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THE LEONENSE FEATURES IN THE MADRID MANUSCRIPT
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DISSertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Sarah Gilbert Bishop, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1977

Reading Committee:
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Approved By

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Romance
Languages and Literatures
to Bill, Charley, Jack, Armand, Phil, Red, Vaughn
and the other men in my life who insisted ...
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I offer my deepest thanks to my husband and family for their love and understanding.
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Studies in Romance Linguistics. Professor David A. Griffin

Studies in Spanish Linguistics. Professor David A. Griffin
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS—Continued

OGal. = old Galician
OPort. = old Portuguese
OSp. = old Spanish
P  = Paris manuscript of Alex
PAlex = P ms. of Alex
Port. = Portuguese
pp. = past participle

prep. = preposition
pret. = preterite
Span. = Spanish
v.i. = intransitive verb
v.r. = reflexive verb
v.t. = transitive verb

VOC = VOCABULARY
1.1 With the political decline of the Kingdom of Leon and the subsequent rise to hegemony of Castile, the once prestigious and widespread Leonese dialect became secondary to Castilian, the principal language of the Reconquest and of a growing literary tradition. The growth of Leonese, a conservative western dialect of old Spanish, was eclipsed by Castilian whose innovation broke the primitive union which had previously tied the Romance dialects of the west to those of the east. The 12th to the 16th centuries was the transition period during which the range of the early dialects was much reduced, and the political and literary domination of Castilian was accomplished. Despite the acceptance of this new literary dialect in western Spain, Leonese was still the popular language there during much of that period.

1.2 Because Leonese was short-lived as a literary language, there is not a large body of material from which a detailed description of the dialect may be made. Evidence for it is found in the old fueros, in notarial
documents of ordinary business and legal transactions, and in a few literary works, including the Madrid or Osuna (0) manuscript of the Libro de Alexandre.

Considering this limited documentation, the history of old Leonese has been fairly well described. In his study of the origins of Spanish, Menéndez Pidal outlined the evolution of Leonese from its Vulgar Latin beginnings to its medieval development. 1 Previously Gessner had presented aspects of old Leonese which he had found in the Libro de Alexandre, Fuero Juzgo, and a number of notarial documents. 2 Morel-Fatio 3 discussed more of the dialectal features in OAlex; 4 Hanssen summarized verb conjugations in Leonese and referred to other aspects of the western dialect in his historical grammar. Munthe and Menéndez Pidal, though dealing principally

1 Ramon Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956), 441-60.


4 OAlex = Madrid (0) ms. of the Libro de Alexandre.

5 Federico Hanssen, Estudios sobre la conjugación leonesa (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1896).
with the modern dialects, made frequent comparisons with the older language.¹

To date, the fullest presentation of old Leonese is the study made by Staaff of 13th century legal documents.² From more than 1,160 manuscripts preserved in the monastery at Sahagún which were written between 876 and 1816, Staaff selected for analysis 101 documents from the years 1171-1294. Earlier materials were mostly in Latin, while the language of those written after the beginning of the 14th century showed little difference from Castilian. Staaff divided his documents into three groups according to where they had been written.³ The first group, the primary basis for his study, was from eastern Leon and shows much Castilian influence. The second group was from the central area. The third, which shows much similarity with Galician-Portuguese, was from the western part of the province. The phonological and morphological study


²Erik Staaff, Etude sur l'ancien dialecte Léonais d'après des chartes du XIIIᵉ siècle (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1907).

³The concept of three dialect areas within the Kingdom of Leon had been presented by Menéndez Pidal in Dial. Leon, published a year previously.
which Staaff made of these documents is an excellent guide for the study of old Leonese in other works.

Some studies of old Leonese were spawned by an interest in the modern dialects. Menéndez Pidal wrote his monograph "con objecto de promover y facilitar la recolección de formas modernas dialectales de la región que formaba el antiguo reino leonés." These forms which are mostly from western Leon and Asturias provide a glimpse of what the older dialects were like. During the last thirty years, numerous monographs describing small dialect areas of western Spain have appeared, many under the auspices of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. They have lent support to Menéndez Pidal's old regional divisions, as well as set forth the modern forms of Leonese.

Though a description of the current dialects can aid the study of older speech, linguistic evidence for old Leonese should be sought primarily in materials of the period.

1.3 The principal investigators of old Leonese have depended almost exclusively on the fueros, diplomatic texts, and similar materials for their information. However, one literary work, the Libro de Alexandre, has

---

contributed somewhat to old Leonese studies.

The Leonese features of the Madrid (O) ms. of the Libro de Alexandre were first noted by Gessner in 1867. Several years later, Morel-Fatio made a textual and linguistic study of O which continued and corrected some of Gessner's theories and his description of old Leonese. When the Paris (P) ms. was published,¹ Menéndez Pidal's review of it included a discussion concerning the original dialect of the Libro de Alexandre. He believed it had been written in Leonese, that O was a Castilianized copy and P a much later Aragonese version.² The principal interest in Alex then changed from one of dialect description to a search for the identity of the language of the original poem and of its author.

Soon thereafter Emil Müller wrote a doctoral dissertation³ discussing the language of the two manuscripts and their relationship to each other and to their common source. Concluding that the poem was written in Castilian


²Ramon Menéndez Pidal, "El Libro de Alixandre" (Review of the edition by Morel-Fatio), Cultura española 6 (1907): 552.

³Emil Müller, Sprachliche und textkritische Untersuchungen zum altspanischen "Libro de Alexandre" (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1910).
and that P was closer to the original than O, he further postulated that Berceo might have been the author. In a later study, Moll supported much of Müller's work, though she rejected Berceo's authorship, and, for 10% of the poem, attempted to eliminate scribal changes and fill in the omissions in both manuscripts in order to re-create the author's language. Subsequently, Alarcos Llorach summarized the linguistic studies of Alex, and, using some of Moll's techniques for determining the original dialect, reconstructed the Trojan War sequence (about one-sixth of the poem) in 13th century Riojan/Castilian. Following a series of articles which he has written about Alex, Prof. Dana A. Nelson will soon publish a reconstruction in Riojan, with a defense of Berceo as its author.

1.4 Despite a long history of interest in the language of the manuscripts of Alex, a complete study of the Leonese dialect features of O has not been accomplished to date. Perhaps it was Morel-Fatio's condemnation of

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1Ruth-Ingeborg Moll, Beiträge zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des altspanischen "Libro de Alexandre" (Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1938).


3Dana A. Nelson, Gonzalo de Berceo, "El Libro de Alexandre" en una reconstrucción crítica. Forthcoming.
literary texts, especially poetry, as a source for a methodological study of old Leonese which delayed a detailed analysis of Alex.

He went on to say that literary works were undated, the original usually lost and extant copies a mixture of the dialects of the author and the copyists. Even the original language would be unsuitable for a dialect study, he said, since it was the result of a conscious effort on the part of the author to follow certain versification formulae, to perhaps copy other poetic models, and to write in the literary style of the period. Therefore, Morel-Fatio limited his dialect study of OAlex to a consideration of what he called only the most important aspects of Leonese evident in the work. Now that old Leonese has been fairly well described by scholars such as Hanssen and Staaff, who relied on the fueros and diplomatic texts, it may be appropriate to

\[1\text{Rom. 4, 29.}\]
attempt an extensive description of the western features of the O ms.

1.5 The primary purpose of this study is to collect the Leonese phonological, morphological, lexical and some syntactic features of OAlex. These features have been compared to old Castilian as described in the works of Menéndez Pidal (Gramática, Orígenes, Cid), Hanssen and others. Treatises concerning old Leonese (Staaff, Menéndez Pidal, Hanssen, et al.) have been used as guides for identifying 13th century dialect characteristics. Modern dialect studies (Alonso Garrote, Canellada, Rodríguez-Castellano, et al.) have been consulted to compare old with modern Leonese forms, particularly in the area of vocabulary.

Whereas the principal concern of this work is to set forth the Leonese features of O, there is a second level of interest in the mixture of dialect forms in that manuscript. O is a Leonese version of a Castilian poem; therefore one might expect Castilian forms to be predominant. This is, indeed, largely the case. However, occasionally a Leonese form will appear more frequently in OAlex than its Castilian variant. Also, these Leonese forms tend to be concentrated in the latter half of the poem, while corresponding Castilian forms occur more often in the first half. The dialect
features in OAlex are a mixture of general Leonese forms, as well as those heard principally in western Leonese. Throughout this work the term "western" refers to Leonese in general, while dialect features from the western area of Leon will be identified as "western Leonese."

1.6 Since the primary function of this study is to present the Leonese features in O, philological explanations are included only when necessary to clarify orthographic inconsistencies and other scribal problems. Some forms which appear in no other Leonese source but OAlex have been included here as dialect features. For examples see 2.15, 4.3 and Chapter V.

In Chapters II, III and IV, a brief introduction is followed by numbered paragraphs, each of which presents a specific feature with examples from OAlex. The line numbers after each example refer to the composite numbering system used in the Willis edition of the Libro de Alexandre. These examples are a representative sampling from the text unless they are identified as either unique or all the occurrences to be found in OAlex. Occasionally a word in such a group

---

is underlined, indicating that it may also be found in Chapter V. Following each group of examples is a discussion based on Leonese material from other sources. Unidentified numbers in parentheses refer to the numbered paragraphs within this work.

Chapter V is an alphabetical listing of Leonese vocabulary from OAlex. Verbs which are presented as infinitives may also appear in conjugated forms in the text. Those enclosed in brackets are found only in a conjugated form. Other parts of speech appear as found in the text, though a single number and gender are selected for adjectives. If the orthography varies in a form, one spelling is selected. Note Ú- and Ù- are listed as Ú-.

Appendix A discusses the variations in dialect forms and where they are found in OAlex. Four tables compare the Leonese features of OAlex with those in Staaff's documents. One table and five figures compare the distribution of selected Leonese features with the corresponding Castilian forms in OAlex.

Appendix B is a summary of types of scribal errors in the text. Transcription errors in the Willis edition are treated separately from those of the medieval scribe. Each of the items discussed has been carefully
checked in a photocopy of the 0 ms. in the Princeton University library.

An index to all the Leonese forms discussed follows the two appendices.
CHAPTER II
PHONOLOGY

There is a wide range of old Leonese phonological forms in OAlex. Some are characteristic of the dialect in general, while the majority are more specifically western Leonese. The discussion in this chapter is focused on those phonological features in OAlex which are western in origin or were archaic in Castilian by the 13th century and thus considered dialectal.

TONIC VOWELS

Leonese treatment of tonic vowels in OAlex is limited to yod development, diphthongization of Е and О, or lack thereof, and metaphony.

2.1 A + yod. In old Leonese, instead of A followed by a yod, one usually finds the Galician-Portuguese diphthong ei:

queyxa (*qua ssiare) 2115b, 2267a;
ha (b) e (o) > hey 208d, ey 1573b, 2627a;
first person future: dizer tey 2000a; tolrey 836b; serey 2631a, c; sa p i o > sey 40c,
2164b, 2442a, 2635b; first person preterite
from - a (v) i : criey 1695a, 1696a; deserdeey 1705b; cuydey 2427d (and 3.172 for other forms); tajos 858a. See 2.7 for other cases of A + yod.

Hey and sey are dialectal variants (Portuguese hei, sei) of he and sé (3.15). First person preterite -ey is characteristic of old Leonese and Galician-Portuguese (Dial. leon., §18.8), and is still heard in western Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 229).

Tajos 'tajos' (t a l e a r e , see DCEC IV, 346b44) shows an old retention of the yod before the reflex of LY. It has been noted that ȫ is an archaic graphy for 1, as barailla and taillaren in the Fuero de Avilés illustrate (Lapesa, 51). This yod was kept even when the 1 was Castilianized to ñ. See 2.3, consej o, espeij o, f oijas; 2.8, mejor.

2.2 ȫ. There are several reflexes of ȫ which may be considered Leonese in OAlex.

ȫ > e before a nasal:

menbra 2390a, nembro 1056b, nembra 431c, 1931b, 723a, nembre 2273b, 79c, 969a,b; tenes 121a; entendo 134b, 2490b, entendan 769b, entenden 1482c; contendes 1670d; pensa 1807b, 2295c,
There was a tendency not to diphthongize Œ and Ő before n or nt in old Leonese (Dial. leon., §3.2), a tendency which is still evident in the modern dialects (Dial. esp., 98). Rodríguez-C. (Aspectos, 68) notes the lack of Œ diphthong in -encia and in a number of verb forms, particularly along the Galician border of Asturias.

Œ > e after a palatal and in certain other words:

mazello 530b, mazella 884c; cogendo 2561a;
fezessen 543c; elmo 572a; neula 2042a.

Maz(i)ello, maz(i)ella, cog(i)endo and fez(i)essen show elimination of the yod after a palatal. Elmo (* h e l m ) and neula may indicate that even in positions uncontrolled by a nasal or palatal consonant, Œ did not always diphthongize in old Leonese.

Œ > ie before a yod:

yexen 238c, 297d, 1827a, yex 1215b; uienga

1Latin p è n s a t , see 3.9.
Since ie before a yod appears only in verbs in old and modern Leonese (Dial. leon., §3.5), uienga and tiengo may be considered analogical to other present tense forms. Corominas (DCEC II, 219a36) cites yex and yexen as dialectal forms in OAlex.

É > ie in the present and imperfect tenses of ser:

yes (eres) 39b, ye (es) 2548d, 2373a,
yera 323a.

Diphthongization in these forms of ser was and still is fairly common in Leonese (Etude, 200; Dial. leon., §3.5), though somewhat rare in OAlex (3.20, 6.2).

Diphthongization of É and Ó is a fundamental characteristic of Leonese which distinguishes it from Galician-Portuguese. Staaff found the diphthong frequent in eastern Leonese documents, but rare in western ones. He suggested that the spreading of diphthongization westward from Castile had not reached very far into Leon by the end of the 13th century (Etude, 193). Lapesa has documented early diphthongization throughout Spain, and attributes the apparent lack of it in old Leonese to a longer transition period between É > ie and Ó > uo, ue in the western dialects than in the central dialect.
area of Castile\(^1\) (Lapesa, 21-24). Though some of the forms cited above may be learned forms, in most cases the lack of diphthong or its appearance before a yod and in forms of ser are Leonese characteristics.

2.3 \(\varepsilon + yod\). The falling diphthong \(\varepsilon\) is the Leonese reflex of \(\varepsilon + yod\):

\[ \text{conseijo 1990c; espeijos 414b.} \]

\(\varepsilon\) plus yod was sometimes retained before the Castilianized reflex of LY as was \(a\) plus yod (taijos 2.1), and \(o\) plus yod in foijas 1982d. Rodríguez-C. notes the tendency for a yod to develop before palatal consonants \(\hat{c}, \hat{g}, \hat{y}\) and \(\hat{s}\) in modern western Asturian (Aspectos, 118). Perhaps the archaic retention of a yod before the reflex of LY was the basis for its appearance before other palatals. Outside of Asturias the yod is heard in Sanabria, Babia and Miranda: streilla, peiña (Dial. esp., 103). In old and modern Leonese the falling diphthong \(\varepsilon\), a feature shared with Galician, is found almost exclusively in western Leonese (Dial. leon., §4).

\(^1\)Zamora Vicente, Dial. esp., 89-91, gives a careful summary of the many theories which have been proposed to explain diphthongization and its lack in Leonese.
There are many examples of Leonese treatment of ō in OAlex.

The non-diphthongization of ō is more frequent than that of ë:

força (noun and verb) 828d, 1122a, 1091d, passim, força(s) 830a, 1885b, esforço 988a, 463a, 1121c, passim; corpo(s) 886a, 855a, 132a, passim; porta(s) 834d, 1578d, 2123a; uostra(s), -o(s) 192c, 207a, 260c, passim; costa 683b; ostes 61a, 312b; nostra(s), -o(s) 279d, 69c, 284d, passim; noua(s), -o(s) 4a, 780c, 859b, passim; scola 95a, escola 1054b; uolta 414c, 758a; mortos(s), -as 777d, 1700a, 1769d (7 exs), morte 1618b, 1632b, 1646b; ossos 1632c; fossa 1633c; orfano(s) 1705b, 2651d; posto 1753d, 2252b; cornos 2181d; forte(s) 2385d, 2462d, 2604d (4 exs); cordas 2545a, cordamientre 2211a; poda(s) 1570d, 1853d, pode(s) 1661c, 2481d, podan 1850d; iogo(s) 2150c, 2412d, iogan 2189d; sol 1868d.

Though the diphthong ue occurred early in Leonese, its lack in the above forms indicates that ō to ue was still in a state of transition. Some of these forms are
probably Latinisms (uostro, nostro, fossa), while others may reflect Galician influence (forcia, corpo, corda-mientre) (Dial. leon., §3).

Just as Ḗ does not diphthongize before a nasal, ō remains o before n or n + consonant (2.2):

bon, bono(s), -a(s) 282b, 764a, 51b, passim; donna(s) 328c, 363a, 377a, passim; longa 69c, 1731c, 2428c; uergonga 1568b, 1617a, 1631c (5 exs); bonestança 1731a; conta 510d; fronte, -a 829c, 1608d, 2590d.

In both the old and modern western dialects a nasal, particularly a nasal plus a consonant, tends to close the previous vowel\(^1\) (loc. cit., §3.2): longa, bon, vergonga, entencía, nembro, etc. Cuenta, (a)fruenta, which in OAlex rhyme with onta, Demofonta and angosta (510, 1013, 1812), show Castilianization. Modern western dialect forms include fonte, ponte, bonu, and podas (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 76-77). In summary, a great number of 0 forms in OAlex which did not diphthongize may be considered Leonese while others may be Latinisms.

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\(^1\)The closing of ō by a nasal plus a consonant is not unknown in Castilian: monte, compra, contra (but also note old cuentra), though ue forms: puente, fuente, fr(u)ente, cuenta are more common.
In the early medieval period four variants of ō—a, uo, ua and ue—existed together in Castile. Eventually ue became the regular form, though not to the total extinction of uo (Lapesa, 21). Lapesa, Rodríguez-Castellano and Krüger indicate uo is still heard in western Spain from the far northwest to Sanabria.

ō > ue before a yod:

vue 64a (2), hue 1061b, vuedia 70b;
nueche 1424a.

Diphthongization of ō in this position was fairly prevalent in old and modern Leonese (Dial. leon., §3.3), though there are few examples in Staaff and fewer still in OAlex (6.2).

2.5 ə + yod. ə plus a yod attracted from the following syllable sometimes remains oj in OAlex:

salmoyrada 1946c; coyro 2498a; Doyro 2580a.

In western Leonese, Galician and Portuguese oj does not become ue as in Castilian, but remains oj (Dial. leon., §4.3). See 2.3 for foijas.

2.6 Metaphony. Metaphonic inflection of the tonic vowels, which is still found in certain districts of
central Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 55; Dial. leon., 55) is noted in OAlex only in the words siso and (h)u (ũ b ũ):

siso 169c, 765b, 1517d; hu 2213b, 710b, 739c, u 2299d, 2436c, 2506c, 1838d.

Corominas (DCEC IV, 191b42) notes siso as a metaphonic form which extended to Leonese [from Portuguese]. (H)u for o is Leonese as well as Galician and Portuguese (DCEC II, 190b35). The metaphonic action of -ũ and -ĩ on the tonic vowel, a well-known feature in the modern dialects, is only barely evident in OAlex.

ATOMIC VOWELS

The Leonese treatment of atonic vowels in OAlex may be described as both conservative and innovative. The lack of metaphony by a yod or diphthong and the retention of some intertonic and final vowels are conservative aspects, while the closing effect of nasals is an innovative change, all of which particularly characterize Leonese.

2.7 Initial A. The following instances of AU > ou, and the treatment of aĩ are Leonese.

AU > ou in Leonese:

outunno 2562d; ousaua 37a; ouuierdes 1883c.
The falling diphthong ou is a feature shared with Galician (Dial. esp., 100).

AI usually becomes ei:

mayxiella 34b; queymar 1601 c, 2375c;
breymante 1352d.

Mayxiella 'mejilla' retains the primitive western form of ai rarely heard after the 12th century (Lapesa, 15). Queymar < *caima re and breymante < braimant? show the normal Leonese development of ai to ei, which is still heard in the modern dialects (Krüger, Scip., 31; Alonso Garrote, 44).

2.8 Initial e. In Leonese, initial e is unaffected by a yod, but may raise under other conditions, or change to a.

_e_ is not raised by a following yod:

seniestra, -o 1016d, 1398b (8 exs);
feniestras 1151c, 1546c; enfierno(s) 1179b, 2328c; enuierno 1173c, 1987c; leuiandat 59d, 1970c; leuiano(s), -a(s) 545a, 1020b, 2229c (7 exs); mission 48b; teniebra 2420d;
semiente 427d, 810b (5 exs); grennones 1666c.

In OAlex neither a Latin yod (*levianus, misiones, grenniones) nor a Romance
yod formed by a consonant plus a diphthong (seniester, feniestra, enuerno, etc.) raised the preceding atonic e. This lack of metaphony is a characteristic trait of Leonese, and is found frequently in verb stems (3.10).

$e \rightarrow i$ by assimilation:

- çinir 89d; conquirir 1640d, 1091d, 66a;
- dizir 2013d; riir 1900d; ynxir 2058c;
- esliido 2638d; siguimos 2281d; sintido 148b.

Apparently there was vocalic assimilation in old Leonese, especially in -ir verbs (3.11). In the examples above, the stem vowel e assimilated to the tonic i, of the infinitive, or of the fourth person present tense, or of the past participle. Vinir, riir, dicir, vicinu are still heard in western Asturias (Alvarez, 208; Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 96).

$e \rightarrow i$ before a nasal:

- (as)sinalado(s) 509c, 1357c, 1452c
- (7 exs), si(n)nero(s), -a(s) 440d, 441c,
- 616d passim, sinal(es) 1134b, 1227a,
- 1385c passim, ensino 2110a, ensinado 2163d
- 2608d; pinescales 2505c; çingiella 118c;

\[1\] Vocalic assimilation in dizir and riir probably occurred after the Romance forms dezir and reir developed from dicère and ridère.
Gessner has stated that ensínnar, sínal, sínna, assintar, etc. are Leonese and Portuguese variants whose Castilian forms are enseñar, señal, etc. (Altleonesische, 6). Morel-Fatio agrees with the concept that e > i before n is Leonese (Rom. 4, 30). Sínal is a learned Portuguese and old Leonese form (DCEC, IV, 192b53).

=e may become a in conjunction with a liquid, especially /ɾ/:

darredor 2126a, 2641c; carrado 32b; sarranos 1596b; planidat 1058d, 1120d, 1495b; rancon 829a, 2552a, ranconadas 2578c; astilada 1873a.

Menéndez Pidal says the change of e > a or a > e in atonic position is rare, but he implies that sarrano, carrado and other examples (2.10) from OAlex are western features (Cult. esp., 548). The effect of a liquid consonant seems particularly strong in Leon and the examples cited are unique to that region. Astilada for estilada is perhaps a prefix hypercorrection, since as-, an- sometimes change to es-, en- prefixes in the modern western dialects: Estorga, estucia (Alonso Garrote, 30), and estilla, enguilas, enque 'aunque' (Millán Urdiales, 148). Note also Castilian: escuchar, esconder.
e followed by a yod becomes ei before the Castilianized reflex of LY: mejor 1427c, 1140d. See also 2.1, 2.3.

2.9 Initial o. Initial o in Leonese is not affected by a yod, though it may raise to u under certain conditions.

The yod has no effect on initial o:

- boliendo 2398b; cotiano, -a 1630a, 2566d;
- poia(r), -ando 2408a, 385a, 2504a, 1158d;
- ponidores 2344b; roqiadas 1952a;
- descobierta 1636d, 2410b; (ant)ouios 476a, 1156d, 1019c; souiellas 2172d.

Just as a yod does not affect initial e, o also remains unchanged in old Leonese (2.8, 3.10).

o > u:

- cuntar (and conjugated forms) 1018b, 1193b, 1427b passim; crucher 2213b; gurrion 669d;
- cub(d)igia 1758c, 397a; allugados 73c, 1639b.

Evidently there was a tendency in old Leonese to close the atonic velar vowel o to u. Similarly, e closed to i, but usually only when followed by a nasal (2.8). U for o in the initial position is a frequent phenomenon in modern Galician and Leonese: custar, cuntar, cumodidade (García de Diego, RFE, 303), furmosu, nuviešu 'novillo', nun tengo (Alvarez, 209; Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 64).
2.10 Pretonic \( \varepsilon \). Under certain conditions \( \varepsilon \) in this position may become \( a \), or remain \( e \) in Leonese.

\[ e > a \] in conjunction with a liquid, especially \( r \):

- confradaria 934c, 2416a; entramientre 1804a;
- crueldat 1970d; cauallaria 1976c, 52c, 2196b
- (7 exs); albergaria 1915c; arrauato 565c.

The opening effect that \( l \) and \( r \) had on atonic \( e \) was common in Portuguese and Leonese, especially in the western suffix -ar\( \varepsilon a \) for -er\( \varepsilon a \). There are still some vestiges in Asturias of \( e \) opening to \( a \): armano, armosu (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 97; 2.8).

\( e \) is not raised by a following yod:

- nacemento 11a; plannemiento 2632c;
- promession 2107a; alleuiado 1658b.

The lack of raising in these forms points to western origin (2.8).

2.11 Pretonic \( \iota \). \( \iota \) in this position is rarely altered in Leonese.

Soteleza 1557d from subtilis + iti a (cf. Oc. sotileza) is an odd exception and may only show the instability of pretonic vowels in old Spanish. Escudrunado 2432b and escodrunnar 2433b (*scrūtiniare*).
exemplify a sporadic assimilation of \( \text{a} \) to the previous back vowel.

2.12 Syncope of atonic vowels. A distinguishing characteristic of Leonese is the preservation of some pretonic vowels which are lost in Castilian.

Unsyncopated forms in OAlex:

- menesteral(es) 1194d, 1512d, 1818a; saborosas
- 1493d, saborida 1485c; lazerado 2273c, lazerar
- 2277d, lazerariedes 2283d; offerendas 2485d,
- offereger 2520a, 2527d; confradaria 2416a, 934c.

Medieval Castilian tended to favor syncope, while in Leonese and Portuguese intertonic vowels survived longer. Corominas treats some of these forms as western: lazerar (DCEC III, 5b14), old Castilian laz(d)rar (modern lacerar), was the normal form in Portuguese and old Leonese; saborosas (DCEC IV, 106a7) is an old form found in Portuguese, Poema de Alfonso Onceno and Juan Ruiz, though sabroso is more common in medieval Spanish. Offerendas and offerecer are semi-learned forms according to Staaff (Etude, 214). They are also found in Portuguese, but it is difficult to tell if they are truly popular words.

The conservation of pretonic vowels is frequently a feature of learned speech in old Spanish: roborar,
laborar, etc. At times, retention of the pretonic may be influenced by another form of the root word: doloroso/dolor. Doubtless sabor had the same influence on saboroso. Saborida, which is also found in P2597d and 1489a, makes its hemistich one syllable too long in all instances. Confradaria, also confradria in OAlex, may be the result of suffix confusion, con + frat + (r)fa x eria (see 2.10). In modern Asturian confradeiría is still heard for cofradía (Acevedo). For unsyncopated verb forms see 3.19.

By way of comparison with these non-syncopated forms, there are several words in OAlex which syncopate where Castilian does not:

aulana(s) 259d, 1566d; moudura 2183a; herdat 347b, 984b, 1058c (6 exs); alfierze 636a; dianties 287b; uiespras 1414b, 2176a, 2537c; pecarmos 4d.

Nelson and Corominas note modern ablana in Asturias, and some Occitanic forms, aulan, aulana (DCEC I, 337b17; PMLA 87, 1030). Morel-Fatio likens moudura to aullana/avallana and Portuguese faulha/favilha (Rom. 4, 46). Rodríguez-Castellano cites the elision or syncope of certain pretonic vowels in present western Asturian. Ablana demonstrates the loss of pretonic e which occurs
frequently in contact with l or r (Aspectos, 99). Herdat
is a member of a western family of forms including
herdade, herdamento, herdeyro (Etude, 214). Arabic fâris
gives Romance variants alférez, alfiere, alfiére (Oeschlager, 11), the ie forms being related to fiero
by popular etymology (DCEC I, 116b4). Since the modern
form is alférez, it may be that alfierze developed in
the west because it retained final e (2.13). In old
Spanish post tonic e was kept in popular words following
consonant groups such as sp, rb or rc. Visperas is the
normal development of vēs pēra (DCEC IV, 750b55)
and viespras its western reflex. Diantes for diamantes
is most likely the result of a scribal omission of the
nasal abbreviation (7.2). Pecarmos shows Leonese
syncope in the fourth person future subjunctive. (See
3.173 for further discussion of syncope in the future
subjunctive.)

2.13 Final vowels. The development of the final vowel
differs between Leonese and Castilian. Under certain
conditions in Leonese it is retained where it has been
lost in Castilian, or changes its vocalic character.
The following are examples of Leonese forms in OAlex.
-e in hiatus with tonic:

lee 2111c, lees 2583d, leeys 1560b; greey
G of legem, gregem and magis became y then was lost at an early date before e. In Castilian the resultant -e in hiatus with the tonic vowel became y. In the case of mays, the y dropped and the word became más. These examples with the exception of mays conserve a primitive stage before the semi-vocalization of -e.

Perhaps leeys and greey show a combining of older lee, gree with lev, grey. Though maes has been noted as the most frequent Leonese variant of más (DCEC III, 280b17), only mais and mas appear in OAlex.

Final e retained after Romance d and z:

cidade 992a; captiuidade 992b, 2104a; piadade 2104b; lealtade 2104c; mesquindade 2104d; verdade 2361c, 992d; cruelidade 992c; vuespede 478b; sede 2140d; lide 82a, 1864b; yde 1380c, 143a, 1611c; alfierce 636a.

In OAlex, Fuero Juzgo and other old western Spanish fueros, -e is sometimes retained, as in Portuguese, after Romance d. The same phenomenon may be heard today in areas where Leonese and Galician-Portuguese are in contact (Dial. Leon., §7.4). Staaff notes only a few examples from his documents, verdade, heredade, etc. (Etude, 213), and those are from western Leon. The
vosotros imperative, yde (3.15) sometimes kept final e (Dial. leon., §18.7) in old texts, and is still heard in modern Asturian—entrade (Alvarez, 214). Retention of e after z in old Leonese, as in alfierze (2.12), is supported by /kou9e/ 'coz' in Asturian (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 108) and couce in Portuguese. The Leonese form proe 310c, 424b, 760b (5 exs) from pr o d e shows the persistence of -e even after the loss of Latin D (2.21).

Final e for o:

preste 210b, 586a, 1018c, 1068a; nigre 1364c;
maestre 2141d, mestre 2121a, 204a, 913c;
auartente 63a; sagramente 1458c; conseie 49d;
fiere 115a; murmure 1207c; quande 1618a;
chiquelle 29b.

Though the examples of preste in OAlex are adjectives, the word is also an adverb in Portuguese, and the final e for o may be analogous to other adverbs such as tarde, onde (Williams, §48.6). As modern Galician shows -o and -e alternating in words like milagro/milagre, perhaps nigre/negro were likewise Leonese variants. The -e for -o in mestre may be other than just a phonological variation. This Leonese and Portuguese word has been thought to be a semi-learned form of magister,
or, more likely, the retention of a vocative, or a borrowing from Occitanic **maestre**. **Mestre** is found only as a nominative or object of a preposition in **OAlex**, not as a vocative. **Auarente** may show confusion with adjectives derived from the Latin present participle, and **sagamente** may be analogous to other **-mente** adverbs. The **-e** in the other forms, **conseit**, **fiere**, etc., and possibly some discussed above may be scribal errors.

In his review of the Willis edition of the **Libro de Alexandre** (HR 4, 79), Solalinde lists some misreadings, though in a number of cases the manuscript photocopy from which he and Willis worked is anything but clear. For example, he corrects **chiquielle** to read **chiquiello**. Though the final vowel might have been easily read **o** in 1936, the photocopy has apparently deteriorated to the point where the entire word is practically obliterated, making a determination of the final vowel impossible. The only certainty is that the scribe(s) of **OAlex** sometimes wrote a very open symbol for **o**, particularly in final position, such that it might be mistaken for **e** (7.1, **o** for **e**).

**Final a becomes e before s:**

madrones 568a; deuisades 1512b; adobades 444d; escuses 467c; prestes 245b.
The atonic ending -as in which a becomes e is still heard in central Asturias (Dial. leon., §7.2). Though the range of a > e in this position was probably greater in medieval Leonese than it is today (M. Pidal, ELH, I, XLIX), the evidence is limited to these forms in OAlex, a few more in diplomatic texts of Oviedo, les palombes in the Fuero de Avilés, and cartes and partides in one of Staaff's documents (Etude, 217). The -es examples cited are scribal changes and not errors as is clear from the following rhymes: 444 leales naues comunales adobades; 1512 maorales deuisades calles menesterales. Note that adobades and deuisades are substitutions for cabdales.

A long standing argument regarding the original dialect of the Libro de Alexandre revolves around the rhyme scheme of strophe 287: 0 and P--san(c)tas dí(m)antes elefantes tantas. Menéndez Pidal presents this rhyme as representing Leonese -as > -es: santes dimantes elefantes tantes (Cult. esp., 552). This, along with other evidence, which many dispute, is the basis of his argument for a Leonese origin of the poem. Nelson changes the rhyme to sanctas, Greek accusatives adamantas and elefantas, and tantas, which he assumes
is the language of the poet (Reconstrucción).\(^1\) The copyists of O and P, who did not know the Greek forms, changed them to more familiar *di(am)antes* and *elefantes*.

The rhyme scheme of strophe 467 includes the hyper-corrected form *atalas* as a substitution for *yradas*:

*atalas acabadas lançadas aontadas.*

2.14 Epenthetic yod. The epenthesis of a yod before final *o* or *a* is a well documented feature in western works. It is known today in Galician, vulgar Portuguese and throughout Asturias (*Dial. leon.*, §6; *Dial. esp.*, 110). Though this feature is well represented in *OAlex*, it apparently did not appear in the texts which Staaff studied:

forçia 828d, 1091d passim; esforçio 988a, 1121c passim, aforçiado 723c, 1148b, esforçiado(s) 1017b, 1130b, 1447b (6 exs), forçidas 1082b, 2162d; messagerios 142a; musiando 1767b; prazio 2040b, 2370a; marçio 2557a; setembrío 2563a; ochubrio 2564a; nouenbrio 2565a; dezembrío 2566a, 89a; medio 'Medes' 1013d, 919d; eluziados 2122a;

\(^1\)One of Nelson's principal theories regarding the language of the archtype of the *Libro de Alexandre* is that the poet used many more erudite words than have survived in the extant manuscript.
Most of these forms are noted by either Menéndez Pidal (Cult. esp., 552; Dial. leon., §6) or Nelson (Reconstrucción) as Leonese features of OAlex. Medios for medos 'Medes' may have acquired an epenthetic yod by analogy to Media, the country where these people lived, or from medianos, another word for 'Medes'. Fagiana is the only form in OAlex with an epenthetic yod in the interior as opposed to the ending of the word. Epenthetic yod is still heard throughout the western dialects: fuercia, entoncias (Alvarez, 211; Alonso Garrote, 49), bracio, venerio, pulsio (Dial. esp., 110).

INITIAL CONSONANTS

Leonese offers a little variation from standard old Spanish in the development of initial consonants.

2.15 G-, J-. In old Leonese, these two consonants before front vowels remained a palatal fricative (什) as in Português (Dial. leon., §8.4):

- gelada(s) 657a, 782b, gielos 2128d; janero 89a; ienoios 116b, gynoio 1142c.

Gielos, geladas, janero, ienoios have been noted as
Leonese forms of OAlex (Dial. esp., 132). Gynoio appears to be another western reflex (iœnɔiɔs) of genuculum. This same voiced consonant (ӡ) is heard today in Miranda (gelar, janeiro), while a voiceless derivative (ɢ) is heard throughout Asturias (xinoio, xinesta) and Leon (jiela, jimbre). The x- of the Asturian forms probably originated at the end of the 16th century when Castilian no longer made a distinction between voiced j and voiceless x (Dial. leon., §8.4).

J- is lost in forms of j a c ẽ r e:

azer 1476a, az, aze(n) 829b, 1051b, 1060a
passim, aziendo 789b, 1149a, 2379d (4 exs),
azie(n), aziemos, azia 14b, 986d, 716d
passim.

Azer and its conjugated forms not only are unique to Leonese, but no other J- words lose their initial consonant in this dialect. This verb has been recognized as a Leonese equivalent of Castilian yacer (DCEC IV, 771b45), but loss of the x- has yet to be satisfactorily explained. Though quite frequent in OAlex, azer does not appear in Staaff's documents, nor does he mention that it is found in any other Leonese texts. (6.5)
2.16 L-. The reinforced pronunciation of initial l- in Leonese which resulted in gemination and then palatalization extended to syllable initial l- and perhaps even to intervocalic l. In OAlex:

allinnar, -ado 1037b, 295b, 1554d, allinnaua
1387a; llin(n)age 340c, 380a; lldo 755a,
2315a; allongada 2424a; alleuants 1151b;
1lodo 2046b; alleuado 1658b; llegado
'ligado' 1714a, llegar 2254a; allugados
1639b, 73c; con lla 373d; mendigarllote
2393d; orllado 330b; tenlleras 648b;
poullar 2094b; taulleros 2385d; paraulla
423d, pallauras 145d; callannas 921d.

Llinage, lldo, alleuantsos, allongada, lllegar, orllado,
have been noted as examples of l- palatalization in
OAlex; lla and llevanta are found in other old works,
and lldo, allinna, etc. are still heard throughout
western Spain (Dial. leon., §8.2; Vig6n). Palatalization
of l after a consonant, and particularly r (arllote,
orllado, tenlleras), seems to be a unique western charac-
teristic, and is currently heard in words like parllar,
burla, baillando (Krüger, SCip, 68), and paršar,
bursa (Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 98). See 2.30 for
discussion of poullar, paraullas, taulleros. Callannas
and *pallauras* may show palatalization or gemination, or perhaps only a graphic variant of medial 1. There are many more examples of medial 1 > 11 in Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández: *collorado, callambre, decrallar, dollor*, but the doubling of 1 in this position, whatever it meant in old Leonese, did not extend to the modern dialects (*Dial. leon.*, §8.2). See 3.6 for palatalization in object pronouns.

2.17  N-. The gemination and subsequent palatalization of initial n- developed by analogy to that of l-. In *OAlex* the only evidence of this palatalization is in *nyubla* 2566c, which is likely a crossing of *nublo* and *niebla* (*DCEC III, 525b11*). There are few examples of n- in the old dialect before the time of Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández, in whose works are found *ño, nascen, nombren*, etc. (*Dial. esp.*, 130). Palatalized initial n- is still heard in western speech, though it is not as widespread a phenomenon as l- (*Dial. esp.*, 130).

2.18  PL- CL- FL- BL-. Western treatment of these initial groups produced three results as seen in the following examples from *OAlex*:

\[
\text{PL- (FL-, CL-)} > \text{ch: Changer (planger e)} \]

1777a.
Staaff views Latin PL-, CL-, FL- as showing a dual development in Leonese and Portuguese. In popular words the consonant group changes to _ch_, while in words of more recent introduction the _l_ becomes _r_ and the initial consonant is retained (Etude, 240). Examples from his texts include _chaman_, _xenos_, _chantedes_, _prazer_, _preyto_, etc. Presently, _ch_ is heard in western Asturias (_chanu, chamar_) and Miranda (_cheno, chombo_), but not in Leon (Dial. leon., §8.5). On the other hand, PL-, CL-, FL- > consonant + _r_, a distinguishing feature of some old and modern areas of Leonese, is not a characteristic aspect of Asturian (loc. cit., §12.4).

In OAlex the popular (Asturian) development to _ch_ is limited to _changer_, while other words beginning PL- become _pr-_ like BL- > _br_ and CL- > _cr_. (See 2.26 for medial consonant plus _l_.) However, the usual development of PL-, CL-, FL- in OAlex is graphically _ll_ as in
Castilian, or simply 1:

lamo, lamados, etc. 336a, 555b, 707c (8 exs);
leno, -a, -s 804b, 863c, 444b (6 exs);
lanos, -as 877c, 1595b, laneras 1639c; legar,
legaron, etc. 228a, 452b, 404c (10 exs);
lorar, loran, etc. 401b, 253a, 1380c (10 exs);
laga 546b; luuia 565b; lanto 2260a.

The substitution of 1- for 1l-, though strictly orthographic, indicates an uncertainty in old Leonese in the representation of initial palatal 1. See also ll- for 1- in 2.16 and 1- for ll- in 2.23.

INTERNAL CONSONANTS

The development of certain internal consonants and groups distinguishes Leonese from other old Spanish dialects. Among the most typical Leonese consonant developments in 0Alex are the palatalization of syllable initial 1; ll or y from LY, C'Ł; mn or m from M'N; and ld from B'T or P'T.

2.19 P T K. Occasionally a word which is learned or semi-learned in Castilian developed a popular form in Leonese:

penedencia 2384b; segredos 2433c; arba 1545b;
During the 10th and 11th centuries there persisted in Leon a vulgarized Latin which adapted Latin forms to the phonetics of the popular Romance dialect. Among other characteristics of this speech form was the sonorization of voiceless consonants. This situation was unique to the old Leonese kingdom, for sonorization in Castile and elsewhere in the peninsula occurred only in Romance forms (M. Pidal, Orig., §45.6; 46.1). Perhaps the forms noted above may be compared to some Leonese Latin words noted by Menéndez Pidal: terredorio, uogabulo, nodicia, etc. (loc. cit., §45.5).

2.20 B/V. There may have been a tendency in Leonese for b and v to drop before tonic o or a:

paon 368a; paor 571d, 2242c, d; toaias 1958d.

Paon and paor may be examples of this loss of v or they may be popular borrowings from old Occitanic. Staaff's only example, laor (Etude, 226), has no comparable form in old French or Occitanic. Toaias from OSp. tovaja

\[1\] Embrego for empleo from Portuguese empregar seems to fit the category of "error of audition." B replacing p is still found in Asturias: brabu < p r a v u , bruna < p r u n a (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 189).

Embregado 2403d is the pp. of embregar(se) 'quarrel, dispute'.
also seems to be an isolated form. Perhaps Leonese laor and rojas lost intervocalic b/v by analogy to a number of popular Occitanic borrowings (paon, paor and others?).

2.21 D. The fate of intervocalic D, though mixed in Castilian, is clear in Leonese and Portuguese—it is always eliminated (DCEC II, 510b6):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cruo} & \quad 454d, \text{cro} \quad 792a; \text{proe} \quad 310c, \ 424b, \ 760b \\
& \quad (5 \text{ exs}); \text{vaamos} \quad 1413d; \text{cobigante} \quad 2361b, \\
& \quad \text{cobicio} \quad 1704d, \ \text{cubiga} \quad 1758c.
\end{align*}
\]

The loss of posttonic \(-D-\) before a back vowel which distinguishes the western dialects and Portuguese from Castilian is rather poorly represented in OAlex. Cruo for crudo is found in Berceo and other old Spanish works. Cro bedegame 792a could be a direct borrowing from Portuguese where \(-ame\) is masculine and cro = cru 'crudo' (3.2). Proe is Leonese (DCEC III, 890a2), but more because of its retention of \(-e\) (2.13) than loss of \(-d-\).

There are also some special cases regarding the loss of pretonic D. Vaamos, an archaic subjunctive from v a d a m u s, reduced to vamos in Castilian sooner than in Leonese and Portuguese. Cobigante and related forms show that pretonic \(-d-\) of cupi d i t i a was lost in the western dialects and Portuguese (cobicca) before the intertonic vowel dropped.
2.22  J. Latin -J- which is retained as -y- before back vowels in Castilian is lost especially between a and tonic o in Leonese and Portuguese (Etude, 221):

maor(es) 9c, 87c, 1179d passim, maoral 1134a, 1191c, 1429b (5 exs); poal(es) 2538c, 2580b; audol 1357b; mao 1792d.

Staaff notes maor, maordomo, maorales, etc, in his documents, and cites comparable forms in OAlex along with mao and audar (Etude, 221). Poal < * p o y a l (e) < p o d i a l e shows DY > y which then was lost in the west before a back vowel. Meo 526c, which was perhaps more common in 13th century Leonese than elsewhere in old Spanish, also shows y from DY dropping before a back vowel. Willis makes the form in 1357b read a[i]udol, [ ] indicating "material supplied by the editor. . . " (Libro de Alex., xxxviii). He may well be justified in making the correction, but the form in the manuscript, though isolated, seems perfectly acceptable. Note the loss of posttonic y in mao and meo.

2.23  Double consonants. LL and NN may be written 1 and n in old Leonese.

LL > 1:

balesta 271b, 372b, 468a (6 exs), balesteros
Though the simplification of -11- to -1- is probably mainly an orthographic matter, Portuguese and Galician degemination of 11 (bulir, portela, elo < ɛ l l u ) might have been known in old Leonese. It is currently heard only near Castropol (Dial. esp., 157). In the Fuero de Avilés, Lapesa noted alá, maravila, doncela as examples of 1 for l, though he thought it possible that -l- from 1 l l e words (aquelo, elas, ela) was not a palatal, and was pronounced 1 as in Occitanic (Lapesa, 51). Estrela and vassalo are Portuguese; ulezinos is an error for ulezinos 'vellocinos' (7.1, e for o).

NN (NM, NG, NY) > n:

bronida 1774a; canones 2136a, 2135b;
grinones 2071d; grunir 2070c; ninas 1965b,
ninos 2420a; penas 63c, peniscales 2344d;
The appearance of nn as n in OAlex may be an orthographic matter, or a phonological simplification of a geminant. Menéndez Pidal notes NN and NM simplifying to n in Asturias: cabana, pano, escanu, while NY and GN become n: araña, viña, señal (Dial. leon., §12.7). In OAlex NY appears as n in companas, companones, escudrunado, montana, though this is strictly a graphic problem, since in the modern dialects and Portuguese the reflex of NY is a palatal. The rhyme in strophe 1064: sanna nana montana fagiana is either a case of assonance or indicates that n from both NN and NY was n in old Leonese.

Staaff does not discuss nn in old Leonese, nor does Menéndez Pidal except to mention that the scribes frequently wrote l for ll and n for nn (Cid, 181).
Therefore, it seems fairly safe to assume that many cases of 1 for 11 and n for nn in old Leonese are only orthographic variants.

2.24 MB. The retention of mb is characteristic of Mozarabic, Leonese, Galician-Portuguese and Riojan. These examples in OAlex are most likely Leonese:

- cambas 149d; ambidos 1713d; lambien 2151a, relambiendo 2379a.

Ambidos and lamber have been specifically noted as old Leonese (DCEC III,20a49), and llamber, lomba, camba, etc. are presently heard in Asturias (Dial. leon., §12.2).

2.25 NG, RG. NG and RG when followed by e or i in old Leonese were retained as in Portuguese. A few examples from OAlex include:

- çingiella 118c; erger 540b, d; terger 1776b.

Çingiella (* s Y n g ē l l u s *), a western form for sencillo, means 'loose fitted' in OAlex, and has not been noted elsewhere in the literature. Erger has been well documented in the west in contrast to old Castilian erzer and modern erguir (Nelson, RPh 26, 276). Reflexive /érgete/ is still heard in San Ciprián (Krüger, SCip., 121).
2.26 CT, LT. CT and LT, which became ch throughout Castilian and most of Leonese, appear as it in western Leonese. Because there are so many examples of it in Staaff’s documents (muytos, feytas, peyte) and in Dialecto leones (escuitar, truita), it is somewhat surprising to find only muyto 962b in OAlex. Currently muitu is heard in Leonese and Asturian (Fernández, 44; Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 64).

2.27 Consonant + l. When this consonant group is found intervocally, the l often becomes r in OAlex:

- asembrado(s) 808a, 1689b,d; compriere 5d,
- comprir, -ida 1803a, 1858b, 1998b (6 exs),
- comprimiento(s) 2632d, 2643b, cumpre 2644c;
- fabriella 520d; iugraressas 336d, iograr(es) 1960b, 337b, 1750d; siegro 175c, 1778d;
- perigro(so) 353b, 1207b, 1686c (9 exs);
- muobre 359c; girofre 1463d; enxiempros 1827c;
- dobrada(s) 1977b, 2363b, 2475b; soprauan 2136a; diabroria 2619a; embrego 2635b;
- obradas 1635c 'offerings'.

The development of internal l to r after a consonant is characteristic of old Leonese and Galician-Portuguese. Staaff cites some examples from his texts: dubre,
astiprado, pourado (Etude, 240), and Menéndez Pidal lists both old and modern Leonese forms fabriella, soprar, puebro (Dial. leon., §12.4). (See 2.18; 2.19 for discussion of embrego; 2.20 for popular reflexes of P'L and B'L in OAlex.)

2.28 CY, TY. Whereas the reflex of CY and TY in old Castilian was the voiced fricative z, in Portuguese CY regularly became ç, and TY occasionally did. The following examples from OAlex show the Leonese development of CY, TY to be the same as in Portuguese:

CY: façero(s), -a(s) 1025c, 1720a, 2188c, 1363b, façeruelo 2646a, façes 'caras' 555c, 648c; fiugantes 1163b, fiuça 2041b, desafiugados 835b, 1203b; posfaçado 471a, posfaço 721d, 2202d, 292d (erroneously poçfaço).

TY: tigon(es) 1073c, 2380c; criaçones 505c, 1143a.

Neither Staaff nor Menéndez Pidal discusses TY and CY in old Leonese, but their reflexes in the west seem to reflect the Portuguese model.

2.29 LY, C'L. Of the several reflexes of LY and C'L in OAlex, 11, and y can be considered Leonese.
concello 453c; consello 453d; eperello 1481d; porfillare 1784c (erroneously porfillare); miliaras 1551a, millero 915b; sobrello 'sobejo' 453a.

Eperello 'en parejo' (7.1), concello, consello, porfillare are typical examples of old Leonese Ly < LY and C'L. Menéndez Pidal notes millero along with porfillar [sic] and concello as Leonese forms in OAlex (Dial. leon., §12.1). Miliaras like paliare and mulier are learned spellings (Etude, 235). Sobrello, mistakenly declared a scribal error for sobr'ello (Alarcos Llorach, Investigaciones, 40), is rather the Leonese form of *superculus (DCEC IV, 253a26). Modern forms such as ourella, aleno, muller, palla, etc., are heard in Miranda, western Asturias, and elsewhere (Dial. leon., §12.1; Dial. esp., 146-48).

LY, C'L > y:

bataya 1673b; faya(s) 1897a, 2178a; meaya 1897c; mayor 964d; migaya 1897b; paya 1897d; acoyamos 1736b; aguiyones 2173a; semeyas 233b; orguyosos 1798b; oreyas 118c.
Bataya, faya, acoyamos, etc., seem to support the case for early yeismo in Leonese. It has been suggested, however, that y was the same as g, i and j in OAlex, all pronounced /ʒ/ or /dʒ/ (Nelson, Reconstrucción). But because OAlex is a Castilian text with Leonese overtones, one should expect competing forms: orguyosos/ orgullosos, semeyas/semeia, acoyamos/acoieron, bataya/ bataia, etc. where y probably indicates Leonese yeismo and i is usually Castilian ʝ. Y is the most frequent reflex of LY in Staaff's eastern and central documents. He felt quite certain that it always meant /y/ and therefore was particularly Leonese (Etude, 228). In his western documents l(l) and li appear for /l/. Apparently Leonese y replaced archaic l in the eastern dialect area earlier than in the areas further west.

In the modern dialects ʝ is the usual form: ureyas, muyier [sic], fiyus, etc., while li is heard in Miranda and elsewhere sporadically: uillo, speillo, teilla (Dial. leon., §12.1).

The following strophe rhymes illustrate both orthographic and phonological variants of /l/, /y/ and /ʒ/ in OAlex:

573: mala bataia falla taula. The rhyme in this strophe would be closer to perfect, if bataia read batalla as it does in P. Bataia, also bataya and
bataja? must have been popular Leonese forms of batalla.  

1481: sobeio conceio poquelleio eperello. In strophe 1481 the rhyming consonant appears to be palatal fricative ʎ with eperello /j/ being the aberrant form. Apparently the scribe knew sobeio, conceio, poquelleio in Castilian orthography, but resorted, perhaps carelessly, to western eperello in the final line.

In strophe 453: sobrello chiquiello conceello consello, the rhyme seems perfect, but is a combination of Leonese forms from LY (sobrello conceello consello) rhyming with ʎ < LL in (chiquiello). 2

1478: uyeia uermeia semeia chiqueia. Chiqueia shows that -iculus as well as -e1lus was a suffix of chico. Here the rhyme in 0 is correct, while that of P has an Aragonese flavor: arbeja bermella semella poquiella.

Strophe rhyme of 1897: faya migaya meaya paya introduces Leonese yeismo, while 785: baraja paja auantaja meaja shows the western scribe knew or could faithfully copy Castilian forms.

1 Vulgar Latin battalia should have become *bataja in Castilian instead of batalla (DCEC I, 424a35). In OAlex, bataia and related forms appear fourteen times, bataya once. There is no occurrence of batalla.

2 Chico plus –člulus.
In strophe 1792: marauijas estrellas ellas donzellas
the scribe altered original maravellas to marauijas.
Perhaps like bataia (see strophe 573 above) marauijas
(or marauijas?) was a popular Leonese form for mara-
vellas. ¹

From the examples noted above and from others
throughout OAlex, it becomes apparent that the scribe
copied or substituted a number of graphies for the
reflex of LY, C'L. He reproduced Castilian j and j
fairly faithfully, though his western bias sometimes
caused him to err, and substitute Leonese 1 or y.
Also the scribe vacillated in his concern for maintaining
the poet's rhyme: usually he kept it; sometimes he
spoiled it with an emendation; at other times, he
created an entirely new rhyme.

2.30 P'L, B'L. Popular Leonese forms of these
Romance groups are ul(1) and 1.² The following examples
illustrate this dialectal feature in OAlex:

popular, -ada 1522a, 2584b; faular 806b,

¹Both maravilla and maravella from m 1 r a b 1 1 a
are found in Berceo; maravella is the original form in
Alex (DCEC III, 383b35-43). In OAlex marauijas and
related forms appear twenty-seven times, marauilla only
twice.

²Just as initial consonant + 1 became ch in old
popular words, and consonant + r in words of more recent
introduction (2.18), P'L and B'L are ul(1) or 1 in
popular words and pr, br otherwise (2.27).
1835a passim; taula(da) 586c, 97a, 339d passim; paraula 58d, 190b, 1971b passim; neula 2042a; tenlleras 648b; puelo(s) 1536a, 1543d, polada 1 1118b; falar, -ados 1699c, 2247c, 2575c; poullar 2094b; taulleros 2385d; paraulla 423d.

Apparently the plosive consonant in the groups P'L, B'L vocalized to \( u \), then frequently assimilated to the following \( l \), and sometimes simplified. Faular, poular, taula, paraula, neula show vocalization; tenlleras (derivative of tempia, DCEC IV, 417b25) shows assimilation; puelo, polada, falar show simplification. Poullar paraullas, taulleros show palatalization of syllable initial \( l \), a phonetic development which has been noted as a unique characteristic of Leonese (2.16). Puelo, pola and forms of polar are found in old Leonese and modern Asturian, and may be compared with Galician-Portuguese (and Leonese) falar (DCEC III, 905b32). Other modern western forms include falar and faula (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 170; Alto Aller, 108).

2.31 M'N. In the Leonese forms in OAlex M'N keeps, assimilates or loses its second consonant:

1Willis writes po[b]lada, but polada is acceptable as a Leonese form. (See a[d]udol, 2.22.)
lumnera(s) 1215c, 1540d, lunnera 1228d;¹
muchedumne 1842d; seruedume 1842a;
fermedume 1842b; estame 792c; fame 2503d,
2502a, 2140d (4 exs); betume 2308a;
fortedume 2614b; quexumes 77d; nomine(s)
131a, 762d.

By the 13th century mn, which was then archaic in
Castile, and m were the most characteristic reflexes
of M'N in Leon (M. Pidal, Orig., 310). Examples from
Staaff's documents include nomine, costume, queixumes.
Some modern Leonese and Portuguese forms (ome, fema,
cume, fame), which are considered archaic in Sanabria
(Krüger, SCip., 81), are quite common in Asturias and
northwest Leon (Dial. esp., 155).

2.32  P'T, B'T, V'T. As has been discussed above
(2.30; 2.31), certain Romance groups in OAlex often
simplified through assimilation. In Leonese two stops
sometimes assimilated, though it was much more usual
for the implosive consonant to become l.

Assimilation:
 gidat 92a, 215c, 1520a passim, gidade(s)
992a, 1118d; muelas 873c.

¹Lunnera appears abbreviated in the manuscript as
lun. . . which Solalinde says should be transcribed as
lumnera (HR 4, 77).
Çidade is Portuguese as well as a Leonese form. Muela is a scribal assimilation of muelda 'multitude' < mővita (DCEC III, 461a59). I do not believe muela 2074b in both O and P means the same thing, as Coromias and Nelson (HR 43, 357) have supposed. Rather, it is derived from mől a 'millstone, molar', and means "a steep sided, flat topped hill" (DCEC III, 416b45).

Amizad, -t 1085b, 1683c, 1971a (5 exs), and enemizat 1829b, 2312c show the regular Spanish and Portuguese development of C'T. However, only the western dialects kept this popular form in contrast to more learned amistad in Castilian.

P'T, B'T, V'T > 1d:

dulda, duldan, etc. 442d, 458d, 493b
passim, dulda (n.) 1689b, 2116d, 1938b (12 exs), dultes 909a, dulta 735b, 1568c, duldança 1413a, dultança 1723c; enbeldalos 2399d; muelda 524c; coldos 1364d; recaldar, etc. 1572d, 2333c, 2436d (7 exs), recaldo (n.) 1835d, 1844a, 2195b (6 exs).

These Leonese forms seem to have passed through a stage where the b(v) which became l first vocalized (u) then became a velar l (Etude, 243). There are only a few
examples of 1 + stop in Staaff's documents, but this change was surely widespread in old Leonese because of its frequent occurrence in the modern western dialects. Menéndez Pidal lists caldal, delda, beldo, dulda, muela, etc. from old sources, and coldicia, coldu, recaldar, etc. from the modern dialect area (Dial. leon., §12.5). Altezas 394a, a derivative of a p t u s (DCEC IV, 439a20), shows a semi-learned development of abteza in old Spanish and alteza in Leonese.

2.33 Other Romance groups. There are other Romance groups in old Leonese whose implosive consonant became 1.

V + C: alze 573a
D + C: julgar, etc. 59a, 470a, 917c (7 exs)
T + M: selmanas 1177a.

Of the examples above, alze < * a v i c e shows vocalization of /b/ to 1, which then became a velar 1 (2.32). From D'C developed lg as is evident from julgar in OAlex, and other old Leonese forms: jalgada, portalgo, montalgo, and modern mayoralgo, pielgo (Dial. leon., §12.5). Selmana (s e p t i m a n a) developed similarly from old Spanish sedmana.

By way of contrast to the above forms, the first 1 in dolzel 1044d (donzel from * d o m n i c i l l u s)
probably occurred by assimilation to the final 1.  
Julgado 1018d is an error for jugado.

SPORADIC CHANGES

There are several types of phonetic changes in the Leonese features of OAlex which may be considered sporadic. The movement of a liquid consonant (especially r) in a word by dissimilation or metathesis is fairly common. There are also some instances of vocalic apheresis.

2.34 Dissimilation. Dissimilation of consonants, particularly liquids, was common throughout the Hispanic peninsula. The following forms are Leonese because they are shared with Portuguese or Galician, or are unique to OAlex:

nembrar, nembraua, etc. 689b, 149b, 692b  
(17 exs); alcoforo 378b; deslear 182c;  
garengal 1463a.

Nembrar is the Leonese and old Portuguese variant of memorare (DCEC III, 335b7). Alcofor existed in old Portuguese, alcohor in Asturian and Leonese (DCEC I, 101b60). Garengal found in OAlex and elsewhere contrasts with Portuguese galingal, Occitanic galengal and garengal, and old Catalan galangal (DCEC II, 620b9).
The three instances of \(_l\ldots_l\) dissimilation noted above do not follow the same pattern. In *alcoforo* and *deslear*, \(_l\ldots_l\) becomes \(_l\ldots_r\), while *garengal* shows \(_l\ldots_l\) becoming \(r\ldots_l\). According to Posner (*Dissimilation*, 134) \(_l\) dissimilation is regularly regressive, normally changing to \(r\), a formula which only *garengal* fits.

Dissimilation of consonants often leads to elimination of one of them:

- sorrostada(s) 2147d, 2652d; confrade(s) 1083d, 1360d; rrriedo 1030d; entellos 266c.

\(R\) in explosive position is fairly weak in Leonese and Portuguese. It tends to fall under the influence of another \(R\): *rostro* > *rosto*, OSp. *arriedro* > *arriedo*; the second explosive \(R\) may drop under influence of the first: *fratreman* > *frade* in Portuguese (Posner, 112, 134). *Entelos*, for *entre ellos*, is an old western form still heard in Asturias (DCEC II, 303b31). (See 2.39)

The following forms from OAlex show retention of the original consonants where Castilian has dissimilated:

- arboradas 807c, aruor 1979b; logal, lugal 60b, 238d, 412b (7 exs); lorer 936a.

Staaff notes *arbores* and *mercores* 'miécoles' as
non-dissimilated forms (Etude, 251). Strophe 238: natural tal mal logal (P lo al), shows Leonese logal in rhyme. Derivatives of lorer from old Occitanic laurier (Castilian laurel) are still heard in the west: lloureiro, loureiro in Asturian (DCEC III, 54-55).

2.35 Metathesis. In OAlex there are a few instances of reciprocal metathesis and some simple consonant shifting involving r:

pueluos 873a; auoletas 1497c; ueguedumbre 'vedegambre' 2340c; apertarien 2343c.

A metathesis of P'L has not been noted in western speech, even sporadically, thus pueluos (p o p u l u m) is apparently unique to OAlex. Auoletas,1 ueguedumbre2 are also isolates, and like pueluos, may be unique to OAlex. Apertar < a p p ē c t ō r a r e is a Portuguese form, and apierta is still heard in Asturias (M. Pidal, Gram. hist., 185n.).

2.36 Some special cases of l and r. A few words in OAlex show a different liquid consonant than appears

1Auoletas 'aloetas' seems to be an inversion of *aloveta, a diminutive form from a l a u d a (Rom. 4, 39). See Vocabulary.

2Note the suffix changed by the scribe to fit the strophe rhyme. O: lumbre, costumbe ueguedumbre forte-
dumbre; P: lunbre costumbre betubne fortidumbre.
in Castilian:

esperonada 695b, esporonada 641a, 2048d,
espuera(s) 95b, 1968b, 1773c; palias 809d;
templano 2607b.

Espuera and its derivatives show retention of \( r \) from Gothic *spaura, while Castilian forms espuela, espolonada, etc. are perhaps explained by the influence of the suffix -\( o\)la > uela (DCEC II, 400a14). Templano 'temprano' shows vacillation in the identity of a liquid consonant after a plosive. Though \( l \) in such a position often changed to \( r \) (2.18, 2.27), the reverse (\( r \) to \( l \)) is also still evident in western Asturias: blincar, glaya (Dial. esp., 138). Palias for parias is difficult to explain if it is not acoustic equivalence.

2.37 Apheresis. There are a few instances of apheresis in OAlex:

bispo 1139a, 1142c; pitafio 1800a (P petafio);
nemiga(s) 911b, 165a, 467c passim; nano 2023d.

Bispo, pitafio and nemiga, though perhaps more frequent in Leonese, are also found in other old Spanish dialects (Nelson, Toward a Definitive Edition, 116). However, nano is either an apheresis of Cast. enano, or, more likely, a Leonese derivative of n a n u s.
SYNTACTIC PHONETICS

An important trait of old Leonese is its tendency to assimilate the final consonant of certain words to the initial consonant of the following word. The consonants involved are n, r, l and s in combinations of preposition plus article or pronoun, infinitive plus article or pronoun, etc. This particular assimilation, which still characterizes Leonese, Portuguese and Galician, was common in several old Spanish dialects, but had become archaic in Castilian by the 13th century (M. Pidal, Orig., §64.3).

2.38 n + l. The -n of a preposition, verb, pronoun or adverb may assimilate the l- of a definite article or pronoun.

Preposition plus definite article:

enno 358c, 654b, 685c (18 exs), ennos 740c, 428d, 1013d passim, eno 1664a, 1709d, enos 407a, 668b, 1361b (4 exs), no 2139d, 1824c, 1758d, 1733b (5 exs), nos 1880d, 2173c, 2505c, 1759c, 2083d, elo 1928b, elos 2415c, enna 863a, 879b, 1053b passim, ennas 526d, 634b, 1068c passim, ena 393a, 1139c, 1633c (4 exs), enas 381a, 2327a, na 842a, 585d, 1539c (7 exs), nas 1889c, ela 2585c, elas
The linking of preposition with article is not unknown in old Castilian. Berceo used _conna(s)_,-_os_ and _enna(s)_,-_os_ though not _conno_ or _enno_. The latter are based on _con_ or _en_ + _lo_, a form of the masculine definite article which was particularly common in Leonese (3.8). _No(s)_ and _na(s)_ are Portuguese forms which are also found in the western dialects. Because they occur so frequently in _OAlex_ and only once in _P_ (_eno_ 1218b), _con(n)o(s)_,-_a(s)_ and _e(n)n(o)(s)_,-_a(s)_ are most likely additions of the Leonese scribe. The 1 of _el(o)(s)_,-_ela(s)_ and 11 of _collos_ are aberrant forms in _OAlex_, but not without precedent in other old Leonese documents. Staaff noted _1(1)_ instead of _nn_ in the verb form _sagulla_ and in _non_ + pronoun: _nolo_, _nole_, etc. (_Etude_, 257-58). _Nel_ and _ennescudo_ illustrate the linking of _en_ + _i_ _l_ _e_ . _Emiente_ is _en_ + _miente_, while in the case of _nazemela_ 'acémila' and _enazcona_ 'azcona' it is difficult to tell if the linking
is _en_ + noun, or _en_ + _la_ + noun. The assimilation of _n_ and _l_ may give _nn_ or _n_ in OAlex. Staaff found both variants in his documents, though _n_ was more prevalent in the western ones (loc. cit., 257). Assimilation of preposition and article, with reduction of the resulting geminate is still heard throughout Asturias and in northwestern Leon: _cuna_, _cola_, _nel_, _na_, _cula_, _no_, etc. (Dial. leon., §13.1).

Verb, pronoun, or adverb + object pronoun:

ouieron no 619c, auienza 1893b, auia[n] no 1124c; tenien no 1021a, tienna 1795c, tenienos 2316c; uieno (lo viene)^1 2389b; veyenno 1380b; sabeno 1211a; estauanos 2198c; querieno 2569a; quien no 2261c, (quino 1533a),^2 quiена 1486d, 2261a, 2576c; bieno 2256a, bien no 1015b; nollo 2116c.

Staaff noted a few instances of third person plural of a verb + pronoun: _faganno_, _dena_, _partirona_ (Etude, 254). Gessner points to the Portuguese treatment of a verb + pronoun: _amão-no_ for _amão-o_ as a model for this feature in OAlex (Altleonesische, 13). The forms listed above

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^1For _vieno_ meaning 'él vino' see 3,171.

^2Probably a scribal error for _quieno_.

are linked with -no, -o and possibly -nno as follows:

-no/a(s): ouieron no, avia[n] no, auienna, tenien no, quién no, tienna, tenienos, querieno, bien no; -o/a(s): vieno, sabeno, estauanos, (quino), quienna, bieno; -nno: veyenno. Veyenno might be read lo veían as an impersonal plural (P reads veyelo). N in sabeno 'lo saben', quienna 'quien la' and others is a reduction from a former nn, just as enno frequently reads eno. Nollo 'non lo' like collo is a rare n + l > ll assimilation. Though the assimilation of prepositions to definite articles is still very common in Leonese and Asturian, that of conjugated verbs, pronouns or adverbs to object pronouns has disappeared from these dialects (Dial. esp., 161).

2.39 r + l. The final r of a preposition or infinitive may assimilate to the l- of an article or pronoun in Leonese. The following are some examples of this western characteristic in OAlex.

Preposition + article:

pelo 1166b, 2385a, pella 1832a; pollo 2019b, polos 1621c, polla 1440c, 1670a, pola 2446a, palas 1822b.

Whereas the linking of por or per with an article was never known in Castilian, it is a notable western feature in OAlex, and is still heard in northwest Leon and
Asturias as pelas, polas, pul, etc. Modern Portuguese shows the same type of assimilation: pelo (Dial. leon., §13.1). Palas 'por las' is probably a scribal error (7.1, a for o). Just as conno became cono, and enna became ena, the geminate consonant in pella, pollo was also reduced in the modern dialects.

There is one occurrence of a preposition linking with a pronoun in OAlex: entellos 266c. Though Menéndez Pidal assumed this form to be a confusion of atonic e and a ante(e)los? (Cult. esp., 548), it is more likely a reflex of inter + (i l ) los. The form is still heard in Asturian: entelli, -llos (Vigón).

Infinitive + article or pronoun:

traelo 467a; tenellos 967c; esperalo 682c;
regebilo 1536c; matallo 1729c; robal mundo 2602c.

The assimilation of an infinitive to l- of an article or pronoun, noun, though not exclusively Leonese, was probably more common in the west than elsewhere in the peninsula.

A singular example in OAlex of the assimilation of an infinitive to the s- of a pronoun is acordasse 1015d. The loss of -r of the infinitive before any pronoun
is still fairly common in Asturias: matalu, decite, caese, etc. (Dial. esp., 160).

2.40 $s + 1$. The $s$ of a pronoun, adverb or verb may assimilate to the $1$- of an article or pronoun in Leonese, as seen here in OAlex.

Pronoun + pronoun:

uo1lo 789b, 1750c, 2397b, uollos 1138a,
uo1o 985a, 1399b, 1610d (7 exs); no1o
2290a, 966b, no1os 1627b, no la 1110d.

Adverb/verb + pronoun:

tra los 611b; todolos 611c, 1060a, 1415c
passim, todalas 1006a, 1415c, 1461c (14 exs);
dambalas 472c; audelos (= avedelos, 'los habéis') 2625a.

The assimilation of $s$ of a verb to a following $1$, though known in Portuguese and Galician, was rare in old Leonese (only au(e)delos is mentioned by Staaff, Menéndez Pidal or Zamora Vicente), and is apparently not found in the modern western dialects.
CHAPTER III
MORPHOLOGY

The Leonese morphological features in OAlex are not as numerous as are the phonological features. Some pronoun and verb forms which were characteristic of the old dialect are noticeably absent from this work: the possessives meu, sou, sous; mandou for mandó; -eron for -ieron. Other forms which are characteristic yet less evident in old Leonese are abundant in OAlex: ge for le (as an isolated dative); -ieron for -iron and -ieron; per for por.

The criteria for selection and discussion of morphological characteristics are the same as those employed in Chapter II: they are either unique to Leonese or were archaic in Castilian by the 13th century.

NOUN GENDER

There are a few nouns in old Leonese whose gender agrees with that of Portuguese rather than Castilian. Examples from OAlex include a number of -or nouns and others.
3.1 -Or nouns. There was a tendency in old Spanish to change the gender of - o r e abstract nouns to feminine as had occurred in French. Except for cor and dor, Portuguese retained the original Latin masculine. This conservatism was also an old Leonese feature.

-Or words noted in Alex are: amor, calor, color, dolor, dulcor, error, fervor, fror, (des)honor, lavor, odor, olor, pauor, pudor, resplandor, salor, sudor and valor. When the gender could be determined, 41 occurrences of these words in O were masculine, 30 were feminine (in P, 27 masc., 55 fem.). -Or words are feminine in both manuscripts 25 times (2149a, 1878a, 261b, 1194a, 2140c, etc.), and masculine 16 times (1201c, 2018a, 1729c, 35b, 1104d, etc.). OAlex forms are feminine when PAlex forms are masculine 5 times; OAlex forms are masculine when PAlex forms are feminine 19 times. When -or nouns only occur in PAlex, they are feminine 11 times and masculine 6 times. When in OAlex alone, they are masculine 7 times. Therefore, statistically -or nouns are more often masculine in OAlex, as they usually are in Portuguese.

3.2 Gender of other nouns. A number of other nouns in OAlex show a gender difference from old Castilian usage.
Though usually masculine or indeterminate in OAlex, 

lenguajes 1512b and omenages 2597b are feminine, as they 
are in Portuguese. Lumbre and costumbre are either 
feminine or indeterminate in OAlex except in 1003d, 
1481a, b and 1555a where they are masculine, the same as 
in Galician and Portuguese (DCEC I, 927a49). The rhyme 
words of OAlex strophe 1555 have been altered to the 
masculine form, modifying costumbres, bonos, cosas and 
yentes: O 1555: costumbres...usados, los...bonos... 
canbiados, cosas...adonados, yentes...pagados. The 
scribe seems not to have noticed the lack of concord 
he created when he changed the adjectives.

A few other nouns in OAlex which show a gender dif­
ference from Castilian may be old Leonese forms.

Las aruoles 2487b; other examples are masculine or 
indeterminate. The original Latin feminine is kept in 
Portuguese (also Sardinian), and is found in Fuero Juzgo, 
Fuero de Navarra and Nebrija, though it is masculine in 
standard old Spanish. As a feminine form it is likely 
Leonese in OAlex.

Bona betume 2308a; P2340c is indeterminate. Portu­
guese and Castilian forms of Latin neuter ɓ́t ु m e n 
are masculine. Since other -um(br)e nouns are masculine 
in the scribe's dialect, this form seems a hypercorrection.
**Cro** bedegame masc. 792a (fem. 2343b). The Latin etymon, *medicamen*, was neuter, though medieval Spanish authors made it feminine, possibly by analogy to *ponzoña* (DCEC IV, 684b21). It is masculine in Portuguese, as well as in old Leonese. (See 2.21 for *cro*.)

**Sinál** masc. 101b, 1134b, 1385c (6 exs), fem. 1227a, 1602d, etc.). Señal is feminine in Castilian, while *sinál* is masculine in Portuguese and old Leonese.

**WORD FORMATION**

There are some prefixes and suffixes ascribed as western in *OAlex* which occur in Castilian, but infrequently.

### 3.3 Prefixes

Though some words with Leonese prefixes may be discussed as members of a group, others do not establish a pattern and are best described as individual items. Underlined words in the following list are discussed in Chapter V.

**A-**: The prefix *a-* is frequently added to a word, particularly verbs. Examples from *OAlex* include:

- açennar 379b, adesar 1938c; afalaga[r] 74b,
- afalagos 469d; ammontar 1013c; apoçonado 2491b,
- arramar 983d, 2318b, 145b (8 exs); arrauato
- 565c; antiende 1157a.
Afalagar as an old Leonese form is supported by Portuguese afagar and modern Asturian afalagar (Vigón). The a- of apoçonado and antiende has replaced Castilian en-. A- is still evident in the modern dialects: arrodear, apegar, avocear (Millán Urdiales, 209).

Des-: Des- < dis- frequently replaced es- in the western dialects, probably because of its similarity in both meaning and form to the prefix ex-. Though there are numerous examples of this reduction in the modern dialects: escabezarse, esforzar, esparecer, etc. (Millán Urdiales, 208), only escalauro 2183c, modern escalabrar (Neira, 238) has been noted in OAlex. In view of hypercorrected destendido 2038b (estendieron 1880c, but destendido P 1040a) from extendere, and destremando 2556c 'dividing' from extreme, it seems the scribe overly Castilianized these forms. No other reference to destendido has been noted.

Destremar is found in old Occitanic meaning 'mettre en sûreté', and once in old Spanish meaning 'to separate' (Vigón, 211 n.4).

En-: Two words have been noted in OAlex where the prefix en- appears for Castilian a-:

encostar 1381b 'to approach, draw near';
endelantrado 361d 'representative'.
Portuguese *encoatar* 'to bring close together' contrasts with Castilian *encostar* which refers only to ships coming alongside each other (Moliner, I, 1109). Some modern western forms related to *endelantrado* are *endelantre* (Acevedo), *endenantes* (Alonso Garrote, 212), etc.

**Es-**: Two words in OAlex which may be considered Leonese because of their *es*- prefix are:

*escaleže* 1179a; *estrado* 1142d.

In Castilian, *caalentar* replaced old *calecer*, *esca lentar*, while the western dialects kept derivatives of *calecere* : Salmantine *calecerse*, *esca lecer*; Asturian *esca lecer* (DCEC I, 597a55). *Estrado* 'prostrate, stretched out' seems to be related to Asturian, Galician and Portuguese *estrar* 'to spread straw, make a bed' (DCEC II, 438a34).

**Per-**: The Leonese prefix *per-*, which gives a superlative value to adjectives (*peramoriau* 'enteramente mareado', Dial. leon., §14), and reinforces verbal meaning (*peracabar*), is completely lacking in OAlex.

**So-**: The prefix *so-* is sometimes a western substitution in OAlex:

*sobraçado* 1036b; *suíugua* 1167a, *suíugadas* 1526d.
Sobragado 'clasped, held under the arm' has the same meaning in Portuguese. The Castilian form is embrazado. Portuguese sojugar, sujugar and suiugaua, suiugadas in OAlex show a western preference for so- or su- from Latin sub - in comparison to Castilian so- (old *sojugar DCEC IV, 782aI) or sub- (old subjugar, modern subyugar).

3.4 Suffixes. Though prefixes which may be considered Leonese are not abundant in OAlex, suffixes of dialectal interest are even more limited.

-angia: There are a number of words in OAlex with the suffix -angia:

segurangia 404a; matangia 291b; demo(n)strangia 219c, 2660b; folgangia 291d; tardangia 2470c; alabangia 1892c.

Menéndez Pidal includes some of these words as examples of epenthetic yod in Leonese (Dial. leon., §6). Perhaps the apparent western preference for the learned suffix -angia as opposed to popular -anza was influenced by the very common epenthetic yod. In the modern dialects one finds alabancia (Alonso Garrote, 49), matancia (Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 70), etc.

-e(s)cer: A very common suffix in medieval Spanish was inchoative -e(s)cer. This suffix was added to the
stems of a number of -ir verbs in Leonese producing new forms (a)gradescer, contescer, remanescer, etc. Because -ecer was so common in the west, it sometimes replaced similar suffixes:

conneçer: connesco 40a, b, ¹ conçîo 637c;
teçer: teçida 660c, teçido 2541c.

Substitution of the inchoative suffix in the reflexes of *conoscere is quite common in the Iberian peninsula: Fuergo Juzgo and Fuero de Zamora (Pardo, 97) conescer; conesció in Lucas Fernández (Lihani, 401); Port. conhecer; Jewish Sp. coneser; Cat. coneixer (DCEC I, 884b20; 30ff.). Teçer from tèxere, which is also the Portuguese form, is still heard in Asturias (Casado Lobato, 95).

-în(o), -îna: The suffix -în is not found in OAlex, while -îna and -îno appear in both O and P:

pequenina 1863c; montino 2477c.

Though these suffixes have been described as characterizing Leonese (Dial. esp., 162; M. Pidal, Cult. esp., 552a), they are not dialectal features of OAlex.

¹ Solalinde says e is an error in the Willis edition (HR 4, 79).
NUMERALS

Since most numbers are written as Roman numerals, especially those above ten, there is little evidence of dialectal forms in OAlex. However, fem. duas, a form Leonese shares with archaic Spanish, appears twice:

duas fadas 100a, duas tantas naves 450c.

The masculine form in OAlex is dos. This gender distinction is maintained today only in western regions of Leon and Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 197; Alonso Garrote, 76), and in Galician and Portuguese.

PRONOUNS

3.5 Disjunctive pronouns. First and second person subject and prepositional pronouns do not show any differences from old Castilian forms in OAlex. A few third person pronouns maintain older forms which were still prevalent in Leonese, while being replaced in Castilian by modern él and ella:

fusse de las espaldas a elle a costar 2232d;
ela asmo 1590b; morio el traedor cuemo el merecía; por i passaron todos quantos ele traia 185a,b; fizesse ell mientras enno cuerno coser 2499c.
Of the two forms *elli* and *elle*, which according to Staaff were found quite often in old Leonese for *él*, *elle* is found only once in OAlex. *El* is predominant as third person masculine subject pronoun with one citation each of *ele* and *elli*. Lapesa lists the several third person pronouns found in *Fuero de Avilés* (*ele, el, ela, ello, eles, elos, ellos*), but considers only *eles* a dialectal form (Lapesa, 29, 63). Staaff, on the other hand, notes that *(d)ele* found in one of his documents is similar to Portuguese *êle* (*Etude*, 266). *Ell* apparently maintains the palatal consonant while *ela* did not.

As Staaff has noted, there were two analogical forces at work in the development of these pronouns. The palatal *l* was conserved in the conjunctive pronouns (3.6), while *ella* reduced to *ela* under the influence of *él* (*Etude*, 268). *El, elli, elle* and *ela* are still heard as subject pronouns in western Asturias (*Dial. esp.*, 170).

3.6 Conjunctive pronouns. Following the general rule that *l* → *l* in Leonese, initial *l* of dative pronouns also palatalized (2.16). In OAlex this palatalization is represented by *ll*-, *g*-, or *i*-:

1 *Elle, ele, ela* appear occasionally in FZam and FLed (Pardo, 20-21).
ge 289b, 272a, 1076c passim, ges 213b, 261b, 1907c (8 exs); ie 183d, 21a (9 exs), ies 60c, 75a,c,d, 475a; lle 222c, 357a, 1096b passim, lles 273a, 249d, 1097c (12 exs), delles 355d 'les dé'; lly 1345c; se ge 310b, 571b, 679b (5 exs); selle 321b, 2587c, 2619c; le las 1387d.

Examples from Staaff's documents include que lle(s), sille, dolle, doiel, ye (Etude, 266-67). Though palatalization of the dative pronoun occurs in Leonese and Castilian when it is in combination with the third person accusative pronoun (̜l̜l̜ l̜ l̜ l̜ l̜ l̜ l̜ u > (i)lliello > gel(1)o), palatalization of the dative standing alone is a Leonese and Portuguese feature. Apparently l̜ l̜ l̜ l̜ of the dative was considered intervocalic before any initial vowel, and thus became a palatal in Leonese and Portuguese. This palatalization was extended by analogy to the pronoun in a preconsonantal position, and eventually to the plural form. Thus le is frequently replaced by lle in OAlex. Dative pronouns ge, ie, ye here and in Staaff may represent a transition stage between le and modern âe: le > ŋe > âe. Lle and ye are found in FZam (Pardo, 26). Perhaps the use of ge/ŋe/ for lle/le/ is by analogy to dative ge- in combination with accusative pronouns: gelo, gela. Lle, ye, ie are still heard.
in western Spain (Alonso Garrote, 77; Dial. leon., §17.2).

The dative pronouns noted above in OAlex (ge(s), ie(s), lle(s), lly) and in all combinations with an accusative (geio, etc.) show palatalization with the exception of "todas le las tenie" 1387d. Though Staaff too notes such a combination (Etude, 267), it seems likely the l- was meant to represent l, just as lamar was sometimes written for llamar. Leio, lela, etc. appear as frequently in FZam as do llelo, yelo, yela, etc. (Pardo, 36-37).

Palatalization of the accusative pronoun is rare in old Leonese, and there are only four examples in OAlex:

llo merecie 904d, uencer lllos 166b, ferir
lllos 454c, saber llas 1517d.

There are also a few examples in Staaff's documents: quella(s), -o(s), ia, yas (Etude, 266). The palatalization of datives (lle, ye) and accusatives (llo, llas) in old Leonese is confirmed by the modern dialect forms: se, su, sa, etc. (Dial. esp., 171).

Staaff has suggested that the e of lle helped maintain the palatal which was more easily reduced before an a (llia > la) or o (llo > lo) (Etude, 269).
3.7 Possessive pronouns. In OAlex only the second singular and third persons of the possessive pronouns show any dialectal variations. The following possessives were more common in the west than in old Castilian:

as adjectives: un suyo hombre 423a; toda sa cosa 2217a.

as pronouns: sepas que a los tos plazra 68d; di contra los tus que 67d; o so de buen grado 1895c; quien lo de su non ouo 1539b; seer siemrre sos por leal 1586d; cunto a los sos cuemo 325a; los sos y los estrannos 885b; fazie a los sos su frontera 875b.

According to Hanssen, old Leonese second and third person possessions pronouns were:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
m & f \\
túo(s), to(s) & túa(s) \\
súo(s), so(s) & sua(s) \end{array}
\]

(Bisyllabic adjectival possessives of the type un suyo hombre, and monosyllabic pronominals, tos, so, sos have been documented infrequently in a few old Spanish texts (Cid, 257.14 and note). Alarcos Llorach noted los sos 325a and called it a rare use of the atonic possessive as a pronoun (Investigaciones, 100n.). According to Hanssen,
these forms were more common in Leonese than in Castilian (Possessivpronomen, 15).

There seems to be some question as to whether masc. to(s), so(s) were regularly distinguished from fem. tu(s), su(s) in 13th century Spanish (M. Pidal, Gram. hist., 258; Cid, 257. 25-27), though eventually the feminine forms predominated. Contra los tus 67d, and lo de su 1539b demonstrate this gender confusion, but are likely scribal errors rather than dialectal forms in OAlex. To, tos, so, sos, tua and sua are still heard in the western dialects (Dial. esp., 174).

Sa is more likely an old Portuguese borrowing than an inherited form (old Vulgar Latin sus, sa, sum).

3.8 Definite articles. The definite article in old Leonese retained two distinct forms: old Spanish elos, ela, elas were kept much longer than they were in Castilian; llas(s), lllos show that the l- often palatalized when the initial vowel dropped. The following examples in OAlex were no longer common in Castilian in the 13th century:

ela 713b, 426a (19 exs), elas 247a, 952b, 1497c (14 exs); elos 710a, 21a, 298d (11 exs).
Menéndez Pidal, Staaff and Lapesa note "elos, ela, elas" in old Leonese documents, but these forms are not conserved in the modern dialects. There are occasions in OAlex when these forms represent 'and' + definite article, such as in line 1023d: "Craterus a Ardofilo diol una tal porrada quel salieron los meollos ela sangre quaiada"; and "elo que" in lines 1844c and 2284d. Since there is some doubt that these examples and others are definite articles, they have not been included here:

con lla 373d, llos 553a, sen llos 1527a,
en llos 651b.

Menéndez Pidal notes that the _l_ of the definite article often appeared palatalized after the final consonant of a preposition (Dial. leon., §17.4). In OAlex palatal _l_ of the definite article is found after final consonants, but not necessarily those of prepositions: con lla, en llos, sen llos, andauan llos (553a). Only in Astorga and environs can these forms still be heard (Alonso Garrote, 78).

por lo laço soltar 834b, por lo su 2315a,
por lo grant 826c, con lo bon 2298c; alcanç
elo que sobra 2385d; o so 1895c.

__In Salamanca there were intervocalic examples such as "porque llas tienen. . .", "hasta llos ojos. . . ."__
From Latin nom. *i l l e* and acc. *i l l u m* there developed the Hispanic Romance articles, *el, le* and *lo*. The central dialects generalized the nominative *el*, while the western dialects regularly kept nominative *el* as well as some accusative (*lo*) forms. Though usually dependent on a preposition (*por lo, en lo*) or joined to one (*conno, enno*, 2.38-2.39), *lo* occasionally occurs in OAlex outside a prepositional phrase. With the exception of 'por lo laço soltar' 834b, the sense of which is 'por soltar el lazo',¹ other examples of *lo* elide before the vowel of a following noun: *lostal* 400d, *lescudo* 712d, *lotro* 1995d, 2363c, *lemperio* 2623c. The elision of *lo* also occurs after a preposition: *con lifante* 179b, *en laruol* 1980b, *por loio* 379d, *por layre* 2020b. In the modern dialects, evidence for an older masculine accusative *lo* is mostly found in combination with a preposition: *en + lo > no*, or apocopated before a following noun: *l'outeiro, l'amu* (Dial. leon., §17.4, p. 98). *Elo* 2385d is, of course, a neuter from Latin *i l l u d*.

The article *o* in 1895c is a Portuguese form which is rare, though not without precedent in other Leonese.

¹Pardo thinks that 'por lo laço soltar' shows the scribe was so accustomed to writing *lo* after a preposition that he could do so without regard to the syntax (Esquema, 43).
materials. In the two most western documents in Staaff's collection, dos, da and as are found (Etude, 266).

le eperello 1481d, le emperador 808b.

Le < il le, though extremely rare in Leonese and unknown in Castilian, may have occurred twice in OAlex. Staaff noted this form of the article (trasle) twice in document 50. However, the appearance of le in OAlex before e-, and in lines 1481d and 808b with many e's suggests a scribal error.

El renta 1133b is probably a scribal error for ela renta. The hemistich is one syllable short and there is no evidence in Leonese for el as a feminine article before a noun beginning with a consonant.

VERBS

There are a variety of Leonese features in the verbal system of OAlex. Some of the most interesting are the stems and endings of the preterite and related tenses, the general lack of metaphonic inflection, and apocope in the present tense.

3.9 Analogy in verb roots. In old Leonese the forces of analogy were particularly strong in the root vowel of verbs (3.11). The analogy might be with the tonic root vowel, though it was more frequently with the atonic root as seen in the following examples from OAlex:
The atonic diphthong in **cuentar**, **cuentada** is an analogical extension of **cuento**, **cuenta**, etc. In the case of **cuntar**, **cuntaua**, **cuntado**, original atonic **o** closed to **u** before the nasal, which then caused a reshaping of the tonic forms to **cunto**, **cunta**, etc. Some of the modern dialects show etymological vocalism in the tonic and raising in the atonic verb forms: **cuento**, **cuntamus** (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 219). In other areas of Asturias, all forms show a raised root vowel: **cuntar**, **cuntado**, **cunto** (Dial. leon., §18.5). Closing of atonic **o** to **u** has been noted elsewhere in OAlex (2.9), but is not general in this work as it is today throughout western Asturias: **mulín**, **chuver 'llover'**, **churar 'llorar'** (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 98).

In OAlex the thematic vowel in the present indicative and related tenses may not always follow the Castilian pattern of diphthongization or lack thereof:

**pensa(n)** 391c, 686c, 1807b (6 exs); **tenes** 121a; **entendan** 769b; **costa** 683b; **affuegas**
In old Spanish, verbs with stem vowels which diphthongized under stress (e.g. tiento, tienta, tentamos) sometimes reshaped the paradigms of verbs with stem vowels which ordinarily would not diphthongize (e.g. pienso, piensa, pensamos). In OAlex this reshaping often did not occur: pensa, costa, while affuegas appears to be a hyper-correction found only in the west. In old Leonese (2.2), while the reflex of ő in any position still vacillated between o, ue, and uo in western Spain (2.4).

Two hypercorrected forms: cugiolos 1348c and escugiera 366d show an unexpected raising of the root vowel. Since metaphonic inflection is not a characteristic of Leonese verbs (3.10), these forms must be false analogies to durmió or some other Castilian verb.

3.10 Yod effect on verb stems. Metaphonic inflection of ę and ő in the present tense of -ir verbs and those -er verbs which were consequently attracted to the -ir

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1"Sólo dialectalmente se halla afuego o ff ō c o [sic] en Asturias..." (M. Pidal, Gram. hist., 289).
conjugation was not prevalent in the west until after
OAlex (Nelson, RPh 26, 269n.). The following examples
from OAlex illustrate the Leonese lack of metaphony:

descuebres 1219c, encuebre 1677b
(cóperíe); nuezen 1486d;
siegun 1211d; pieden 2347c; sierven
1211c; uiesten 1500d; yex(en) 1215b, 1827a,
238c, 297d.

These verbs show archaic forms which had disappeared
from Castilian by the 13th century. Mieden (meño)
1797d is analogous to viesten, sierven.

In the third and sixth persons preterite, the pluperfect, imperfect subjunctive, and future subjunctive tenses
of -er and -ir verbs, the stem vowel was not raised in
Leonese. The following examples from OAlex illustrate
the lack of raising caused by a yod:

cobrioron 1141a; contio 273a, contieron 9a;
dexieron, -ieron 1863c, 710d, 794c (5 exs),
dexier 1697d, déxies 951d; ferio 508d
(erroneously ferro), 510c, 515b (16 exs),
ferieron 958b, 887b, 536a, ferier(e) 971b,d;
973c, feries 587c; fezieron, -ieron 333a,
421a, 536b passim, fezier(es) 1932c, 2090d,
53c, fezierà 726a, 1163a, 820c (11 exs),
fezies(e), -en 682b, 1136d, 1436a, 101d
(11 exs); morio 195a, 325d (12 exs), morioron 1196b; pedioron 1164b, pediesse(n)
1638c, 2362d; posieron, -ioron 1774a, 202d, 764b (6 exs), posiesse(n) 1553c, 1100d, 242d; presiesse 283d; quesioron 1505b, quesier(es)
1637a, 1672d, quesieran 553d, quesies 1095d; requerio 820c; sentio 1078c, 529a, sentieron,
-ioron 338d, 536a; sobio 1653d, 1596a, 301c (5 exs), souieron 625b, souiere(s) 115d, 909c;
(a)uenieron, -ioron 291a, 804d, 344c, 1733b (9 exs), uenier 76a, ueniera 1356b,
ueniesse(n) 819c, 2211c (7 exs); vestio 455b, 326b, 1139a, vestioron 1773b, uestiesse 100c.

Outside of old Leonese works,\(^1\) there are few examples of preterite verb stems which are unaffected by a yod. There are some (14) in Berceo's works, six of which are found in El Sacrificio de la misa: feziesse 149c; moriö, sobiö 180b,d, etc. The extant manuscript of this work includes a number of westernisms: meyor 66c, 154b; semeya 189d (2.29); quisiermos 233a (3.173) and others.

\(^1\)There are numerous examples of dexier-, ferio, presier-, quesier-, venier-, fezier-, podier-, and posier-, in FZam (Pardo, 94-96).
There are some third person strong preterite forms in OAlex which retain an etymological vocalism in the stem:

fezo 2498a, 844c, 836c; preso 884a, 2037a;
ueno 822a.

These forms were regularly fizo, priso and vino in 13th century Castilian by analogy to fize, prise, vine, vinieron, fizieron, etc. Analogical reshaping of the preterite tense which was already common in Castilian was not a characteristic of 13th century Leonese.

Both Staaff and Hanssen have noted this frequent lack of vowel raising and lack of analogical reshaping in old Leonese verbs (Etude, 307; Conj. leon., 42-52). There is relatively little evidence in modern western speech for this old system. But note a paradigm of venir in the preterite—veni, venisti, vieno, venimos, venistes, venieren—and the gerund, veniendo, which still maintain a lack of metaphony (Canellada, 47). Veni (vērī), where metaphony is expected, is analogous to the other persons of the preterite, and vieno is a fairly common third person form throughout Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 160). (3.171)
3.11 Thematic e and i of -ir verbs. Another Leonese verb characteristic of OAlex is vocalic assimilation of the stem vowel to that of the infinitive of -ir verbs. While vocalic dissimilation prevailed in the north central dialects, in the west thematic e became i while thematic i remained unchanged:

\[ e > i: \] esliido 2638d; conquirir 66a, 1640d, 1091d, conquirimos 1205b, conquirien 775a, conquiriredes 770c; çinir 89d, cinnida 91d; ynxir 2058c, yxte 1157b; siguimos 2281d, sigremos 2295d; sintido 148b.

There has been some question about the validity of the transcription conquirir in OAlex, especially since conquerer was the usual form in the west (Nelson, RPh 26, 276). Though the stem vowel of conquirir is frequently abbreviated, the notations in the O ms. are clear: \( q = \text{que}, \) \( q = \text{qui}. \) All of these forms may show the general tendency of atonic e to close, particularly before a nasal (2.8). There are still some vestiges of thematic e of -ir infinitives closing by assimilation to the tonic in western speech: midir, pidir (Millán Urdiales, 172).

\[ i: \] rriir 1900d; dizir 2013d.
The root vowel \( \ddot{a} \) does not undergo dissimilation in -ir verbs. Hanssen thinks dizir in Leonese is the result of dizer (Portuguese and Leonese) combining with dezir (Castilian and Leonese) (Conj. Leon., 24). Dicir, friir, rir and other non-dissimilated forms have been noted in modern Asturian (Canellada, 38).

3.12 Apocope in the present indicative. Old Leonese regularly apocopated the -e of the third person singular, present indicative in a number of second and third conjugation verbs. Though verbal apocope is found in many forms throughout old Spanish, loss of -e in the present tense is found particularly in the western dialects and occurs frequently in OAlex:

- tien 1216b, 2483c, 788b passim; uien 1218d, 131d, 249d (7 exs); pued 1223b, 949d, 1724c (9 exs); quier 1223c, 1226b, 1721d passim;
- suei 1228a, 1016c, 1469a (13 exs); sol 1868d;
- conuien 2484c, 14d; faz 2628a, 2399b, 367b passim; (i)az 1051b, 1460c, 1413d (20 exs);
- fier 2270b, 79b; contez 575c.

Quier, iaz, faz, tien, (con)uien, fier appear in Fuero de Zamora (Pardo, 76-77), Staaff's documents (Etude, 284), and elsewhere in Leonese. Contez and some citations of tien, pued, etc. are found in hemistichs which are one
syllable short. There are some apocopated forms in the Cid and Berceo (*val, incal, faz, plaz, diz, iaz*), but forms with -e are the norm. Verbal apocope is still common in Leonese: *val, quier, vien, jaz* (*Dial. leon.*, §18.2).

3.13 Infinitive. In Leonese, Galician and Portuguese, a number of -ere and -ere verbs are kept in the -er conjugation which Castilian has absorbed into the -ir conjugation. The following examples are from OAlex:

- morrer 78d, 882b, 2153c; aduzer 810a, 2214b;
- encher 810b; dizer 810d, 1926a, 2000a;
- beneyzer 1442c; rier 2153a; uiuer 2153d;
- renner 2444a; erger 540b, 2175b; terger 1776b;
- contradizer 1626b, 2214a; escreuer 810c;
- sofrer 2292d, suefrer(s), -n 1729b, 2413d, 312d.

*Soffer*, *morrer*, *dizer*, *aduzer*, *escrever* are found in Portuguese; *dicer*, *morrer* are currently conserved in Asturias (*Dial. leon.*, §18.3). *Dizir* and *riir*, which are also old Leonese forms (3.11), are not as common as *dizer* and *rier*.

In the 13th century there was still a number of -er verbs in old Spanish which vacillated between the -er
and -ir conjugations, ultimately becoming -ir. These verbs tended to show only -er forms in the west (Nelson, RPh 26, 282). Examples from OAlex include: fonder, abater, apremer, bater, converter, premer. The use of the conjugated forms of sofrer (suefre, suefres) makes them clearly of Leonese derivation rather than a direct borrowing from Portuguese.¹

3.14 Personal infinitive. A rather well known western feature of OAlex is the occurrence on two occasions of the personal infinitive:

por mataren al bon rey fezioron ermandat 1904b;
Engresgares connosco tu non ganas y nada 1929a.

In Dialecto leones, Menéndez Pidal noted mataren in OAlex as being the only Hispanic example of the personal infinitive outside of Portuguese and the works of Gil Vicente² (§18.11). In a later work he mentioned en gresgares (Cult. esp., 551). The personal infinitive is still heard in Galician, Portuguese, and Mirandés (Dial. leon., §18.11).

¹See also ouuierdes 3.171 and yaria 3.19.
²Staaff has collected nine examples (facerdes, seerdes, laurardes, etc.) from the western Leonese documents he studied (Etude, 287-88).
3.15 Present tenses. Several verbs in OAlex occasion- 
ally show Leonese forms in the present indicative, 
subjunctive and imperative:

(h)ey 208d, 1573b, 2627a; sey 2164b, 2442a, 
40c (6 exs); vaamos 1413d; trago 2629d, 
2195b, 2a; temos 432c; sabades 1728c, 817a, 
2447b, 2485a; ozcas 370c, ozaides 2447a, 
787b; tragas 1838a, tragamos 1195c; auas 
393c; yde 1380c, 143a, 1611c.

Staaff notes the western form ey in several of his docu-
ments (Etude, 312). The Romance development of the first 
person indicative of saber followed that of haber: in 
Castilian he and sé; in Leonese hey and sey, similar to 
Portuguese hei and sei. Vaa- subjunctive forms of ir 
were archaic in 13th century Castilian, but were common 
in the western dialects and Portuguese (Conj. leon., 36). 
According to Staaff, Hanssen and Gessner, saba (sabades), 
an analogical formation on the indicative, is frequent 
in Leonese while unknown in Castilian and Portuguese 
(loc. cit., 21). Saba is presently heard in the area of 
Sisterna (Fernández, 61).

Though other old Leonese documents show some number 
of Portuguese forms of the verb ter (tener), usually in

1 Ser is treated separately in 3.20.
the preterite, present tense *temos* is one of few such forms in *OAlex* (see 3.19). *Ozcas, ozcades* appear to be unique to old Leonese (*Span. oiga, Port. ouça*), and may be compared with modern Asturian *óugo, ouzco, óuga, ouzca* from *ouguir* (*oir*). (Acevedo, 161). Hanssen cites *ozo, oza* alongside *ozca, ozga* in old Leonese (*Gram., §143*). ¹

The archaic retention of *-e* in the second personal plural imperative (*yde*) is a western trait. In the Spanish translation of Portuguese Alfonso XI, *-e* is found in this position (*Cid, 270.4*) as it is in old Portuguese. It is still heard in Asturias (*Dial. leon., §18.7*).

3.16 Imperfect. There is not much variation in the imperfect tense among the old Spanish dialects. Mono-syllabic and disyllabic *-ia-* and *-ie-* endings for *-er* and *-ir* verbs were used throughout the peninsula. The following imperfect forms from *OAlex* are of some dialectal interest:

\[
\begin{align*}
aui & \quad 1054d; 
exe & \quad 153b; 
veyie & \quad 2505a.
\end{align*}
\]

Imperfects in \( \ddagger \) are shortened forms from \( \ddagger e \) or \( \ddagger a \), which

¹ Inchoative endings were propagated analogically throughout old Spanish: old Castilian *-exco*; old Leonese *-ozco*, *posco* < *possum*; *venzca* (*§203*).
are found in the Cid, Berceo and OAlex (Cid, 275). Some forms in Cabranes and Aller (tu coyís, coyín, vosotros salís, Dial. esp., §183) suggest a modern amplification of this ending. In exe the yod has been absorbed by the preceding palatal (Hanssen, Conj. leon., 29n; 2.2).

Imperfect forms of ver in strophes 2503-2505 are: ueyan, veyá, veyie (hypercorrection with excessive glide consonant), veye, veye.¹

3.17 Preterite and related tenses. Vestiges of the Leonese verbal system in OAlex occur more frequently and in greater variation in the preterite and related tenses than in other tenses.

3.171 Stem. Four verbs (venir, saber, traer, haber)² show western dialect forms in the preterite stem:

vieno 726b, 723d, 1030c passim, aujeno 11a, sobreuieno 177d; sobo 234a, 1647a, 1903d
(12 exs), sobieron, -ieron 1735c, 1582b,
400a, sobiessen 2417b; troxieron 1203d, 450c,
troxiera 822c, troxier 971c, retroxol 1064b,
troxo 1170b, 1503c, trogo 305c, troguies 106d,
troguieron 1587a, troguyemos 1449c; ouuierdes
1883c.

¹See 2504b may be an error for veye or a present tense form.

²See 3.20 for forms of ser.
Various phonological explanations have been offered for *vieno* which is still heard in western Asturias. Gessner thought it to be the present stem extended to the preterite; Hanssen postulated *vēnuīt* as an etymon; Staaff indicated a preference for the analogical influence of *estiedo* (*Etude*, 308-9). Krüger and Rodríguez-Castellano both reject Staaff's argument, and think that there had to be an ĕ (*vēnuīt?*) in the pre-Romance etymon to produce the diphthong. Staaff's argument for the analogical influence of *estiedo* seems the most convincing. *Ueno*, *abenieron*, *auenies* and other forms of *venir* in the preterite and related tenses are discussed in 3.10.

Portuguese *soube* lends support to Leonese *sobo*, where the falling diphthong *ou* became *o*. *Trouge* < *t̥raçuī* and *trouxe* < *t̥ra xuī* are both found in old Portuguese (Williams, §200.6). *Trogo*, *trougieste*, *troxo*, *trouxieste* appear in FZam (Pardo, 98). *Troxe* is found in old Castilian (M. Pidal, *Gram. hist.*, 316), though the most frequent form is *t̥ra xi > traxe*. *Ouuerdes* shows a similarity to the Portuguese preterite stem *houv-* from *haver*. Note the Leonese diphthong in the ending. *Hoube*, *soube* and *truši* are still heard in Asturias, though the latter is also heard in general rustic speech (*Dial. esp.*, 192, 197).
3.172 Endings. Throughout the Hispanic peninsula, the development of the preterite and related tenses, particularly in -er and -ir verbs, was complex because of the number of competing forms. Preterite endings in Leonese were perhaps more varied than elsewhere since the dialect preserved forms which were unique to the west, as well as those which were being eliminated from standard Spanish.

Typical of western Leonese, Galician and Portuguese is the first person preterite ending -ey (Dial. leon., §18.8). Though OAlex has only a few examples, the verbal ending is still quite common in the area of western Asturias which maintains the falling diphthong ei (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 229):

criey 1695a, 1696a; deseredey 1705b; falsey 1705b; escusey 1705c; amey 1705d; desforey 1706b; cuydey 2427d.

The second person preterite -este of -ar verbs, which is analogical to -ê of the first person, is found in both old Castilian and old Leonese documents as examples from the two manuscripts of the Alexandre illustrate: 0 and P--mateste, cuvdeste; P--dereçeste, enseneste, ornreste, rrobeeste. This form is still heard in the west (Dial. leon., §18.8).
In some -er and strong -ir preterites, -ieste was the old Leonese form of the second person. Examples from OAlex:

ouieste 1649a,d, 1691d, 1777b,d, 1782d, 2209a;
dixieste 799b, dieste 1649b, 2599b; decogieste 234b; fezieste 467c, 2264d, 478d; metieste 1649c; podieste 1782c, 2434a.

Dialectologists are rather silent about this form in old Leonese which is apparently analogous to the -iemos, -iestes, -ieron endings. Menendez Pidal cites a few of these forms as appearing in old texts, though not as frequently as -este (loc. cit., §18.8). The opposite is the case in OAlex: -ieste occurs many more times than -este. -Ieste is the alternative to -iste in Hanssen's paradigms (Conj. leon., 40-41), but he does not discuss their origin. The form is unmentioned (missing?) in Staaff's work. Pardo has listed several examples (feciester, ouieste, etc.) which appear in FZam (Esquema, 80). The dialectal origin of -iester is somewhat cloudy because of ouieste 2209a and pudiester 2434a which appear in P. Perhaps it was an eastern as well as a western characteristic.

In the fourth and fifth persons of -ar verbs, the analogical forms -emos and -estes, which were probably
more frequent in old Leonese than in Castilian, are found occasionally in OAlex:

passemus 1835c, matemus 1196a; ganemos 1844a;
domestes 2286a; dannestes 2286b; ġeguestes
2286c; alcanğestes 2286d; oluidestes 2284c;
cuidestes 1857c.

The three -emos forms in O have been attributed to the Leonese copyist (Alarcos Llorach, Investigaciones, 20, nn. 34 and 35); ganemos in P 2654d is an error (Müller, 17)—probably one of placement in the line. -Emos is still heard in Leonese and vulgar Castilian, while remnants of -estes are rare even in the western dialects (Dial. leon., §18.8).

One sixth person preterite of an -ar verb has a peculiar ending in OAlex. Paranron 2162b may be merely an error or a crossing of -aron with the western ending -anon. Such forms are still heard in Leonese (cavanon, echanon, Dial. esp., 187), and the photocopy of OAlex is not so clear here that one could not read paranon.

-Oron, another old Leonese ending for -ar verbs, has not been noted in OAlex.

The sixth person preterite and related tenses of -er and -ir verbs in OAlex offer a great variety of Leonese forms: -iron, -íron, -ira, -isse, -ir(e) and one
instance of -esse.

-er preterite in -iron:
  acoriron 491c, cogiron 615b; ualiron1 416d, 830a, 708d (4 exs); boluiron 504b; creyron 426a; viron 1749d, 1988d, 2604d; tolliron 1714c; rendiron 1848a; metiron 416b, 482d, 487b (4 exs); cayron 2020c, 710b; mouiron 2158c.

-er pluperfect in -ira:
  ualira 542d, 2456d; uiran 1046d, uira 2142b; vençira 1912c; perdira 2537b.

-er imperfect subjunctive in -isse:
  ualisse 1553a, 1596d; mereçisse 1553b; entendisse 1553d; mouissen 2188c; beuisse 2173b, 2382c.

-er future subjunctive in -ire:
  naçir 352b; comirdes 1744c; metirdes 2438d; creyre 2212c; uirdes 973a; uençires 83d.

-ir preterites in -iron:
  dixiron 500c; partiron 427a, 1095a; moriron 758a, 2015b, 2668a; contiron 8a, 9c; foyron 1077d; bastiron 1094a, 1095b; sofiron 1172b.

1May be -ir. Valer is frequently valir in modern western dialects (Rodriguez-C., Aspectos, 218).
The above forms are very common in old Leonese works. Apparently the only modern vestige of the 1 preterite for both -er and -ir verbs is in Mirandés (M. Pidal, *Gram. hist.*, 309). In Portuguese it is only found in -ir verbs.

The predominant form of the sixth person preterite for -er and -ir verbs in OAlex is -iron. In comparison to its use (20 citations) in the 101 documents Staafl analyzed, it appears nearly 20 times more frequently in OAlex (360 times in 10,044 lines). The following verbs have been noted with this ending:
-er preterites:

peregioron 761a, 1014d; estorgioron 761b,d;
mantouioron 761c, 1369b, 1935c (4 exs);
prometioron 380d, 2249c; *metioron 617d, 745a, 1095c (13 exs);1 *naçioron 11b, 1196a, 2021c; *cayoron 9b, 1014b, 1394a (5 exs);
fezioron 536b, 610b, 732c passim; *uioron 710a, 745b, 754a passim; pudioron 671a, podioron 721a, 406d, 930d passim; quisioron 724a, 797b, 620d passim, quesioron 1505b;
*perdioron 732a; prisioron 732c, 990d (9 exs), presioron 1860c; *uençioron 732d; posioron 946d, 764b, 1774a (5 exs), pusioron 758c, 1369d, 735d; ouioron 753c,d, 933a, 887d passim; sobioron 1582b, 1735c; sopioron 620c, 1015c, 1651d (5 exs) (saber); souioron 2178d (ser); touioron 387c, 627b, 917b (9 exs);
ofreçioron 631d; coneçioron 637c; *rendioron 914b, 2642a; *entendioron 1076a, 1163a, 1196c (4 exs); *mereçioron 1115d, 2413b; encendioron 1116b; *mouioron 1389a, 1732a, 2114c;
rompioron 2243b; contendioron 2241c;

1Verbs preceded by * have also been noted in the list of -iron preterites and/or related tenses.
*descogioron^1 2298b; uisquioron 2413d; troguioron 1587a; respondioron 1651d; detouioron 1733c; *uoluioron 1756a; estendioron 1880c; stablediorn 1935d.

**-ir** preterites:

*mentioron 380b, 355d; *dixioron 380c, 273c, 745c (15 exs); exioron 691b, 484c, 670b (10 exs); *ferioron 536a, 958b, 887b; *sentioron 536a; maldixioron 718c; dextioron 793a, 794c, 837c; *sogrion 768d; *destruyoron 760b; uenioron 804d, 1537a, 1569b (10 exs); recebioron 814a, 1561d, 1166d; escreuioron 764c; recodioron 1014c; *salioron 1023d; cobrioron 1141a; *pedioron 1164b; *morioron 1196b; *partioron 1537b; *foyoron 1733d; *vestioron 1773b; *uiuioron 1935a, 2642b; oyoron 2158a, 2166a; *contioron 9a.

**-ar** preterites:

andodioron 2299b; dioron 229c, 416a, 333b passim.

This western ending **-ioron** is most certainly analogous

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^1See as cogiron in the **-iron** forms.
to -io of the third person. It is still heard in the western dialects, as -ioren or -iorin, particularly around Salamanca, and -orun in Miranda and Asturias (Dial. esp., 185; Alonso Garrote, 66).

Finally, a form of some interest is the imperfect subjunctive fezessen 453c. Staaff has noted a number of similar forms (ueneren, quiser, touesse) which he describes as relicts of the -er conjugation in Leonese which were not affected by the ie model of dieron (Etude, 299).

3.173 Future subjunctive. A significant trait of old Leonese is its tendency to syncopate the fourth and fifth persons of the future subjunctive, a feature it shares with Portuguese. Some examples from OAlex:

pecarmos 4d; podiermos 1450b, 2001c; ouiermos 1855a; furmos 1837b, 2000d; destroyrmos 1855c; furdes 1744b; quisierdes passim; etc.

While syncopation of the posttonic e in the vosotros person is found throughout old Spanish, syncope in the nosotros form is noted in Leonese and Portuguese (Etude, 288). However, ouiermos 730a and biuiermos 730d

1 An explanation for ouiosse 258a has yet to be made. Though the manuscript seems clear, the second o of ouiosse may be merely a closed e (7.1 o for e).
in P suggest that syncope of the nosotros person was also known in Aragonese. Such syncope in modern speech is only found in Mirandés and Portuguese (Dial. esp., 189).

3.18 Past participle. Some -ar verbs in OAlex took -ido past participle endings:

esforçidas 774c, 980b; porfazido 547d;
robida 325b, 389b.

Esforçidas is apparently a crossing of esforçado and enfortido (Nelson, RPh 26, 288). Porfazido and rrobida are typical Leonese graftings of -ido onto -ar verbs (loc. cit., 295).

3.19 Future and conditional. There is nothing particularly unusual about the endings of the future and conditional in OAlex, except the first person occasionally showed western -ey instead of the -e common to the central dialects:

tolrey 836b; serey 2631a,c; dizer tey 2000a.

What is interesting from a dialectal point of view is a number of unsyncopated future and conditional forms.¹

morire 46c, morreras 2491b, morreredes 519d,

¹See 2.12 for lack of syncope in words other than verbs.
The future and conditional tenses of medieval Spanish are characterized by the general loss of e or i of -er and -ir verbs (morrerien, recibrian, vivran, etc.). Not until the 14th century were most of these syncopated forms eliminated and the full form of the infinitive reinstated (M. Pidal, Gram. hist., 323-24). However, syncopation in the future and conditional tenses was not a regular feature of 13th century Leonese.

Two verb forms show a similarity to Portuguese:

terria 47b; yaria 2258b.

Several old Portuguese futures and conditionals syncopated with a result different from corresponding Castilian forms: *tene re + -a i o > terrei; jacre e + -a i o > jarei (Williams, §172.2). Yaria is interesting because morphologically it is like Portuguese while the phonology of I- > y (if y = [y]) is like Spanish.

3.20 Ser. With the exception of the first person present tense, Leonese forms of the present, imperfect and future tenses of ser are rather limited in OAlex:
soe 795b, 5d, 931d passim; yes 39b; ye 2548d, 2373a; yera 323a; serey 2631a,c.

The origin of soe is unclear, but it may be merely an orthographic variant of soy, which appears four times in OAlex. Hanssen notes that soe also appears in Memorial histórico español, vol. 1, 306 (Conj. leon., 36). So, which appears only once in O at 951b, is the regular form in P (soy P 1884b is the only exception). Yes, ye and yera are examples of E diphthongizing in a form of ser. These forms are still heard in the western dialects (Dial. leon., §3.5). The future serey 2631a,c illustrates the characteristic -ey of the first person in Leonese.

The Leonese preterite and related tenses of ser (and ir) which appear in OAlex are either forms of fo- (fo, fora) or forms of fu- (fu, furon, fusse). Staaf claims both forms are Leonese, while Hanssen distinguishes between fo- in Asturias and fu- in Leon; a distinction which is still made in the modern dialects (see below):

fo 1890c; fora 823a, 109b, 2411d; fos 778c;
fu, fumos, furon 1654d, 1717b, 1752d passim;
frica(n) 1712c, 1774b, 2026c (12 exs);
fus(se), -n, -es 1056d, 1598a, 1772b passim;
fur(en), -es 1887d, 2637a, 2532a (5 exs), furmos 1837b, 2000d, furdes 1744b.
Fo and related forms fora and fos are derived from fut ... furunt, a vulgar paradigm of futit ... furunt with loss of the second vowel. Fu, fumos, furon belong to a paradigm which probably developed by analogical extension of OSP. fui, fuste. Fura, fusse, fur, etc. then developed from furon. Fu- appears frequently in Staaff's eastern and central documents, while fo- is more prevalent in the western ones (6.4). In the modern dialects, foi, foste, foi, etc. are heard in western Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 237); fumus and fustes are noted by Krüger in the area of Sanabria (SCip., 108).

An alternate preterite form for ser in OAlex was sovo, sovioron, etc. from *sēdiui, (sedere):

souol 1009a, souioron 2178d, souiessen 430c,
seuo 1434a.

In old Portuguese sēdiui which became seve (Williams, §198.8), did not adopt a form analogous to hoube (Castilian ove) as Spanish sove, sovo did. Perhaps seuo (noted only in OAlex) is authentic in old Leonese, though it may be a misreading of souo (7.1, e for o).
There are a few adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions in OAlex of Leonese derivation.

3.21 Adverbs. The adverbs in the following list have already been discussed in the noted paragraphs, or will be treated in the vocabulary chapter:

(d)arredor, cum, delantre, enton, entramiento, mays (2.13), muyto (2.26), preste (2.13), (a)rriedo (2.34).

3.22 Prepositions. Both per and por are found throughout OAlex. Though por is more frequent, per is used apparently interchangeably with it as seen in the following examples:

per los montes 1930c, per la uueste 2022a, per carta 2044b, per pocos que se mueuen 2077b, per agua nen por fuego 2121d, 2139a, 2141a passim; andamos por las tierras 132a, dixeran ge por nouas 147b, por esso que fazie 310a, 1655a, 2486a, 2487a passim.

There is also one example of pera for para: tales que pera Orfeo/de formar serien graues 2138d. Per, which had already been replaced by por in the Cid, is found in old Portuguese and in old Leonese works including
Staaff's documents (Etude, 283), Gessner's materials (Altleonesische, 34), and FZam (Pardo, 113). Both per and por are still heard in Asturias, through per predominates in some areas (Rodriguez-C., Alto Aller, 185).

It is interesting to note that the preposition per is never abbreviated in OAlex except in 1744d,\(^1\) while por is frequently abbreviated. Por in the O ms. appears as \(\_g\) while the per- of pero, perfecto appears as \(\_p\) or \(\_f\). One could suppose a number of cases of \(\_p\) should be read per instead of por as Willis has transcribed them.

3.23 Conjunctions. Si, ni, sin and related forms frequently occur as se, ne, sen, etc, in OAlex:

se 339c, 1010d, 1018d passim; sen 335c, 1017d, 1045b passim; senes 546d; senon 2492c, 2519d, 2599c; ne 1417c, 1438c, 1474d passim; nen 321b, 1417c, 1438b passim; nengun 1194c, 1207b passim, nenguno 829d, nenguna 876d. (See 6.1, 6.6 for a comparison with -i- forms, and their distribution.)

Sen is fairly prevalent in old Leonese texts, and is the phonetically correct derivative of s \(\_n\) e . The adverbial -\(\_a\) of senes is also typical of Leonese.

\(^1\)The manuscript reads \(\_p\).
(DCEC IV, 231a30ff.). Though se and si, ne(n) and ni(n) appear in Staaff's documents, se and ne(n) prevail in the most western ones (Etude, 282-83). Se, sen, nen are the predominant forms in FZam (Pardo, 114-17). Se is still heard for si in Alto Aller (Rodríguez-C., 172).
A frequent apology regarding the brief treatment of syntax in Spanish dialect studies is that word usage and sentence structure are of less interest than the particulars of phonology and morphology. The reasons given for the apparent slighting of the subject are that there are not enough examples from which grammatical rules may be formulated, that most syntactic characteristics are archaisms found in old Castilian, and that the general subject is complex and difficult to handle. (The latter reason is not always mentioned.) The brevity of these syntactic notes on OAlex may be excused for the above cited reasons. Also, it was not the intend of this work to present a detailed description of the Leonese syntax in OAlex. That task would require a complete syntactic analysis of the Alexandre in order to extract the Leonese features and distinguish them from other scribal variations, which were blended in with the original language of the poem.

There is no comprehensive statement of old Leonese syntax with which to compare that of OAlex. In Dialecto
Menéndez Pidal generally refers only to the syntax of the modern dialects, comparing it with that of old Castilian. Fernández-Llera thinks the Fuero Juzgo is not a good vehicle for studying syntax, and Staaff does not discuss the subject in his treatment of old Leonese documents. The few syntactic items discussed in this chapter have been selected because of their frequency or peculiarity in OAlex. They may represent trends which are evident in the west today, or they were more prevalent in OAlex than in Castilian works of the 13th century.

PRONOUNS

4.1 Interpolation. Interpolation is the placement of a noun, subject pronoun or adverb between an unstressed object pronoun in proclitic position and its governing verb (Chenery, PMLA 20, 1). In OAlex alone there are 53 occurrences of this phenomenon. The two manuscripts share ten examples of interpolation, while nine others appear only in PAlex (Alarcos Llorach, 24). Chenery noted 54 instances of interpolation in Alex, one of which he misunderstood (413c), and 78 occurrences of normal word order (PMLA 20, 104-7). Müller (Sprachliche, 9) noted several examples Chenery missed (18c, 88d, 98d, 99c, 193a); Menéndez Pidal (Cult. esp., 552a) added two
added two more (54a, 1719d).

Interpolation, while more frequent in western works, was common as far east as Rioja since Berceo used it at least 17 times (Dial. leon., §2.1; Alarcos Llorach, 23). Particular to Leonese is the interpolation of a noun or more than one word between the pronoun and verb, a situation which was extremely rare in Castilian (Dial. leon., §20.5).

The following are a few examples of interpolation in OAlex:

interpolation of adverbs: sil mas demostrassen 18c; ca si lo bien entendieisses 384d; quantos nos mal çegaron 2653b; que se te non tornares 780d.

interpolation of personal pronouns: se te tu pierdes 2227b; quien se a el llegaua 126d; que uos yo ruego 352d; que quier que nos el da 1933d; por que me uos querades 2294a.

interpolation of other forms: quando la el rey dixo 2098d; quanto uos ome non podrie 2130d; aqui te merged pedir 240a (14 exs).

1For a more complete list see Chenery, PMLA 20, 104-7, and Nelson, Toward a Definitive Edition, 263-64.
Interpolation in OAlex is principally an old Leonese syntactic feature, which is no longer heard in the western dialect area. The phenomenon was not exclusive to the west as the 10 examples (352d, 384d, 1193a, 1525d, 1926d, 2473d, 2636d, 2098d, 2447c, 254a) which are shared by the two manuscripts show, but the 53 occurrences which appear in O alone demonstrate the strength of this characteristic in the west.

VERBS

4.2 Use of a preposition with a dependent infinitive. Several verbs which take a specific preposition before a dependent infinitive in modern Castilian take a different preposition or none at all in OAlex. Though in old Spanish, verbs of motion occasionally governed their infinitive with a preposition (Hanssen, Gram., §690), the western dialects strongly rejected a after such verbs. In OAlex a is sometimes omitted between ir and its infinitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
fue & \text{ lidiar con el 172d; y fuela } 217b; \\
y & \text{ uela } 391d; y fuelo } 642c; y fuelo } 2201a.
\end{align*}
\]

Hemistichs in 217b, 391d and 2201a are one syllable short, suggesting the preposition a has been eliminated.
This lack of a is still found in the western dialects as well as Portuguese (Canellada, 30; Alonso Garrote, 84).

Cuidar sometimes takes a before an infinitive in OAlex, while there is no preposition in general old Spanish. Modern Spanish takes de:

coydo a fallir 1786d; cuedol a uengar 1564d;
lo coydo a liurar 653a; cuydosseles a todos/
don Ulcos a meiorar 2050a; se coydo en esto
a uer 788d.

1786d, 653a and 2050a have hemistichs which are one syllable too long because of the added preposition.

Pensar sometimes governs its infinitive without a preposition:

luego pensauan todos//las carreras prender
1556d; y pensan a Dios servir 2400b.

Three verbs, amar, deñar, deber, take a before an infinitive in OAlex, whereas elsewhere in old Spanish, these verbs govern their infinitive without a preposition:

aman a servir 2336a; nos denne a enparar
2369d; deuiesse a mesurar 2276d, deues a
perdonar 237d, a dexar no los deuemos 1373d,
deue ome a fiar 1805a.
All hemistichs cited except 237d are one syllable too long indicating that the western scribe added the preposition *a*.

4.3 The function of -ra verb forms. In *O*Alex -ra verb forms retain their original pluperfect indicative function, are used as conditionals, and are found in the protasis as well as the apodosis of contrary to fact sentences.

pluperfect indicative: *dixo que non uira*

2142b; Omero non mentira 323c (O & P); Vencira y uengara el bon emperador 1912c (O & P) *passim*.

conditional: *si lo ouies ferido//nol ualira escanto 542d; se non fuesse...non salira Achilles 413d (O & P); se entrado no fusse//fascas non perdira 2537b *passim*.

contrary to fact sentences: *se podiera Nicholao//repentira se de grado 137d; se quisieras creer...non dieras 1650c; muerto fuera el rey si non furan priuados 1712c; 1103b, 1038d, 1775d, 1435d, 2096d, 981d.*
The -ra form occurred regularly as pluperfect indicative and conditional in old Spanish. Though -ra as pluperfect indicative is still found in the western dialects and Portuguese, its appearance in OAlex cannot be considered particularly Leonese. The early appearance of the form in the protasis of contrary to fact sentences is interesting, though not necessarily strictly western. 

Fueran in PAlex 2082d (bien andante fuera Poro sy todos fueran atales; fussen in 0) is the first example of -ra in a pluperfect protasis noted in Spanish literature (Wright, -RA Subjunctive, 36). Because OAlex is an older manuscript, the examples listed above are earlier than Wright's citation.
CHAPTER V
VOCABULARY

Though lexical items which were characteristic of old Leonese are found throughout OAlex, they do not occur in large number in this text. This situation is not unexpected since the scribe was less likely to substitute a word from his dialect than to alter the phonology, or morphology of a word, or the syntax in a sentence.

In this work, a number of forms which are clearly western have been discussed elsewhere because of their phonological, morphological or syntactical interest. For instance, gidat, queyxa, sinal and tenlleras have been treated in Chapter II, sobragado, estrado and escalecer in Chapter III, and per in Chapter IV. These and others are not included here.

The vocabulary items discussed in this chapter fall within fairly narrow boundaries of interest. Words are treated if: their meaning or origin make them Leonese; they were archaic in 13th century Castilian yet common in the west; there is something particularly interesting about them which has not been noted elsewhere in this study. In addition to the dialect forms which
occur in OAlex, there are also a number of erroneous forms which have been treated separately in Appendix B.

AÇENNAR, v.i. 'to wink, signal with the eyes' 379b; OCast. ceñar; Port. and Gal. acenar. The meaning of Cast. ceño 'wink' probably came from Port. and Gal. aceno, Mirand. aceño 'signal or sign made with the eyes' (DCEC I, 767b13). The prefix a- of açennar is apparently a westernism (3.3).

ADEÇA, n.f. 'length'? 'thickness'?; "las pestanas mesturadas de continual adeça" 1876b. Corominas interprets this form as continua ladeça 'extensiveness' (cf. DCEC I, 890a41). Ladeza, a derivative of lado 'wide', occurred in old Oc. (cf. FEW V, 203b, note 5), and was also heard in OPort. as a derivative of lado 'wide' (Morais, 6, 118b). However, Sánchez glossed adeça 'parece pintura, colorido', while Morel-Fatio and Moll saw a relationship to apteza with the meaning of adapteza 'the same, equal' (Rom. 4, 36; Beiträge, 36).

The reading in P is rather different: "las pestañas yguales de comunal grandeza," and does not help resolve the meaning in O. It does seem reasonable, however, to assume that the scribe of OAlex introduced continual adeça from his dialect, since it is not to be found elsewhere in old Spanish.
ADESAR, v.t. 'to keep, protect' 1938c; Cast. condesar 'to guard, keep'; Cat. desar 'to keep things in their place' (DCEC II, 125-26). Adesar has not been noted elsewhere with the meaning of condesar (3,3).

ALUIDRADOS, adj. 'of free will'? "furon pora lydiar todos mas aluidrados" 2052b. Aluidrados does not fit this line semantically, and is perhaps a scribal misunderstanding of the source of abjuados in P. It appears to be a western form considering OPort. alvidrar and alvedrio 'free will' (cf. DCEC I, 85a).

ALUISTRA, n.f. 'gift' 1765d, 2654b. It is probably derived from vulgar Arabic *bišra (clas. bišâra). The epenthetic t in aluistra also appears in Brazilian alvistas, Oc. alvistra and in other dialects of northern Spain and southern France. See DCEC I, 90 for the phonology of these forms.

ALLUGADOS, n.m. 'mercenaries' 73c; adj. 1639b. Derived from l o c a r e 'to put, place', later 'to rent the goods or services of another', allugado is apparently related to Ast. allugáse 'to condescend to serve another' (Vigón) and OSp. alogar 'to pay for services'. This word is documented with the meaning 'mercenaries' only in OAlex (DCEC III, 128a44). (2.9, 2.16).
[AMATAR], v.t. 'to kill' 1124d. The substitution of amatar for matar is apparently rare in OSp. (cf. DCEC III, 292a21). Other examples of amatar appear in OAlex with the general OSp. meaning 'to pacify' or 'to extinguish'. Matar 352c should read amatar.

ANDADAS, n.f. 'step daughters' 2578d. There are a number of derivatives of antenado in old Spanish (alnado, adnato, adnado, annado, etc.), though andadas is documented only in Bsa, 52 and here in OAlex. Ast. anda(r)se 'to grow old' seems to be derived from this word (cf. DCEC III, 490b52).

[ANMONTAR], v.t. 'to mount a horse' 1013c. The a-prefix of the verb amontar with the specialized meaning 'to mount a horse', has been noted only in the western dialects (DCEC III, 426a58). (3,3)

ARMONES, n.m. "compuso todol mundo commo son tres armones" 2459b. The scribe has introduced this western derivative of armus 'shoulder blade, joining of forequarter to shoulder' to describe, in a figurative sense, the three known land masses of the ancient world (Asia, Africa and Europe) coming together at the Mediterranean. Sánchez has suggested armones meant 'part, portion'; Morel-Fatio notes a similarity to Portuguese armo, armoses 'small forward wheels of a cart' (Rom. 4, 39). Armon 'supporting timber' has been cited
in 15th century French as a source of the more recent Spanish word armón (DCEC I, 269b60).

ARRAMAR, v.t. 'to disperse' 983d, 2318b, 145b (8 exs); Cast. derramar; Port. arramar and derramar. The geographic and linguistic origin of a- in arramar is not entirely clear, though most of the examples of this word are found in western Spain or northern Portugal (DCEC II, 128a53). Arramar is still heard in modern Asturian (Fernández, 129; Alvarez, 273). (3.3)

ARRAUATO, n.m. 'attack, assault' 565c; Cast. rebato. Arrauato corresponds to Gal. and Cat. ravata with agglutination of the Arabic article (DCEC III, 1028b53). (2.10, 3.3).

(D)ARREDOR, adv. 'around' 2641c, 1979b; a westernism more closely related to Gal. d'arredor, arredor, derredor and Port. arredor than to Cast. alrededor. (2.8, 3.21)

AUGUAS, n.f. 'water' 1485b; Cast. agua; Gal. augua, auga, augoa (Acevedo). Auguas is a widespread dialectal feature in Leonese. The y of augua, fraugua, etc. developed by anticipation of the vocalic element of -gw- (Rodríguez-C., Aspectos, 116).

AULANA, n.f. 'hazel nut' 259d, 1566d; Cast. avellana. The OAlex form may be read avlana, considering modern Ast. ablana, or aulana based on Oc. aulano (DCEC I, 337b14-16). (2.12)
AULOETAS, n.f. 'larks' 1497c. According to Morel-Fatio, this word is an inversion of hypothesized *aloveta (Rom. 4, 39), which may be a legitimate borrowing from old French aloete (dialectally alūvēta, aluvēto, louvēta, cf. FEW I, 58a). Auloetas has been noted only in OAlex.

AXADREZES, n.m. 'chess' 715b; Cast. ajedrez, Port. xadrez from Ar. šitranğ and šatrānğ. (See DCEC I, 68-69 for further discussion.) The form in OAlex appears more closely related to Portuguese than to Castilian.

BAYLAS, n.f. 'dances' 2139c; Cast. baile; Gal. baiía. Baila in Golden Age Spanish is likely a borrowing from Galician. See DCEC I, 369b27 for further discussion.

BRAÇOS, n.m. 'handles at the end of the yard arms' 267b; Port. braço (Morais, 2, 593a); modern Ast. braço 'bar used to move upper grinding stone' (Krüger, Léxico rural, 72).

BRECUELLO, n.m. 'cradle' 2568b, is a derivative of Leon. brizo 'cradle'. Other related forms are Port. berço, breço and Gal. berce, berzo (DCEC I, 523b).

BREYMANTE, n.m. 'giant' 1352d. OFr. Braidiment, Braiment, a Saracen hero in medieval epic poetry, is the source of this western word (DCEC I, 508b9). (2.7)

CARRADAS, n.f. 'cart loads' 1095c; Cast. carretada; Fuero de Zamora carrada (Vigón); Ast. carrada (DCEC I, 708a6).
[CARRAR], v.t. 'to close' 32b; Cast. cerrar; Port. 
cerrar, cerrar, sarrar (DCEC I, 779b16); modern Ast. 
sarrar (Fernández, 49; Vigón).  E became a in the Leonese 
and Portuguese forms by influence of r as has been dis-
cussed in 2.8.

(primos) COHERMANOS, n.m. 'cousins' 629d; OCast. 
cormano. The form in OAlex is a conservative (western?) 
substitute for cormano. Coermano has been documented 
only once in old Spanish, in Documentos linguísticos 
(DCEC II, 906b29,40), while cohermano has not been noted 
until here.

[COMEÇAR], v.t. 'to begin' 36a, 1065c, 2054c (8 exs); 
OCast. comenzar, modern comenzar; Fuero Juzgo comenzar 
Port. começar. Though also found occasionally in old 
Spanish works (Boggs et al., I, 124), começar is the 
usual Leonese and Portuguese form.

COMEDIANERA, n.f. 'intermediator, concealer' 1228c. 
The form is probably derived from Port. medianeiro and 
co-mediador 'he who is a mediator' (Morais, 3, 282a).

CORSEROS, adj. "fazie los hyr corseros" 515c 'made 
them go wandering about [riderless]'. This form as 
well as Port. corseiro 'changeable, unfixed, wandering' 
(REW, 2417) are derived from cūrusus. Coceras, 
'a type of open saddle' in the Cid, and co(s)sero 'swift'
or 'runner' in other old Spanish works (Cid, 579-80), are related, though apparently not semantically, to Leonese corsero.

[CUDAR], v.t. 'to believe, think' 354b; OCast. cuedar, coydar; Port. cùdar, cuidar. Cud- forms are found in Canc. de Baena, Sem Tob, Alfonso XI and less frequently in Juan Ruiz, Barceo (Cuervo, Dicc., II, 685b), and Lucas Fernández (Lihani, 408). Cudar was evidently more common in the western dialects than in Castilian, and cudiar is heard in modern Asturian (Vigón).

CUM, adv. 'as, like' 428d; Cast. como. Cum is the atonic form of cumo heard in Miranda (DCEC I, 871a23). It is found once in the Cid, and in the Fuero de Avilés. (3.21)

DELANTRE, adv. 'in front' 850c, 973b, 2187b passim, and related forms: DELANTRERA(S) 524b, 363d, 2188b (7 exs), DELANTREO(S) 902b, 1426d, 2044d (7 exs), ADELANTRE 433d, 821d, 1722d, ADELANTRADOS 844c, 1552a, ENDELANTRADO, n.m. 'representative' 361d. The repercussion of the liquid in old Spanish adverbs occurred by analogy to other adverbs ending in -miente. Delantre which is found particularly in old Leonese texts, is still heard in western speech (DCEC II, 119b46). Delantrera appears in Primera Crónica General though probably not as frequently as it does in OAlex. Endelantrado with en- replacing a- has not been noted in
Castilian. (See 3.3 for other western derivatives with -en.)

DESEIADOS, adj. 'rejected'? 1621a. This form is apparently related to Cast. desechado and Port. deitado. (See Cuervo, Dicc., II, 1045, who cites this form, and desseia in Canc. de Baena.)

(D)ESMAYDO, adj. 'discouraged, dispirited' 246d, 746d, 874c (4 exs); Cast. desmayado. From OFr. esmaiier developed OSP. esmaiar and OCat. esmahir. Esmaydo is the pp. of *esmayr, a probable Occitanic borrowing in the west, and not an -ido pp. of (d)esmayar (Nelson, RPh 26, 293).

. DOLÇE, adj. 'sweet' 1951a, 2338b, 2418b (erroneously doçes), (6 exs); DOLÇOR, n.f. 'sweetness' 2140b; Cast. dulce, dulcor; Port. doce; Cat. dolç. Dulce does not occur in OAlex.

[EMBREGAR], v.t. 'to use' 2635b; Cast. emplear; Port. empregar; old Oc. emplegar; EMPLEGAR, v.t. 'to strike, thrust' 1055d. As a derivative of impllcare emple(g)ar would be a reasonable old Castilian form, except that the meaning 'to strike, thrust' is found only in OAlex and in Cuento de Otas (cf. DCEC II, 247b9). Embregar appears to be strictly western for phonological reasons noted in 2.19 and 2.27.
EN COMEDIANEDO, n.m. 'dispute, altercation' 934b. Medianedo, meaning 'judgement', 'site of judgement' or 'tribunal', has been noted in the old fueros and in PAlex meaning 'dispute' (Keller, 124). Fernández-Guerra reads the form in OAlex as encomedianedo 'vehement altercation' and refers to it as a derivative of medianedo (F. Av., 164).

ENLOCADAS, adj. 'maddened' 2147c; Cast. enloquecer. The -ar verb form, built on loco, is western contrasting with [enloquir], a form Nelson suggests existed in the north central and eastern dialects of Spain (see RPh 26, 288-89 with reference to [enloquir] and enloquido 2439c). Enlo(u)cadas, is also found in Cancionero Gallego-Castelhano, 1569 and Canc. de Baena 33r in passages which show other non-Castilian forms (loc. cit., 289).

ENTIENÇA, n.f. 'dispute, argument' 344a. It would seem that this form was substituted for entencia by the scribe of OAlex: 344 entiença abenencia atenencia sentencia. Entiença is also found in Aragonese and Fernán González (DCEC IV, 419a16;20).

ENTON, adv. 'then, at that time' 824a, 413d, 869a (6 exs); ENTONÇA, 407c; ESTON, 2264c, 2562d; ESTONÇA 1391a; OSp. entoz, entonce(s), estoz, estonz, estonce(s). Reflexes of Latin in t u n c are Gal. and Leon. enton; OPort. entom, modern então (DCEC II, 203b2), and eston
by analogy to enton. Entonça and estonças with adverbial a (by analogy to contra, nunca, fuera, etc.) are also westernisms. Entoncia is still heard in Asturias (Vigón). (3.21)

ENTRAMIENTRE, adv. 'meanwhile' 1804a; Cast. mientras, old demientre; OPort. entramentes (2.10, 3.21).

ENUEIA, n.f. 'envy' 904b; Cast. envidia; Fuero Juzgo, Oc., Cat., Port. enveja. The form is presently heard in Miranda de Duero (DCEC IV, 702a30).

ENZENNADOS, adj. 2166b is most probably a derivative of ceño and OSp. ceñar. Cejador defines the word as 'evil looking' (Vocabulario medieval castellano, 167). The prefix en- for this verb has not been documented in Castilian. See AÇENNAR.

ESCALADAS, n.f. 'steps, ladder' 2222b; Cast. escala, escalera; Port. escada. Escalada is still heard in western Asturias (Alonso Garrote, 217), and older references to this word are considered either Leonese, or Portuguese borrowings (cf. DCEC II, 321a25-37).

[ESCALAURAR], v.t. 'to wound' (particularly the head) 2183c; Cast. descalabrar. The western prefix es- for des- is still heard in Lena and elsewhere in escalabrar, escalabran (Neira, 238). (See 3.3.) ESCABRADAS 1112c is likely an error for escalabradas, or perhaps an old Portuguese borrowing showing loss of intervocalic l.
No documentation for this form has been found.

ESMAR, v.t. 'to judge, determine, consider' 1099b, 1226a; OSMAR, 1588b, 940d, 744c (20 exs); Cast. estimar, old asmar. Esmar, asmar, osmar are all found in old Portuguese (Nunes, 147); aesmar, osmar are noted in Fuero Juzgo. Esmar is probably a borrowing from French or Occitanic. Osmar, which has been considered a confusion with variants of husmear (DCEC II, 432a13,19), is too frequent in OAlex to be an error or a variant of some verb other than estimar. It seems quite clearly introduced by the western scribe (Morel-Fatio, Rom. 4, 47).

FAÇANNA, n.f. 'deed of some note' 869c, 2028d, 576b; FAÇIANA, 222c, 282d, 759a (11 exs); Cast. hazaña. These two reflexes of Ar. ḥasana are noted here because of their distinctive western phonology. The ç may be compared to that of Port. façanha; the epenthetic yod, though a Leonese characteristic, seems odd in its pre-tonic position (see 2.14).

FADEZA, n.f. 'foolishness, coquetry' 1876a; probably a Portuguese borrowing. This word is apparently a derivative of Gal.-Port. enfadar-se. In addition to OAlex, it occurred in Demanda do Santo Graal and is noted in Occitanic. See DCEC II, 272ff., esp. 274b27 and 275a30, and FEW III, 437a under FATUUS for a discussion of the linguistic and semantic origin of fadeza.
FEGADOS, n.m. 'livers' 2566b. In old Leonese, modern Asturian (Vigón) and northwestern Galician, fegado from \*fēcātum corresponds to Cast. hígado and Port. fígado from \*fīcātum. See DCEC II, 915, HIGADO for further discussion.

FERROIOS, n.m. 'bolts, latches' 116a; Cast. cerrojo (by contamination with cerrar), old berrojo < \*vēroccus; Port. ferrolho, Cat. and Oc. ferroll by contamination with ferrum (DCEC I, 782a20,36). Other related forms are Gal. ferrollo, modern Ast. ferroyo, ferrollo, and Leon. ferryo (Casado Lobato, 94).

FICAR, v.i. 'to remain, stay' 2024a, 822c, 2039b passim; v.t. 'to fix upon', (with ynogos) 'to kneel' 2032a, 2199b; Cast. hincar, v.t. 'to thrust in, to nail'. In old Spanish ficar 'remain, stay' and fincar 'to fix upon, thrust in' appear in Berceo's works, though fincar soon became the regular form for both meanings, losing its intransitive aspect in the 15th century. While ficar was the usual form for both meanings in Portuguese and Galician, Leonese kept ficar and fincar, each with both meanings (cf. DCEC II, 920a37ff.).

In OAlex fincar appears 35 times intransitively and 4 times transitively; ficar appears 28 times intransitively and 2 times transitively. Corominas' statement
that ficar never appeared in Castilian as 'to fix upon'
(loc. cit., l. 59) supports it as a western form in
OAlex. Staaff finds fincar the usual form in his eastern
Leonese documents, while fincar is used exclusively in
the western ones (see 6.4, Table 4). Though ficar is
no longer heard, modern fincar in Asturias (Vigón) main-
tains intransitive and transitive usage.

FORCADO, n.m. 2069b clearly refers to a part of
an elephant: "Furon los elefantes luego a su uezado:
tenien que eran omes echauan el forcado." P reads cajado
which Keller says is cayado 'shepherd's crook', or
figuratively, 'elephant's trunk' (Contribución, 47).
Apparently the western scribe substituted forcado 'pitch
fork' (DCEC II, 946all), perhaps a metaphor for 'trunk
and tusks'.

FRONDA, n.f. 'fitted cover, pouch' 2521b; Cast.
funda. See DCEC II, 594a44-49 for a discussion of the
etymology of fronda and its possible relationship with
Port. fronha.

FRONTA, n.f. 'affront' 2590d; Cast. afrenta; Port.
fronta < fronte (Morais, 5, 345b). The nondiphthongiza-
tion of ē before nt (2.4), and the lack of prefix a-
suggest fronta is western. See [PAREIAR]

[FUGIR], v.i. 'to flee' 1071b, 466b, 84b; Cast. huir;
Port. fugir from fugire e.
GAANNO, n.m. 'booty, reward' 966d; Cast. ganancia; OPort. ganaçã. Gaanno also occurs in the Fuero de Avilés (Fernández-Guerra, 80). For the etymology of this noun and related forms see DCEC II, 655a33ff.

GAUIONES, n.f. 'gulls' 2136c; Cast. gaviota; Port. gaivão.

GRAÇIR, v.t. 'to thank' 38b, 1061d, 119c; OCast. gradir, modern agradecer; OPort. gracir; old Oc. grazir. Graçir and gracio seem to be Leonese forms in OAlex in view of Portuguese. Graçido, documented once in Riojan (Bsl, 19d), is probably an Occitanic borrowing.

IUYZO, n.m. 'judgment' 312b, 345b, 471d (4 exs). OCast. juizio, modern juicio. This form from judiciu m was apparently common in the western part of the peninsula and is documented in the Cortes of 1322, Fuero Juzgo and Canc. de Baena, 625 (cf. DCEC II, 1074a51). Staaff says juyzo shows a popular development of CY (Etude, 334, Doc. 78), for whereas CY in Leonese and Portuguese normally became ç, there was at times confusion with TY which became ç (Williams, §89.1).

LAMA, n.f. 'mire, swamp' figuratively 'trap, snare' 679d. Lama is found in Castilian, though the word apparently is western in origin because of its great vitality in Leonese documents (cf. DCEC III, 19a38). The form occurs in Sisterna and Babia meaning 'river bank'
(Fernández, 112; Alvarez, 309), and in Navia as 'sticky
mud' (Acevedo).

LENDERA, n.f. 'lair, infested place' 1780c; Cast.
lendrera 'fine toothed comb for removing nits', lendrero
'place full of nits'; Port. lendeoso (also lendroso),
adj. 'infested with nits'. Spanish lendrera, a derivative
of liendre, shows an epenthetic r which does not appear
in Portuguese lendeoso, lênda, nor in OAlex lendera.

LOBREÇER, v.i. 'to get dark' 1200a. OCast. lobreguecer. Lóbrego is the basis for these verb forms and
Port. lobregar. Corominas believes lobreçer is an error
for lobreguecer, and cites the irregular syllable count
in OAlex (6 syllables in the second hemistich of 1200a)
as evidence for need of a four-syllable infinitive
(DCEC III, 122a18ff.). The syllable count in the hemi­
stich is perfect if read: que ri e lo bre cer (see 3.16).
Unfortunately, no other citations of lobreçer have been
found to support it as a western form.

MAG[U]AR, conj. 'however, although' 14a, 79a, 84b,
690a passim. Cast. maguer; OGal. and Port. macar. The
form is well documented in Leonese and other western
texts as a concessive conjunction (see DCEC III, 190b22ff.
for other references).

MELEZINA, n.f. 'medicine' 74d, 396a, 906a (7 exs);
Cast. medicina. Though not exclusively a western word
(melezina also appears in P--906a, 1863d, 2350c), melezina is documented in Canc. de Baena and Fuero Juzgo and is the current form in parts of Asturias (Neira, 37; Acevedo, 148).

MONAGONES, n.m. 'small boys, acolytes; 1954d. Corominas finds few vestiges of monachus in Spanish except for Leon. mónago and monagones, monaguessa in Elena y María, and dimunitive monaguillo < monachellus from which Cast. monago is derived. Monazino and molazino are other Leonese forms (DCEC III, 423b25ff.).

MOSCARDOS, n.m. 'large flies' 2561c; Cast. moscarda; Port. moscardo.

NANO, n.m. 'dwarf' 2023d; Cast. enano. This western form is conserved today in Salamanca, Leon, Miranda and elsewhere (DCEC II, 253b4). (2.37)

OPEGAR[SE], v.r. 'to drown' 1782d; Cast. ahogar. Ofegar (officare, attested in Vulgar Latin) and afogar (offocare) were competing forms in the western dialects. Afogar occurs in the Fuero Juzgo, and in modern Asturian (Vigón), while the form in OAlex is native to Portuguese, Catalan and Occitanic. See DCEC I, 64bff. for related forms and further discussion.
OMAGENES, n.f. 'images' 2067c; Cast. imagen. The form is considered semipopular, also existing in old and vulgar Portuguese (cf. DCEC II, 990b4). In Portuguese pretonic e followed by a labial sometimes became o: omagen from ĭ m ā ĭ n e m ; sopultura from  s e p u l t ŭ r a m (Williams, §41.5).

ONTRE, prep. 'between, among' 231c, 1993a; Cast. entre. This form and untre are noted by Staaff in his Leonese documents and in old Portuguese and Galician (Etude, 188). Ontre is also found in Crónica Troyana. Perhaps Gothic or Suevian undar 'beneath, between' crossed with Latin ĭ n t e r to produce this form (cf. DCEC II, 304a20).

[PAREIAR], v.t. 'to prepare' 2608b; Cast. aparejar; Port. parejar. The OAlex form which did not adopt the prefix a- is likely Leonese. See FRONTA

PENDADOS, adj. 'combed' 469a; Cast. peinados. Forms of pendar are well documented in old Leonese (DCEC III, 715a19) and in the modern dialects in Encina and Fontecha (Casado Lobato, 151).

PIERDA, n.f. 'loss' 767b; Cast. pérdida; Fuero Juzgo pierda. Port. perda shows haplology: p e r d ĭ t a m > perdeda > perda; likewise, vendeda > venda, *rodador > redor (Nunes, 160). Though pierda shows the same haplology and is clearly related to perda, the diphthong makes it Leonese.
PORFAZIDO, adj. 'infuriated, affronted' 547d; OCast. profazar 'to speak ill of someone'. The -ido pp. grafted on to -ar verbs is strictly a western idiosyncrasy (cf. Nelson, RPh.26, 295; 3.18).

[POSFAÇAR], v.t. 'to injure, humiliate' 471a;
POSFAÇO, n.m. 'humiliating confrontation' 721d, 2202d, 292d (erroneously po[v]aco); OCast. profazar 'to speak ill of someone', older porfazar. Pos- was apparently the original prefix throughout the peninsula and was maintained in old Portuguese and Galician. See DCEC II, 890b33ff. for the etymology of these forms. For Portuguese and Leonese CY > ç, see 2.28.

[PREGAR], v.t. 'to nail shut, close' 738d, 2308c;
Cast. plegar 'to fold'; Port. pregar 'to nail, fasten'. Reflexes of plicare are frequently meant 'to nail' or 'to shut' in Leonese and Portuguese (DCEC III, 820b54).

PRINDA, n.f. 'booty' 624a; Cast. prenda 'pledge, pawn'; OPort. pindra 'pledge, pawn'. The meaning of the line in OAlex requires 'a thing taken' rather than 'a thing given'. In modern Asturian prinda "acción de prendar" is used to describe the following situation: "prender el ganado que se halla en pastos de aprovechamiento común, a que sus dueños no tienen derecho."

Prinda is also found in Fuero de Avilés and other old
Asturian works (Vigón).

QUEXUMES, n.f. 'complaints' 77d. One also finds queyumes in Staaff (Etude, 343, Doc. 101), quejumbre in Vida de S. Ildefonso, 77, and queixume in Gal. and Port. (cf. DCEC III, 938b26-29). (2.31)

RACHAS, n.f. 'splinters' 182d, 482c; Cast. raja is a replacement for old and dialectal racha. This form is typically Leonese and is also heard in Galician-Portuguese (cf. DCEC III, 980a1;b52).

RANCON, n.m. 'corner' 829a, 2552a; RANCONADAS, adj. 'distant' 2578c; Cast. rincón (old rençon), arrinconadas; Cat. racó. Corominas says that old Castilian vacillated between rancón and rençon, citing ra- examples in OAlex and in Bsa 17c, 91b (DCEC IV, 25b15). Since both these works have many westernisms, some doubt is cast on the Castilian origin of rancón. Perhaps it is indigenous to both the eastern and western Spanish dialects which frequently changed atonic e to a (Morel-Fatio, Libro de Alex., xxv; 2.8). Rancón is currently heard in Asturias (Rodríguez-C., Alto Aller, 65).

RANCURA, n.f. 'complaint' 315b; OCast. rencura; OPort. rancura. Rancura from rancor + ura is also found in old documents from Carrión and Cabreros, Fuero de Avilés and Fuero de Guadalajara (Oelschläger). Apparently, the old western dialects and Portuguese maintained etymologically correct forms, while Castilian
rencura developed by analogy to other words with an re-

prefix.

REGLON, n.m. 'written line' 1956d. Castilian
renglón is an alteration of older reglón, which in addi-
tion to this citation in OAlex, is also found in Staaff,
Doc. 69. Though there is no other support for reglón
as a Leonese form, it has not been cited elsewhere in
old Spanish. See DCEC III, 1112a53ff. for related forms
and the modern use of reglón.

[REGULAR], v.t. 'to open wide (the eyes)' 2032d.
Except for its appearance in Juan Manual, regular and
its derivative arreg(u)ilar seem to be Leonese or Portu-
guese (for documentation see DCEC III, 1072b26-29).

[RELAMPAR], v.i. 'to glisten, shine' 98a, 967b;
RELAMPO, n.m. 'listening flash' 1151b; Cast. relampaguear,
relámpago. The forms in OAlex are either Leonese or
borrowings from OPort. relâmpado, lampo, or OGal.
lâmpado. Modern lampar, lampo are heard in Minho (cf.
DCEC III, 1079a50ff.).

[REUIDAR], v.t. 'to parry or return blows' 1387d;
Cast. envidar 'to make a bet'; Port. revidar 'to retort,
strike back, raise the bet'.

ROBIDA, pp. 'raped' 325b, 389b; OCast. rabida,
robada. Robida for rabida may be a crossing of robar
and rabir as Corominas suggests (DCEC III, 1002b11), or
a case of the -ido pp. grafted to an -ar verb which occurred only in a small area of northwestern Spain (Nelson, RPh 26, 295). (See PORFAZIDO; 3.18).

[ROSSAR], v.t. 'to rape' 2571a. It has been suggested that rausar and rousar in Portuguese and ros(s)ar in western Spanish developed from r a p s a r e , a back formation on hypothesized r a p s u s from r a p t u s , pp. of r a p e r e . (See Nelson, RPh 26, 297; Tilander, BF 6, 188-97, esp. 193-95).

RYNA, n.f. 'queen' 2326b; Cast. reina; Fuero Juzgo rijna. Rina, (regina) a contraction of reina, is found in the Leonese documents Staaff collected (Etude, 220).

[SARRACEAR], v.i. 'to hail' 2556b; Cast. zaracear, of Pre-Roman origin? The Leonese form is related to Portuguese saraiva and Galician saraviar (cf. DCEC IV, 847b44; 484a15).

SEDERENTOS, adj. 'thirsty' 1182a; OCast. sediento. The form in OAlex is probably contaminated by sudorento, friorento, etc. (DCEC IV, 171a42). In old Portuguese sederento is found for sedento (Morais, 9, 977a).

[SENESTRAR], v.t. 'to place on the left' 2514c. This word is likely a scribal invention or a derivative of sinister, the etymon of Cast. sinistro and Port. senestra, sinistra.
SERANO, n.m. 'night, nightfall' 1952a. O Port. serño, modern sarau 'soiree, evening party' is apparently related to this form in OAlex. As currently heard in Cabrera Alta and Sanabria, seranu means "the gathering of women at night to spin and weave" (Casado Lobato, 95; SCip., 127).

SESTAR, v.t. 'to aim, shoot' 140c, 183b, 725c (4 exs); Cast. asestar. The form may not appear in Castilian without the prefix, nor is there other support for it in western works (DCEC I, 301a19,35). However, the scribe of OAlex seems to have preferred sestar for asestar as three of the four citations leave their hemistichs one syllable short.

SESTERO(S), n.m. 'type of measure' 1797d; Cast. cestro; OPort. sesteiro 'a measure of grains' (Morais, 10, 142a).

SIESTO, n.m. 'size, dimensions' 2560d. This word was common in 13th century Spanish meaning 'place, location'. The particular meaning it has in OAlex may be compared to that of Italian sesto and a few citations from Berceo's works (see DCEC I, 301a46).

SITO, n.m. 'place, site' 1120c, 1504a; Cast. sitio. Sitio is noted as an old variant of sitio in OAlex and APal (DCEC IV, 242a12). It is still heard in Asturias (Acevedo).
SOLOMBRA, n.f. 'shade' 862c, 939a, 1228c (4 exs);
SOLOMBRENA, -OS, n.m/f. 'hat(s)' 267d, 1875c. Solombra
(Cast. sombra) is known from very old documentation in
Leonese, Jewish Spanish, Portuguese and Occitanic (DCEC IV,
271b54). It is also noted in current western speech by
Krüger, Fernández and others (SCip, 128; Sisterna, 136).
SORTEIAS, n.f. 'rings' 378d, 414b. Cast. sortija;
OPort. sortelha; sorteya in Fuero Juzgo.
TA[J]OS, n.m. 'stools, benches' 856a, 858a; Cast.
tajo 'chopping block on legs'. Port. talho is 'a small
hard bench carved on a heavy wheel of a wooden cart'
(Morais, 10, 615b), a meaning which fits these lines in
OAlex almost as well as rayos 'spokes' does in PAlex.
Tajo 'small chair' is found in modern Leonese (Millán
Urdiales, 394). (2.1)
TAUIERNAS, n.f. 'taverns' 2380d; Cast. taberna.
From Latin tabernum developed eastern and western
taverne while the learned form prevailed in Castilian
(cf. DCEC IV, 326b14). Tabierna is still heard in
Asturias (Vigón).
TEBIA, adj. 'warm' 1174c, 1493b. The tonic vowel
in old Leonese tebia was not affected by the j as occurred
in Cast. tibio. Modern Ast. tépidu (Fernández, 136) shows
similarity to Port. tépido and Gal. têpedo.
TONIDRO, n.m. 'thunder' 151b, 703c; OCast. tronido. Etymological tonidro (tónítrus), an archaic form which may have been common in old Leonese, has replaced tronido twice in OAlex. Note that tonidros is the intrusive form in the end rhyme of strophe 703: roydos desabenidos tonidros encendidos.

TORNA FUGI, n.m. 'about face' 751b; Cast. torna fuy(e) from tornare + fugire. The pursuing forces made an about face when the pursued turned to fight (Asín, Origen árabe, 374). See [FUGIR]

TROBEIO, n.m. 'treatment, diversion' 213c, 2054b; Cast. trebejo. Trobellando, trobeyando in Fuero Juzgo are considered Leonese variants (DCEC IV, 557a43). However this form in OAlex is suspect since e and o are frequently confused in the manuscript (7.1).

UALLEROS, n.m. 'valleys' 559d. Cast. vallejo; Port. valeiro. Valleiro as an adjective meaning 'empty, unoccupied' occurs in modern Asturian (Acevedo).

UARRONTA, n.f. 'spy, messenger' 1720b, 1891a, 2144c; UARRONTAR, v.t. 'to discover, spy' 1996a, 1999c, 1687b. Cast. barrunte, barruntar. Forms with o are found only in OAlex and are considered western (DCEC I, 416b34).

UERRON, n.m. 'boar' 404b; Cast. verraco; Port. varrão, older verrom (DCEC IV, 714b55). Verrón is currently heard in Asturias (Millán Urdiales, 412). The form must also
be considered eastern since it appears in P 404b, and in 564a (berones) where O gives the Castilian variant uerracos.
APPENDIX A
FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF LEONESE FEATURES IN OALEX

The aim of this work has been the description of old Leonese, based on a study of the 0 ms. of the Libro de Alexandre. In the course of the investigation, a number of dialectic forms were noted, and their location in OAlex seemed to be of some interest. This appendix will focus on the language of OAlex, presenting dialect variants, the number of their occurrences, and their distribution in the text.

The Leonese aspect of OAlex is not confined to one subdialect, but is characterized by forms which are quite western as well as those which are more eastern.¹ A comparison has been made of the dialectal variants found in OAlex with those in the three groups of Leonese documents Staaff studied. Though there are a number of shared forms, there are also western Leonese features and some other uniquely Leonese forms which appear frequently in only OAlex or only Staaff's documents. In the final sections, an analysis of the distribution of dialectal

¹See Dial. leon., §2.2 for a description of Leonese subdialects.
forms in OAlex is made, which reveals a heavier concentration of western Leonese features toward the end of the poem.

6.1 Western Leonese forms in Staaff's documents and in OAlex. A large portion of the Leonese features in OAlex are western and are also found in Staaff's western Leonese documents. In Table 1, a comparison is made of the frequency of western Leonese versus Castilian forms in each group of Staaff's documents and in OAlex. Because the number of documents varies per group (62 eastern, 28 central and only 11 western), the ratio of variant occurrences to the number of documents in each group must be considered when comparing the usage of each form. Also, one must take into consideration that the length of Staaff's 101 documents is roughly equivalent to two-thirds the 10,044 lines in OAlex. In Table 1, items 5, 6, 13 documentation of forms is scarce in the western documents, while the other ten items provide a good contrast between western Leonese and Castilian variants.

6.2 Western Leonese forms in Staaff—infrequent in OAlex. There are a number of phonological and morphological features which characterize western Leonese which are noticeably rare or even missing in OAlex. All are still widespread in
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<td>docs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llos</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. personal inf. (3.14)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 1st pret: cantay (3.172)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 12. 6th pret: (3.172)  
iron    | 6      | 12    | 11    |
| iorong    | 12     | 7     | -     |
| ieron     | 14     | 11    | 4     |
| eron      | -      | 1     | 3     |
| 13. particles:  
(3.23)  
se/si    | 11/18  | 9/2   | 3/-   |
| sen/sin  | 1*/16  | 2*/3* | 4*/-  |
| ne(n)/ni(n) | 6/14  | 7/2   | 5/-   |

a First or underlined item is Leonese; the second, when included is Castilian.
b Number of documents in group.
c Reference to paragraph where item is discussed.
d Does not include como/cuemo.
e Number of occurrences of each variant.
f Includes only (es)forcia, dona, nostro, nostro, novo, corpo and variants. The distribution of bon/buen is 185/136.
g See Table 4. 
h See Table 2.
i For this item numbers in Staafl = documents, not number of occurrences, unless marked *.
western speech. Table 2 lists western Leonese features of some prominence in Staaff's documents which are infrequent in OAlex. Items 5-13 and 15 provide the most striking contrast between western Leonese forms in Staaff's documents and their usage or absence in OAlex.

**TABLE 2**

WESTERN LEONENSE FEATURES OF STAAFF—INFREQUENT IN OALEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>STAAFF</th>
<th>OALEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East. docs.</td>
<td>Cent. docs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. es &gt; yes, era &gt; yera (2.2, 3.20)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ę &gt; ia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. o &gt; uo (2.4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ua - 7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ę &gt; ae before yod (2.4)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. AU &gt; ou (2.7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. -e &gt; -i</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o &gt; -u</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cons. + 1 &gt; ch- (2.18)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mb/m (2.24)</td>
<td>28+/26</td>
<td>19+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. CT &gt; it (2.26)</td>
<td>11+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>Except (11): -n > -m.
TABLE 2—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>STAAFF</th>
<th>OALEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West. docs.</td>
<td>Cent. docs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LY, C'L (2.29)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>135+</td>
<td>75+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n &gt; -m</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGO &gt; you &gt; eu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sou(s) (3.7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sue(s)</td>
<td>19+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pret: cantou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e pret. and related tenses: -eron (3.172)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( ^a \) Ally 1345c.  \( ^b \) muyto 962b.
\( ^c \) In this position should read L.
\( ^d \) No LY, C'L > 1 was noted in OAlex.
\( ^e \) emplacer 121c; empie 370b. -N > -m is a characteristic trait of Portuguese, Galician and Leonese (Etude, 248). It is noticeably lacking in OAlex, and is not part of modern western speech.

Items 1-4 and 14 are not so contrastive because of the infrequency of citations in Staafl. That these were indeed Leonese characteristics is unquestioned considering their occurrence in Staafl and other old Leonese works.
in addition to their extensive modern usage (*Dial. esp.*, 91-186). (See also the referenced paragraphs.)

Item 10, the reflexes of LY and C'L in Staaff and OAlex present an interesting variety of forms.

### Reflexes of LY, C'L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reflex</th>
<th>STAAFF</th>
<th>OALEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>y</strong></td>
<td>135+</td>
<td>75+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ll</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gi</strong></td>
<td>27+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>j</strong></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>x</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ch</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>l</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Staaff's eastern documents **I** and **ll** are archaic, **y** is Leonese */y/*, and **g**, **i**, **gi**, and **j** are forms of Castilian */ź/* (*Etude*, 228). In his western documents, the reflexes noted are characteristic of old and modern Leonese */j*. **y** in OAlex is likely an early sign of Leonese *yeismo* and not another form of Castilian */ź/* (2.29).
I, J and £ are the usual reflexes of C'L, LY in OAlex, most of which probably meant /ʎ/.

Three of 15 prevalent Leonese dialect features in Staaff are completely lacking in OAlex while most of the remaining 12 are rather rare. This dialectal weakness gives support to the theory that the Alexandre was not originally a Leonese work.

6.3 Western Leonese forms in OAlex—infrequent in Staaff. Rare or lacking in Staaff's documents is a small group of forms which appear frequently in OAlex. In most cases the items in Table 3 are found in other old Leonese documents and are still heard in the modern dialects. The fact that they are rare in Staaff is perhaps explained by his limited source of western Leonese. Only 11 of his 101 documents are from the far western districts of Leon. Items 1-4, 6, 8 are found in modern Leonese as well as other old Leonese works. The dissimilated form nembrar (5) appears in Fuero Juzgo; see (7) is found in at least one other old Leonese work beside OAlex (Hanssen, Conj. leon., 37). Neither form is heard in western speech today. See referenced paragraphs for further discussion.
## TABLE 3
WESTERN LEONESE FEATURES IN OALEX—INFREQUENT IN STAAFF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>STAAFF</th>
<th>OALEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East.</td>
<td>Cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>docs.</td>
<td>docs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no discussion in Staafl</td>
<td>48/40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no discussion in Staafl</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>epenthetic yod (2.14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l- as 1 (2.16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>3 5+ 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consonant + 1 &gt; consonant + r (2.18, 2.27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>no discussion in Staafl</td>
<td>21/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nembrar/membrar (2.34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>2  -  -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strong pret. stem: sobo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vieno (3.171)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>troxo</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trogo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ouvierdes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>-  -  -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soe = soyb (3.20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>per (3.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aDoes not include object pronouns.

bStaafl notes that soe in OAlex is not found in his documents (Etude, 309).
6.4 Non-western Leonese features in OAlex. Three non-western Leonese, non-Castilian variants found in OAlex are characteristic of the eastern Leonese dialect (either in form or usage) as found in Staaff's documents. Table 4 shows their distribution.

**TABLE 4**

**EASTERN LEONESE FEATURES IN OALEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>STAAFF</th>
<th>OALEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East. docs.</td>
<td>Cent. docs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th pret: (3.172)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ioron</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ieron</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu, furon, etc.</td>
<td>34+</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fue, fueron, etc.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo, foron, etc.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ficar/fincar (VOC)</td>
<td>6/26</td>
<td>8/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aFu only.  
bAll fu- forms.  
cFue only.

-Ioron and the i endings of related tenses were very common in Leonese, and found in many old works. Yet they are practically unknown in modern western speech with the exception of Mirandés and Portuguese (3.172). -Ioron, by far the most frequent 6th preterite form in OAlex, is not found in Staaff's western documents and barely represented in the eastern and central documents. There is
difficulty here in comparing usage in Staaff's documents with that in OAlex since there are only 77 sixth-person preterites in the former and 515 such forms in the latter.

Hanssen thinks -ioron, which is an analogical formation on -i6, was Salmantine (Conj. leon., 40).\(^1\) Modern -ioren and -iorin are still heard near Salamanca (Dial. esp., 185).

In OAlex the preterite of ser and ir is usually Castilian fue, fueron, etc. The most common Leonese forms are fu, furon which are seen more frequently in Staaff's eastern and central documents than in the western ones. Fo-, which is rare in OAlex, seems to be the western form. (3.20)

Ficar and fincar were fairly common in medieval western Spain, though ficar was the usual form in Portuguese, Galician and western Leonese (see VOC). The two variants are about equally represented in OAlex.

6.5 Azer and ge. Azer and ge are two forms found often in OAlex which merit particular attention. Azer and conjugated forms from i a c e r e are found 65 times in OAlex (yacer, etc., 74 times). Though Hanssen,

\(^1\)Of the 43 examples of -ioron which Hanssen cites, 23 are in OAlex, 4 in Alexander's letters (Willis, Libro de Alex., xix-xx), 13 in the Murcian codex of the Fuero Juzgo, and one in Libro de Apolonio (Conj. leon., 9).
Corominas, Menéndez Pidal and others refer to _azer_ as the Leonese form of _yacer_, no source other than _OAlex_ has been documented. There is no known modern vestige of this loss of _I_-, and the form may indeed be unique in _OAlex_. (2.15)

Palatalization of initial _I_- of indirect object pronouns when standing alone is not uncommon in old and modern Leonese. What is distinctive is that the palatal consonant was so frequently _g_- in _OAlex_:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>ge(s)</em></th>
<th><em>ie(s)</em></th>
<th><em>lle(s)</em></th>
<th><em>lly</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Staaff's documents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lle(s)</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ie</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has been discussed earlier (3.6) _ge_ may be the logical phonological step between _lle_ and modern _âle_, and it was also supported by _OSp. ge_- , the form of the dative in combination with the third person accusatives: _gelo_ , _gela_. Palatal _I_ whether from _I_- or _LY_ has become _â_ in much of west central Asturias, and is a unique feature of that area.

6.6 Distribution of Leonese forms in _OAlex_. One of the most surprising aspects of the Leonese forms in _OAlex_
is that they are not evenly distributed throughout the work. A large majority of them are found after strophe 1300. Table 5 shows the distribution of 12 Leonese characteristics which appear frequently in OAlex and for which the Castilian variants are also frequently found. In the ITEM column the first variant is Leonese, the second is the corresponding Castilian form. The number in parenthesis is the number of citations in OAlex.

The numbers in each of the following columns are the percentages of the forms which occur in the designated strophes. The number which follows each percentage is the normalized rate of occurrence of the form in that portion of the poem.

Items 1-7 show a greater percentage of Leonese forms in the remainder of the poem than appeared in the work up to that point. Thus the Leonese variants of these items increased in frequency toward the end of the poem, while at the same time the Castilian variants decreased. See Figures 1-3 for illustration of this distribution of Leonese and Castilian variants in OAlex.

The fraction of the occurrences of a form which appears in the designated strophes is divided by the fraction of the poem represented. If the resulting number is greater than one the rate of occurrence in the portion of interest is greater than the average over the entire poem. Conversely, if the derived number is less than one, the rate in the portion of interest is less than the average for the entire poem.
**TABLE 5**

**DISTRIBUTION OF LEONESE VARIANTS IN OALEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>900-2675 (66%)</th>
<th>1300-2675 (51%)</th>
<th>1600-2675 (40%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>900-2675 (66%)</td>
<td>1300-2675 (51%)</td>
<td>1600-2675 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>900-2675 (66%)</td>
<td>1300-2675 (51%)</td>
<td>1600-2675 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. o (220)</td>
<td>73% 1.1</td>
<td>60% 1.2</td>
<td>57% 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ue (50)</td>
<td>58% .88</td>
<td>46% .9</td>
<td>34% .85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bon (185)</td>
<td>85% 1.3</td>
<td>85% 1.6</td>
<td>76% 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buen (138)</td>
<td>50% .76</td>
<td>28% .55</td>
<td>11% .28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ficar (30)</td>
<td>87% 1.3</td>
<td>77% 1.5</td>
<td>70% 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fincar (39)</td>
<td>92% 1.4</td>
<td>41% .8</td>
<td>23% .6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fu (82)</td>
<td>96% 1.5</td>
<td>95% 1.8</td>
<td>95% 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fue (374)</td>
<td>55% .83</td>
<td>32% .63</td>
<td>22% .55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. se(n) (346)</td>
<td>72% 1.1</td>
<td>66% 1.3</td>
<td>59% 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si(n) (210)</td>
<td>38% .58</td>
<td>21% .41</td>
<td>13% .33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ne(n) (134)</td>
<td>92% 1.4</td>
<td>91% 1.8</td>
<td>78% 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni(n) (137)</td>
<td>55% .83</td>
<td>41% .8</td>
<td>26% .65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ld (75)</td>
<td>81% 1.2</td>
<td>63% 1.2</td>
<td>56% 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bd (38)</td>
<td>42% .64</td>
<td>34% .67</td>
<td>21% .53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. foron (367)</td>
<td>78% 1.2</td>
<td>60% 1.2</td>
<td>45% 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ieron (104)</td>
<td>28% .42</td>
<td>20% .39</td>
<td>19% .48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron (44)</td>
<td>50% .76</td>
<td>36% .71</td>
<td>36% .9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. strong (66)</td>
<td>70% 1.1</td>
<td>55% 1.1</td>
<td>41% 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pret stemb</td>
<td>51% .77</td>
<td>44% .86</td>
<td>36% .9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. -Ø- (60)</td>
<td>68% 1.0</td>
<td>53% 1.0</td>
<td>43% 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y- (23)</td>
<td>83% 1.3</td>
<td>65% 1.3</td>
<td>61% 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. azer (65)</td>
<td>89% 1.3</td>
<td>58% 1.1</td>
<td>57% 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yacer (74)</td>
<td>55% .8</td>
<td>51% 1.0</td>
<td>46% 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. lleb (121)</td>
<td>34% .5</td>
<td>25% .5</td>
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<td>67% 1.3</td>
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a Vierno, sobo, troxo, trogo, ouuierdes vs. comparable Castilian variants.

b lle(s), ge(s), ie(s). See 3.6.
Figure 2. Fu/Fue
Figure 3. LD/Bd
Items 8-11 show the Leonese variant to be more frequent in the latter parts of the poem, though there is not the clearly defined steady increase of frequency as seen in the first 7 items. The frequency of -ieron (8) is higher in the second half of the poem than in the first though its rate of increase declines after 1300. The same may be said of the strong preterite stems (9). Also, the Castilian variants do not always decrease in frequency as the poem progresses. Intervocalic -y- vs -ø- (10) is an example of the Castilian variant (y) increasing in frequency at a greater rate than the Leonese variant. See Figures 4 and 5.

The variants lle/le (12) seem to be in precisely the opposite distribution from all the other forms, particularly the first 7 items listed. However, since /l-/ appears as both 1l- and l- in OAlex (2.16, 2.18), dative pronoun le could easily mean /Je/. Therefore, the distribution of lle (ge, ie) and le in OAlex probably reflects the scribe's copying habits more than his native dialect.

Of the 12 more prevalent Leonese forms in OAlex, 1l are more frequent after strophe 1300 than before and one is more frequent before 1300, though there is some question as to the interpretation of the designated Castilian variants.
Figure 4. Sixth Person Preterites
Figure 5. -φ-/Y-
6.7 Why is the second half of OAlex more Leonese than the first half? Theory 1. More than one scribe copied the 0 ms. from its source (or perhaps the source of 0 had more than one copyist). The copyist of the first part of the poem was from an eastern location in Leon, while the second copyist might have been from Astorga or further west. No evidence has been found in the manuscript itself of a change in handwriting to support the two scribe theory.

Theory 2. The source of the present manuscript was a much more Castilian version than OAlex. The Leonese scribe started to copy the poem as faithfully as he could, lapsing into his native dialect occasionally. By the middle of this 10,000 line work he began to grow careless, allowing his native speech to influence his copying more and more. There is some speculation and no certainty as to the linguistic nature of versions of the Alexandre previous to 0.

Theory 3. The source of the present manuscript was a much more Leonese version than OAlex. The Castilian scribe started to "correct" the Leonese features of the poem, though some western forms still slipped by him. However, by the middle of the work he began to edit less, and copy more faithfully what was in his source. As with theory 2, there is speculation, but no certainty regarding the language of the manuscripts of the Alexandre
prior to 0.

These three "theories" are but casual attempts to explain the Leonese variant distribution in OAlex. Perhaps one is correct, perhaps none, or some combination of all three. Additional study of OAlex needs to be made to explore this question.
APPENDIX B

SCRIBAL ERRORS

The Leonese features which the scribe of OAlex (or of some previous version) added to his copy have been discussed at length. Another linguistic aspect of the work for which the scribe was responsible is a large number of errors in the manuscript. The most frequent errors are 1) one letter substituted for another such as o for e, and s for f; confusion of a and o, and n and u; 2) omission of a letter or syllable; 3) repetition of a syllable or word. Most of these errors can be attributed to scribal carelessness, though a few can be considered errors due to the similarity of the letters involved: o and e; s, f, and l; n and u; c, t, and r.

In addition to the errors found in the photocopy of the manuscript of OAlex, the Willis edition contains 36 readings which differ from those of the manuscript. In his review of the edition, Antonio G. Solalinde listed 23 such cases.¹ Six more inaccurate transcriptions

¹Some examples from Solalinde's list (HR 4, 79): poʃfaço for poʃfaço 292d, fi for fi 512d, poderofo for poderoʃo 1445c, significa for significa 800c, fe for fe 1564c, porʃillare for porʃillare 1784c, sepulco for sepulτo 1792a, furon for furon 2076c, Oidoron for Dioron 2166a. Professor Willis tells me that poʃfaço, poderofo,
have been detected. One might also disagree with Willis' reading of long \( g \) for \( f \) or vice versa in seven other cases, and there are a few words whose abbreviations Willis may not have transcribed accurately.

1. These are leuaua for leuaua 865a, cualleria for caualleria 1060c, neua for nueua 1454c, tato for tanto 1205b, la miesses for las miesses 1952b, and the repetition of coyta 2150a. All, Willis says, are typographical slips of his own. In the case of muchas (almodes) 1518d, muchos might be the reading in the manuscript, but it is not as clear as one would like, so there is hesitation in calling it an error in the Willis edition. Only when the reading in the manuscript is quite clearly different from that of the modern edition is the reading in the latter considered an error.

2. The cases of long \( s \) for \( f \) are: fijo 19c, gafos 1621b, lu 2551d, lechas 2633c; \( f \) for long \( s \): fazon 2118d, Alfonfinas 2129d, sofiir 2571c. Great care has been taken in determining the manuscript reading of these words.

3. The abbreviation for \( er \) varies in the manuscript according to the consonant which precedes: \( per- \) may be \( p, \dot{p}, p' \); \( ner- \) \( n, n' \); \( ser- \) \( s, s' \), etc. \( Par- \) has been found as \( P \) (paraula 1476c appears paula). Thus eperello 1481d 'en parejo' (written epello) could have been transcribed *eparello. Generaciones 1827d for generaciones is another error caused by misunderstanding an abbreviation. The manuscript reads geñaciones. \( S = er \) and the horizontal bar (which frequently stands for a nasal) means a vowel (either \( e \) or \( i \)) should be inserted. Note elecciones in 1825a which appears in the manuscript as eleciones, and should probably be transcribed elecciones. Still another error of this type is greñones 1666c 'greñas'. The manuscript reads greñones which could be transcribed:
The purpose of this appendix is to present representative examples of various types of scribal errors in OAlex. It is certainly not an exhaustive study of all such errors, but may be helpful in overcoming some difficulties in reading the Alexandre.

7.1 One letter substituted for another. The majority of errors noted in OAlex are the result of the substitution of one letter for another. In most instances the error was probably introduced through scribal carelessness. Occasionally the resemblance of two letters is very great. The following examples of errors are classified as frequent and infrequent.

Frequent substitutions:

- **a** for **o**: almafalla 2036a; mauieron 2107c; tada 2424b; palas 1822b. Almafalla may be vocalic assimilation rather than simply a careless error in copying. Palas is an error for polas = por + las (2.39).
- **o** for **a**: aruolorio 938c.
- **e** for **o**: terre 1505c; esperonada 695b; ulezinos 258d.

*greñiones; the bar could indicate doubling of the first n (-non- = -nnon-, not -nonn-, [as Willis has chosen to do] says Solalinde [HR 4, 77]); or the bar could be misplaced as Nelson suggests (Toward a Definitive Edition, 31).

1See also 7.2.
\( o \) for e: antecassores 1935a; englesos 1798c; logaçia 2524d; ochan 1633b; oran 691c; quieron 1938c; sofonder 1727c. \( o \) and e are very much alike in the manuscript: \( o = o; e \phi = e \). The confusion for the modern reader arises when an \( o \) is not completely closed, or an e is barely open—extremely frequent occurrences. For instance, the \( o \) in englesos is not so clear that it could not be read e. The number of o's in 1633b: en cabo del fossano lo ochan orelano seems to have caused the scribe to fail to write echan.¹

n for v: ninos 1797c; nos...tenedes 1490c.

u for ni: estreuados 627b; leuaua 1172c; sauna 1397a. Solalinde thinks estreuados may read estrenados, but he is not sure. This word is not as clear in the manuscript as are leuaua and sauna.

Infrequent substitutions:

a for e: barnaga 967d, sa 320d.

e for a: senna 504a.

u for a: escultenta 2619a. Since the manuscript is badly stained here, an accurate reading may not be easily determined.

s for f: grasil 857c.

r for i: ferro 508d; frias 2578d. The manuscript is not as clear as it could be, but one might argue for

¹See 3.8 and le eperello, le emperador.
a reading of ferio and filias.

_\textit{f}_ for _\textit{s}_: bienconia 1825a. The resemblance between _\textit{s}_ and _\textit{f}_ is often quite close in the manuscript. 

**Bienconia** may read **brenconia**, though it is doubtful.

_\textit{o}_ for _\textit{c}_: enolauada 1365a.

_\textit{q}_ for _\textit{a}_: quieras 1778c.

_\textit{B}_ for _\textit{s}_: Beso 929a.

_\textit{c}_ for _\textit{t}_: escancos 1567d; escoriada 2549c; canca 223a, 242a. In these examples the erroneous _\textit{c}_ in the manuscript might be read _\textit{t}_.

_\textit{t}_ for _\textit{c}_: pylos 1496c. Here the manuscript could read _\textit{c}_. Not unlike _\textit{s}_ and _\textit{f}_, and _\textit{e}_ and _\textit{o}_, the similarity between _\textit{t}_ and _\textit{c}_ in **OAlex** is striking and the cause of some confusion.

_\textit{s}_ for _\textit{l}_: fasso 180d. Long _\textit{s}_ and _\textit{l}_ could be rather similar: \( \text{c} = \text{s}, \text{c}_1, \text{c}_2, \text{c}_3 = \text{t} \).

_\textit{m}_ for _\textit{n}_: calomiado 135d. There is a slim possibility the manuscript reads **calonnado** (see Solalinde, HR 4, 79).

_\textit{n}_ for _\textit{ri}_: fossano 1633b. It is vaguely possible to read **fossario** here, for _\textit{n}_ and _\textit{ri}_ are quite similar.

_\textit{r}_ for _\textit{t}_: magnetas 1470c. The manuscript might well be read **magnetas**, for _\textit{r}_ resembles _\textit{t}_.

---

1The word should probably read brinconia from old French and Occitanic **bricon** (DCEC II, 264b43).
7.2 Missing letter. The second most frequent type of error is a missing letter or syllable.

Missing vowels: p(a)laçiana 2583c; sem(e)isse 35c; u(e)lezinos 258d;\(^1\) leng(u)as 840a. The reading of the form in 35c is difficult to determine, though there may be sufficient space between se and iasse for me.

Missing consonants and syllables: nu(n)ca 1187b; t(ra)edores 1677d; ca(n)to 697d; fa(m)bren(t)as 2349a; enc(l)aust(r)o 2132a; (co)sa 1720c; su(so) 962a; dia(ma)ntes 287b.

Nuca, tedores, cato and fabretas show scribal omission of the tilde which would indicate the nasal in nunca and canto 'bread crust', both nasals in fambrentos,\(^2\) and the ra in traedores. Encausto for enclaustro shows a loss of both liquids. Sa for cosa, su for suso, and diantes for diamantes show the omission of a syllable.

7.3 Repetition. Infrequently the scribe repeated a syllable or a short phrase.

Repetition of a syllable: beuïuen 258b.

Repetition of a word or phrase: alas alas 862c; a los a los 1595d.

\(^1\)See also 7.1, e for o. \(^2\)See also 2.2.
7.4 Miscellaneous errors. There are a number of errors which occur only once in OAlex and fit no discernible pattern:

mastaste 1378d—should read mataste.

nides 1374a—P says medos which is reasonable. The manuscript is not very clear, and could read md- or nid-. Perome 2673a—should read quierome as in P.

fuelles for sueldos 2039b--The error here is one of meaning; sueldos 'a certain amount of money' is more logical than 'bellows'. Also, as Corominas has pointed out (DCEC II, 588a54), the scribe probably did not understand fuellos (an eastern and western form for sueldos, cf. Etude, 239) and wrote fuelles in its place.

valor for lavor 2567c.

medio 1889d--is likely an error for miedo, though perhaps it could be medo, as in Portuguese and modern Asturian (Acevedo), with epenthetic i.

Some errors have probably occurred because the scribe was unfamiliar with the word he was copying:

a largas 275c--P reads aladas, a rare form from Latin latu s, lat a which should be read a ladas. The scribe of O did not recognize the form.1

Latinisms and "technical" words are sometimes poorly reproduced:

1Personal communication from R. S. Willis.
solmites 1481c—makes its hemistich one syllable short and should read selenites.

gamantes 1470a—The manuscript could possibly be read garnates, since the n was abbreviated, though quite indistinctly, and m was easily confused with rn. The Latin word according to Isidore de Sevilla is gagates (Etym., Bk. XVI).
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Conj. leon. See Harrass.


DCEC. See Corominas.

Dial. esp. See Zamora Vicente.

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REW. See Meyer-Lübke.

RFE = Revista de filología española.


Rom. = Romania.


RN = Romance Notes.

RPh = Romance Philology.


