

# Pretonic diphthongs in Old Castilian

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

Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Vox Romanica**

Band (Jahr): **35 (1976)**

PDF erstellt am: **06.08.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-28022>

## **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Inhalten der Zeitschriften. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern.

Die auf der Plattform e-periodica veröffentlichten Dokumente stehen für nicht-kommerzielle Zwecke in Lehre und Forschung sowie für die private Nutzung frei zur Verfügung. Einzelne Dateien oder Ausdrucke aus diesem Angebot können zusammen mit diesen Nutzungsbedingungen und den korrekten Herkunftsbezeichnungen weitergegeben werden.

Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Die systematische Speicherung von Teilen des elektronischen Angebots auf anderen Servern bedarf ebenfalls des schriftlichen Einverständnisses der Rechteinhaber.

## **Haftungsausschluss**

Alle Angaben erfolgen ohne Gewähr für Vollständigkeit oder Richtigkeit. Es wird keine Haftung übernommen für Schäden durch die Verwendung von Informationen aus diesem Online-Angebot oder durch das Fehlen von Informationen. Dies gilt auch für Inhalte Dritter, die über dieses Angebot zugänglich sind.

## 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 yod<sup>1</sup>.

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 List<sup>2</sup>: 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*<sup>3</sup>, 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 Emilianenses<sup>4</sup>, [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]<sup>5</sup>; 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*).

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> V. R. B. OELSCHLÄGER, *A Mediaeval Spanish Word List*, Wisconsin 1940.

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

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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-] (AEQUALEM > *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 invalid<sup>6</sup>. 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*<sup>7</sup>. There are six words in which the [w] has been dropped from an initial syllable: *calidad* < QUALITATEM<sup>8</sup>: *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-Lübke<sup>9</sup> 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*<sup>10</sup>: 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

<sup>6</sup> See particularly *DCELC*, art. *gastar*.

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

<sup>8</sup> *Cualidad* is first attested in Palencia's *Vocabulario* (1490).

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

<sup>10</sup> 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)<sup>11</sup>. 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 century<sup>12</sup>: *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' etymology<sup>13</sup> 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)<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>11</sup> See MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual*, § 39.4., N 1.

<sup>12</sup> BERCEO once used *cairentena* (see Appendix C).

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

<sup>14</sup> *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*<sup>15</sup>. 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 QUOTA<sup>16</sup>: 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*.

<sup>15</sup> 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).

<sup>16</sup> *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).  
 Quartero: *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.  $\delta$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ): *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 &lt;u&gt; after velar, before &lt;a&gt;, 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), «quatro» (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)<sup>17</sup>. 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*

<sup>17</sup> 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.