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Autor(en): **Wright, Roger**

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Pretonic diphthongs in Old Castilian

It is regular for Latin words with initial GE- or JE- to evolve into old Castilian [je-], and for the words in which this syllable is atonic to lose the yod by the thirteenth century: the diphthong either simplifies to [i] or [e], as in GERMANUM > *iermano* > *hermano*, GENUCULUM > *hinojo*. This does not occur in tonic syllables: *yerno* (<GENERUM) preserves the yod¹.

It may be that the second development is part of a general movement to confine this diphthong to stressed positions. Other than the words from Latin GE- or JE-, there are only two words with the spelling 'ie' in initial pretonic syllable in Oelschläger's Mediaeval Word List²: these are *piedad* and *fielddad*, which have alternative forms in *piadad* and *fialdad*, and are both formed from words in which there is hiatus rather than glide (*pio*, *fi[d]el*), so it is probably wrong to consider these as diphthongs. The normal pattern provided such cognate forms as *ciego* and *cegar*, *cierto* and *certero* (all found in Berceo), where the [je] specifically derives from the tonic vowel: Berceo used *fereza*, formed off *fiero*³, so the general principle of [je] being specifically tonic seems to have been available to the intuition.

A comparable development seems to have been taking place concerning [wa], although the facts are less easy to interpret. In the tenth century Glosas Emilianenses⁴, [wa] seems to have been one of the diphthongs descending from stressed open [o], but Castilian did not standardize any such form, usually preferring [we]⁵; it seems that [wa] only survived as a diphthong (tonic or atonic) after a velar consonant. Those words still spelt with <ua> probably involved hiatus: *puado*, formed from *púa*, *ruano* from *rúa*: *suave* and *Juan*, with alternative forms *soave* and *Johan*.

There is no early Latin word with initial [gwa], but Germanic borrowings with initial [w] were reinforced with the velar (e.g. WARDON > *guardar*). In Castilian, the [w] disappeared before [e] or [i], as in *werra* > *guerra*, *wisa* > *guisa*, probably at the same time as it was disappearing after the unvoiced [k] (QUEM > *quien*, QUID > *que*).

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the authorities for dates and etymologies are: J. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, Madrid 1954–57, and the abridged *Breve Diccionario Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, Madrid ³1973; R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual de Gramática Histórica Española*, Madrid ¹²1966; the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* published by the *Real Academia Española*, Madrid ¹⁸1956.

² V. R. B. OELSCHLÄGER, *A Mediaeval Spanish Word List*, Wisconsin 1940.

³ G. BERCEO, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* 473. *Fiereza* is first documented in NEBRIJA's dictionary (1495).

⁴ Reprinted at the start of R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Orígenes del Español*, Madrid ⁷1972: including *uamne* (68), *huamne* (128) and *huemne* (130), all descended from HOMINEM.

⁵ Compare PÖRTAM > Cast. *puerta*, Arag. *puarta*.

Within [gwa-] it survives in all forms of *guardar* < *wardon*, *guarir* < *warjan* (whence *guarecer*), *guarnir* < *warnjan* (whence *guarnecer*): *guadaña* < **watania*, *guadapero* < **walthapairs*. Two Latin words with initial [wa] were also reinforced in this way: *VASTRAPES* > **wasdrappa* > *gualdrapa*, and *VASTARE* > **guastar* > *gastar* (cf. Old Catalan *guastar*, Italian *guastare*). These (and the proper name *VASCONEM* > *guascon* > *gascon*) are the only surviving words with initial pretonic [wa] followed by [s] or [z], although why the sibilant should have this effect is unclear. (In tonic syllables the bilabial was pronounced in the usual way: *VASUM* > *vaso*). Other than in initial position, [-gwa-] survived without trouble as the descendant of Latin [-kwa-] (*AQUALEM* > *igual*, *AQUAM* > *agua*) or [-gwa-] itself (*LINGUAM* > *lengua*).

Pretonic initial [gwa] has tended to acquire a variant [ga] in other words. *Galardón* appears seven times in the Poem of the Cid (and *galardonado* once), although *gualardon* (< **WITHRALAUN*) remains the normal written form throughout the Middle Ages, being used by (inter alios) Berceo, Juan Manuel, and the Arcipreste de Talavera: its continuing currency in late fifteenth century speech is attested by its survival in *sefardí*, although Nebrija only included *galardon* in his dictionary (first ed. 1495). *Wranjons* gave both *guaranyon* (found in the *Fueros de Aragón*) and modern *garañón*: the old *gabarse* (descended, probably via Catalan, from a Germanic root) had a *sefardí* and morisco variant *wabar*, and *gabarro* (whose origin is unknown) has a sixteenth century variant *guavarro* attested: *gajorro* has a Murcian variant *guajerro*: even at a later date, the form borrowed from the Italian wine *vernaccia* is *guarnacha* in Cervantes' *El Licenciado Vidriera*, but *garnacha* in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1734). We can thus glimpse a tendency to preserve the [wa] in tonic syllables: to lose the labial element in the syllable which comes two before the stress (Modern *galardón*, *garañón*, but not *guadapero*): but in the immediately pretonic syllable there seems to have developed a lengthy period of free variation, in which the [w] could either be dropped or kept.

This period of free variation was probably tending towards a resolution by the late fifteenth century, but then the discovery of the New World led to many acquisitions with initial [gwa]. The Academy Dictionary lists at least 25 such, including *guano*, *guacamayo*, *guacho*, *guagua*, *guayaba*, and the situation seems to have been left with too many exceptions for a general morpheme structure rule to be intuited and carried through into modern Castilian.

There are also two Arabisms beginning with [gwa]. *Guarismo* < O.Sp. *alguarismo* is likely to have involved hiatus, being borrowed from an Arabic word which treated the vowels as separate syllables (*huwārizmī* in Corominas' transcription). This may also apply to *alguacil*, from *wazir* (but see below). *Guadamecí* is taken from Arabic *gadēmesī*, and here the [w] has been inserted into a word whose etymon lacked any labial element at all. This word is unique in having the [gwa] three syllables before the stress: this may be partly explicable by analogy with other Arabic placenames

(*Guadiana, Guadalete* etc.), but even so this points strongly to a feeling that [ga] and [gwa] are functionally interchangeable in initial pretonic position (for the speakers would not know which was chronologically and etymologically the original in such cases of variation).

French lost the [w] in such words by the late twelfth century (as in *garder, garnir*), so that Spanish Gallicisms of Germanic origin lack it: e. g. *gaje* < Fr. *gage* < Frankish *WADDI (although *guante* was borrowed from Catalan *guant*, which in turn came from O.Fr. *guant* < Frankish *want before the change occurred). Some early philologists reversed this argument, stating that all Spanish words with initial [ga] from Germanic or Latin [wa] were Gallicisms: but Corominas has shown this argument to be invalid⁶. We can provisionally propose that Castilian moved towards losing the [w] in ante-pretonic position, and preserving it in the tonic, with the exceptions being (for differing reasons) *guadapero, guadamecí*, and tonic forms of *gastar* (such as *gasta*), which do not contain diphthongs: the pretonics require further light to be shed.

We saw that [gwe] and [gwi] develop analogously as [kwe] and [kwi]: it may be relevant here to investigate the fate of tonic and pretonic [kwa]. The sounds are preserved in initial tonic position: QUANTUM > *cuanto*, QUALEM > *cual*, QUATTUOR > *cuatro*⁷. There are six words in which the [w] has been dropped from an initial syllable: *calidad* < QUALITATEM⁸: *calaño*, whose origins are unclear, but which most probably is formed from *cual* in a non-Castilian area: *cantidad* < QUANTITATEM: *catorce* < QUATTUORDECIM: *casi* < QUASI: *cascar* (and its many cognates, *casco, cascajo, cáscara*, etc.), which Corominas follows Meyer-Lübke⁹ in deriving from *QUASSICARE. *Casi* is a special case (see below): *calidad, cantidad, cascar*, and *catorce* all derive from Latin words in which the original stress was on the third syllable, but if this is a relevant factor in the evolution of *catorce* and *cascar* the process must be postulated as at least incipient before the end of the syncopation. If the proposed etymology for *cascar* is correct, this is necessary anyway, since Menéndez Pidal mentions a tenth century use of *cáscara*¹⁰: but, as Corominas mentions, *CASICARE cannot be completely rejected as the etymon, in view of its postulated existence as the source of Italian *cascare*. If we envisage a general move to lose the labial element in ante-pretonic position after the unvoiced velar, as we have after the voiced, this leaves us with few problems.

The idea of 'cultismo' is relevant here as it was not with [gwa] (which occurred at the start of no written Latin forms), and Menéndez Pidal argued that the words *cuaderno* < QUATERNUM, *cuarenta* < QUADRAGINTA, and *cuaresma* < QUADRAGESIMA

⁶ See particularly *DCELC*, art. *gastar*.

⁷ These words were normally spelt with a <qua> at this time.

⁸ *Cualidad* is first attested in Palencia's *Vocabulario* (1490).

⁹ W. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 3(1935).

¹⁰ See MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual* § 83.1.

were 'culto', on the evidence of the preserved [w] (compared with e.g. French *cahier*, Ptg. *caderno* from QUATERNUM)¹¹. This is hard to accept. Did the unlettered never speak of Lent or count to forty? Other contemporary lexical items with initial pretonic [kwa-] are Romance formations from words that have a tonic [kwa]: *cuadrar*, *cuadrado*, *cuadrilla*, *cualquiera*, *cuantía*, *cuantioso*, *cuartilla*. *Cuarentena* is formed off *cuarenta*, being the only ante-pretonic [kwa-] of the thirteenth century¹²: *cuajar* is probably pronounced with hiatus at the relevant early time, descending from COAGULARE. *Calaño*, however, remains unexplained.

The history of the word *cuadril* is similar to that of *guadamecí*, reinforcing the view of a wide state of free variation in pretonic position: for it is the adjective formed off *cadera*. Corominas says:

'Como en Asturias y en Galicia se emplea la forma *cadril*, es lícito sospechar que en los dialectos gallegoportugueses y leoneses que vacilan entre *ca-* y *cua-* < QUA- (*gall*; *cando*, *catro*, *cadrado* ..) nuestro vocablo **cadril* fuese atraído por la familia del lat. QUADRUS .. ultracorrección'.

The logic of the argument is strange: the influence of Gallego could well explain the loss of [w] in *calaño* (for *cal* is normal Gallego), but hardly account for an intrusive one. Yet this postulated state of vacillation is clearly the only plausible explanation for the evolution of *cuadril*: and in this case (as with *guadamecí*) it may be that the analogical pull of *cuadro* overrode that of *cadera* in the communal 'static' etymology¹³ after the loss of any surviving vowel sound between the [d] and the [r].

Casi is first attested in González de Clavijo (early fifteenth century): when *quasi* appears in writing earlier (as in the phrase *quasi titulo*, *Vidal Mayor* III.12.2)¹⁴ it is an obvious Latinism, meaning 'equivalent to' rather than 'almost'. In origin, then, it is probably a Latin borrowing: and originally it must have been borrowed with the [w], since the pronunciation of 'cultismos' depends on the Latin spelling: compare *cuestión* from QUAESTIONEM, spelt 'QUA', with *adquirir* from ADQUIRERE. If this is a cultismo without a [w], as it seems it must be, this makes the 'culto' explanation of *cuaderno* all the more unsatisfactory: and the loss of the [w] is definite, for Nebrija only includes *casi*. As Corominas explains:

'Junto a *casi* existió *cuasi*, que todavía se emplea en el lenguaje vulgar de España y de América. Se explica este duplicado por la doble pronunciación, atona y acentuada ...'

The word is often proclitic, and being also disyllabic its initial syllable is normally thus antepretonic within the one stress group: this suggests that the habit of deleting

¹¹ See MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual*, § 39.4., N 1.

¹² BERCEO once used *cairentena* (see Appendix C).

¹³ For the relevance of mistaken etymologies, see S. ULLMANN, *Language and Style*, Oxford 1964, Chapter 3.

¹⁴ *Vidal Mayor*, ed. G. TILANDER, Lund 1956.

the [w] in such circumstances continues to be general in the 15th Century. This is not applicable to later learned formations such as *cuasidelito*, whose use may still be confined to the Latinate.

Thus with [kwa] as with [gwa] the [w] tends to be lost in antepretonic syllables and preserved in tonic syllables in Old Castilian: *guadapero* is an exception; *guadamecí* and *cuadril* are anomalies, in that a [w] has appeared for no clear reason. These three words offer us a clue for the explanation of pretonic syllables: because in all these words the succeeding consonant is [ð]. In pretonic position also, [w] is always retained if the following consonant is [ð]: this applies to *guadaña* and *cuaderno*. (It is probably significant that the Academy lists no word with initial 'gad' other than the Latinate *gaditano*). If we can extend this to cover a succeeding [dz], then *alguazil* is covered: the only remaining cases of preservation of pretonic [w] (other than words formed off others in which the syllable was tonic) are *cuarenta*, *cuaresma*, *guardar*, *guarir*, *guarnir*, and *gualdrapa*. Thus a pretonic [wa] seems also to remain before [r], although not in antepretonic position (*garañón*). If Corominas is right in postulating **gualdrapa* as an intermediate stage, then this is also covered by the same regularity.

The only cases of loss of [w] in syllables which are not antepretonic within the word are *casi*, *cascar*, and *gastar*, so it seems that a following sibilant encourages the loss of [w]; as earlier it seems to have encouraged the [g] in *gastar*, *gualdrapa* < VASTRAPES. As there is no case of [-wað] > [að], so there is no word containing tonic or pretonic [was] or [waz] in Castilian before the fifteenth century cultismos such as *persuasión*, and such words remain very rare.

The following describes the facts: [wa] remains before [ð] but loses the [w] before [s] or [z]: the [w] also disappears in antepretonic position, but remains in immediately pretonic position before [r]: this could be turned into a rule on the transformational model if we wished, although there seems no obvious class to which [d] and [r] belong, [s] and [z] do not. This may, however, be connected with the twelfth century decision to restrict [je] to tonics alone, as if this development led to a generalization of rules, in which the relevant feature was the diphthong rather than specifically [je]. Words with a pretonic [wa] at the time seem to have been in a fluid enough state of variation for such a decision in neighbouring territory to have a decisive influence on which variant might emerge as the standard.

Such a move may have begun with post-tonic syllables also: there seems to be no word at this time with post-tonic [je]. *Nadie*, for example, is first found in Nebrija, and although *alguien* is found in the fifteenth century, it had oxytonic stress until the seventeenth. All words ending in [wa] in Old Castilian speech had a preceding velar: *agua*, *legua*, *lengua*, *tregua*, *yegua*, *antigua*, *ascua*. (*Recua*, < Arabic *rekûba* involved hiatus). The [w] has survived in every case, including before plural [-s]: but Berceo used both *antiguo* and *antigo*, and the earliest forms of *continuo* and *inico* seem to have been *contino* and *inico*¹⁵. The evidence of [wo] is slight, but corroborative:

cotidiano < QUOTIDIANUS, where there is attested a Classical variant COTTIDIANUS: *cotejar* is not native Castilian, but is formed from QUOTA¹⁶: O.Sp. *cuomo* < QUOMODO disappeared, presumably on the analogy of other words in which [wo] was discarded as an unacceptable descendant of open stressed [o]. So it may be that a move to abandon rising diphthongs in post-tonic as well as pretonic positions began, but was for some reason reversed: whereas in pretonic position it was only checked by a following [ð] or [r].

Appendices

These lists include all words relevant to this investigation, with early references (which are not intended to be exhaustive). They do not include Latinisms nor early variants with 'ua' < 'o' (e.g. *puarta*). Abbreviations and editions are as follows:

- Alex.* *Libro de Alexandre*, ed. R. S. Willis, Princeton 1934.
Apol. *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. C. C. Marden, Baltimore 1917–22.
 Berceo, *Duelo*: *Duelo que fizo la virgen*.
Loor: *Loores de Nuestra Señora*.
Mil: *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.
SDom: *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*.
Sign: *Los signos que aparecieron antes del Juicio*.
SM: *Vida de San Millán*.
SOr: *Vida de Santa Oria*.
 All published together in *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV*, BAE 57 (1884), 39–146.
- CB* *Cancionero de Baena*, ed. J. M. Azáqueta, Madrid 1966.
CD *El libro de Calila e Digna*, in: *Escritores en Prosa anteriores al siglo XV*, BAE 51 (1884), 1–78.
Cor. J. Corominas, *Diccionario Crítico-Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, Madrid 1954–57.
Cortes *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla* (Madrid 1861).
CRS *Castigos e documentos del Rey Don Sancho*, BAE 51 (1884) 79–228.
DL R. Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos Lingüísticos de España I: Reino de Castilla*, new ed., Madrid 1966.
EKN E. K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos en el español del siglo XIII*, Helsinki 1941.
FAr. *Fuero de Aragón*, ed. G. Tilander, Lund 1937.
FJ V. Fernández Llera, *Gramática y Vocabulario del Fuero Juzgo*, Madrid 1929: more precise references are given for each use.
GEsc. Américo Castro, *Glosarios Latino-españoles de la Edad Media*, Madrid 1936.
GPal.
GTol. *Glosarios del Escorial, de Palacio, de Toledo*.

¹⁵ BERCEO, *Sacrificio de la Misa* 157 and *Milagros* 187. For *contino* and *inico* see MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual*, § 30.2, N 1. In Early Castilian, the spelling *nunqua* is more common than *nunca* (< NUMQUAM): e.g. 7 times to 1 in the *PMC* (407, 1562, etc: 3377).

¹⁶ *Cotidiano* is first attested in Palencia (1490), and may be a Latin borrowing; *cotejar* is borrowed from Catalan.

- GH* D. Gifford and F. Hodcroft, *Textos Lingüísticos del Medioevo Español* (Oxford 1958): more precise references are given for each use.
- GL. Em.* *Glosas Emilianenses, Glosas Silenses*, reprinted in *Orig.*, p. 1–24.
- Gl. Sil.*
- JM* *Arm:* Juan Manuel, *Tractado de las Armas*, in A. Giménez Soler, *Don Juan Manuel, Biografía y Estudio Crítico*, Zaragoza 1932, p. 677ss.
- Cab:* «Libro del Cauallero et del escudo», ed. Gräfenberg, *RF* 7 (1893), 446ss.
- Caza:* *Libro de la Caza*, ed. G. Baist, Halle 1880.
- Inf:* *Libro Infinito*, ed. J. M. Blecua, Granada 1952.
- Luc:* *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. H. Knust, Leipzig 1900.
- Test:* *Los Testamentos de Don Juan Manuel*, in: Giménez Soler, p. 695ss.
Also: F. Huerta y Tejedas, *Vocabulario de las obras de Don Juan Manuel*, *BRAE* 34 (1954) and 35 (1955).
- LBA* Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. J. Corominas, Madrid 1967.
- Nebrija* *Vocabulario de Romance en Latin*, 1st ed. 1495: reprinted Valencia 1973.
- Oelsch.* V. R. B. Oelschläger, *A Mediaeval Spanish Word-List*, Wisconsin 1940: more precise references are given for each use.
- Orig.* R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, Madrid 1972.
- PCG* *Primera Crónica General*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid 1955.
- PFG* *Poema de Fernán González*, *BAE* 57, 389–412.
- PMC* *Poema de Mío Cid*, ed. C. C. Smith, Oxford 1972.
Also: F. M. Waltman, *Concordance to Poema de Mío Cid*, London 1972.
- SME* *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca*, *BAE* 57, 307–18

Appendix A

This list includes Castilian lexical words in existence before 1400 with initial tonic diphthong [-wa-], and derived cognates.

Guante (< Arag [Cor. 1331] < Cat < OFr. *guant*): *GEsc.* 792,912. (Plural).

Guay (< Germ. [Cor.] or < Arabic (*EKN*) *wai*): *EKN*, p. 224.

Quadro (< QUADRUM): *Oelsch.* (968).

Quadra: *Oelsch.* (1061), *PMC* 1896.

Quadrado: *Alex.* 2385b.

Quadrar: *Orig.* § 70.4 (959).

Quadriella: *Cor.* C 13 (*Fuero de Usagre*), *LBA* 1240a.

Quadriellos: *Alex.* 502a, 1046b, 1705c, 2060c.

Quadryllos: *PFG* 119, *LBA* 271a.

Qual (< QUALEM): *Passim.* (*Gl. Em.* 89).

Qualquier: *Passim.* (Berceo, *SM* 339a).

(For *calaño*, *calidad* see Appendix C.)

Quando (< QUANDO): *Passim.* (121 in *PMC*, 59, 90, 125, etc).

Quanto (< QUANTUM): *Passim.* (69 in *PMC*, 63, 77, 111, etc.).

Alquandre: *PMC* 352, 1081.

Alquandas: *Gl. Em.* 73.

Alquantos: Berceo, *Duelo* 85.

Alquantre: *Gl. Sil.* 126.

Quantia: *DL* 278.21 (1236, Toledo), *JM*, *Luc.* 10.16.

- Cantidad: *Cor.* C 13 (*Setenario* 13r).
 Quantiello: *Alex.* 2075d.
 Quantioso: *Cor.* C 14 (*Fuero de Vizcaya*).
 Quantoquequier: *FJ*, p. 249 (and variants).
 (For *cantia*, *cantidad*, *cantioso* see Appendix C.)
 Quarto (< QUARTUM): *DL* 37.10 (1127, Oña), *DL* 261.16 (1191, Toledo), *PMC* 665.
 Quartal: *Oelsch.* (1088), *GTol* 977.
 Quartanario: *GEsc.* 631.
 Quartaron: *Oelsch.* (1194).
 Quartegon: *Orig.* § 50.3 (1172).
 Quarteres: *GH* 79 (1389, Navarra).
 Quarterero: *Oelsch.* (984), *LBA* 969a (Ms. S: Ms. G, *Quartillo*).
 Quarteron: *JM*, *Arm.* 679.24.
 Quartilla: *Oelsch.* (949).
 Quatro (< QUATTUOR): *Passim.* (e.g. *PMC* 260, 1717, 1735).
 Quadravuelo, Quadrinieto: *FJ*, p. 249 (and variants).
 Quadrupea: *LBA* 1217b (Ms. G: Ms. S, *Quatropea*).
 Quadrupeda: *GH* 74 (1250, *Fueros de la Novenera*).
 Quatriellu: *Oelsch.* (1065).
 Quatrocientos: *Oelsch.* (1170), *JM*, *Test.* 704.26.
 Quatrogradero: *Berceo*, *SDom.* 44a.

Appendix B

This list includes all Castilian lexical words in existence before 1400 with pretonic initial diphthong [-wa-], and derived cognates.

- (Guadafiones (< Germ. **waithafâhjóns* [?]): *Nebrija*, but probably of earlier date)
 Guadameçi (< Arabic *gadēmesī*): *PMC* 88. (Plural).
 Guadalmeçi: *PMC* 87.
 Guadaña: (< Germ. **watania*): *CB* 357.15.
 Guadañero: *Cortes* II.16.
 (Guataniare: *Oelsch.* 1055) > O. Arag. *guadanyar*: *Orig.* § 40.3.)
 (Guadapero [< Germ. **walthapairs*]): *Nebrija*, but probably of earlier date).
 Gualardon (< Germ. **withralaun*): *Berceo*, *Mil.* 56 (etc).
 Gualardonar: *FJ* p. 197, *Berceo*, *Mil.* 73, *CD* 40a, *LBA* 717d (Ms. S: Ms. G, *gal-*).
 Gualardonear: *GPal.* 422, *GEsc.* 2765, 2845, 2928.
 (Gualdad; *FJ* p. 197, variant of *egualdad*).
 (Gualdrapa [< VASTRAPES]: C 16, *Cor.*: for *galdrapa* see Appendix C.)
 (Guaranyon: *FAr.* § 213.1. (For Cast. *garanon* see Appendix C.))
 Guardar (< *wardôn*): *PMC* 686 (etc), *Berceo*, *SDom.* 313c (etc).
 Aguardar: *PMC* 308 (etc), *Alex.* 1869bd.
 Aguardadores: *Alex.* 818b.
 Guarda: *Oelsch.* (1129), *Berceo*, *SDom.* 25a.
 Guardabrazo: *Cor.* (1393), *Guarda de braço*: *GEsc.* 500.
 Guardadera: *LBA* 644b.
 Guardador: *FJ*, p. 197, *Berceo*, *SDom.* 367d.
 Guardia: *Berceo*, *Loor* 114.

- Reguarda: *Cor.* (c. 1300).
 (For *agardar*, *gardador*, *gardar* see Appendix C.)
- Guarir (< *waryan*): *PMC* 834, 3681, Berceo, *SDom.* 312.
 Guareçer: Berceo, *Duelo* 90c, *Alex.* 738d.
 Guarida: Berceo, *Mil.* 554d, *Alex.* 2085d.
 Guarimiento: Berceo, *SDom.* 615d, *GH* 48 (1258, Oviedo).
- Guarnir (< *warnjan*): *PMC* 986, 1337, 1872.
 Guarneçer: *GTol.* 2097.
 Guarnecimiento: *FJ* p. 198 (and variants).
 Guarnicion: Berceo, *SOr.* 143.
 Guarnimentos: *SME* 234.
 Guarnimiento: *PMC* 2610, *FJ* p. 198.
 Guarnizon: *PMC* 3244, 3476 (& 7 others).
 (for *Garnicion*, *Garnidos*, *Garnizon* see Appendix C.)
- Quaderno (< QUATERNUM: Berceo, *SDom.* 751c, *Alex.* 2c, *LBA* 142c).
 Enquadernar: *GEsc.* 2536.
 Quadernitat: *CRS*, p. 100.
- Quadril, formed off *cadera* (< CATHEDRAM): *LBA* 243a.
- Quamanno (< QUAM MAGNUM): *GTol.* 1378, *FJ*, p. 249. (As two words, passim: e.g. *PCG* 5a 10, b15: *CD* 40a)
- Quarenta (< QUADRAGINTA): Berceo, *Mil.* 776a. (Quaraenta, *Oelsch.* 1206).
 Quaranteno: Berceo, *Loor* 45 ac.
 (For *Carentena* see Appendix C.)
- Quaresma (< QUADRAGESIMA): Berceo, *Mil.* 56a.
 (Quadragesima: Berceo, *SM* 143 b, *GH* 69 [1244, Navarra]).
- There are also two Arabisms in which initial Arabic [wa] becomes the second syllable in Castilian:
- Alguaçil* (< *wazîr*): *Cor* (1075); as *Aguazil*, *PMC* 749; *Aguaçil*, *LBA* 509c.
Oelsch. lists *algaiazil*, *Alguazil*, *Aluacil*, *Aluazir*, *Alvazil*: also *alguazilia*. *Alguaziladgo*, *EKN*, p. 93.
- Algarismo* (< *huwârizmî* < Gk. δ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$): *Cor.* (*Libros del Saber de Astronomía* III. 36).
Guarismo is C 16.
EKN also lists Arabic *walwal* > *alualuala*, *alguargualas* (*PCG* 567b30); (also *LBA* 898a *albuerbila* Ms. G): *EKN*, p. 217/8. Other Arabisms spelt < alua- > have the < u > representing a consonant.
- Probably trisyllabic (hence the < c >) is:
- Cuajar (< COAGULARE): *Apol.* 270b.
 Cuajada: *GTol.* 586, 648.
 Quaiadon: *Alex.* 2084b (> *cuajarón*).
 Cuajo: *GEsc.* 820 (kwályo: *Oríg.* § 50.4, C 12 Mozarab).
 Descuajado: Berceo, *SDom.* 451d (as *descujado*, Berceo, *Mil.* 91d.)

Appendix C

These lists include words with pretonic [a] < [wa]: the first includes those in which this form becomes standard, the second includes stray variants.

1)

(Ca, if <QUAM rather than QUIA: Passim. (*Gl. Sil.* 315)).Calanno, perhaps formed off Gallego *cal* (< QUALEM): Berceo, *SDom.* 56a, 273d: as *calanya*, *Apol.* 259d. (> Modern *calaña* C 15).Calidad (< QUALITATEM): Berceo, *SOr.* 126, JM, *Cab.* 485.26.Cantidad (< QUANTITATEM): *Cor.*, early C 15 (*Alonso de Cartagena*).Cascar (? < *QUASSICARE: perhaps *CASICARE): *Cor.*, late C 15 (*Antón de Montoro*).Casca: *Cor.* (*CD*).Cascago: *Orig.* § 7.2 (1177), JM, *Caza.* 83.4.Cascara: *Oelsch.* (956), (JM, *Luc* 43.1, 44.3 in C 15 copies).Casco: *PMC* 3651, *LBA* 86c.Casi (borrowed from QUASI: pretonic because preclitic): *Cor.* early C 15 (*González de Clavijo*). Not in *PMC* 1033, where Ms *casi* is two words, *ca si*.Latin QUASI is glossed as 'poco menos' in *GTol.* 2389, *GEsc.* 315.Catorce (< QUATUORDECIM): *Oelsch.* (1187). (*Catorze*, JM, *Test.* 703.42)Catorzena: JM, *Inf.* p. 86.1.Quatorze: JM, *Cab.* 483.16.Quatorzeno: *GH* 79 (1389, Navarra).Berceo uses *quarto decimo* *Sign.* 21a: also *FJ*, p. 249Galardon (< Germ. *withralaun): *PMC* 386, 2126, 2582, 2641, 2855, 3416, all with *buen*: 2782 with *mal*: Berceo, *Sign.* 28, *LBA* 1476c, 1633c.Galardonado: *PMC* 2150 (with *bien*).Galdrapa (< VASTRAPES): *CB* 155.29 (Villasandino). *Gualdrapa* is dated by Corominas at 1599, but probably is of earlier date.Garanon (< Germ. *wranjóns*): *LBA* 1405b.Gastar (< VASTARE): *Orig.* § 46.4c, Mozarab *waštato* (*Ibn Guzman*, C 12).Gastador: Berceo, *SM* 102b.Gasto: Berceo, *Mil.* 630a.

2)

Agardar: *FJ* p. 97–8.Cantia: *Cor.* C 13 (*Fuero Real*), (JM, *Luc.* 214.18 in C 15 copy).Cantioso: *Cor.* C 14 (*Fuero de Vizcaya*).Carentena: Berceo, *SM* 192c.Gardador, Gardar: *FJ*, p. 195 and 197.Garniçiones: *LBA* 1086d (Ms. S).Garnidos: *LBA* 1086c (Ms. S).Garnizon: *Alex.* 2084a.

Appendix D

1) Occasional insertion of letter <u> after velar, before <a>, in atonic initial syllable:

«Quada» (for clitic *cada*): *DL* 262.89 (1198, Guadalajara), *DL* 270.9 (1212, Toledo), *GH* 71 (1276, Navarra).«Quadayno» (for *cada anno*): *DL* 305.16 (1184, Cuenca). (This document also includes «coal» (1, 11, 17), «quoal» (18), «quattro» (16)).«Quarreira» (for *carreira*): *Orig.* § 12.3 (1178, Aguilar de Campó).«Guadarniz» (for *codorniz*): JM, *Caza.* 43.17 (but «codorniz», 69.4).«Guanar» (for *ganar*): *FJ* p. 197.

- 2) The C 14 Glossaries contain the following «Latin» forms:
GTol. 1235: QUADAUER: cuerpo muerto (but CADAVER in *GEsc.* 853).
GPal. 366: QUATURNUS: borzegujs (i.e. COTHURNUS).
GTol. 97: CADRANS: quarto.
GEsc. 940: CADRANTE: qua(r)tro.
GTol. 621: CADRIGIA: carreta.
GEsc. 75: CADRUPES: de quatro pies.
GTol. 1405: CASATUS: cosa quebrantada (i.e. QUASSATUS).
GTol. 1807: CASSO: quebrantar (i.e. QUASSO).
GTol. 152: CATERNIO: sennor de quatro.
GEsc. 2536: CATERNO: enquadernar.
GTol. 123: CATERNUS: quaderno.
 Also, apparently Latin-Latin (as a few of the glosses in *GPal.* are):
GPal. 18: AURIGA: cadrigar(i)us.

In these cases (as in others) the Latin is wrong but the Castilian spelling is not: since the phonology of spoken Latin at this time cannot have been systematically distinct from that of Castilian, these examples, and those of Appendices C 2 and D 1, slight though they are, tend to confirm the hypothesis that in pretonic position a velar plus [a] and plus [wa] were often felt to be in free variation as equally acceptable spoken alternatives, although each word had been given a standardized spelling which otherwise tends to disguise this (because learning to write involved learning the correct spelling, rather than learning to represent one's own phonetic habits in phonetic script)¹⁷. So there is no overriding reason why either the presence or absence of a written «u» should correspond with either the presence or absence of a spoken [w].

Liverpool

Roger Wright

¹⁷ For a closer examination of this problem, see R. WRIGHT, *Speaking, reading and writing Late Latin and Early Romance*, *Neophilologus* 60 (1976), 178–189. F. GONZÁLEZ-OLLÉ, *Resultados castellanos de «kw» y «gw» latinas. Aspectos fonéticos y fonológicos*, *BRAE* 52 (1972), 285–318, does not deal with pretonic syllables.