enbrasez od ses sers.

Lat.: Tu autem, o sceleste, et omnium hominum flagitiosissima, noli frustra extolli vanis spebus in servos ejus inflammatus:

CB I.18: Et tix cozes sont otroiés à envoyer as baillis,
porce que trop seroit desloiax cix qui por tix dons
taurroit le droit d'autrui.

MC II.97: Autant comme cestuy-ci dont j'ai parlé
estoit mauvais et desloyal, Jacques Galyot estoit bon et
loyal, et, après avoir longuement vescu, est mort en
grant honneur et renommée.

Also : deslëauté (f.), 12th. c. ; deslëauter, 12th. c.

DESLOER 'to dissuade, blame', 12th. c., a compound and
antonym of löer 'to advise, approve, praise', 10th. c.

(Léger). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

CDAS 712: Ce que tu as loué avant,
Ne va pas après deslouant,
Cils se ho(u)nist qui chose loue
Et puis après si la desloue.

Lat.: Laudaris quodcumque palam, quodcumque probaris,
hoc vide ne rursus levitatis crimine dammes.

PP 279: L'evesque mult li desloa
E la grant peine luy mustra

Lat.: Episcopus hoc ei cogitare dissuasit . . .

DESLOGIER 'to break camp; drive away, dislodge', 12th.

c., a compound and antonym of logier 'to make camp', 12th. c.

The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

CN 41: Là cuida avoir bataille au roy Edouart, mais
il se desloiga et ala à Douay et parmi Hennaut droit
à Anvers.

CF I.67.28: Si tost qu'il furent trouvet, on fist
les Engles deslogier et traire celle part tout
ordonneement, et logier sus une aultre montagne, . . .

MC I.70: . . . vous avez ouy comme ceulx que le roy
avoit logéz en ceste tranchée, au long de ceste
rivière de Seine, se deslogèrent à l'heure qu'on les
devoit assaillir.

Also : deslogement (m.).

DESMAILLIER 'to break mail mesh', 12th. c., a compound
and antonym of maillier 'to make mail', 12th. c. The prefix
reverses the action of the simple verb.

R 2051: Ma hanste est fraite e percét mun escut,
E mis osbercs desmailét e rumput;

WB 2240: Maint cop i out pris e doné,
Maint hume mort e maint nafré,
Maint escu fait e meint percied,
Elme fait, halberc desmailed.

G 1816: Granz colps li donent de lances e d'espees;
Forte est la broine quant ne la poent desmailler.

DESMANDER 'to refrain from summoning', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of mander 'to send, ask, order, summon', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

WR III.2723: Li paisant d'Aureinchein
Ne tindrent rute ne chemin,
Tuit desmande e dessumuns
Curent as pas et as buissuns,
Cels ki fuient vunt abatant
E les abatuz ociant.

DESMARCHIER 'to retreat, go away', 15th. c. (?), a compound and antonym of marchier 'to trample', 12th. c., later 'to advance'. The prefix appears to reverse the action of the simple verb.

PJS 54: Alors ce vray et loyal amoureux desmarche et se part hardiement et fierement, samblant qu'il doye tout mengier, et fait ainssi sur sa garde ces premiers cops mesureement et attempreement;

PJS 180: mais, au lever que Saintré fist, sur son desmarchier il se tourna, et au roy de rechief fist sa reverence, et semblablement a la royne et aux dames, comme avoit fait.

DESMARIER 'to divorce', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of marier 'to marry', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

F XVII.230: La dame se vault repentir
Et disoit: "Rien ne me fera!"
Se devoit-elle consentir
A soy demarier ?

DESMENTIR 'to contradict; render, be useless, harm, destroy, fail, break', 12th. c., a compound and antonym (?) of mentir 'to fail, lie', 10th. c. (Passion). The meaning or function of the prefix in this compound is far from clear. König, p. 104, classes it among compounds which are antonyms of the simple forms, but this case does not appear to be so simple. The meaning 'to contradict' denotes some opposition to, and therefore negation of, the lie (mentir), and is similar to desdire, see p. 253. The meaning 'to fail, break' seems to be a stronger way of expressing the idea already contained in the simple (see G V.244c), and the prefix must therefore have a reinforcing function, perhaps by analogy with other verbs of destruction. TL suggests that these meanings are figurative extensions of the first.

4R 2.XIX.43: Ces de Juda firent dur respuns é
desmentirent e laidengierent ces de Israel.

Lat.: durius autem responderunt viri Iuda viris
Israhel.

AOC 9336: Car per son empaindre formant
Les murs depiece et desmant,

Lat.: Nam in inferioribus habet arietem, cuius impetu
destruit muros, . . .

4PV 25: et y out grosses parolles dictes en la
presence du roy Jehan, entre lesquelles Charles
d'Espaigne desmenti monseigneur Philippe de Navarre.
Et quant le dit messire Philippe ouy soy desmentir,
lors il sacha son coustel et en vout ferir Charles
d'Espaigne.

HSL 12.24: Il me dist que je me gardasse que je ne

dementisse ne ne desdeisse nullui de ce que il diroit
devant moy, . . .

DESMERITE (m.) 'demerit, sin', 14th. c., a compound and
antonym of merite 'reward, recompense, thanks, punishment',
12th. c. The compound negates the simple noun.

D II.290.507: Helas! mar furent d'Aadam nez
Les chetis qui seront dampnez
En enfer pour leurs demerites;

MC I.109: Toutes telles dispositions viennent de
Dieu qui donne mutation aux choses selon le merite
ou desmerite des gens.

DESMESLER 'to separate, disentangle', 12th. c., a
compound and antonym of mesler 'to mingle, mix', 12th. c.,
or perhaps an antonym of enmesler 'to mingle', 12th. c. In
either case the prefix reverses the previous action.

WR III.1159: Grant pour unt e mult s'esmaient,
Saillent es nef's, lur ancores traient,
Cordes desmedlent, veiles tendent,
A la terre esloigner entendent.

RCC 15: Et fu si grans chele meslee que a paines les
peurent li chevalier desmeler.

MC I.21: "Je les mectray aujourd'uy si près l'un de
l'autre qu'il sera bien abille qui les pourra desmeller."

DESMESURER 'to exceed, overstep the limits', 12th. c.,
a compound and antonym of mesurer 'to measure, regulate',
12th. c. The prefix negates the action of keeping within
limits.

SB 143.5: A la fieie suelt estre detreie griement
li oresons per flavouteit d'espirit et per desmesureie
crimor.

Lat.: Interdum enim graviter impeditur oratio a
pusillanimitate spiritus et timore immoderato.

EE 228: Il sot bien que del nain ferir
ne porroit il mie joïr,
car le chevalier vit armé,
molt felon et desmesuré,
et crient qu'asez tost l'ocirroit,
se devant lui son nain feroit.

G 1463: Cum celui qui n'est parfund sené
A sun talent se lait demesurer,
Pur petitesce que m'avez a blasmer ?

LT 1.CXXII.29: Por ce dient li egyptien ke en cele
anee que li fleuves de Nile croist trop en haut et que
son accroissement se desmesure outre .xviii. piés que
li champ ne gaignent mie tant por le moistour des euues,
ki i gisent trop longement.

LT 2.XVI.12: Et largece est le mi entre avarice et
prodigalité, car prodigues est celui ki se desmesure en en
despendre et ki faut en prendre

Also : desmesurable (adj.) 'immoderate' ; desmesurance (f.)
'excess' ; desmesure (f.) 'excess'.

DESMODERER 'to be immoderate', 15th. c., a compound
and antonym of moderer 'to be moderate, to moderate', 14th.
c. The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

CKB: Desquelles qualites quant lune est demoderée des
autres sensuit quon est malade.

DESMONTER 'to dismount, unhorse', 12th. c., a compound
and antonym of monter 'to climb, mount', 12th. c. The
prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

CN 26: La eut creuse bataille, et fut le roy
demonté et son cheval occis soubz lui, . . .

D V. 254. 18: Estre deussent, de quoy je me debat,
Près du seigneur, quant il monte ou
[desmoute,
A son coucher et lever en esbat,
Pour ly servir, maiz chascun les seurmonte:

DESMOVOIR 'to dissuade, cause to renounce', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of movoir 'to move, cause to move', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of moving towards some objective, and could, therefore, be regarded as meaning 'away' in some contexts. The idea of 'away' is rendered also by the preposition de. Similarly, movoir a has a preposition to make its meaning clear, and it is this expression which is reversed by des-.

MC II.56: Comment mons^r le connestable envoya devers
le roy d'Angleterre pour le desmouvoir de faire ledict
appointement avecques le roy.

MC II.127: Le roy la voulut desmouvoir du mariage dont j'ay parlé de ses deux filles, mais elle s'en excusoit sur les filles, lesquelles y estoient obstinées.

DESNATUREL (adj.) 'bad, unnatural', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of naturel 'natural', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple adjective.

CHM 1262: . . . mes demeure environ les membres
nerveux la partie d'iceus moiste la quel est porrie
par chaleur degnaturel, et soit toute dissoute et hors
escolourgee. . . .

DESNÖER 'to untie, unfasten, loosen; dislocate; disclose',
 12th. c., a compound and antonym of nöer 'to make a knot',
 12th. c. A Lat. disnodare is attested in the 12th. c., but,
 in view of the date of its appearance, is unlikely to have
 been the origin of the Old French compound. The prefix
 reverses the action of the simple verb.

L/V 2007: denouer = denodare,
 L/Aalma 2873: desnoer = denodare,
 L/Aalma 3738: desnoer = enodare.

DESOBÉIR 'to disobey', ca. 1280, a compound and
 antonym of obéir 'to obey', ca. 1128. The prefix negates the
 action of the simple verb.

CB XII.12: Noz disons que se les defautes ou les
 entreprises sont por coze qui apartiegne au fief,
 si comme s'il desobeist, ou s'il le semont de service
 et il ne le sert pas si comme il doit, . . .

MC II.215: "Tu desobéiz et faictz contre l'ommaige
 que tu me doiz", . . .

Also : desobeissance (f.), 1283.

DESOBLEGIER 'to release from obligation', 1307, a
 compound and antonym of oblegier 'to pledge, put under
 obligation', 1246. The prefix reverses the action of the
 simple verb.

PJS 78: "Ho!", dist Ysabel, "Madame, ores sommes nous
desobligees; car nous vous estions tenues pour lui, que
 a ceste fois il aroit choisy dame, et vous veez que ce
 n'est nulle de celles que avez nommees; . . ."

DESOCOUPER 'to release, withdraw charge against so., cease to occupy', 14th. c., a compound and antonym of occuper 'to employ, occupy, obstruct, take prisoner, accuse', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

4PV 184: Et comme monseigneur Richart de Beaumont sceut que le roy avoit envoiés messages à son oncle l'empereur pour soy desoccuper, il mit sus à monseigneur Guillaume de Harecourt cestui fait et l'en occupa devers le roy.

4PV 243: Le dit bailli les desoccupa et delivra tous fors celui qui avoit fait l'omicide, lequel de puis en fut delivré, le plait durant entre le roy et l'archevesque.

DESORDENER 'to disorder, misdirect, confuse, depose', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of ordener 'to order, fashion', 12th. c. The prefix reverses and negates the action of the simple verb.

AC 16: . . . car ost devisés et departis et desordenés a tous jours esté en trop grant peril de estre moult grevez de ses anemis, . . .

AOC 838: Car hoz depertiz, devisez,
Desordenéz et daguisez,
 Ai toz jors en peril estey
 Que grevey . . .

Lat.: Periculum enim ab hostibus semper gravissimum sustinet divisus et inordinatus exercitus

R 3408: Tantes batailles avez faites pur mei,
 Regnes cunquis e desordenét reis!

MC II.224: Mais des grandz princes et princesses, de leurs grandz gouverneurs et des conseillers des provinces, villes desordonnées et desobeissans à leur seigneur et de leurs gouverneurs, qui se informera de

leurs vies ?

Also : desordenance (f.).

DESORDRE (m.) 'disorder, quarrel', 1377, a compound and antonym of ordre 'order, rule, rank, class', 12th. c. The prefix negates and reverses the simple noun.

MC I.98: Nous les trouvasmes jà separéz, et se departoyent par bendes et en desordre, comme peuple mal conduyt.

DESOTROIER 'to refuse', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of otroier 'to allow, consent', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

R 518: Guaz vos en dreit par cez pels sabelines,
Melz en valt l'or que ne funt cinc cenz livres;
Einz demain noit en iert bele l'amendise."
Guenes respunt: "Jo nel desotrei mie;
Deus, se lui plaist, a bien le vos mercie."

DESPAREIL (adj.) 'unequal, different', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of pareil 'equal', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple adjective.

Cl. 4555: Si lor comande a apoter
Trois peires d'armes desparoilles,
Unes noires, autres vermoilles,
Les tierces verz, . . .

DESPARER 'to remove ornament', 11th. c. (Alexis), a compound and antonym of parer 'to prepare, adorn, embellish', 10th. c. (Passion). The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

VSA 137: Vint en la cambre, plaine de marrement,
 si la despeiret que n i remest nient:
 n i remest palie ne neul ornement.

DESPEINDRE 'to eradicate', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of peindre 'to paint', 13th. c. REW 3049 gives the etymology of the compound as *expingere 'to obliterate, erase', but there appears to be no good reason why des- should not be regarded as reversing the action of peindre. Indeed, König, p.106, places this compound in the negative category.

D VI.158.331: Lors dit l'un: "Il vous f'ault despaindre
 "De vostre cuer et tout estaindre
 "L'ennortement des cuideriaux;

DESPENDRE (2) 'to take down (so., sth. hanging)', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of pendre 'to hang', 10th. c. (Passion). The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

RCC 90: En chel abeie si estoit le tavle de marbre
 ou Nostre Sires fu estendus, quant il fu despendus de
 le crois, . . .

HSL 292.536: et le pendirent par les bras à unes
 fourches, et li dirent que il ne le despenderoient
 point jusques à tant que il averoient le chastel de
 Jaffe.

4PV 65: Aprez ce, ala le roy de Navarre à Rouen et
 fit despendre du gibet de Rouen le conte de Harecourt,
 le sire de Graille, Manbue de Menesmares et Colin
 Doublet.

DESPORVĒU (adj.) 'unprepared, unequipped', -- de 'without', 12th./13th. c., a compound and antonym of porvēu, past participle of porvoir 'to see, examine, protect, provide', 12th. c. The prefix negates and reverses the action of the simple verb.

AC 175: . . . et ce fait on pour ce qu'il soient plus legierement ocis tout despourvēu.

AOC 11213: Et ce lor f'ait l'on voiremant
 Por ce que plus legieremant
 Soient mort con desporvēu
 Et come fol desconāu.

Lat.: Idque agitur, ut imparati facilius deleantur;

MC I.176: Ledit duc, qui se trouvoit despourvēu de gens (car il avoit departye ceste assemblée dont j'ay parlé naguères et renvoyéz tous chez eulx), . . .

CkB: . . . car en differant soy convertir et confesser souvent plusieurs meurent despourveuz en grant danger et peril de leurs ames.

DESPRISIER 'to despise, scorn, belittle', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of prisier 'to value, praise', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

2M 1.III.14: e serai glorifiez el regne e combaterai contre Iuda e od ceaus qui sont od li qui ont desprise le comandement le rey.

Lat.: . . . et glorificabor in regno: et debellabo Judam et eos qui cum ipso sunt, qui spernabant verbum regis.

LT 2.XIV.8: car pour passion ne pour pooir n'est pas li hons blasmés ne loés, mais por l'abit est il prisiés et desprisiés s'il est fermes et parmanans en son corage.

4PV 228: Le dit roy Artur ala de bonne volenté et

grant courage combatre le dit geant qui moult
desprisoit la petite corpulence du roy Artur envers
 lui.

Also : despris (m.) 'scorn' ; desprisable (adj.) 'despic-
 able' ; desprisement (m.) 'disdain'.

DESPROVER 'to disprove', 12th. c., a compound and anto-
 nym of prover 'to prove', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the
 action of the simple verb.

4R 3.XIII.33: Mais li fel veillard se esforcout á
despruver la veritéd é afermout que . . .

DESRAISON (f.) 'unreason, wrong', 12th. c., a compound
 and antonym of raison 'speech, reason', 10th. c. (Léger,
Passion). The prefix negates the simple noun.

4PV 2: Et lui manda le roy Edouart que il ne le
 tenoit á roy et que á tort et á desraison il s'estoit
 fait couronner.

FV 1791: Se si plaine est de desraison
 Que vueille que du tout desvie,
 Plaise a Dieu que l'ame ravie
 En soit lassus en sa maison
 Au retour!

Also : desraisnable (adj.) 'unreasonable, irrational',
 14th. c., a compound and antonym of rais(o)nable 'reasonable',
 13th. c.

DESRENGIER 'to disarrange, move, break ranks', 12th. c.,
 a compound and antonym of rengier 'to order, arrange in
 ranks', 12th. c., or perhaps an antonym of arrangier 'to

arrange, order', 12th. c. In either case the prefix reverses the action of the original form.

AC 104: . . . et il seront desrengié et averont lor ordres tourblés et departis, . . .

AOC 6208: Et il se seront daslogie
Et chevaucheront desrangie
Et lor ordre trobley aront,

Lat.: . . . cum ordines solverint, . . .

WB 3135: Cil en irrunt le petit pas
Ferir sur la grant presse el tas,
Ja uns d'els ne desrengera
Ne pur home ne guenchira.

DESRÉS (adj.) 'unshaven', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of res, past participle of rere 'to shave, gnaw, cut, scratch', 12th. c. The prefix negates the simple verb and its past participle.

4R 2.XIX.24: é out ested desrés é desaturnez é de sei é de sa vesture . . .

Lat.: . . . et intonsa barba vestesque suas non laverat . .

DESRÖILLIER 'to become, make free of rust', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of röillier 'to rust', ca. 1200. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

L/Aalma 3541: desroullier = eruginare.

DESSAFRER 'to remove gold lacquer from mail', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of safrer 'to embroider or lacquer with gold or yellow', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

R 3426: Naines li dux fierement le reguardet,
 Vait le ferir cum hume vertudable,
 De sun escut li freint la pene halte,
 De sun osberc les dous pans li desaffret,
 El cors li met tute l'enseigne jalne,

DESSAISIR 'to dispossess', 12th. c., a compound and
 antonym of saisir 'to take possession of', 12th. c. The
 prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

WR III.10541: Will out non, qui les wes tint
 E d'autres terres grant plente,
 Estre l'enor de sa conte,
 Donc li reis l'out tot dessaisi,
 E cil li aveit tot guerpi.

TAC 58: . . . de que il fu sesiz au derrenier aost ou
 a celui qui fu devant le derrenier, de quoi il l'a puis
dessessi a tort e sanz jugement;

CB VII.3: ou quand aucuns a gaaingnié saisine, et
 avant que il soit resaisis de toutes le cozes dont il
 fu dessaisi, on plede à li de le propriété, et il ne
 veut respondre devant qu'il soit resaisis entierement;

HSL 386.712: Derechief, nous commandons que il ne
dessaisissent home de sesinne que il tieingne, sans
 congnoissance de cause, ou sanz commandement especial
 de nous;

Also : dessaisine (f.) 'dispossession', an antonym of
saisine 'possession, seisure' ; dessaisiner 'to put aside,
 get rid of'.

DESSEMBLER 'to be different from', 12th. c., a
 compound and antonym of sembler 'to seem, appear, resemble',
 12th. c. The prefix negates the idea of resembling.

SB 66.35: Trois mervillouses choses eswart chier
 freire en ceste nexance de nostre signor. ki sunt

diverses et forment dessemblanz; car li enfes qui naist est deus.

Lat.: Duo quaedam rerum genera, fratres, in hac Nativitate Domini considero, non solum diversa, sed et dissimilia valde. Siquidem puer qui nascitur Deus est;

EE 2906: Toz les trois chevax en a pris,
ses lie par les frains ansamble;
li uns l'autre de poil dessamble:

LT 2.XLI.7: Donques chasteté et continence ne sont une meisme chose, et de tant se dessamblent comme vaincre et non estre vencus.

Also : dessemblable (adj.), 12th. c., an antonym of semblable.

The form in dis- is a learned borrowing, and does not appear until the 14th. c.

DESSEMONDRE 'not to ask, not to summon', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of semondre 'to summon', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

WR III.2723: Li paisant d'Aureinchein
Ne tindrent rute ne chemin,
Tuit desmande e dessumuns
Curent as pas et as buissuns,
Cels ki fuient vunt abatant
E les abatuz ociant.

DESSËOIR 'to displease; lift siege', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of sëoir 'to sit, stay, besiege, be fitting, please', 12th. c. The prefix reverses and negates the action of the simple verb. It seems unlikely that the Lat. dissidere 'to sit apart, disagree, differ' can be regarded as the origin of the Old French compound because

of the difference in meaning, but it is impossible that dessëoir is an antonym of assëoir 'to sit, set, decide, fix, besiege', 12th. c.

EE 6154: . . . si li demanderoit
de son afeire et de son estre,
et anquerroit s'il pooit estre
qu'ele del suen li redeïst,
mes que trop ne li dasseïst.

DESSERRER 'to open, loosen, tear apart, tear open', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of serrer 'to close, bar, lock', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

Cl. 5546: Jehanz, qui avoit feite l'oeuvre,
L'uis del mur li desserre et oeuvre
Si ne le malmet, ne ne quasse,

G 1826: Tote li fent e froisse e encantele,
Sun bon halberc li desrunt e deserre;

D II.194.40: Les bois, les prez, les champs, la terre
Seulent nouvelle robe querre
En ce doulz mois plain de verdure;
Adonc mainte flour se desserre
Que chascun doit joieus requerre
De mainte couleur nette et pure,

DESSEU (adj.) 'unknowing, lacking understanding', 12th. c., (m.) a mon -- 'unknown to me', 15th. c., past participle of dessavoir 'not to know, to be ignorant', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of savoir 'to know', 10th. c. (Léger). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

D I.242.3: Je ne doubte qu'Envie et Traison

Qui vont a court pour moy nuire et grever
A mon desceu;

DESTENDRE 'to relax, release (arrow), strike (tent)',
12th. c., a compound and antonym of tendre 'to stretch,
tighten', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the
simple verb.

WR III.5866: A Roem ert li duc el parc,
Entre ses mains teneit un arc,
Encorde l'aveit e tendu
E entese e destendu,
A un vaslet l'out fait livrer,
Aler voleit, co crei, berser.

EE 4093: que il preigne prochain conroi
de ses trez destendre et abatre,
et veigne trois liues ou catre
devant ax . . .

DESTORDRE 'to unfold, unfurl', 12th. c., a compound
and antonym of tordre 'to twist, wring', 12th. c. The
prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

WR II.3290: Normant furent es chans, lur gunfanuns
[destors,
Duze baruns unt pris, a l'angoisse des
[cors,
E treis chevaliers unt ocis de cels de
[fors,

This compound is not connected with the Lat. distorquere 'to
twist, distort, torture', in which the prefix has an
intensive function.

DESTROSSER 'to unload, unpack; rob', 12th. c., a
compound and antonym of trosser 'to bundle up, load, pack',

12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

WR III.11386: Un barrier qui out non l'aison
 -- Ne sai s'il aveit altre non --
 Un chamberlenc a encontre,
 D'une male l'a destrosse.

MC I.193: Et tant allèrent les choses que ledict roy
 Edouard eschappa et assembla gens et destroussa quelque
 bande de ceulx du conte de Warvic.

VSCH 87: Et adonc, ledict patron dist qu'il estoit
 informé qu'il n'y pouvoit aller à cause des Arabes qui
 estoient audict fleuve en armes et puissance pour
destrousser les pellerins . . .

Also : destrosse (f.) 'brigandage, raid'.

DESUSER 'to give up, become unused to', 12th. c., a
 compound and antonym of user 'to use, practise, be accustomed to', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the simple verb.

AOC 10002: Car quant il a mangier entendent
 Ou a dormir, ou quant il randent
 Au cors l'aise et la delice
 En joant per meniere nice,
 Et qu'il se vont abaloiant,
Desusey et tuit deloiant,

Lat.: Nam sive cibo sive somno fuerint occupati
 sive otio aut . . .

DESVOLOIR 'to be unwilling, not to want', 12th. c., a
 compound and antonym of voloir 'to want, wish, intend', 9th.
 c. (Eulalie). The prefix negates the action of the simple verb.

CDAS 188: N'aies pas müable vouloir;
 Ce que tu veuls, ne desvouloir,

Car qui a soi est adversaire,
Moult par est a autrui contraire.

Lat. : Sperne repugnando tibi tu contrarius esse:
conveniet nulli, qui secum dissidet ipse.

We have seen in this first section how des- serves to negate and reverse the idea expressed by the simple form. However, in a few instances, it has been impossible to decide whether the compound in des- was the antonym of a simple form or of another compound. Indeed, one of the most important characteristics of the use of des- in Old French is the negation of positive compounds, a characteristic which would seem to have been inherited from Classical Latin. There are some major differences, however, between CLat. dis- and OFr. des- : dis- is most often the antonym of con- in Classical Latin, while in Old French des- is the antonym of a- and em-, en- ; in Classical Latin compounds in dis- were formed from a simple verb, noun or adjective, and the fact that they were antonyms of compounds in con- was almost incidental in most cases (sentire, consentire, dissentire, for example), but in Old French it is quite common for a negative compound in des- to be formed as the antonym of a compound in a- or em-, en-, without the intervention of any simple form, although the simple form may, in some cases, come into use at a later date.

The formation of a compound in des- which is an antonym of a compound in a- or em-, en- may be effected in either or both of two ways : by double prefixation (des-a-, des-em-, des-en-), or by change of prefix (des- in place of a-, em- or en-). The fact that both these processes may be used to form an antonym of the same compound results in a number of synonyms or near synonyms, e.g., despaisier/desapaisier, despechier/desempechier, destachier/desatachier. The antonym of a positive compound may also be synonymous, or nearly so, with that of the corresponding simple form, e.g., desfier/desafier, desancrer/desdancrer. Since the double prefixation is the simpler of the two processes, let us consider it first.

König suggests, pp. 69, 70, 72, that there is always some difference in meaning between compounds having the single prefix des- and those with the double prefix desa- or desen-, and to support this idea quotes the example of desfier (VLat. [§]disfidare) 'to distrust' and desafier (VLat. [§]disadfidare) 'to challenge, defy'. Once again König appears to be too eager to make rigid differentiations between similar compounds, for a brief look at the following quotations shows that desfier also may mean 'to challenge, defy' :

VCC 124.215: et distrent que onques mais nus n'avoit

esté si ardiz qui ossast l'empereor de Constantinople
desfier en sa chambre meismes.

HSL 246.451: pour ce que se li amiraus eust estei
 refusez, il eust presentei au roy ces trois coutiaus
 pour li deffier.

We must, therefore, admit that there is evidence of some synonymy, although there are no doubt some cases in which the different prefixation serves to separate slightly different meanings. In order to discover the facts of the case, let us proceed to a detailed examination of some of the relevant compounds. It is to be noted that König maintains, pp. 72-73, that some of these compounds are substantival or adjectival formations, i. e., that they are parasynthetic compounds formed from nouns or adjectives by the addition of the linked prefixes desa- or desen-. He quotes desaifier and desembracier as examples of such compounds. Surely these are verbal compounds in which des- has been added to the compounds in a- and em-.

DESÄANCERER 'to weigh anchor', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of Äancerer 'to anchor', 12th. c., and a synonym of desancerer, see p. 239. The prefix reverses the action denoted by the positive compound.

Cl. 251: Tantost fu la voile tandue
 Et la barge desaencree,

DESACOINTIER 'to split, separate, avoid acquaintance',

13th. c., a compound and antonym of acointier 'to know, get to know, acquaint', 12th. c. The prefix reverses and negates the action of the earlier compound.

VOC 120.205: Ensi furent desacointié li Franc et li Grec;

DESACOSTUMER 'to disaccustom, lose habit', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of acostumer 'to accustom', 12th. c., and virtually a synonym of descostumer. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

AC 100: . . . qui lonc temps ait desacoustumé les armes, . . .

Lat.: . . . vel diu armis desuetum exercitum ducit,

FV 1390: Raison ne veult que je desacoustume,
Et en ce vueil avec elle m'assemble,
De vous servir, mais que m'y acoustume;

Also : desacostumance (f.), 13th. c.

DESAERDRE 'to detach, separate', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of aerdre 'to attach, fasten, seize', 12th. c., and a synonym of des(h)erdre.

WR III.11077: De totes parz sunt acoru(z),
Brun qui pendeit ont receu(z),
De sa sele l'on desaers
E a terre ochie envers.

Cl. 5142: Por proiere ne por pleissance,
Sachiez ne la voldroie perdre,
Car mon cuer n'en puis desaerdre
Ne je ne l'en ferai ja force.

The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

DESAFATEMENT (m.) 'offence, bad taste', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of afatement (m.) 'good manners, grace; preparation, arrangement', 12th. c. The prefix negates the earlier compound.

MDP 108.14: Premièrement se tu dones, garde que tu ne dones desafatement.

Lat.: In tribuendo cave ne sis durus.

DESAFIER 'to defy, break faith', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of afier 'to pledge, vow, assure', 12th. c., and often synonymous with desfier, see p. 255. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

L/V 2114, /P 2445: desafier = diffidere.

DESAFUBLER 'to unhook, remove outer garment', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of afubler 'to put on garment', 12th. c., and often a synonym of desfubler, see p. 161. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

4R 1.XVIII.4: De ses guarnemenz se desvesti é desafublad é á David trestut dunad:

Lat.: . . . nam expoliavit se Ionathan tunicam qua erat vestitus et dedit eam David . . .

EE 739: La sele fu mise et li frains;
desliee et desafublee
est la pucele sus montee,
qui de rien ne s'an fist proier.

DESAGRÉER 'to displease', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of agrээр 'to be welcome, please', 12th. c., and

a synonym of desgréer. The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

D IV.179.25: Je ne crien nul autre tour:
C'est ce qui me desagrée.

DESALÖER 'to blame, censure', past participle 'of ill-repute', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of alöer 'to approve, consent', 12th. c., sometimes a synonym of deslöer, see p. 262. The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

WB 2874: Toscane unt conquise e robee,
Une terre desaloe.

DESAMASER 'to demolish', 15th. c. (?), a compound and antonym of amaser 'to gather, collect', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

S IX.203: Il n'est au monde telle vie
Que gentement desamacer
Tous les biens sans melancolie.

DESAMOLIR 'to harden', 13th./14th. c., a compound and antonym of amolir 'to soften', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

L/Aalma 2863: desamolir = demolire.

DESÄORNER 'to disorder, strip of embellishment', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of äorner 'to adorn', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

AC 134: La vie champestre et desaournee des homes
el commencement del siecle fu . . .

Lat.: Agrestem incultamque hominum in initio
saeculi vitam . . .

DESAPAISSIER past participle 'not at peace', ca. 1260,
a compound and antonym of apaisier 'to make peace, set at
rest', 12th. c., and a synonym of despaisier, see p. 297.
The prefix reverses and negates the action of the earlier
compound.

CN 28: . . . et en yoelle yre il maudist le roy de
France jusques à la septiesme ligne et tous ceulz qui
ce meffait lui faisoit, et assez tost après il mourust
tout ayrez et desapaisiez.

DESAPAREILLIER 'to disarm, be unready', 12th. c., a
compound and antonym of apareillier 'to prepare', 12th. c.,
and sometimes a synonym of despareillier. The prefix
reverses and negates the action of the earlier compound.

SB 15.8: tant cum a iustise affliert nen atroverat
mies en nos li sapience son siege desaparilliet.

Lat.: . . . quod ad justitiam pertinet non imparatam
sedem inveniet Sapientia.

DESAPAROIR 'to disappear', 13th. c., a compound and
antonym of aparoir 'to appear, be visible, seem, show',
12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier
compound.

LT 1.LXXXXVIII.42: Et ja soit ce par aventure k'ele
segnefiast assés de choses es autres parties dou monde,

totesvoies savons nous bien que la nuit proprement
k'ele desaparut et k'ele s'en ala, cela nuit proprement
morut li apostoiles Urbains, dont il fu grans damages;

DESAPOINTIER 'to dismiss from office', 1395, a compound
and antonym of apointier 'to fix, arrange, appoint, deter-
mine', 13th. c., and sometimes a synonym of despointier, see
p. 298. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier
compound.

MC I.85: Peu à peu reconcillioyt le roy avecques luy
les bons et notables chevaliers qui avoient servy le
roy son père, lesquelz il avoit desappointéz à son
advènement à la couronne, . . .

S VII.64: Par mon ame, a grant paine.
Tel a esté bailly et capitaine
Qui maintenant se voyt desappointé
Par Gemini.

DESAPRENDRE 'to unlearn, forget', 1290, a compound and
antonym of aprendre 'to grasp, learn; tell; accustom os. to',
12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier
compound.

AOC 1967: Au derriers fu si desaprise
Que du tot fu en obli mise.

Lat.: . . . ad postremum olim in oblivionem perducta
cognoscitur, . . .

DESARESTER 'to free, release', 13th. c., a compound and
antonym of arester 'to stop, stay; issue an attachment against
so., sth.', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the
earlier compound.

CB IX.2: et comme il fu couquans et levans de soz le conte, et le connaissance de ses muebles et de ses catix apartenist au conte, il requeroit que li dis Jehans fust contrains à ce qu'il feist desarester, comme il fust aparelliés de respondre en le cort du conte, de ce qu'il li saroit que demander.

DESARROI (m.) 'disorder', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of aroi 'order, arrangement, disposition', 13th. c., and a derivative of desarëer 'to disarrange, disorder', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of arëer 'to order, dispose, organize, equip', 13th. c. Desrëer, see p. 298, is virtually a synonym of desarëer. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

4PV 16: Par hastiveté et desarroy furent les François desconfiz.

CN 183: Et fut tout l'ost du prince en grant desaroy et durement effroyé, car ilz cuidoiënt que ce feust tout l'ost du roy Henry.

DESASSEMBLER 'to separate', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of assembler 'to bring together, collect', 11th. c. (Alexis), and a synonym of dessembler 'to separate'. The prefix reverses and negates the action of the earlier compound.

FV 1403: Princesse, oyez ce que cy vous resume:
Que le mien cuer du vostre desassemble
Ja ne sera: tant de vous en presume;

DESATACHIER 'to detach, unfasten, loosen', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of atachier 'to attach, fasten',

12th. c., and a synonym of destachier, see p. 300. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

WR III.5884: L'evre del bois a tot laissie,
 Sovent a son mantel lacie
 Et sovent l'a desatachie,
 Ne il a home ne parla,
 Ne hoem a lui parler n'osa.

DESATALANTER 'to displease', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of atalanter 'to please', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

WB 2440: La dame ert assez bele e gente,
 Mais li plaiz li desatalente.

DESATEMPRER 'to mix in wrong proportion; past participle, excessive', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of atemprer 'to mix, temper, tune, arrange, cool, moderate', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound, for that in des- means 'to mix in incorrect proportion', while the one in a- means 'to mix in correct proportion'. This compound is not a synonym of destremper, destemprer, although the past participle of this form may mean 'excessive', see p. 154.

LT I.CII.18: Car se li cors fust d'un eliment sans plus, il ne poroit desatemprer jamés, por ce k'il n'auroit contraires, et ensi ne morroit il

Also : desatemprance (f.) 'excess, abnormality' ;
desatemprement (m.) 'bad, disproportionate mixture'.

CHM 800: La .7. est que se l'en voit aucune cause

devant aler par la quele desatrempance soit faite, ou aucun des accidens dessus dis, soit lors ramenee a atrempance.

LT 1.CII.16: Et si comme li atemprement ki acorde la diversité des elimens fait le cors engendrer et naistre et vivre, tot autresi li desatrempement d'iaus les corront et le fait devier.

DESATORNER 'to undress', past participle 'uncovered, unequipped, unkempt', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of atorner 'to direct, turn to; put in order, attend to, equip, prepare', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates and reverses the action of the earlier compound.

4R 2.XIX.24: é out ested desrés é desaturnez é de sei é de sa vesture . . .

Lat.: . . . et intonsa barba vestesque suas non laverat . . .

WR III.3705: Hubert de Rie ert a sa porte,
Entre le mostier e sa mote:
Guill. vit desatorne
E son cheval vit tressue,

DESAÜSER 'to be unaccustomed, lose the habit', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of aüser 'to use, accustom os.', 12th. c., and a synonym of desuser, see p. 280. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

AC 65: et li chevalier desaüsé d'armes sont tous jours ausi comme aprentis.

AOC 3523: C'est chevaliers desahusez,
Cil est emprentiz raüsez

Lat.: . . . inexercitatus miles semper est tiro.

DESAVENIR 'to be unsuitable, unbecoming', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of avenir 'to arrive at, attain, happen, be suitable', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

CB XII.17: Et li escanlles, si est des pechiés de cors, d'aus vilainement et honteusement demener, ou de mariege desavenant, fet pas eles contre me volenté;

Also : desavenable (adj.).

DESAVENTURE (f.) 'mishap, misfortune; unseemliness', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of aventure 'happening, chance, fortune (usually, but not necessarily, good)', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates the greater part of the meaning of aventure, thereby giving the new compound a pejorative sense. This group is clearly related to the preceding one, which also contains the opposition of good and bad because of the negative prefixation.

AOC 11197: Cui li poisson tantost menguent
Et deanz lor vantres les ruent,
Don c'est moult grant desaventure;
Illuques sont sanz sepulture.

Lat.: inter tanta tamen mortium genera qui acerrimus casus est, absumenda piscibus insepulta sunt corpora.

DESAVOËR 'to disclaim, deny', 1265, a compound and antonym of avöer 'to recognize, admit', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

CB XXIX.3: Et porce est il bon as segneurs qu'il gardent par qui il font lor justices garder, puisqu'il

ne poent desavouer ce que lor serjant font en
justichant, et ce avons noz veu jugier en l'ostel le
roy.

4PV 256: Et comme il vist ce, il desavoua les Angloiz
et dit que par lui oncques n'avoient commencé la guerre
et rafferma les treves au roy de France.

P 1253: Je puisse Dieu desavouer
Se ce n'estes vous, vous sans faulte !

MC I.76: Et desavoua ledict Morvillier, disant ne
luy avoir point donné charge d'aucunes parolles qu'il
avoit dictes.

DESEMPARER 'to deprive, abandon, dismantle, put out of
working order', 1364, a compound and antonym of emparer 'to
decorate', 12th. c., 'to occupy, seize, fortify', 1323. The
prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

MC I.184: Ainsi, ilz desemparèrent la place et s'en
fuyrent.

D II.106.7: Place royal qui deusse estre emparée
Pour recevoir les gens de mon seigneur,
Par leur default sui trop desemparée,
Chascuns ne quiert fors proufit sanz honeur.

DESEMPECHIER 'to free, clear, release', 13th. c., a
compound and antonym of empechier 'to hinder, prevent, trap',
12th. c., and a near synonym of despechier, see p. 310. The
prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

AOC 7925: Car toz jors chars, ne les charrates,
Ne truent pès le vies nates,
Ne plainnes, ne desempachies,
Mès truevent sovant rudes vies,

Lat.: Nam difficile currus falcatus planum semper
invenit campum . . .

DESEMPLEIR 'to empty', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of emplier 'to fill', ca. 1150. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

L/Aalma 2891: desemplir = deplere.

DESENFLEIR 'to diminish in volume, go down (swelling)', ca. 1200, a compound and antonym of enfler 'to increase in volume, swell', 10th. c. (Passion). The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

CHM 1168: La .l. maniere est que il soient fomentés o vin chaut tiede pontique et noir et o esponge amoistie en cel vin, la quele esponge soit tant tenue et mise sus que il se desenflent.

DESENVIRER 'to become, make sober', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of enivrer 'to become, make drunk', 12th. c., and a synonym of desivrer, see p. 310. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

4R 1.XXV.37: Quant il fûd desenivrez al demain,
Abigaïl, sa muiller, li mustrad tut cest aventure, . . .

Lat.: diluculo autem cum digessisset vinum Nabal
indicavit ei uxor sua verba haec . . .

G 2727: Devant Franceis començat a tenter,
De l'ewe freide ad sun vis lavé;
Dunc començad del vin a desenivrer.

DESENNUYER 'to amuse', ca. 1400, a compound and antonym of ennuyer 'to tire, weary, bore, be a nuisance', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

S II.144: Le faict il pour me faire rire ?
 Sy serai ge qu'i veulent dire
 Afin de me desennuyer.

FV 1825: Je luy envoie des sornettes
 Pour soy desennuyer; combien,
 S'il veult, face en des alumettes:
 De bien chanter s'ennuye on bien.

DESENORTER 'to dissuade, discourage, cow', 13th. c., a compound and antonym of enorter 'to encourage, exhort, excite', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

CDAS 164: Pais et ennor entre genz porte,
 Guerre et haïne desenorte.

G 41: "Reis Deramed est issu de Cordres.
 En halte mer en ad mise sa flote,
 Amunt Girunde en est venu par force;
 En vostre tere est que si mal desenorted.

While most of the compounds in a- and em-, en- found in the last section were probably felt to be such, it seems likely that a few, such as acointier, aprendre, emplir, enfler, were, in fact, regarded by the majority as simple verbs, and were treated as such. In this case there would be some support for regarding the compounds in des- as cases of single rather than double prefixation, as were those formed from compounds in con- examined in the first section of this chapter. However, we shall now consider cases of change of prefix, and for change of prefix to occur in a compound its

composite nature must usually be recognized by the sujet parlant. For this reason the compounds in a- and em-, en- from which the compounds in des- are thought to have been formed are generally transparent, and the opposition of negative and positive compound very clear.

Unfortunately, it would often be justifiable to regard a proportion of the compounds in this section as parasynthetic forms in which the prefix usually indicated some form of separation or removal, e.g., deschäener could be thought to denote separation from or of chains, and despaisier could be regarded as denoting the removal of peace. Nevertheless, in view of the consistency with which des- has been shown to have a purely negative function in Mediaeval French, which is just as apparent in the compounds in this section when they are analysed as antonyms of positive compounds, it may be felt that the parasynthetic explanation should be considered with some suspicion. The compounds in a- and em-, en- are often parasynthetics, but parasynthetics are more likely to occur with a prefix having a tangible locative sense, as is the case with a- and em-, en-, than with one such as des- which has lost its locative meaning. Let us, then, examine in more detail those compounds in des- which are antonyms of forms in a- and em- or en-, starting with antonyms of compounds in a-.

DESCULER 'to guard against being driven into a corner', 15th. c., an antonym of aculer 'to drive, be driven into a place where further retreat is impossible', 13th. c. The prefix negates the earlier positive compound.

D V.39.12: Mais cil qui veult tout emmuler
Et d'avoir faire un trop grant mule,
Se puet de legier aculer
Se largesce ne le descule;

DESMONCELER 'to remove, clear away', 13th. c., an antonym of amonceler 'to collect, heap up', 12th. c. The prefix negates and reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

L/D 950: desmoncheler = exagere,
L/E 198: desmonceler = exagregare,
L/P 2946: demonceler = exaggare.

The simple monceler 'to accumulate' is not attested as early as amonceler, but it is not impossible that it was the form negated by des-.

DESPAISIER 'to worry', 13th. c., an antonym of apaisier 'to make peace, set at rest', 12th. c. The prefix negates and reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

D III.29.8: Babiloine dont parla Ysaye,
Que Cirus prinst, et Baltasar tua,
Roy orgueilleus qui des siens convoita
L'or et l'argent, dont leurs cuers trop
[despaise;

DESPARTIER 'to lose, take away spouse', ca. 1390,

an antonym of apariier 'to unite, marry two people', 1226.

The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

IM I.528: . . . on arderoit
 Tous hommes qui se remariient
 Après ce qu'il se desparient
 Par mort de leurs premieres femmes.

Lat.: . . . deberet [in] igne cremari
 Qui post conjugia sua prima potest bigamari.

DESPOINTIER 'to remove, deprive, harm', 13th. c., an antonym of apointier 'to fix, arrange, appoint, determine', 13th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound in the sense that despointier means 'to deprive of a thing which had previously been arranged or determined.'

D VI.196.23: Mais il tient que ne voulez mie
 En tel cas voz servens souffrir
 Deppointer de gaiges a vie,
 Ordinaires, sur leur finir,
 Veu qu'il lui fault sur ce tenir
 Et garder Fymes, . . .

DESREËER 'to disorder, run wild, overstep the bounds', 12th. c., an antonym of arëer 'to order, dispose, organize, equip', which does not appear to be attested before the 13th. c. In spite of the slight anachronism, the FEW (I. 145a) accepts this etymology, and, indeed, it would be very difficult to find any other. The prefix reverses the action of the positive compound.

IM II.2889: Absalon moult se desroya;
 David son pere guerroya,
 Tollir lui vout sceptre et couronne,

Lat.: Absalon, insurgens armis contra genitorem,
 Illi surripere sceptri temptavit honorem.

WB 4586: Quant Cesar out tut ordené,
 A tuz ad dist e deveé
 Que pur nule rien que il veient
 Li un des altres ne desreient;

CN 30: Le sanglier le feri de ses dens en la jambe
 du cheval, dont il se desroia pour la bleceure et
 geta le roy à terre . . .

BB 18: . . . et par importunité d'une des vaches
 qui estoit desrée et demandoit les toreaulx, ou
 elle estoit enyvree de mauvaïse herbe ou bruvaige, . . .

Also : desroi (m.) 'disorder, confusion, madness, wildness',

12th. c.

DESROTER 'to break up, disperse, rout', 12th. c., an
 antonym of aroter 'to put in order, arrange, assemble, get
 under way', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the
 earlier positive compound.

WB 12044: Walwein par la grant presse vait,
 Od s'espee la veie fait,
 Fiert e enpeint, caplë e bute,
 Maint en abat, meint en desrute,
 N'i ad Romein ki ses cops veie
 Ki ne li face, s'il puet, veie.

Cl. 3390: Lors se metent tost a la fuie
 Li Sesne, qui molt le redotent;
 Par mi la forest se desrotent.

CF I.64.25: Che fu fait et ordonné pour veoir se li
 ennemi se desrouteroient point, et pour veoir comment
 il se maintenoient;

4PV 52: Adonc les Aurliiennois les prindrent à assaillir moult hardiement, maiz à les assaillir se se desrouterent.

DESRUNER 'to disorder', 15th. c., an antonym of aruner 'to put in order', 14th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

S VII.134: L'Esglise est toute desrunee,
Tant que l'air en est empesché.

DESSEGIER 'to raise a siege', 13th. c., an antonym of assegier 'to besiege', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

VOC 172.289: Mult fu iriez l'empereres Baudoins quant la novele li fu venue, et mult s'enhasti que il iroit dessegier Andrenople, et feroit tot le mal qu'il porroit al marchis.

CF II.166.6: . . . il assembleroit tous les bourgeois de le ville, et leur demoustreroit le besongne, et les feroit armer, s'il pooit, pour aler dessegier le chastiel de Fauet.

DESTACHIER 'to detach, release', 12th. c., an antonym of atachier 'to attach, fasten', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

BB 74: . . . doit avoir un cuyret avec un petit bignet de bois pour attacher le chien et pour le destacher et envoyer tost et delivrement contre les loups ou aultres males bestes qui vouldroient meffaire aux brebis.

PJS 383: Lors dampz Abbes osta sa robe et se mist en pourpoint, les chausses destachees, qui, en cellui temps, n'estoient point tenans et en avant piez, . . .

DESTALENTER 'to discourage, take away, lose pleasure', 12th. c., an antonym of atalenter 'to desire, please', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

D I.123.10: Onques mais plus grief mot n'oy:
D'en servir suis destalentedé.

D IV.12.15: La sont forment tourmenté,
Desporveu, destalentedé
Dont maint d'eulx la vie lesse;

DESTELER 'to unyoke, detach, release', 12th. c., an antonym of ateler 'to yoke, attach', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

Cl. 6378: A tant une poire destele,
Si chiet Fenice sor l'oroille

CF II.111.23: Toutes voies, il fisent desteler les chevaux et les cachièrent dedans le porte, à fin que, s'il avenoit que oïl de l'host obtenissent le place, que il ne peussent remener les chars ne les pourveances si legierement.

DESTORNER 'to turn aside, avoid; hinder, prevent', 12th. c., an antonym of atorner 'to turn to, direct; order, equip, prepare, care for', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix negates and reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

Ps. LXXXVIII.44: Tu desturnas la force del glaive de lui, e ne suzlevas lui en bataille.

Lat.: Avertisti robur gladii ejus, et non sublevasti eum in praelio.

2M 1.V.46: E vindrent iusque en Esphron . . . e il ne poeent destorner de li ne a destre ne a senestre. car la voie estoit parmi la cite.

Lat.: Et venerunt usque Esphron . . . et non erat declinare ab ea dextra vel sinistra, sed per mediam iter erat

R 3577: Cest bataille nen ert mais destornee;
Seinz hune mort ne poet estre achevee.

EE 3645: Onques ne fu de mere nez
miaudres chevaliers de cestui;
ja mes par moi n'avra enui
la ou jel puisse destorner.

CF I.121.28: Car, il m'a destournet couvertement le mariage del jone duch de Braibant, qui devoit avoir espouset Ysabel, ma fille, . . .

PJS 355: Et entretant que il disnoit, vint a dampes Abbes ung de ses braconniers, qui dist avoir destourné un tresgrant cerf, acompaignié de dix ou de XII grans biches.

Also : destor(t) (m.) 'detour, hiding-place, frustration',
12th. c.

DESVOIER 'to remove; avoid; go astray, lead astray',
12th. c., an antonym of avoier 'to lead, find way; care for',
12th. c. The prefix negates and reverses the action of the earlier compound, but it is not impossible that the Old French compound could have been derived from Lat. deviare 'to turn from good, turn to another road', although the meaning of the Latin is somewhat narrower than that of the Old French compound. This hypothesis necessitates the change of prefix from de- to dis- at some stage in the evolution of

the compound, but there appears to be no sufficient reason for such a change, for de- ('away') and dis- (separation) express the idea of the compound equally well. The only justification for the change would be liable to occur in Late Latin, when the compound might have been thought of as negative, in which case dis- would have seemed more suitable. However, the question remains open, since there is no conclusive evidence available.

IM I.202: Car hors loy suis et desvoyés
 Ne je ne sçay a methe aler
 Pour monter ne pour avaler.

Lat.: Devius ac exlex, cum nulle sint michi mete.

WR III.3747: Tant les a Hubert desveiez
 E tant les a loig enveiez,
 Que de Guill. n'out mais dote
 Qui s'en alout par altre rote;

EE 5530: eingois me voel un po haster,
 que qui tost va par droite voie
 celui passe qui se desvoie:

PJS 63: c'est assavoir: les ignorans ensseignier;
 les deffaillans corrugier; les errans et desvoiez
 adreschier; les vices d'aultrui celler;

Also : desvoiable (adj.) 'pathless' ; desvoiableté (f.)

'wrong way, hidden path; pathless place' ; desvoiemment (m.)

'error'.

In the previous section, that dealing with cases of double prefixation, there were more compounds in desa- than in desem- and desen-. In this section, however, the

opposite is true, for the majority of the compounds are antonyms of forms in em- or en-.

DESBOCLER 'to unbuckle, remove boss of shield', 12th. c., an antonym of embocler 'to buckle, equip with a boss', 12th. c. The verb bocler 'to buckle' is not attested until 1539, and the adjective boclé 'bossed' is not found until the 13th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

PJS 263: Et quant la messe fut dicte, la furent V ou VI, les plus petis enffans moyneaux, qui desboucloient ses esperons.

DESBORSER 'to take money from purse', 13th. c., an antonym of emborser 'to put money in purse', 12th. c. The prefix serves to reverse the action of the earlier positive compound.

S I.49: Se argent avez desborssé,
Alés vous en tenir escole.

DESBUSCHIER 'to come out from wood, to ambush', 12th. c., an antonym of embuschier 'to hide (in wood), lie in ambush', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the direction of the action denoted by the earlier positive compound, which means 'to go into a wood and hide or lie in wait', while the negative compound means 'to come out from the hiding-place

to attack'.

WR III.3505: E cil de l'agait desbuchierent,
Sur cels de France chevaucherent.

The idea of ambush is, however, not essential, for the compound may simply mean 'to come out of a wood', and then merely 'to come out'. The sense seems to become more and more general.

EE 3655: Au desbuschier d'un pleisseiz
troverent un pont torneiz,
par devant une haute tor
qui close estoit de mur en tor
et de fossé lé et parfont.

CN 10: Et quant les pors vindrent prés des bailles,
le Roux laissa aler le porcelet, et ses gens chacierent
les pors dedans la porte, et François se desbucherent
des tentes et acoururent vers la porte, mais ilz
faillirent à leur entente et perdirent leur porcherie.

DESCHÄENER 'to unchain, unleash', 12th. c., an antonym
of enchäener 'to chain up', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the
action of the earlier positive compound.

PJS 256: . . . tous IIII, qui assiz estoient sur
leurs escabeaulz, viz a viz, alors se partent comme
lyons deschaynnez;

DESCHARNER 'to remove flesh', past participle 'lean',
13th. c., an antonym of encharner 'to put on flesh, nourish',
past participle 'plump', 13th. c. The prefix reverses and
negates the action of the positive compound, as is shown by
the following examples :

CHM 743: Car les unes sont cousues principaument
[pour l'assemblément] et pour l'incarnation d'iceles,
et en cestes la costure ne doit estre descousue devant
que elles sont encharnees, fors en .3. cas.

CHM 973: en après soient tretous les .4. angles
descharnés du cran o un rasoir, et soient esloingnié
duc'a tant que les pieches du cran qui sont a oster,
puissent estre ostees sans empeechement de la char
de la plaie par dehors;

HSL 208.384: et il, qui me vit megre et descharnei
de la maladie, et en l'abit que je avoie estei en
prison, dist que il m'en bailleroit nulles.

In spite of the clear opposition of descharner and encharner,
it is possible that our compound is of Latin origin and
could be derived from decarnare 'to take off flesh'. The
prefix-change could have taken place because of the negative
sense of the compound. Lat. decarnare is an antonym of
incarnare, whence probably encharner and the calque incarner.
Lat. excarnare is a synonym of decarnare; thus we have de-,
ex- and des- (dis-) expressing the same idea.

DESCHEVALER 'to unhorse, be unhorsed, dismount', 12th.
c., an antonym of enchevaler 'to mount, put on horse', 12th.
c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive
compound.

Cl. 1319: Nes tindrent mie por garçons,
Por mauvés, ne por esperduz.
N'ont pas les premiers cos perduz,
Que treze en ont deschevalez.

DESCHEVESTRE 'to free, unharness', 15th. c., an antonym

of enchevestrer 'to put on collar, harness', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

F XII.71: Nous yrons par ceste sentelle
Le suivant pas à pas tout beau
Puis deschevestreray le museau
De son asne par bonne guise,

The form desenchevestrer is attested in the 16th. c. as another antonym of enchevestrer.

DESCOMBRER 'to free, make room, unburden, relieve', 12th. c., an antonym of encombrer 'to hinder, encumber, weigh down, burden', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

AOC 9547: Et lors, quant li murs sont descombre,
Des eschieles drece l'ont grant nombre.

Lat.: Hoc facta scalis adpositis occupant civitatem.

EE 3162: Li escuiers Erec descombre
de son hiaume, et si li deslace
la vantaille devant la face;

Also : descombement (m.).

DESCORAGIER 'to discourage', 12th. c., an antonym of encoragier 'to encourage', 12th. c. The prefix negates the action of the earlier compound.

BB 120: Excepté que se aulcune en estoit découragée
de menger ou malade par aulcun accident, l'on luy
doit donner à menger des fueilles de choulx, pour son
appetit recouvrer.

MC I.35: Nous avyons grant nombre de blesséz, et la
plus part fort descouragéz et espoventéz, craignant
que . . .

DESDORMIR 'to waken', ca. 1200, an antonym of endormir 'to fall, put to sleep', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

D III.159.51: Prince, a ce mot fu du tout desdormis,
Et ce debat en mon memoire mis,
Si ne savoye que penser a nul fuer;

DESFLICHIER 'to remove arrows', 14th. c., probably an antonym of enflechier, enflichier, of which the past participle 'pointed, arrow shaped' is attested in the 12th. c., although there does not appear to be any example of the other parts of the verb until the 16th. In view of the early appearance of the adjectival form, the above etymology remains a possibility. Otherwise the compound would appear to be parasynthetic, derived from fleche 'arrow', 12th. c. The prefix may reverse the action of the earlier (?) positive compound.

HSL 214.391: Quant il les avoit chaciez hors dou kasel, il se desflichoit de ces pylés qu'il avoit sur li, et remetoit sa cote à armer desus li, . . .

DESFONCIER 'to burst open, burst in', 14th. c., an antonym of enfancier 'to put a bottom in a barrel', 12th./13th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound. The simple verb also has the same meaning as the compound in en-, but is not attested before the 14th. c.

MC I.23: . . . et y avoit plusieurs pippes de vin
deffoncées pour le faire boyre;

DESFRENER 'to unbridle', past participle 'uncontrolled',
 12th. c., an antonym of enfrenen 'to bridle, rein back,
 repress', 12th. c., or perhaps of afrenen 'to bridle,
 control, govern', 12th. c. In either case the prefix
 reverses and negates the action of the earlier positive com-
 pound. The simple verb is not attested before the 13th. c.

L/D 862, /P 2730: deffrenés = effrenis,
 L/E 164: desfrenés = effrenus.

DESGAGIER 'to disengage, free (from pledge)', 12th. c.,
 an antonym of engagier 'to engage, pledge', 12th. c. The
 prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.
 The texts used as a basis for this study contain no example
 of this compound sufficiently revealing to be worthy of
 inclusion, and the following illustration has, therefore,
 been taken from La Vie de Saint Thomas,¹ 1.4455:

Mais il ne porta la maaïlle ne denier;
 Ses guages li covint rachater u laïssier.
 Ne li reis nel baisa, n'il nes fist desguagier.

DESGORDIR 'to loosen, awaken, bring back to activity',
 15th. c., an antonym of engourdir 'to lose feeling, become

¹ E. Walberg, ed. La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr, par
 Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence (Lund, 1922).

stiff', 1260. Desgordi 'thin' is attested in the 12th. c.

The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

F XVI.569: En seray-je bien desgourdy
Et tout vert en ce moys de may ?

Also : desgordeli (adj.) 'active, prompt', ca. 1280.

DESIVRER 'to make, become sober', 13th. c., an antonym of enivrer 'to make, become drunk', 12th. c., or possibly a compound and antonym of ivrer 'to make drunk', 13th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound, or of the simple verb.

D VIII.115.89: Et pour desyvrer, au tonnel
Metteroye le jovencel,
Tant qu'il eust mate la chiere.

DESMANCHIER 'to remove handle' past participle 'without handle', ca. 1200, an antonym of enmanchier 'to fit with a handle', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier compound.

PJS 265: Le conte de Retel, de geulles, a troiz
ratheaux d'or desmanchiez, et chascun de six dens de
meismes;

S III.64: Je danse en ours, et vois en nage
Comme une congnye desmanchee.

DESPECHIER 'to free, send, hasten, clear the way', 1225, an antonym of empechier 'to impede, hinder, prevent', 12th. c. The prefix reverses and negates the action of the earlier

positive compound.

AOC 4845: Ou per traïson ausimant
Vientent a lor proposemant
Comant l'on s'an puet dapauchier
Vos dirons, et aux empauchier

Lat.: . . . quemadmodum occurri ingruentibus debeat,
intimetur.

CHM 1094: La cousture devant dite puet estre corrigeë,
si comme il m'est avis; car, ou ele est despechie un
poi plus tost que mestier n'est, ou un pou plus tart;

MC I.112: Et, pour pourvoir à cest expedient, il
depescha deux de ces bourgeois qu'il avoit retenuz,
par escript assez amyables.

D VI.251.32: Prince, on ne fait chascun jour que
[preschier
Qu'om se vueille de pechiez despechier,
Pour paradis avoir, qui tousjours dure,
Mais diables vient toudis pour l'empeschier,
Qui en fait mil en Enfer tresbuschier;

DESPENNER 'to undress, strip, pluck', 13th. c., an
antonym of empenner 'to cover with feathers', 12th. c. The
prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

SB 20.39: mais il nen ist mies s'en la mort non
quant om nos depennet ensi; ke li ainrme se depart
del cors.

Lat.: sed non ejicitur nisi in morte, quando sic
discerpimur ut anima separetur a corpore.

DESPERSONER 'to insult, belittle, ill-treat; disfigure',
12th. c., an antonym of empersoner 'to bestow a dignity upon
so., put so. in possession of a living (eccl.)', 12th. c.
The prefix appears to reverse the very specialised sense of

the positive compound, while the prefixation is accompanied by a considerable extension of meaning.

R 2581: Ad Apolin en curent en une crute,
Tencent a lui, laidement le despersunent:

DESPLACIER 'to displace, remove, depart', 1404, an antonym of emplacier 'to place, use', 1363. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

F V.335: Il fait bon estre officier;
Ilz on tousjours de grans prouffitz,
Colin, escoute ça, mon filz
Il est saison que on desplace,

DESPRISONER 'to free, release', 12th. c., an antonym of emprisoner 'to take, hold prisoner, imprison', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound.

EE 6096: hors de ceanz issir ne doi
tant que le cor aiez soné,
et lors m'avroiz desprisoné,
e lors comencera la Joie.

G 3047: Puis vint al cunte, si l'ad desprisonez,
Les granz seïns li ad del col geté,
Si l'emporta a la frecche herbe al pré.

CN 48: Là furent Liegois desconfiz et y en morut plus de XL, et fut prins l'evesque Gobert, mais le conte de Savoye et Loys son frere le secoururent et le desprisonnerent.

PJS 209: A l'ayde de Dieu, de Nostre Dame et de Monseigneur saint Michiel, je vous desprisonneray de vostre veu, et des cercles et chaynnes dont estes emprisonné.

DESSEVELIR 'to remove from grave, shroud or coffin', 12th. c., an antonym of ensevelir 'to bury', 12th. c., or perhaps a compound of sevelir 'to bury', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the positive compound or of the simple form.

2M 2.V.10: e que maint avoit fait estre desseveliz.
Il ne fu plorez ne seveliz ne des estranges ne des prevez.

Lat.: Et qui insepultos multus adjecerat, ipse et illamentatus, et insepultus abjicitur, sepultura neque peregrina usus, neque patrio sepulchro participans.

IM II.536: L'omme mort en a hors tiré,
Desseveli et deschiré.

Lat.: . . . vir mortuus extumulatur;

DESTERRER 'to dig up, exhume, unearth', 12th. c., an antonym of enterrer 'to bury, cover with earth', 12th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound. A simple form terrer 'to cover with earth' is also attested in the 12th. c., but appears to have a different sense by the 15th.

D VI.150.81: Il lui souffist qu'elle surmonte
En son pais ou elle terre
Ses subgis, et qu'on ne desterre
Le bestail qui a lui se dompte;

Desterre in this context would appear to be a different verb, a parasynthetic compound of terre perhaps, meaning 'to drive from lands', or the antonym of a meaning 'to put in possession of land' belonging to another verb.

DESTORTILLIER 'to untwist, disentangle', 12th. c., an antonym of entortillier 'to twist, entangle', 12th. c. The simple tortillier 'to twist' is not attested before the 13th. c. The prefix reverses the action of the positive compound.

D II.182.336: Tout se gaste et entortaille
 Quant j'oreille,
 Je sens la fin approuchier
 Du monde, qui ne m'a chier,
 Qui de moy se destortaille.

DESVOLEPER 'to unfold, unroll, unwrap', 12th. c., an antonym of envelopper 'to fold, wrap', 10th. c. (Passion), or perhaps a compound and antonym of voleper, voloper 'to wrap, envelop', 12th. c. In either case the prefix reverses the action of the positive form.

WB 10635: Une chartre unt desvolepee,
 A Artur l'ad un d'els livree
 De part l'empereür de Rome.

CF II.11.11: Meismement on resvilla le dit duch de Normendie, et le fist on armer en grant haste, et apporter sa banière devant son hostel et desveloper.

PJS 81: Lors tira la bourssette de sa manche, et la desveloppa. Et quant il la veit sy belle, et les XII escus dedens, n'est pas a doubter se il en fust content.

A great number of the compounds in the last section are considered by König to be substantival compounds, though the view that they are in fact verbal compounds formed from

existing positive compounds by prefix-change seems to accord better with what is known of the nature of the function of des-. In some cases König himself puts forward the view that a compound was formed by prefix-change ; nevertheless, in general, he regards them as parasynthetics. There are, however, some few compounds which would admit only with great difficulty of any explanation other than that of formation directly from a noun, and it is to such cases that we now turn.

In parasynthetic compounds with des-, the prefix has a much vaguer sense or function than is the case in the compounds hitherto discussed in this chapter. Nevertheless, the function usually remains recognisably negative. As is generally the case, the parasynthetics are more difficult to analyse than the verbal compounds which form the bulk of the new forms produced by prefixation with des-, and the negative idea expressed by the prefix is rather uncertain. The negative prefix has the effect of changing whatever is denoted by the root-noun into a state roughly opposite to that whichⁱⁿ it formerly found itself. This means that the root-noun denotes a state anterior to the action of the compound, which negates this state. Often the change of state is from presence to absence. Some examples are required to illustrate such tenuous notions, and the following six compounds would

seem to be a representative selection.

DESGUISER 'to change, hide, disguise', 12th. c., a compound of guise 'manner, appearance', 10th. c. (Passion). Guise denotes what is normal, while the compound denotes the change to abnormality, the change from what one is like to what one is unlike.

4R 1.XXVIII.8: É li reis se deguisad, kar sa vesture muad é od dous cumpaignuns f alad.

Lat.: mutavit ergo habitum suum vestitusque est aliis vestimentis abiit ipse et duo viri cum eo . . .

4R 3.XX.38: Lores liád li prophetes sun chief é desguisad sei de puldre dunt il entalemaschad sun vis.

Lat.: . . . et mutavit aspersione pulveris os et oculos suos

CF I.45.10: Là peut on veoir grant noblèce de bien servir de grant plenté de mès et d'entremès estragnes et si desghisés, que on ne les poroit deviser.

DESNATURER 'to become, make unnatural, behave unnaturally', ca. 1180, a compound of nature 'nature', 1168. The compound is clearly negative and denotes that what was once natural, or in accordance with nature, has become contrary to nature.

RP 828: Si vus dites k'ele est bone
Ke se juint a tel persone,
Dire covient ke Nature
Endreit lui se desnature.

D III.153.10: L'une cité fait l'autre trebuschier,
Le pere au fils combat et desnature,
Raison deffault, nul n'a justice chier,
Amour n'a lieu, chascun ment et parjure;

DESOSSE 'to bone, remove bones', ca. 1350, a compound of os 'bone', 12th. c. The compound denotes a change from the state of having bones to that of having none. Perhaps the compound is derived from the adjective ossu 'bony', 1175, but in this case the opposition is not direct, for 'bony' is not strictly the opposite of 'without bones'.

L/Aalma 3699: desosser = exossare.

DESPOPLER 'to ravage, depopulate', 14th. c., is probably a compound of pople 'people', 9th. c. (Ser. de Stras.). The compound denotes not only the removal of people, and the consequent negation of the ideas expressed by pople, but also the devastation of the land, which brings it near to the Lat. depopulari in meaning. It is possible that the compound was formed by analogy with the Latin (see FEW IX.180b, n.2). Nevertheless despopler could perhaps be regarded as an antonym of popler (Wace) 'to fill a place with inhabitants', peuplier 'to people a place', 1260, however these words appear to apply to people only, not to crops and land. In spite of the uncertainty concerning the etymology of the compound, the prefix is clearly negative.

VSCH 51: Il y a depuis trois ans en ça, grande mortalité qui a fort despeuplé le pays et encoires à present, on y mourait.

DESPUCELER 'to deflower', 12th. c., a compound of

pucele 'maiden, virgin', 9th. c. (Eulalie). The prefix causes the compound to denote the transference of the object to the state contrary to that denoted by the root-noun pucele.

CHM 426: Environ le milieu de cel col sont veines es virges, les queles veines sont corrompues ou tens qu'il perdent leur virginité par defloration, c'est quant elles sont despucelees.

DESSENER, DESSENER 'to render senseless, lose senses and understanding', 13th. c., a compound of sen 'sense, intelligence', 12th. c. The compound denotes the change from the state of having sen to that of being without.

VCJB I.57: . . . car noz chevaulx estoient flebes et mal livrés, . . . , et nous mesmes mal desiennez.

We have already seen how des- tends in some cases to replace de-, when the latter is not felt to be sufficiently strong to express a negative meaning. Some accepted Old French forms appear to have come into being for this reason, replacing existing compounds in de- which have fallen into disuse and become lost as a result of the preference for the form in des-.

DESESPERER 'to despair', 12th. c., a compound and antonym of esperer 'to hope', 11th. c. (Alexis). This compound was formed alongside desperer (Lat. desperare),

see pp. 41, 123, which it eventually replaced completely. As has been suggested, it seems probable that the opposition of desperer and esperer was not clear enough, and that the more transparently negative form was preferred in the long run, in spite of the fact that the form which represented the original Latin had a firm footing in the language.

Ps. LXVIII.23: De reproce est atriblet mis quers, e desesperez sui.

Lat.: Opprobrio contritum est cor meum, et desperatus sum.

AC 97: As desesperés croist hardemens par l'amonestement dou duc . . .

AOC 5653: Per le duc amonestemant
Recroist force et hardemant
A cex qui sont desesperez,

Lat.: Desperantibus autem crescit audacia adhortatione ducis . . .

CHM 553: Le mire doit refuser, tant com il puet, cures perilleusez qui sont de fort curation, ne ne se meille de nulle cure qui soit desesperee.

MC I.227: Ledict duc, desesperé de ceste mort et enhorté par aucuns dolens de ladicte mort, escripvit lettres à plusieurs villes à la charge du roy, . . .

Also : desesperable (adj.) ; desesperacion (f.) ;

desesperance (f.) ; desespoir (m.).

DESESTER 'to be distant', 12th. c., is probably a compound but not an antonym of ester 'to stand, stay', 11th. c. (Alexis). The prefix denotes separation, which was a function of the Lat. dis-, as we have seen, and this compound

seems to have been formed as a replacement for dester 'to be distant', hap. leg. 12th. c., which represents Lat. distare 'to stand apart, be distant, differ'. The Latin form never established a footing in Old French, and its position was soon taken over by desester, an Old French compound formed by negating ester while assuming the meaning of the compound it replaced.

Ps. CVIII.29: Maldirrunit icil, e tu beneïstras;
desesturent, e confus sunt; li tuens serfs acertes
 se esleecerad.

Lat.: Maledicent illi, et tu benedices; destituerunt,
 et confusi sunt; servus autem tuus laetabitur.

DESESTRE 'to be absent, missing', 12th. c., is a compound but not an antonym of estre 'to be', 9th. c. (Ser. de Stras.). The prefix seems to mean 'away', which is essentially a Latin meaning of de-, and this compound appears to be a rebuilt form of deestre 'to be missing, wanting', hap. leg. 12th. c., which represents the Lat. deesse 'to fail, be wanting, be absent'. As in the case of dester, the form representing the Latin does not seem to have held a very secure position in Old French, and, once again, the negative prefix has been used to form a compound of an Old French simple verb, while retaining the meaning of the Latin compound. In this case, it seems probable that additional impetus to the replacement of the compound in de-

by the form in des- was given by the clash of the two e sounds.

Ps. XXII.1: Li Sire mes pastres, e nul chose ne desiert a mei.

Lat.: Dominus pastor meus, et nichil mihi deerit.

Ps. XXXVIII.5: Mustre a me, Sire, la meie fin, e la mesure de mes jurz quele ele seit, que jeo sace que deseit a mei.

Lat.: Ostende mihi, Domine, finem meum, et mensuram dierum meorum quae sit, ut sciam quid desit mihi.

4R 2.II.30: Joab s'en turnad é sun pople ásemblad, mais dis e nuef i defurent estre Asael.

Lat.: porro Ioab reversus omisso Abner congregavit omnem populum et defuerunt de pueris David decem et novem viri excepto Asahele.

It is interesting to note the occurrence of deses- in all three of the above compounds.

In the three compounds just discussed, the role originally played by de- has been assumed by des-, because it was more suitable to express the meaning of the compound, but in some compounds the reverse is the case, and we find des- where de- would appear to be the more suitable prefix. Some such compounds are in no way negative, but seem to be reinforced forms of positive simple verbs. In some instances it is possible to find a reasonable semantic explanation for the preference of des- to de-, while in others the only explanation which offers itself is that des- was probably more popular and more frequently used than de- in Old French, and

could, therefore, be reasonably expected to occur occasionally where it was not etymologically justified. It may be that some compounds were, in fact, originally written without the s, but there is rarely any conclusive evidence of the regular use of an alternative spelling. However, we know (see pp. 177-179) that the prefixes could be confused, and that an unetymological s could be inserted, thus giving de- the appearance of des-. This tendency must always be borne in mind when considering cases of possible prefix-change from de- to des- or cases where des- does not appear to negate a positive form. The semantic and orthographic influences must have been present at all times, but their effect varied according to the circumstances of each particular case, and one must have facilitated the working of the other.

DESCLICHIER, DESCLIQUIER 'to resound, clang, bang; release (missile), discharge (fire-arm); unlatch (door)', 1310, is probably a compound of cliquer 'to click, clap, resound; make a variety of sounds', 1310. The earlier meanings of the compound are those concerned with noise, and consequently with the throwing of missiles, and the firing of guns (first used in 1346). When the verb is used in this sense there does not seem to be any question whatsoever of negation of any sort. The compound is virtually a

synonym of the simple form. On the other hand, the sense of 'unlatch' is much later (not before the 15th. c.), and is probably an antonym of cliquier, which, according to G II.155c, is found in the Chroniques of Monstrelet (end of the first half of the 15th. c.) with the meaning 'to bar, latch (gate, door)'. This is classified as a different word from cliquier 'to click, clap, resound', and this differentiation should perhaps be extended to the compounds, although the meanings are all basically connected with the same onomatopoeic clike 'blow, bang'.

CF II.14.23: . . . mais on les fist tantost retraire,
car cil dou Kesnoi descliquièrent canons et bombardes
qui jettoient grans quariaus.

F XV.54: S'elle dit mot, par mon serment,
Je decliqueray le cliquet.

D VI.132.24: D'aler aussi quant il vente par rue,
Afin qu'on n'ait sur sa teste une clique
D'une tuile qui est tost descendue
Ou cheminee, ou pierre qui desclique
De mauvais pont et de rompue dique,

DESFRATIER 'to provide at one's own expense', 1373, is apparently a compound of frayer 'to bear the cost, provide', 1260. Both the compound and the simple verb have the same meaning, and one would, therefore, expect to find that the prefix de- was used in its normal reinforcing function. The negative prefix could be explained by regarding the compound as a ^aparsynthetic form derived from fret, frait 'damage,

cost of carrying out or maintaining sth.', 13th. c. In this case the compound would denote the negation of someone else's expense, but such an explanation is complicated by comparison with the first.

MC I.205: Mais ledict seigneur de la Grutuse feït honorablement, car il donna plusieurs robbes et desfraya tout jusques à la Haye, en Hollande, où il le mena, et puis advertit mons^r de Bourgongne de ceste adventure.

PJS 195: Et, oultre ce, le roy les fist tous deffrayer, en tant que son royaume dura, par ung maistre d'ostel et clerc de la chambre aux deniers.

Also : desfroï (m.) 'paying of expenses', 1403.

DESJUGLER 'to deceive, outplay, make mock of', 12th. c., a compound of jogler 'to joke, make fun of', 12th. c. Once again the simple and the compound forms seem almost synonymous, and de- seems the more likely prefix. There is no etymological explanation for des-, but it is possible that the sense of the compound was negative rather than positive, and that des- was used by analogy with other verbs of similar meaning.

CDJP 694: Se il n'a en toi tant de sens
Qu'a resen mainnes tes despens,
N'apelle pas Fortune avugle,
Mes toi qui Fortune desjuggle.

Lat.: Cum sis incautus nec rem ratione gubernes,
noli fortunam, quae non est, dicere caecam.

DESRAIEMBRE 'to ransom', 14th. c., is probably a

compound of raembre 'to buy back, ransom', 12th. c. Here too the simple and compound forms are synonymous, and there seems to be no etymological justification for the prefix des-, for there is no question of negation.

HSL 186.343: car il n'estoit pas teix que il se deust desraembre à deniers.

DESROBER 'to steal, take away', 12th. c., a compound of rober 'to rob, pillage, take away', 12th. c. EWFS 308b claims that the prefix should be an intensive de-, but that it has become des- by analogy with verbs of separation. This explanation does not seem improbable, and it is significant that the spelling derober is, in fact, found.

CF I.47.17: Car ces gens ne tendoient fors toutdis à yaulz mourdrir et desrober, comment qu'il fuissent là venu pour la besongne le roy;

4PV 255: Et les Espaignolz leur disoient: "Vous avez pillié et desrobé noz gens en trevez. Vous les avez enfraintes."

MC II.244: . . . contenant comme il les avoit receüz pour son acquiet envers le roy son maistre, affin qu'il ne pensast qu'il les eust desrobéz et que ledict seigneur estoit ung peu suspicionneux.

DESSOUcier 'to worry, disturb', 14th. c., a compound of soucier 'to worry', 13th. c. The prefix does not alter the meaning of the simple verb. The example from D has de-, yet TL accepts des- as the correct prefix, in spite of the absence of any negation. This appears to be an instance of

the fallibility of dictionaries.

D VIII.57.101: Il ne vous fault qu'estre joyeux,
Sanz estre merancolieux,
Bien vestir et nettement pastre
Et que vous aiez plaisant estre
Sanz vous desoussier de rien;

There is another small group of compounds in which des- does not appear to have a strictly negative function, although the general sense of the compound is usually negative. It would seem most accurate, in these cases, to describe des- as reinforcing es- (ex-). The original ideas of 'out of' and separation are not very far apart in Latin, though the separation between compounds with the two prefixes is maintained. However, in Old French, it is not unusual to find pairs of compounds in des- and es- which are quite close in meaning, e.g., descarter/escarter, desbranler/esbranler. König (pp. 57-64) discusses the relationship between compounds in des- and those in es-, and suggests that des- is the stronger prefix. This corresponds with what we already know of the strength of des-, yet one can scarcely say that compounds in des- are reinforced forms of those in es-. Nevertheless, the theory is worthy of consideration, if we are to account for compounds such as those considered in this section.

DESC(H)AVER 'to dig, mine, undermine', 13th. c., is clearly not an antonym of c(h)aver 'to dig, mine, undermine', 12th. c., nor is it likely to be a parasynthetic compound of cave, for there is no question of any sort of negation. The idea of desc(h)aver is very close to that of Lat. excavare 'to hollow out, excavate', which is represented in Old French by excaver, 13th. c., and in Provençal by escavar, both with the same meaning as the Latin form, while G III. 379b has esc(h)aver, although FEW III.272a, n. 1 relates this form to It. scavare. If we admit that the closest relation of desc(h)aver is excaver, esc(h)aver, we must still be able to account for the apparent change of prefix. Is the prefix doubled - d(e)- + es- - or is the prefix es- replaced by des- ? In neither case can we expect any change of meaning to accompany the new prefixation, for d(e)- would merely reinforce es-, and des- is near enough to es- in meaning to allow the replacement to leave the sense of the compound unchanged. In either case mere reinforcement is the result. In some, but not all, cases the meanings of the new compounds in this section are sufficiently negative to warrant the removal of es- and its replacement by the more strongly negative des-. It is perhaps unlikely on phonetic grounds that the prefix should be de-es-.

D III.7.4: Et .II. grans buefs qui tirent en un val

Bierre qu'on ot d'un hault mont descavée,
 Une vache sanz let, moult descharnée,
 Un povre asne qui ses crochez portoit
 S'encontrent la, . . .

DESCHEVELER 'to disorder the hair', 12th. c., is not an antonym of cheveler 'to pull out hair', 12th. c., while a compound of ch^êvel would probably have the same meaning as the simple verb. Reinforcement of a form in es- appears to be the most likely explanation, and we have escheveler 'to disorder hair', 14th. c., 'to pull hair', 12th. c., while eschevelede (past participle) 'with disordered hair' is attested in the 11th. c. (Alexis). The view that some reinforcement results from the use of des- in place of es- is supported by the FEW, where we read (II.251a, n. 8) that the compound in é- "nach Lar 1929 'marque un désordre moins grand que décheveler.'"

HSL 340.622: Et lors freres Remons le ala dire au roy, qui étoit en croiz adenz sur le pont de la nef, touz deschaus, en pure cote et touz deschevelez (devant le cors Nostre Signour qui estoit en la nef), comme cil qui bien cuidoit noier.

PJS 404: et quant il fust tous desabillié et voist Madame deschevellee et son attour reverssé, luy dist:

DESCIRIER 'to tear, destroy', 12th. c., can only be formed from esc(h)irier 'to tear', 12th. c. Though esc(h)irier is not a compound verb, since the e is only a voyelle d'appui (etymology : Frk. *skiran), es- must have been thought to

be a prefix, and could, therefore, have been replaced by the stronger des-. In this case the prefix could have been changed by analogy with other verbs of destruction starting with des-, e.g., destruire, yet the resulting compound does appear to be slightly stronger than the simple form. The spelling of this compound varies so much that it would be wrong to attach too much significance to the fact that the s is sometimes omitted.

Ps. LIX.1: Deus, tu dejetas nus e deciras;

Lat.: Deus, projecisti nos et scidisti;

4R 2.XIII.31: Dunc levad li reis é depeschad é descirad tuz ses dras;

Lat.: surrexit itaque rez et scidit vestimenta sua . .

SB 17.6: anz mostrent lor dras dexiriez et lor membres de mei nuz; ou aucune enfermeteit s'il l'ont;

Lat.: . . . non pretiosas vestes ostendunt, sed seminuda membra, aut ulcera, si habuerint, . . .

WB 94.71: Res vus lé dames des cuntrees,
Tutes nu'piez, deschevelees,
Lur vesteüres decirees
E lur chieres esgratinees,
En lur braz lur enfanz petiz;

CF II.51.27: Et envoièrent les aultres compagnons embuschier en une deschirée abbeye et gastée là où nulz ne demoroit.

D I.320.12: Je m'en merveil, car ilz ont tous leurs
[bons,
Et se tiennent moistes, fourrez et chaulx;
Et un ouvrier et uns povres chartons
Va mauvestuz, deschirez et deschaulx;

DESCRIER 'to cry, shout, publish, announce; decry', 13th. c. is not negative but appears to be virtually synonymous with crier 'to shout, cry', 11th. c. (Alexis) and escrier 'to cry, shout, announce', 12th. c. (but cf. escrider un cri - Passion). The special sense of descrier 'to announce the depreciation or suppression of currency', 15th. c., is probably at the root of the pejorative sense. It is most probable that the compound was formed by change of prefix from escrier.

FV 548: Tost vous fauldra clorre fenestre,
Quand deviendra vielle, flestrie,
Plus ne servirez qu'ung viel prestre,
Ne que monnoye qu'on descrie.

DESFACIER 'to deface, obliterate, abolish, disfigure', 13th. c., is a synonym of esfacier, as the context from AC/AOC shows, which is attested in the 12th. c., and it may be that our compound is a reinforced form of the compound in es-. At the same time, it could well be a parasynthetic compound of face 'face', 12th. c., although the semantic shift is not a slight one. In view of the fact that this is clearly a negative compound, the parasynthetic explanation is not at all unreasonable.

AC 14: . . . mais cis usages est près que tous reniés
et deffachiés pour ce que les gens ont esté longuement
en pais et en seürté, . . .

AOC 760: Mès ciz usaiges depeciez
Est orandroit et effaciez,

Por ce que les genz ont estey
 Per maint yver, per maint estey,
 En pais et saür longuemant
 Et sejourney aissiemant.

LM II.2955: On doit noter en loyaulté,
 Comment une fievre defface
 De belle femme vult et face,

Also : desfacion (f.) 'disfigurement, mutilation, annihilation', 12th. c.

DESTEINDRE 'to extinguish', 1119, appears to be a reinforced form of esteindre 'to put out, extinguish', 12th. c. There was some confusion between compounds of Lat. stinguere 'to extinguish' and of Lat. tingere 'to dye' both in Latin and Old French, and it may have been felt that teindre was the root of our compound, as well as the simple form meaning 'to dye'. This would open the way for es- to be replaced by des-, for the first two letters would be thought to be a prefix. This alternation of dis- and ex- goes back to Latin times, and it may be that our compound is derived from a Lat. destingere, which, according to FEW III.321a, is attested in glosses. In any event the prefix is not in any way negative, and has assumed the meaning of es- or ex- (esteindre or extinguere). Compare this form with distinguer, p.148.

F XX.344: Et s'il fault que toute saison
 Il soit levé tout le premier
 Et qu'il se couche le dernier

Et qu'il destaigne la chandelle
Et de ce ne soit point rebelle,

FV 515: Nez courbes de beaulté loingtains,
Oreilles pendantes, moussues,
Le vis pally, mort et destains,
Menton fronce, levres peaussues:

Finally, there are several compounds which, for a variety of reasons cannot be included in any of the normal sections, and which are, therefore, regarded as unsolved problems and discussed separately in this section.

DESGAROCHIER 'to ravage, break, wear out', ca. 1200, is of obscure etymology. REW 7357 derives it from Lat. *rocca 'rock', but the connection is far from clear. It is unlikely to be an antonym of OFr. garochier 'to gag, garrot', 12th. c., although this would seem to be the appropriate simple form. A connection with garrot 'stick; quarrel', 13th. c., is also probable. In view of the positive sense of the compound, one wonders if the prefix was perhaps de- originally, and that des- has been used by analogy with other verbs of destruction or in error.

SS 1960: Adeertes, si covient dreit
Ke l'alme de veiller aforcie ne seit
Quant se sent come deswarokee
E en pesantume trovee;

DESGOSILLIER 'to vomit', 15th. c., is connected with

gosier 'throat', 13th. c., but should not be confused with degoisier, see p. 221. Both the simple gosiller 'to vomit' and egoziller 'to vomit' are attested only in the 17th. c. and after, while gosiller, 13th. c., means 'to sing'. Our compound could perhaps be a parasynthetic formation from gosier, 13th. c., or from gosillier, 14th. c., 'throat', but, whatever the facts may be, the function of the prefix is not at all clear.

D IV.309.20: Maiz qui pis est, j'orray de toutes pars
 En ces vaissiaux bruire la haute mer,
 Frapper ces vens et escrier ces gars,
 L'un mettre a bort, l'autre desgosiller,
 L'un dessus l'autre venir et aler,

It is interesting to note that this compound is in many ways very similar to dégueuler 'to vomit', which is related to gueuler 'to bawl'.

DESGOSTÉ (adj. past part.) 'difficult (about food), without appetite', 1380, could perhaps be an antonym of the past participle of goster 'to eat, enjoy', 12th. c., or of agouster 'to please, taste, taste with pleasure', 1396, or a parasynthetic compound of gost 'taste, appetite', 12th. c. The verb dégoûter 'to take away appetite' is attested in 1538. Agouster is perhaps the most likely source of our compound, since its meaning is most nearly opposite to that of desgosté.

BB 152: Et quand les bestes sont ainsi malades et desgoutées, le berger leur doit donner à menger des miettes de pain meslées avec sel.

DESIRETER 'to disinherit', 12th. c., is clearly a negative compound, but there are three other verbs of which it may be the antonym : ireter 'to inherit', 12th. c., 'to endow, give as an inheritance', 13th. c. ; äireter 'to put in possession of an inheritance', 12th. c. ; enheriter 'to put in possession of an inheritance', 13th. c. Once again, if we are searching for a strict opposition of meaning and suitability of dates, äireter would appear to be the most likely source of desireter, but we are not really justified in expecting strict antonyms, diametrically opposed to the meaning of the form from which they are derived, in a language such as Old French.

Br. 52: Que lui muſtrat cel paraĩs
U Adam fud primes asis,
Icel qui est nostre heritét
Dun nus fumes deseritét.

Lat.: . . . ut ſcilicet paradisuſ ſibi oſtenderet, in qua prothoplauſtuſ formaverat, que nobis juſ hereditariuſ eſſet, niſi commiſſo Ade patris noſtri defraudaremur.

CB XII.22: . . . car il avient à le fois que le feme, por fere le volenté de ſon ſecont mari, li laiſſe à li ou à ſes enfans d'autre feme, ſes muebles ſes conquès et le quint de ſon heritage, et en deshirete ſes hoirs.

TAC 85: e d'ilec en avant la terre eſt randue au ſegneur del fieu, e ſi oir en ſont deshherité, ſi que il ne pueent recovrer l'heritage ne par don de ſegnor, ne par eſchange, ne par marchié, ne par autre maniere.

Also : desiretaison (f.), 12th. c. ; desiretement (m.), 12th. c.

DESRIVER 'to put out from bank; overflow', 13th. c., should properly be considered as two separate verbs which have coincided in Old French. In the sense 'to put out from bank' it is probably an antonym of arriver 'to arrive (at bank), land', 11th. c. (Alexis), in which the prefix reverses the action of the earlier positive compound. In the sense 'to overflow' it seems likely that it is derived from Lat. derivare 'to lead, draw off liquid', in which the prefix de- means 'away' (rivus 'stream'). Probably this compound assumed the prefix des- by analogy with the antonym of arriver.

LM III.3041: Et le ruissel qui en desrive
Respont a la fontaine vive.

Lat.: Simili cui rivus honore
Respondet, nascens ab eo;

4PV 247: En cel an mil trois cens soixante treize,
les rivieres furent desrivées et firent merveilleux
dommaiges en France.

DESROCHIER 'to fall or throw down, tear down stonework', 12th. c., is apparently a parasynthetic compound of roche 'rock, cliff', 12th. c., but the meaning of the prefix is unclear, even more than is usual in parasynthetic compounds. The negation is very vague, and does not seem to be contrary

to roche in any definable way.

WB 481: Cil que de lur mains eschapoent
 La u il melz garir quidoent,
 As granz faleises desrochoent
 U es fluives parfuntz neouent;

D V.391.27: Et qu'om ne veult fors que l'or acrochier,
 Cela des lors fist la tour desrochier,
 Fendre et fremir, qui par ce se desment,

DESSÜER 'to dry (?)', 13th. c. There is no agreement on the meaning of this compound. G gives 'to wipe, dry, remove', while LT maintains that these meanings are incorrect, and puts forward 'to sweat out'. In some contexts 'to be rid of by dint of sweating' appears to be acceptable, but the meanings given in G are more suited to the context from F found below. If the prefix is negative, the compound could be an antonym of süer 'to sweat', 10th. c. (Passion), or a parasynthetic compound of sueur 'sweat', 12th. c., which should not be confused with desüer 'to earn by sweat', 13th. c. If the prefix is not negative, the compound could be derived from essüer 'to wipe, dry', 12th. c., by a change of prefix. None of the above explanations accounts in a satisfactory way for all the meanings of the compound, and it may be that there are two different verbs.

F XIX.252: Actendez, je desuies ma robe,
 J'ay si grant paour qu'on la me robe
 Que je ne sçay où la bouter.

Tant est plus fols quant tu t'amors

As pechiés morteus encrüer,
 Qui sont si grief a dessüer.
 (Li Vers de le Mort, ed. Windahl, 119.7)

We have seen in this chapter how the function of des- in Mediaeval French is consistently negative. It may be used to form antonyms of simple verbs, nouns and adjectives, including words which had been compounds in Latin but which came to be regarded as simple forms in French (consuere = cosdre = coudre). Des- may also be used to form antonyms of positive compounds in a- and em- or en-, by means of either double prefixation (desa-, desen-) or change of prefix (des- in place of a-, en- or em-), or, in some cases, by both. In parasynthetic compounds des- appears to retain its negative sense, but its precise function in a given compound is generally difficult to define and much more vague than in other forms of compound.

It is clear that, in contrast to de-, which grew progressively weaker in Mediaeval French, des- is strong, and even tends, as we have seen previously, to replace de- in suitable compounds, because it is more clearly negative than de- in compounds of Latin origin. In a minority of compounds, however, des- does not seem to have a negative function, and one suspects that the prefix is found in places where it is not justifiable on purely etymological grounds.

There are also a few compounds in des- which appear to be related to compounds in es- of which they are synonyms. In these compounds des- seems to have replaced es- and thereby strengthened the negative or destructive sense of the compound.

We have already noted the contrast between the weak de- and the strong des-. Obviously a negative function is likely to remain stronger than a reinforcing one, by virtue of the fact that it is much more useful to the language. The use of a negative prefix is more likely to create a new idea, although related to its antonym, than a mere reinforcing prefix, which only repeats an old idea. For this reason it is to be expected that de- should fall into disuse, as was shown in Chapter V, and for the same reason it is to be expected that des- should remain active. Let us examine the figures relating to compounds in des- as we did those for compounds in de-.

We observe the same decrease in numbers of new compounds in des- after the twelfth century as in the case of de-, but the decrease is much less sharp. Of the one hundred and ninety-eight compounds in des- discussed in the present chapter, there are three from the eleventh century, one hundred and twelve from the twelfth, forty-nine from the thirteenth, twenty-two from the fourteenth, and twelve from the fifteenth. The comparative decrease after the twelfth

century in the two cases may be seen from the following figures :

de- : 44, 11, 1, 0, + 4 earlier = 60

des- : 112, 49, 22, 12, + 3 earlier = 198

Whereas the very rapid decrease in the number of new compounds in de- is abnormal, the comparatively gentle decline in the case of compounds in des- is to be expected in view of the end of the sudden expansion of French which saw its culmination in the twelfth century, and which was outlined in Chapter V. The above figures show, then, that des- was fully active at all times in Mediaeval French, and we may suppose that it has remained so through the centuries down to the present day.

VII

CONCLUSION

In this study of the two related Mediaeval French prefixes de- and des-, we have seen how they both started life in Indo-European as independent adverbs, which later, in pre-historic Latin, came to be joined to, and to form part of, the word they determined as prefixes. In Latin they had the distinct forms de- and dis-, and their basic functions were to denote motion away from a starting-point and separation respectively, which meant that, although of different origins, the two prefixes had similar fundamental meanings. Not only had they similar fundamental meanings, but their secondary meanings also evolved in such a way that this parallel was maintained until they began eventually to converge. The history of our two prefixes is, in fact, the history of this convergence, which resulted in the final elimination from French of the weaker of the two.

The meanings and functions of de- and dis- in Latin may be summarised as follows : de-, basically, means 'away', but this meaning is extended in some compounds to take the form of 'away in a downward direction' ; the

secondary functions are to denote negation, cessation or reversal of the action or state indicated by the simple form, to intensify or reinforce the meaning and form of simple words ; other embryonic functions, of which the parallels are to be found in other languages of Indo-European origin, have failed to mature, though it would appear that some few isolated instances may exist ; des- (dis- in Latin), basically, denotes separation in a great variety of different forms, from simple division into two parts to motion in all directions ; the secondary functions are the same as those of de-, to negate and to intensify the actions or states denoted by simple forms, although the ways in which the prefixes come to have these same functions are different, and the extent to which they are used with the two secondary functions are also different.

The similarity in meaning of the two prefixes resulted occasionally in their forming compounds from the same simple word which were sometimes almost synonymous. In Classical Latin this was of no great importance, for the influence of a vigorous literature reduced the effect of many tendencies latent in the language. Late Latin, on the other hand, shows strong popular characteristics, mainly on account of the manner of its dissemination throughout the Roman Empire. The two popular characteristics which are of import-

ance for the history of de- and dis- are the excessive use of prefixes in order to increase the expressivity of the language, and the recomposition of earlier forms showing reduction of certain vowels, and the restoration to its full form of the prefix dis- itself in some cases.

De- was one of the prefixes which suffered most from this excessive use and misuse. It was used with increasing frequency to reinforce simple words without altering their meaning to any appreciable extent, thereby producing the more expressive forms desired by the ordinary people, who now had more influence over the shape of the language than had formerly been the case. As a result of the excessive use of de- in this way, it became accepted that de- had no semantic content, and, while its full meaning was maintained in the majority of already existing compounds, newly created compounds tended to be confined to the one category in which the form with de- meant little, if anything more than the unprefixd form. Its semantic content was, then, reduced to a mere function, and de- was a stylistic and grammatical tool used for augmenting the expressivity of the simple form, but, through constant use, the once marked increase in expressivity diminished until the compound and simple were virtually synonymous.

Dis-, however, was much less frequently used than

de-, but its meanings and functions were also reduced to one. Although all existing compounds retained their full meaning, newly created compounds tended to be formed with dis- in its negative sense alone. Thus it was that, in Late Latin, dis- too lost its basic meaning to a large extent, but the function that it retained was, by its very nature, much stronger and more important in the long run than that of de-.

With the language more and more in the hands of the ill-educated, and with the gradual changes in pronunciation, de- and di- came to be confused in some cases, and, consequently, so did their respective compounds of the same simple verb. This fact, coupled with the phenomenon of the restoration of di- to dis-, opened the way to a change of prefix from de- to di- and then to dis- in some suitable compounds. Such compounds were especially those in which de- had a negative function. Since, in new compounds, this notion was now regularly expressed by dis-, but scarcely, if ever, by de-, it was completely natural for it to be felt that dis- was the proper prefix to express negation, while de- was not. This idea would only be increased by the comparative emptiness of de-. Di- in place of the correct de- could then be restored to the form dis-. In this way CLat. dehonestare could become LLat. ^{*}dishonestare, and pass into French as desonester. Even though this did not happen

a great number of times, it is not an unnatural phenomenon.

By virtue of the nature of the transition from Latin to French, via the lingua romana, the popular characteristics of Late Latin prefixation were perpetuated in Old French. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that de- and des- should retain in Old French the reinforcing and negative functions that de- and dis- had in Late Latin, when used to form new compounds. However, the compounds found in Mediaeval French may be divided into two classes : those derived from Latin compounds through more or less direct channels, and those which received their prefix only in French. In practice it is impossible to draw a clear distinction between the two classes, for, in some cases, there is a doubt as to the class to which a given compound may belong.

In the first class we have the French forms representing Latin compounds which already contained one of our two prefixes. Their form has changed and their meanings may have changed, but, since the function of a prefix is determined when it first enters into composition with a stem, the function of the prefix must be regarded, in most cases, as remaining the same in French as it was in Latin, in spite of the fact that the compound as a whole may have suffered some shift of meaning. This being so, prefixes in Mediaeval French compounds of Latin origin fall into the same categories

of meaning as they did in the earlier Latin compounds.

There are a few exceptions to this rule, when the prefix, usually de-, appears to have suffered some slight modification in meaning, thereby affecting the sense of the whole compound. Such modifications in the meaning of the compound tend to occur in those words which have come into French through popular channels, while learned words tend to retain both their original meaning and the original form of the prefix (di- or dis- rather than de- or des-). Some words appear to be borrowed from Latin only in order to translate the Latin word to which they correspond, and exist only momentarily in French. Such words (e.g., debeller) have characteristics which are more Latin than French, and should not, therefore, be allowed to have too great an influence on our opinions concerning French. Some Latin words may be represented by both popular and learned forms, thus resulting in doublets in Mediaeval French. The tendency for dis- to replace de- noted in Late Latin is continued in French, though it is often impossible to say whether the change took place in Latin or French. It seems probable that it may have occurred in either period given suitable circumstances in which the former negative role of de- may be more adequately filled by dis- or des-. In some cases, especially those where both de- and des- are to be found but do not vary the meaning

of the compound, the s may have been inserted in the belief that it was used to indicate the quality of the preceding e. This cannot be considered to be genuine prefix-change, although the analogy with other compounds may have played some part in giving preference to des- rather than de-. In this way we have Mediaeval French compounds in des- derived from Latin compounds in de-.

Compounds formed in Mediaeval French show far less diversity in the meanings of their prefixes, for both de- and des- had the single function to which they had already been reduced by the end of the Late Latin period. De- does not alter the meaning of the simple form to which it is added, and ~~intensification~~ intensification is comparatively rare, for the prefix seems to reinforce the form rather than the meaning, thus increasing its impact. However, in some cases, the prefixation is accompanied by a slight shift of meaning, which is not clearly attributable to de-, although the prefix serves to differentiate between one meaning and another in such instances. In parasyntetic compounds it is impossible to ascribe any definite meaning to de-, which appears to be little more than a grammatical tool assisting the verbal suffix to indicate the change of part of speech, while the semantic content of the compound is borne entirely by the root. When Old French had blossomed into a sophisticated

literary language, the popular need for the creation of expressive forms by means of an empty prefix was no longer felt, de- became redundant and began to fall into disuse after about the end of the twelfth century, until by the fifteenth century it was scarcely ever, if at all, used in the formation of new compounds. Compare Meyer-Lübke's view (p. 13).

Des-, on the other hand, retains its strong negative sense, and is used much more often and extensively than de- in both Old and Middle French. It negates or reverses the action or state expressed by both simple forms and by compounds in a- and em- or en-. The negation of compounds is achieved in two ways : by double prefixation, or by change of prefix. This double method, in addition to the negation of simple forms, results in the production of many negative synonyms in Mediaeval French. The prefix maintains its negative function in parasynthetic compounds, though it is much vaguer than in verbal compounds. The prefix seems to be used for creating a verb which denotes the transference of the object or subject of the compound from a state, indicated by the stem and anterior to the action of the compound, to the opposite state, which is the result of the action of the compound. It is the fact that the second state is the negation of the first that is indicated by des-. The superiority of des- over de- is shown by the fact that des-

is still capable of assuming the role of de- in those compounds where its strong negative function is more suited to the sense of the compound as a whole than is the weak positive function of the other prefix, even though de- is etymologically correct. This tendency to replace de- is sufficiently strong for des- to be used regularly in compounds where it has no etymological justification whatsoever, and even in compounds where it has no semantic justification. In such compounds the growing habit of inserting an unetymological s must have been of considerable influence. It is, therefore, sometimes impossible to decide on other than semantic grounds which prefix is in fact used. This method has the great disadvantage of necessitating the strict application of rules established by the observation of a language which is far from being without inconsistencies. Des- also appears in compounds where it is not used to negate another form and cannot be accounted for by any mistakes of orthography, namely where it seems to be in place of es-, the meaning of which it probably reinforces. This occurs particularly in compounds which have a meaning in sympathy with the negative or destructive sense of des-. Whereas de- was allowed to fall into disuse and disappear from the language as an active prefix, des- is much more useful a prefix and remains, therefore, in active use throughout Mediaeval French

and right up to the present day as a means of negating verbs, while im- and in- are generally used for the negation of adjectives and nouns.

Such, briefly, is the history of de- and des- up to the end of the fifteenth century, but what of the events of the five centuries that have elapsed since that date? Unless de- was brought back to active life at some time, the only way in which new compounds containing that prefix can enter the language is for them to be borrowed from other languages, such as Latin or English. Des-, however, is fully active, and there exist numerous compounds of comparatively recent formation which contain this prefix, though its use does not, at first sight, appear to have altered since Mediaeval French. Both simple and compound verbs may be negated by dé- (or dés- before vowels), e.g., déboiser, décaler, dépanner/empanner, débrayer/embrayer/désebrayer. Indeed, the recrudescence of forms such as dématiner, dépondérer, désécrire, désinstruction, décompliquer, décristallisation has been observed recently in the works of Gide.¹

Since the meaning and function of our two prefixes have changed so little during the last five centuries, the

¹ E. de Ullmann, "Glanures Gidiennes," Le Français Moderne, XXV (1957), 196-205.

chief interest would appear to lie in the sphere of phonology and orthography, rather than of semantics, for the confusion caused by the misinterpretation of the role of the s in many compounds, which has already been discussed, has left its mark on Modern French spelling, and it is of vital importance for the proper understanding of the position of de- and des- in Modern French. (Nevertheless there would appear to be scope for some work on the interchange of prefixes.)

It is not perfectly straightforward to decide which prefix is used in a particular compound as it is written in the twentieth century. The writing of des- for de- and vice versa, and the confusion it caused in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has already been mentioned, and this was only increased by the tendency which arose in the sixteenth to pronounce de- with a closed e in imitation of the Latin pronunciation of the prefix. This occurred on a large scale, and, in the sixteenth century, words such as decapiter, dechiqueter, defrayer, depestrer, degrader could be written with or without an s in the prefix. When, in 1740, the Académie, in the third edition of their Dictionnaire, finally replaced the long silent s found in very many words by an accent, the unetymological s, as well as the ~~des-~~ s of des-, was fixed in the language by the existence of an

accent in the official spelling, and de- and des- at last converged. Thus we find anomalies such as demander (Lat. demandare), but déprécier (Lat. depretiare).

Not until the prefixes in compounds formed since the fifteenth century, as well as the forms of earlier compounds, have been thoroughly examined can the history of de- and des-, or dé(s)- as they have become in Modern French, be brought up to date. Only then will we be able to say with certainty whether de- did in fact fall completely into disuse, or whether it reappears, perhaps from the recesses of the dialects, in compounds such as débiner, dégringoler. The task is to unravel the tangle begun as early as the thirteenth century by the clerks, or practiciens, whose incorrect and unetymological spelling was approved by Robert Estienne and incorporated in his Dictionnaire françoislatin (second edition 1549). In spite of the reformed spelling used by Ronsard and some foreign publishers, it was the spelling of Estienne which was perpetuated in the Dictionnaire de l'Académie, the final authority, in the first edition of 1694, as in the third of 1740, when the accent was first introduced officially on a large scale.

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