SKETCH OF THE HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY
OF GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This is not a field bestrewn with grammars. Although for modern Galician we have the Gramática Histórica Galega of Manuel Ferreiro, there is still no Portuguese equivalent, the standard still being Edwin B. Williams’ From Latin to Portuguese (1938). To fill that gap is beyond my scope. This sketch of historical phonology merely aims to introduce students to the study of medieval Galician-Portuguese, and especially of the cantigas d’amigo, from which most of the examples are drawn. In general I have tried to follow standard doctrine, avoiding contentious questions, noting some points of disagreement.

Latin long vowels are marked. All unmarked vowels in Classical Latin words can be assumed to be short. I also mark vowels in Late Latin, Vulgar Latin, and Medieval Latin forms, even though quantitative distinctions no longer existed. I sometimes mark short vowels to call attention to the quantity (but even then, not vowels that are regularly short, for instance most vowels in closed syllables [e.g. ante], final vowels before m, t, nt [e.g. amem, dicit, flent], or a vowel before another vowel [e.g. meliōrem], etc.). Palatalized l, n and m, and b plus yod, are represented as /ʎ/, /ɲ/, /mj/, /bdj/. Voiced and unvoiced palatal affricates are represented as /dʒ/ and /tʃ/, respectively, the corresponding fricatives as /ʒ/, /ʃ/.

Symbolic representations of descriptive rules use the following signs: upper case letters represent classes of sounds. C=consonant; V=vowel (simple vowel or diphthong); T=voiceless stop (p, t, c, qu-) (sometimes Latin c is represented as k); D=voiced stop (b, d, g); L=liquid (l, r); N=nasal (m, n). I=glide (w, y). The small case letters represent themselves. Thus, VTrV = vowel + voiceless stop + r + vowel. This encompasses VprV, VtrV, VcrV. The rule VTrV > VDrV means that in any word-internal sequence of vowel + voiceless stop + r + vowel, the voiceless stop is voiced (p > b, t > d, c > g). Hence VTrV > VDrV summarizes the following cases: VprV


2 Cintra, in his introduction to the Portuguese translation (1986) says that Huber’s work continues to be “uma obra fundamental para o estudo do galego-português antigo”, noting that it is still “a única manual que procura descrever em conjunto a gramática da língua em que estão escritos os textos da primeira época da língua do ocidente peninsular”. A concise survey of the phonology of GP can be found in Ramos 1983.
> VbrV e.g. ap(e)réire > abrir, VtrV > VdrV e.g. mātre > madre, VcrV > VgrV e.g. lucrăre > lograr. The conditions of a rule are specified using the following kind of notation: $\varepsilon > \varepsilon /\_\text{n#}$. Here $x > y$ states the change in the element in question; $/$ precedes the conditions; $\_\$ locates the place the element occupies; and $\#$ means word end or beginning. Hence, $\varepsilon > \varepsilon /\_\text{n#}$ means "open $e$ becomes close $e$ before word-final $n$". A few times the sign & indicates a morpheme boundary. $\Ø=$nothing (e.g. no vowel or consonant, as the case may be).

Examples not drawn from the *cantigas d'amigo* are enclosed in special brackets, e.g. {torquēre > torcer}. Except where noted, the examples given are words or forms that evolved from Latin to Galician-Portuguese (hereinafter GP). Words marked by an asterisk are either Vulgar Latin, Late Latin or Medieval Latin (distinctions often uneasily drawn). Words ultimately deriving from Greek, and words borrowed from Hispanic dialects, Provençal, Old French, Germanic, Celtic or Arabic, are regularly identified. Words whose etymology is unknown or uncertain (e.g. buscar, louco, matar, tirar, tomar) are generally avoided. In illustrating sound changes, words from sources other than Latin or Vulgar Latin are normally given last. If a word occurs not in the *Cantigas d'Amigo* (hereinafter *Amigo*) but elsewhere in GP lyric (in the *Cantigas d'Amor*, *Cantigas d'Escarnho e Maldizer* and *Cantigas de Santa Maria* [hereinafter *Amor*, CEM, CSM]), this is shown by the expression `elsewhere` referring to its other occurrences. If a given form is found once in *Amigo*, and in another form elsewhere, this is indicated, for example: sonare > sonar (*Giinzo 8, elsewhere* sõar).\(^3\) If a form appears in one of the seven *pastorelas* (which strictly speaking do not belong to the *Amigo* genre), this is noted, e.g.: *radia > raia* (Johan Airas, *pastorela*).

Like the *Etymological Wordlist*, this sketch was originally prepared for my own use, and in its present form is meant as an introduction for students that makes no pretense to being either exhaustive (with respect to the language) or original (except perhaps on one or two points). It is dedicated to Michael Weiss, who deserves far better.

\(^3\) The text and numeration of the *cantigas d'amigo* (except as otherwise noted) are from Rip Cohen, *500 Cantigas d'Amigo, Edição Crítica / Critical Edition* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2003).
Abbreviations

Manuscripts containing *cantigas d’amigo*

- **B** = cod. 10991, Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon)
- **V** = cod. 4803, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Rome)
- **N** = ms. 979, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York)

Languages

- **AA** = Andalusi Arabic
- **Arab.** = Arabic
- **Cast.** = Castilian
- **Cat.** = Catalan
- **Celt.** = Celtic
- **Eng.** = English
- **Gal.** = Galician
- **Germ.** = Germanic
- **Goth.** = Gothic
- **GP** = Medieval Galician-Portugese
- **Grk.** = Ancient Greek
- **HL** = Hispanic Latin
- **It.** = Italian
- **Lat.** = Classical Latin
- **Leon.** = Leonese
- **LL** = Late Latin
- **ML** = Medieval Latin
- **OF** = Old French
- **OSp.** = Old Spanish
- **PGerm.** = Proto-Germanic
- **PIE** = Proto-Indo-European
- **Port.** = Portuguese
- **Prov.** = Old Provençal
- **Sp.** = Spanish

Other abbreviations

- **acc.** = accusative
- **adj.** = adjective
- **app.** = apparently
- **Ap. Prob.** = Appendix Probi (cited from ILV)
- **conj.** = conjugation
- **fut.** = future
- **gen.** = genitive
- **imperf.** = imperfect
- **indic.** = indicative
- **infin.** = infinitive
- **MSS** = manuscripts
- **nom.** = nominative
- **part.** = participle
- **pass.** = passive
- **perf.** = perfect
- **pl.** = plural
- **plup.** = pluperfect
- **pres.** = present
- **prob.** = probably
- **sing.** = singular
- **subj.** = subjunctive
- **subst.** = substantive
Works Consulted
(a partial list; fuller bibliographical information is provided in the Etymological Wordlist).

Cornu = J. Cornu. Grammatik der portuguiesischen Sprache
CEM = M. Rodrigues Lapa, Cantigas d’ escarnho e de maldizer
Cintra = L. F. Lindley Cintra, A Linguagem dos Foros de Castelo Rodrigo
Corominas = Joan Corominas, Dicionario Etimològico-Critico Castellano e Hispànic
Corriente = F. Corriente, Diccionario de arabismos e voces afines en iberorromance
CSM = W. Mettmann, Cantigas de Santa Maria
Cunha = Celso Cunha, Cancioneiros dos Trovadores do Mar
DVPM = Dicionário de Verbos do Português Medieval
G-T = T. Garcia-Sabell Torno, Lexico Francês nos Cancioneiros Galego-Portugueses
E-M = A. Ernout & A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine
GED = W. Lehmann, A Gothic Etymological Dictionary
GHG = M. Ferreiro, Gramática Histórica Galega
Huber = J. Huber, Gramática do Portugês Antigo
ILV = V. Väänänen, Introducción al Latín Vulgar
Lapa = [review of Huber] 4
Lorenzo = R. Lorenzo, Glosario
LSJ = A Greek-English Lexicon
Machado = José Pedro Machado, Dicionário Etimolóxico da Língua Portuguesa
Michaëlis = C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Cancioneiro da Ajuda
Niermeyer = J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus
Nunes = J. J. Nunes, Compendio de Gramática Histórica Portuguesa
OED = Oxford English Dictionary
OHCGL = M. Weiss, Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin
OLD = Oxford Latin Dictionary
Piel = J. Piel, Estudos de Linguística Histórica Galego-Portuguesa
Rei = F. Fernández Rei, Dialectoloxía da Língua Galega
REW = W. Meyer-Lubke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
Sacks = N. P. Sacks, The Latinity of Dated Documents in the Portuguese Territory
Williams = E. B. Williams, From Latin to Portuguese

4 The Portuguese translation of Huber (by Maria Manuela Gouveia Delille, with a preface by L. F. Lindley Cintra), Gramática do Português Antigo (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986), contains Lapa’s review on pp. 361-78.
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I. EVOLUTION OF THE VOWEL SYSTEM

TONIC VOWELS

Summary

Lat. ā, ă > VL a
Lat. ē > VL ē
Lat. ĕ > VL ę
Lat. ī > VL ī
Lat. ō > VL ō
Lat. ŏ > VL ŏ
Lat. ŭ > VL ŭ

In tonic position: Latin long and short a became VL a. Long ē became VL ē and long ō became VL ō. Short ĕ and short ŏ became VL open ē and ō, respectively. Short ī and long ē became VL close ī, while short ŭ and long ŕ became VL close ŭ. The VL vowels are all maintained in tonic position in GP unless there are conditioning factors that complicate the environment.

Lat. ā, ă > VL a > a
amāre > amar (i.e. the stem vowel -a- of Latin 1st conjugation verbs)
cāritātem > caridade
cābulam > fala
grātiam > graça
illāc > alá
lēgālem > leal
mātrem > madre
quālēs > quaes
quaerātis > querades
tālēs > taes
*uicātam (cf. uicātim ← uice-) > vegada

ante > ante
artem > arte
āuem > ave
cāpit > cabe
*cāpu- > cabo
dāre > dar
fācit > faz
grāuem > grave
iācet > jaz
māle > mal
māneō > manho
partem > parte
sālit > sal
sāpit > sabe
vālet > val

Lat. ē > VL ē > ē
dīxērat > dissera (similarly in the perfect stem of all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs; for close ē in the perfect stem of GP 2nd conjugation weak verbs, see below on ē > ē)

5 This system is not common to all Romance languages (it does not apply to Sardinian, to the Lausberg-Zone of Southern Italian or to Romanian). But it obtains for most Italian dialects, Gallo-Romance and Ibero-Romance.
èrat > èra (rhymes with quisera, etc.)
est > éste (more commonly é)
fécērit > fezər (similarly in the future subjunctive of all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs)
fēra > fęra (rhymes with posera < posérat in Guilhade 14)
gentem > gente
lēuem > lęve

e > i / __a (an e in hiatus before an a is raised to i and then becomes yod)
mea > mha /məa/

Lat. ē, ĭ > VL ĕ > ĕ
dēbēre > dever (i.e. the stem vowel -e- in the infinitive of Latin 2nd conjugation verbs)
fēcit > fez (also fezo)
quētum (for quiētum) > quędo
zēlo- > ceo

capĭllum > cabelo
*capĭtia (← caput, -ĭtis, n.) > cabęça
cito > cędo
desĭdium > desejo
ille > èle (app. from nom.; compare elo < illum)
ilam > ěla
illum > elo (elos rhymes with cabelos)
in > ěn
inde > ënde, ën
ipse, ipsa > èsse, essa
iste, ista > èste, èsta
inter > entre (also antre)
minus > mẽos, męos
sine > sen
tĭmeō > tęmo
trīstĭtiam > tristęça
*uĭncisset (for uĭcisset) > venceşse
uĭcem > vez
uĭdeō > vejo
uĭridem > verde

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6 Here I give both forms that occur in the principal manuscript sources for the cantigas d’amigo (hereinafter B and V). But nearly every word that regularly carries a til in the 13th century Cancioneiro da Ajuda (containing mainly cantigas d’ amor) and the four manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria appears often or usually without a til in BV, copied in Italy in the early 16th century. Some common forms never have a til, e.g. vēer < vénérēt, which is always written as veher or veer. Here I have restored the tils in all forms and have not indicated that the form without til is also found (or is the only form found), since that is always the case. By putting back the tils I mean to show the phonetic evolution more clearly. The lack of tils in BV in so many words that regularly have them in our 13th century MSS of GP lyric suggests that the common ancestor of the Italian apographs was copied in when the nasalization of such vowels had greatly diminished or disappeared. (Based on these and other considerations, it is not unreasonable to date that common ancestor to the second half of the 15th century).

7 And similarly GP-èsse- from Latin plup. subj. -ēsse- in all forms of the imperfect subjunctive in 2nd conjugation weak (regular) verbs. In contrast, i > ŋ in mànissem > maseşse and all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs (fēcissem > fezessse, dīxissem > dismessse, tenuissem > tevessse, etc.). This distinction is neatly illustrated in Sevilha 3 where the poet rhymes morresse / sofresse (two weak verbs) in the second strophe and ouvessse / quissessse (two strong verbs) in the third. Nowhere in the cantigas d’amigo (or in GP lyric) do forms from these two classes rhyme together.
Lat. ī > VL i > i
ad sīc > assi (also asse, asi, ase)
audīre > oír
cīncta > cinta
dīcō > digo
filium > filho
īllīc > alí
frīgidam > fria
īre > ir
īram > ıra
ītam > ida
sīc > si (also se)
trīstem > triste
uīlem > vil
uīdī > vi

Lat. ŏ > VL ǫ > ǫ

Lat. Ž, Ũ > VL ǫ > ǫ
florem > flor
illōc > aló
maiōrem > maiór
nōs > nòs
rōstrum > rostro
seniōrem > senhôr
sōlum > sôl
tōtum > tôdo
uōs > vôs

punctum > ponto
turrem > torre
uerēcun(d)iam > vergônhia
undam > onda
unde > onde

Lat. ū > VL u > u
uña > ūa
crūda > crua (in the phrase crua mente ‘cruelly’ [for cruelmente]).
*lūmine- (for lumen) > lume
nūlliu- > nulho (Nobiling thinks from OSp.; Leite de Vasconcellos, from Prov.)
plūs > chus
salūtem > saude
sēcūrum > seguro
tū > tû
uentūram > ventura

ATONIC VOWELS

In pretonic, intertonic and posttonic (non-final) syllables the VL vowel system simplified further: open e and o became close, and initial au became a when followed by a syllable containing an accented a (Williams, §7; cf. GHG §10b). In unstressed final position there was a yet a further simplification, with a, close e and / the only possibilities.
Pretonic

a
*faḫūlāre (for faḫūlāri) > falar
mānsisset > masesse

āmīcum > amigo
attendere > atender
pāuōrem > pavor
tam magnum > tamanho

e
errāre > errar
nēgāre > negar

dērēctum > derfeito
sēcūrum > seguro
zēlāre > cear

bibere > bever
dīcēbat > dezia (usually dizia)
līcēre > lezer
mīsellam > mesela
tīmēre > temer
*ulīcātam > vegada

i
*fibellam (< fibula) > fivela
*fidāre (< fidere) > fiar
īrātum > irado
mīrāri > mirar
But *addiūnīāre > adevinhar (dissimilation or weakening?)

o
dormīre > dormir
colligere > colher
cōmedere > comer
*mōrāre (for mōrāri) > morar
*morrere (for mōrī) > morrer
mōuēre > mover
sōlēre > soer

hōc annō > ogano
mōnstrāre > mostrar

mūlierem > molheir
suspecta > sospeita

u
aiūtāre (var. of adiūtare) > ajudar
mūtāre > mudar
dūrāre > durar

Tonic in Latin, pretonic in GP

a
cādere > caer
dīcere > dizer
fācere > fazer
iācēre > jazer

e
*pētire (for pētēre) > pēdir
mittere > meter

o
accurrere > acorrer
fūgere > fogir (also fugir)

u
dūcere > duzer

**With secondary accent**

a
cāritātem > caridade
partitiōnem > partiçon

ê
lēgālītam > lealidade
But *ēquālāre (for aequālāre) > iguar

i
*mīnuātum (minuere) > minguado (elsewhere menguido)
misculāre > mezcrar (elsewhere normally mezcrar)
undicāre > vingar (also vengar)

ô
*turpitātem > *tôrpidade (or formed from tôrpe < turpem)

û
dūbitāre > dôvidar (also duvidar)
*hûmilītōsum [GP umilde, built on the stem of humilitatem, + osō] > omildoso (Dinis)

**Post-tonic/final**

a
amicās > amigas
bonās > bōas, boas
eccum illās > aquelas
eccum istās > aquestas
illās > las, as
ipsās > essas
istās > estas
quaerās > queras (Casal 2)
amat > ama
amant > aman
dīcat > diga
dīcant > diğan
dixeram > dissera
sentiat > sença

ê
{amēs > ames}
Rip Cohen, *Sketch of the Historical Phonology of Galician-Portuguese*

{amāssēs > amasses}
*laxēs (*laxāre) > leixes
fortēs > fortes
grauēs > graves

€ > e when final
lēuem > lêve
grâuem > grave
(and any unaccented final e in GP)

**Lat. ī > VL i > i ore**
longē > longi (also longe)
habuī > ouvi (also ouve)
dīxī > dixi (also dixe, disse)
dūxī > duxe
fēcī > fiji (also fiz, fix)
fuistī > fuste (Casal 3)
posī (for posīvōr posui) > pugi
quaesistī > quiseste (Casal 3)

о
amō > amo
dīcō > digo
manēō > manho
audiō > ouço

amicum > amigo
illum > lo, o
ītum > ido
manum > mão
saluum > salvo

**Intertonic**

e, i, o, ũ can be lost by syncope; a, ū remain

a
aggrāvāre > agravar

e
Intertonic € is lost.
*apērire > abrir
*coopērire > cobrir
{ībērāre > livrar}

€
uerēcundia > vergonha

Intertonic € is lost in the future of some verbs (with stems ending in n- or r-):
{ *manerei > marrei}
*quererei > querrei
*ponerei > porrei
*tenerei > terrei

Intertonic -r- can be lost by syncope, and is regularly lost between l, r, n, or s and a stop:
aliquem > algo
{bonitātem > bondade}
dēlīcātam > delgada
İegalĭtam > lealdade
nôbilem > nobre
poṣtum (repostas in Virgil) > posto
uĕrītam > verdade
ulīridem (Ap. Prob. vírīdis) > verde
ML caballīcāre > cavalgar (Avoin, pastorela)

It can also be lost between two stops, as in recītāre > *rez’dar > *redzar > rezar (Bolseiro 1 rezó)

-ĭ - ĭ in a number of words, most or all of them learned:
cārītātem > caridade (learned/church word)
dubītāre > dovidar, duvidar (Leon.; dúltar elsewhere)
{iūdīcāre > juizar (with hiatus; Leon. julgar in Amigo and elsewhere)
partītiōnem > partiçon
pūrītam > poridade (‘secrecy’, ‘confidence’)
suspīrāre > sospirar (maybe a learned word)

Elsewhere intertonic ĭ is retained as e:
sēmināre > semēar
trāditōrem > traedor (trisyllabic)

-i is lost in the future of verbs in -īr:
*salīrā > salrā
*guarīrā > guarrā
*venīrā > verrā

memŏrāre > nembrar

labōrāre > lavrar

compūtāre > contar
fābūla > fala
*singūlāria > senhleira (thus in BV; senneira [nn = /ŋ/] in N)

But in some words VL ρ remains:
*accalŭmniāre (← calumniāri) > acoomhar
*grātūlāre > gradoar

Miscellaneous Changes

ê > i (in hiatus before an accented i)
sēdēbat > sǐa (also seya in CSM)
uēnēr > viir
(The nasalized i of the first syllable, deriving from Lat. -ĕnV-, seems to have remained lower in GP than the high close i of the second syllable, which came from Lat. ĭ; once we find the spelling ueir [Bolseiro 4, v. 1 ueir B : uijr V]).

ê > a
inter > antre (usu. entre)
eccum ille > aquele
eccum iste > aqueste

On the assimilation -bl- > -ll- see on medial stop + liquid clusters, below.
eccum hīc > aqui
eccum inde > aquende (var. aquen)
(Some posit ad + eccu-; others think *accu- due to the influence of at or atque [cf. Williams §145; GHG §5c.1]).

ē > i
This is due to the metaphonic influence of final -t:
fēcī > figi (also nīz, fix)
*prēnsī (for prendī) > prix
quæsīuí > *quēsī > qui i (also quīx, quis)
uēní > vin

Note: ti and si are prob. formed by analogy with mihi > mī, and mēcum > migo, tēcum > tigo, sēcum > sigo may be analogical or may reflect earlier (HL) *mīgo, tīgo, *sīgo. The form mego, representing the regular evolution of mēcum, occurs once in the secular lyric, come go three times.

Initial i can be lost before n-:
ināmōratum > namorado
ī(n)sāniam > sanha
in + illum > no (similarly na < in + illam, nos < in + illos, nas < in + illas)
in + *odiāre (↔ odium) > nojar (from Prov.)
(inímica > nemiga ‘calumny’ is a false etymology.\)

ī > i
Tonic:
cingtat > cinga
inde ad > inda
*infingat > enfinga
*marābilia > maravilha
uā > via

Pretonic
ultīōsum > viçoso

Tonic in Latin, pretonic in GP
cingere > cinger

ō > u
In most cases this change is due to the metaphonic effect of i, which raised the vowel in the preceding syllable:
cōgitāre > cuidar (also coidar)
obuiāre > uviar /uvjar/
pōsi > pugi (also puge, pūs)
pōtuī > pudi
sōliēbat > suía (Porto Carreiro 2 [and attested elsewhere]; usu. soiā)

ū > o

9 GP nemiga derives from nec mīca (REW 5885), matching Old Italian né-mica (in e.g. Guitone d’Arezzo), an expression Contini glosses ‘assolutamente nulla’. Originally, nemiga – in the expression dizer nemiga – would have meant ‘not a crumb’, and so ‘nothing at all’, and by extension ‘a lie’. This last sense was strengthened by a folk etymology that connected the word to OSp. nemiga < inimica, which could indeed mean ‘enmity’. So although dizer nemiga literally corresponds to non dizer nada, the false etymology strengthened the sense ‘to slander’, ‘to speak treason’. Compare nemigalha < ne(c) *micacula, *[not] at all’: Ca non à verdade nemigalha /en sonho “For there is no truth at all in dreams” (Briteiros 3).
Pretonic:

lūdere > loir (subst.; hapax [Meogo 8])
pūritātem > poridade

ũ > u

Tonic

culpam > culpa
multum > muito (also moito)
mundum > mundo
secundum > segundo
(all prob. learned except muito)

A GENERAL RULE ON THE LOSS OF FINAL VOWELS.

A post-tonic final i or e is lost when preceded in GP by the coronal continuants: l, r, n, z, or s. Nearly always the disappearing vowel was the stem-vowel (roughly speaking) of a verb, noun, pronoun or adjective (but cf. mīlle, male), left after the loss of a previously final consonant, e.g. the -t or -m of a verb or the -m of a noun, adjective or pronoun. But in some cases the vowel was already final in Latin, e.g. mare, male (and mel < melle).

i,e > Ø / l, r, n, z, s ##

After l:

fallit > fal
lēgālem > leal
male > mal
mille > mil
quālem > qual
salit > sal
solet > sol
sōlem > sol
tālem > tal
ualet > val
uilem > vil

After r:

mare > mar
parem > par

After n:

canem > can
finem > fin
manet > man
pānem > pan
*pérdoñet > perdon
pōnit > pon
tenet > ten
*trīstēdinem > tristen [Piel]
uenit > ven

After z:

addūcit > aduz
crūcem > cruz (learned word)

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10 Apparent exceptions to this rule are cases of paragogic e found in two texts: mare, banhare (Estevan Coelho 2); Portugale, portugueese, fazere, lavrare, deiare, metere (Johan Zorro 4). There may also be other instances where a paragogic e should be restored.
dīcit > diz
facit > faz
fēcit > fez
iūdicem > juiz
lūcem > luz
pācem > paz
vicem > vez

After s:
pēnset > pes
posuit > pos
pre(h)ēnsit > pres
quaesīuit > *quaesīt > quis

EXCURSUS ON THE CLOSING OF ę IN CERTAIN TONIC SYLLABLES.

What should have been an etymologically open e in tonic position, /ē/ deriving from Latin ē, appears to be closed to ę in various contexts:

Before a final nasal.
ę > ę /__n#
  aduēnit > aven
  bēne > bēn
  conuēnit > conven
  quēm > quen
  rēm > ren
  tēnet > ten
  uēnit > ven

That these words have ę is suggested by the fact that they regularly rhyme with two words with ē from Latin ē and Germanic i, respectively: en < inde, sen < Germ. sīn. And some occasionally rhyme with other words with an etymologically close e: desden < Prov. desdenh (< *disdignu-), detēn < dētīnet. (But Rei [p. 44] reports that etymologically open e is generally not closed in Galician in verbs, adjectives or the interrogative pronoun quen.)

Open e is also closed in tonic position before final z in prez < prētium (via Prov.), which rhymes with fez < fēcit, vez < vicem.

In médo < mēdo < mētu- the e seems to have been closed by metaphonic influence of the following u. ¹¹ The word rhymes with cēdo < cētu and quedo < quētu.

Open e also appears to be closed before final -enho or -enha.
ę > ę /__nhV#
  tēneō > tēnho > tēnho
  vēnīō > vēnho > vēnho
  tēneat > tēnha > tenha
  uēniat > vēnha > vēnha

In Requeixo the latter two forms rhyme with detēnha < dētīneat (though we could postulate a reanalyzed form *dētēneat).

The same change occurs in a tonic syllable before j ( = /dʒ/ or /ʒ/) plus final o or ā:
ę > ę /__jV#

¹¹ See GHG. Rei (p. 41) shows the current distribution of médo and mēdo in Galicia. Roughly speaking, the vowel remains open in the east but is closed throughout the west.
sĕdeō > sęjo > sẹjo (rhymes with uẹjo < vĭdeō, desẹjo < *dēsĭdium, desejo < *dēsĭdiō). Similarly seja < sędeat (rhyming with veja, deseja).

We also find the change ę > ẹ in the ending -er- in the stem of future subjunctives of GP 2nd conjugation weak verbs:

*perdĕrit (for perdĭdĕrit) > perder
*uiuĕrit (for uixĕrit) > viver

The 1st and 3rd persons of the future subjunctive of 2nd conjugation weak verbs are almost never used in rhyme in the cantigas d’amigo, and when they are they rhyme with 2nd conjug. infinitives ending in -er (never with future subjunctives of 2nd conjugation strong verbs such as dissĕr, fezęr, ouvĕr): Elvas 4, where perder rhymes with querer; Folhente 1, where viver rhymes with querer, poder and viver; and Galisteu Fernandez 3, where viver rhymes with seeer and aver (Cf. GHG §192c).

That ę, the more common allomorph of éste (< est) had a close ẹ can be seen by the words with which it rhymes: fe < fĭdĕm, que < quĭd (also sé < sedet, where, after the fall of intervocalic -d-, the crasis ę+ę, instead of yielding open vowel, produced a close one – possibly a case of “enclitic raising”).

**DIPHTHONGS**

au > ou

**Tonic:**
- aurum > ouro
- aut > ou
- causam > cousa
- Maurōs > mouros
- paucum > poco

**With secondary accent:**
- autōricāre > outorgar
- paucum > pouco

**Contary to the rule VTV > VDV, an intervocalic voiceless stop is preserved after au.**
- auTV- > -ouTV- (Williams §33.4b, GHG §53b).
  - autōricāre > outorgar
  - paucum > pouco.

**Pretonic:**
- *ausāre (< ausus) > ousar
- *lautīāna > louçana
- *pausāre > pouzar

(Note: but not in auscultāre > ascuitar, where the first vowel was already reduced in LL, due to the dissimilatory effect of the u in the following syllable).

Two verbs where intervocalic -d- is lost after the diphthong deserve special attention:
- audīre > ouvir, oir
- laudāre > louvar, loar

In both cases there are two resolutions:
- (1) an epenthetic v to fill the hiatus (ouvir, louvar): -auV- > -ouV- > -ouvV-
- (2) a reduction of the diphthong (oir, loar): -auV- > -ouV- > -oV-

---

12 *au* was already becoming a monophthong in Latin; according to Festus (2nd century CE) *rusticī* “used to say” ōrum for aurum, ōriculas for auriculas (OHCLG 473-74).
Rip Cohen, Sketch of the Historical Phonology of Galician-Portuguese

**au** from other sources:
- Goth. kausjan [GED, K 25] > cousir
- AA ddáwra (‘turn’) > doura (Solaz 2).

**ae** (which had already become open ē in Latin) yields an open e in GP.
- ae > ē
  - laetum > ledo
  - *daemōn (nom.) > děmo
  - quaerit > quęr

We know the quality of the vowel in *quer* because it rhymes only with words ending in *-ēr*: molher, mestēr, and the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of future subjunctives deriving from –ērit in GP 2nd conj. strong verbs: poder < pōtuērit,quisēr < quaesērit, vēr < vēnērit, etc. Forms from this set never rhyme with the corresponding forms of GP 2nd conj. weak verbs, that is, fut. subjunctives such as perder, viver, since those forms had close e in the stem (see the excursus above on the closing of open e).

**AA layli** ‘my nights’ > lęli (Solaz 2)

There is one example of **oe > e**
- poena > pena (elsewhere pēa)

The Latin exclamation *ai* is preserved unaltered.

**NEW DIPHTHONGS IN GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE.**

Various new diphthongs arise in GP. Some come from changes in Latin diphthongs, some from the union of vowels that had been separated in Latin, others spring from sound changes in clusters (see below), and yet others are the result of metaphony. Finally, some occur in words borrowed from other languages.

**ai**
- magis > mais
- trāditiōnem > traiçon
- uadit > vai

**au**
- aqua > augua (also auga; with metaphony)

**ei**
- amāui > amei
- dědī > dei
- factum > feito
- herī > eire (‘yesterday’)
- ripārium > ribeiro (see on -ārī- > -ēir-)
- suspectam > sospeita

**ėu**
- *deut (< *dēuit for dedit) > deu
- ėgo > eu
- mêum > meu (and, by analogy, teu, seu [for archaic sou < suum])
- lēuem > lęu (via Prov.)
- *greue- > greu (Prov.; for grāue-, by analogy with lēue-)

(These words do not rhyme with those ending in ėu; see below).

**ėu**
Rip Cohen, *Sketch of the Historical Phonology of Galician-Portuguese*

*uincēuit (for uīxit) > venceu*

And so too the preterite 3rd sing. of all weak GP 2nd conjugation verbs ending in -eu. No form of this kind is ever used to rhyme with -eu as in eu, meu, seu, deu.

*sandeu*, which is of disputed etymology, has final -eu.

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<td><em>ridīuit (for rīsit) &gt; riiu</em></td>
<td><em>sentīuit (for sēn sit) &gt; sentiu</em></td>
<td><em>uidīuit (for uidit) &gt; viu</em></td>
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<td><em>trāxuit (for trāxit) &gt; trouxe</em></td>
<td><em>sapuit (for sapīt) &gt; soube</em></td>
<td><em>hāvit &gt; houve</em></td>
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<td>cogitāre &gt; coidar (also <em>cuidar</em>)</td>
<td>ductum &gt; doito</td>
<td>multum &gt; moito (also <em>muito</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>amāuit &gt; amaut13 &gt; amou</td>
<td>causam &gt; cousa</td>
<td>{dormitorium &gt; dormidoiro}</td>
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<tr>
<td>habuit &gt; ouve (metaphony)</td>
<td>saltum &gt; souto (see below on -Vlt- clusters)</td>
<td>{frūctum &gt; fruito}</td>
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<td><em>sālīre &gt; sair</em></td>
<td><em>tēnēre &gt; tẽer</em></td>
<td><em>uĭdēre &gt; veer</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>līgāre &gt; liar</td>
<td>reģem &gt; rei, ēgo &gt; eu</td>
<td>uādit &gt; vai</td>
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**GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE NASALIZED VOWELS**

The fall of intervocalic l, n, d or g (see below), they continue to constitute two separate syllables: sālīre > sair; tēnēre > tẽer; uĭdēre > veer; līgāre > liar. Sometimes the product is a diphthong: cōgitāre > *cuidar/coidar*, dēdi > dei, rēgem > rei, ēgo > eu, uādō > vou, uādit > vai. A special case is māgis > mais which is usually a diphthong, but can scan as two syllables (no such instances are accepted by Cohen 2003, but there is an irrefutable example in CEM 240.13 rhyming with bisyllabic quaes).

13 *-aut for -aut* is documented in inscriptions in Pompey (ILV §72).
ūnam > ũa
*corātiōnēs > corações
{panēs > pães}

(See below on intervocalic n).

**NOTE ON METAPHONY**

The term *metaphony* is used here to refer to the effect of a yod /j/ or waw /w/ on the vowel in the preceding syllable (due to anticipatory co-articulation). In GP, metaphony due to yod /j/ is more common than metaphony due to waw /w/. (The terms come from the names of the Hebrew letters corresponding to y and w.)

**METAPHONIC EFFECT OF YOD**

Tonic ĕ > i is due to metaphonic influence of final i in:
- fēci > figi (also fīz, fīx)
- *pré(n)si (for prendi) > prix
- quaesi(v)j > *quēsi > quiji (also quix, quis)
- uēni > vin

The group -āri- before a or u becomes -eir-.
*abellānāriam > avelaneira
*barquārium > barqueiro
*caballārium > cavaleiro
*carrāriam > carreira
*frontāriam > fronteira

Cf. -yri- > -eir- in Grk. martyrium > martheiro.

The same effect is seen with -óri-.
*morīō > moiro
{dormitorium > dormidoiro}

ō > u is sometimes due to metaphonic effect:
- cōgitāre > cuidar (also coidar)
- obuiāre > uviar /-vj-/  
- pōsī > puji (also pug, pus)
- pōtuī > pudi
- sōlēbat > suía (Porto Carreiro 2, v. 4)

**METAPHONIC EFFECT OF WAW**

A followed by Cw is diphthongized.
-a- > -ou-  
habuit > ouve
iacuit > jouve

-a- > -au-  
aqua > augua

The closing of the e in mētum > mědo > mědo (rhyming with cědo < cītō and quědo < *quētum) may be due to metaphony.

ō > o
*šōlum > dō
dŏlum should have given an open o, but instead yields dọo, rhyming with sọo < sŏlum, and once [in Redondo 1] with negoo = negou-o. The metaphonic influence of u in the following syllable was prob. responsible.

**NEW DIPHTONGS RESULTING FROM METAPHONY**

As seen above, metaphony produces new diphthongs:

- **au**
  - *aqua* > *augua* /auga/

- **ei**
  - *herī* > *eire* ('yesterday')
  - *mandārium* > *mandadeiro*
  - *manuārium* > *maneira*
  - *montārium* > *monteiro*
  - *primārium* > *primeiro*
  - *scutārium* > *escudeiro*

- **oi**
  - *{cōrium}* > *coiro*

- **ou**
  - *placuerit* > *prouguer*
  - *sapuit* (var. of *sapiuit*) > *soube*
  - *traxuit* (for *traxit*) > *trouxе*

**II. EVOLUTION OF CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS**

**INITIAL CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS**

(following the order: glides, liquids, nasals, fricatives, stops, clusters)

**Summary**

1. **Initial consonants**

   - i /j/ > j /dʒ/ or /ʒ/
   - u /w/ > v /β/

   - l, r, m, n, f, s, p, b, t, d, remain.

   - c-, g- remain before a back vowel, but are palatalized before a front vowel:
     - /k/ + front > /ts/ > /s/
     - /g/ + front > /dz/ > /z/

     (the affricate prob. gave way to a fricative at different times in different areas and sociolects).

2. **Initial clusters** (only f + l and stop + l are unstable) (-ch- = /tʃ/)  

   - **fl-** > **ch-**
   - **fl-** > **fr-**
   - **fr-**
   - **pl-** > **ch-**
   - **pl-** > **pr-**
pr-
bl- > br-
br-
cl- > ch-
cf- > cr-
cr-
gl- > gr-
gr-

**INITIAL CONSONANTS**

**GLIDES**

i = /j/ > j /dʒ/ or /ʒ/  
iācet > iaz  
iam > ja  
iōcāri > jogar  
iūdicem > juiz  
iūrāre > jurar  

u = Lat. /w/ > v /β/  
uadit > vai  
uentum > vento  
uerbūm > vervo  
uīdi > vi  
uīlem > vil  
uolāre > voar  

In words of Germanic origin initial w > /gw/ > /g/  
Germ. warđa > guarda, garđa  
Germ. werra > guerra  
Germ. wisa > guisa, gisa  

**LIQUIDS**

laūāre > lavar  
lauāre > loar  
leue > leve  
ligāre > liar  
longum > longo  
lūcem > luz  

But the initial / of the pronouns lo(s), la(s) is assimilated to a preceding nasal:  
bene illum > *benlo > benno, beno (written ben-no, ben o, bē-no)  
in illōs > *en los > ennos, enos (written en-nos or enos, ē-nos)  
nōn illam > *non la > nonna, nona (written non-na, non a, nō-na)  

*radia > raia  
rem > ren  
rīum (rium Ap. Prob) > río  
rōstrum > rostro  

**NASALS**

mātrem > madre
metum > medo
*mīrāre (for mīrāri) > mirar
mortem > morte
mūtāre > mudar

nāscere > nacer
negāre > negar
nouās > novas
numquam > nunca

FRICATIVES\textsuperscript{14}

fābulārī > falar
ferīre > ferir
fidem > fe
fortem > forte

salem > sal
semper > sempre
sic > se, si
sonāre > sonar

STOPS: labials (p, b); dentals (t, d); velars (c, qu, g)

Labial stops

panem > pan
petere > pedir
pinum > pino
pōnere > põer
pugnāre > punhar

bellum, bellam > belo, bela
bene > ben
bibere > bever

also:
*balliāre (ultimately from Grk. ballein) > bailar
balneāre (Lat. < Grk.) > banhar
Goth. bandwa [GED, B 22] > bando

b- > v- (?)
*bellīta > velida\textsuperscript{15}

Dental stops

\textsuperscript{14} In Latin fricatives were rare in medial position. All examples of Latin -s- derive from -ss- (e.g. caussa > causa), since intervocalic s had been voiced and then rhotacized before the classical period. In any event, there are no words in the cantigas d’amigo reflecting Classical or Late Latin -f- except in compounds, where they occur at a morpheme boundary, e.g. de&fender, re&ferir, pro&veito (< prefectum).

\textsuperscript{15} This etymology is problematic (see Cunha’s glossary to Zorro, s.v.). Perhaps here the initial b was, in effect, intervocalic within a formula and was voiced in that context: illa-bellīita > la-velida. Malkiel suggests a derivation from mellitus.
tardem > tarde
tē > te
terram > terra
tornāre > tornar
tū > tu
dare > dar
dē > de
dicere > dizer
dolēre > doer
dōna > dōas, doas (a rebuilt fem. plural as if from a singular *doa).
duās > duas (masc. dous < duōs)

Velar stops

c is maintained as /k/ before back vowels:
*capitia > cabeça
canem > can
cōgitāre > coidar (also cuidar)
colligere > colher
cuium > cujo
culpa > culpa
cūrāre > curar
c > /ts/ before front vowels:
ceruum > cervo
centum > cento
*cēlum (< caelum) > ceo
certum > certo
cingat > cinga

qu- remains. It was pronounced both as /kw/ and /k/ (forms such as ca, cal, camanho show /k/ was common enough. We often find que where we would expect ca, suggesting there was a fusion of – or confusion between – the two).

qual > qual
quam (‘how much’) > quam
(ante...) quam (‘before’) > (ante...) ca
quid > que
quem > quem
quia > ca

g- is velar before a back vowel:
gabar (Prov., from Germ.?) > gabar
garrītam > garrida
{gaudēre > goir}
{guttam > gota}
Prov. gonella > gonela (cf. ML gunna, from Celtic; thus, intervocalic n and / derive here from -nn- and -ll-)

g- before a front vowel becomes the palatal affricate /ʤ/.  
{gelulm > geo}
gentem > gente
{gemere > gemer}
INITIAL CLUSTERS WITH TWO CONSONANTS

1. Beginning with a fricative.

\**f + liquid**

\(fl^{-} > ch^{-}\)

\{\* brigade (for \*frägräre) > cheirar\} (the expected outcome for native words)

\(fl^{-} > fr^{-}\)

flörem > frr, frol

\* flöttä > frolida

(These outcomes represent recent borrowings.)

\(fl^{-}\)

flörem > flor (learned).

\(fr^{-}\)

frigidam > fria

\**s + stop**

Initial combinations of \(s +\) voiceless stop are retained, but develop an \(i\), which then becomes \(e\), in front of the cluster:

\(sT^{-} > isT^{-} > esT^{-}\)

ML scutärium > escudeiro

speculum > espelho

stäre > estar

stätuäle (cêra) > estadal (only the plural estadaes is found in Amigo)

sturnum > estorninho (with diminutive suffix, in Johan Airas, pastoñela)

? {Germ. \* skiu-, possibly crossed with \*skib- [cf. Goth. \*skiuban; GED, A 27] > esquivar}

2. Stop + liquid\(^{16}\)

\**labial + liquid**

pl^{-} > ch^{-} /tʃ/ (this is the regular result)

plägam > chaga

plägäre > chagar

{plënum > chéo}

plöräre > chorar

plüs > chus

* plicäre > chegár

pl^{-} > pr^{-}

placêre > prazêr (a relatively late borrowing)

placitum (via Prov. pleito) > preito

placitum (\(>\) *prazo) > prazo

plänum (via Prov. plan) > pran (in the phrase de pran, ‘clearly’, ‘certainly’)

pr^{-} is regularly retained:

prätum > prado

prendere > prender

privätum > privado

probäre > provar

\(^{16}\) There are no words beginning with initial \(br^{-}, dr^{-}\) from Latin in the Cantigas d’ Amigo.
prēnsiōnem > prijon
prōfectum > proveito

bl- > br-
{blandum > brando}
Germ. blank- > branc- (in the proper name Brancaflor, branco in CSM)
Prov. bial(t) > brial

br-
{bracchium (Lat. < Grk.) > braço}
{breuem > breve}

brio is of disputed etymology.17

dental + r

tr-
trāditōrem > traedor
très > tres
trīstem > triste

dr-
{dracōnem (Lat. < Grk.) > dragon}

velar + liquid

cl- > ch- /tʃ/
clāmāre > chamar
{clāuem > chave}

cl- > cr-
Clementium > Cremenço (in V, for Clemenço [Nuno Treez 2, v. 1])
{clārum > craro}

cr-
crās > cras
crēdere > creer
crēscere > crecer
crūcem > cruz

gl- > gr-
glōriōsam > groriosa (learned word)

gr-
grātum > grado
*grātulāre > gradoar
grauem > grave.

INITIAL CLUSTERS WITH THREE CONSONANTS

sTr- > > isTr > esTr-

Initial combinations from Latin str- and scr- developed an i, which then became an e, in front of the cluster, just as s + stop (see above)18.

17 According to REW, from Celtic *brigos, in which case the cluster would remain. H. Meier suggests bullīvu- > blivu- > brio, in which case we would have a change of secondary bl- > br-.
Medial Consonants and Clusters

Medial Consonants

Glides

\( i > j / \tilde{\jmath} \)  
  *\{ai\(\tilde{\jmath}\)tis (< habe\(\tilde{\jmath}\)tis) > ajades  
    cuii\(\tilde{\jmath}\)um > cujo

\( u > v \) (normally, just as in initial position)  
  auem > ave  
  leuem > leve  
  pau\(\tilde{\jmath}\)rem > pavor  
  uiiuere > viver

\( u \) is lost as the second part of the diphthong \( ou \) in the forms of \( oir \) and \( loar \). An epenthetic \( v \) arises, by contrast, in the forms \( ouvir \) and \( louvar \) (see under \( au > ou \)).

Liquids

\(-l-\) is regularly lost:  
  caelum > ce\(\tilde{o}\)  
  cand\(\tilde{e}\)la > candea  
  dol\(\tilde{e}\)re > doer  
  *dolum > doo  
  *gr\(\tilde{a}\)tu\(\tilde{a}\)re > gradoar  
  malum > mao, {malam > maa}  
  qu\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)s > quaes  
  rec\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{l}\)are > recear  
  salire > sair  
  sal\(\tilde{u}\)tem > saude  
  s\(\tilde{o}\)la > soa  
  s\(\tilde{o}\)lire > soer  
  s\(\tilde{o}\)lit\(\tilde{a}\)tem > soi\(\tilde{d}\)ade  
  s\(\tilde{o}\)lum > soo (adj.; cf. so/l adv.)  
  st\(\tilde{a}\)tu\(\tilde{a}\)les > estadaes (‘candles’)  
  uol\(\tilde{a}\)re > voar  
  uolunt\(\tilde{a}\)tem > voontade  
  z\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{l}\)are > ce\(\tilde{a}\)r (‘be jealous’)  
  z\(\tilde{e}\)l\(\tilde{o}\)s > ce\(\tilde{o}\)s (‘jealousy’)

But \(-l-\) survived in  
  ual\(\tilde{e}\)re > valer  
  (\(\text{color}\) in Dinis 23 is a learned word; elsewhere regularly \( coor \))

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18 Only \( sc\{\tilde{l}\}g\{\tilde{o}\} \) (‘the cry of geese’ OLD) and \( sc\{\tilde{l}\}opp\{\tilde{u}\}s \) (‘the sound made in striking something full of air’ OLD) begin with \( sc\{\tilde{l}\}- \) in Latin (\( esc\{\tilde{r}\}are\{\tilde{c}\}er \) [CSM] < \( *excl\{\tilde{a}\}\{\tilde{r}\}\{\tilde{e}\}\{\tilde{c}\}ere \) < excl\(\tilde{a}\)r\(\tilde{a}\)re). And only two words begin with \( spr- \), \( spr\{\tilde{e}\}t\{\tilde{u}\}s \) and \( spr\{\tilde{e}\}t\{\tilde{\alpha}\}r \), both extremely rare. \( es\{\tilde{p}\}ran\{\tilde{a}\}r \) (CSM) is a loanword (note the retention of intervocalic \(-n-\) and in any event comes from \( expl\{\tilde{a}\}n\{\tilde{a}\}r \), not from an initial Latin \( spr- \). Compare \( es\{\tilde{p}\}r\{\tilde{a}\}n\{\tilde{a}\}dr \) < splend\(\tilde{e}\)rem, \( es\{\tilde{p}\}re\{\tilde{t}\}t\{\tilde{\alpha}\}r \) < explicit\(\tilde{\alpha}\)re (both in CSM).
and in an archaism found only in a few cantigas d’amigo:
salītum > salido
   (in formulas: mar salido, rio salido)

-r- is kept:
   ferītam > ferida
   fueram > fora
   hōram > ora
   ìram > ira (learned word)
   parâre > parar
   plōrâre > chorar

Non-initial r is subject to metathesis:
   *appect(o)ráre > *apetrar > apertar (Johan Airas, pastorela)
   barbarum > bravo;
   *fermōsam (for formosam) > fremosa
   inter > entre, antre
   Grk. parabola > palavra
   *percontāre (for percontari) > preguntar
   prō > por
   retrō > redor (in derredor)
   semper > sempre
   super > sobre

NASALS

-m- remains:
   comedere > comer
   nominem > nome
   rēmāre > remar
   timēre > temer

-n- is usually lost and the preceding vowel nasalized:
   dōna > dõa
   bonam > bõa
   *certānam > certãa
   *cominitiāre (com + initiāre ← initium) > começar
   *indōnātum > endõado
   manēre > mãer
   manum > mão
   minus > méos
   *pēnātam > pêada
   perdōnāre > perdôar
   pōnere > póer
   *ratiōnātum > razôada
   sēminâre > semẽar
   *sono (← sum) > sõo (cf. It. sono)
   tenēre > têer
   uānum > vão
   uenīre > viîr
   *uerãnum (← ver ‘spring’) > verão (Dinis, pastorela)
   ũnām > ũa

But -n- survives between vowels in a few words found almost exclusively in cantigas d’amigo, normally in the incipit, in rhyme, or in the refrain:
   abellāna (nux) > avelana (‘hazelnut’)
   fontāna (aqua) > fontana
germāna > irmāna (also irmā, irmaa)
*lauiāna ? > louçana (also louçā, louçaa)
*maeāna (‘ in the morning’) > manhana (Torneol 1)
pēna (‘poena’) > pena (Ponte 2)
pēnata > penada (also pēāda)
pinum > pino (also pinho [=pĩo])
sānum > sano (elsewhere sāo)
sonāre > sonar (Giinzo 8, elsewhere sōar)
uenibat > venia (Solaz 2; elsewhere viā, viinha)

FRICATIVES
-f- > -v-
{defēnsam > devesa}
profectum > proveito
(many examples in Sacks §97)

But intervocalic f remains in:
 dēfendere > defender
dēfēnsiōnem > defenson
*referīre (‘referre’) > referir
(The former are learned or borrowed [Williams §72.3a]; the last, if not learned, may be due
to a perceived relation between the simplex verb and the compound; compare the retention
of intervocalic t in detēer.)

-s- > /z/
 casa > casa
causa > cosa
pausare > posar

STOPS: labials (p, b); dentals (t, d); velars (c, qu, g)

The general rule is VTV > VDV (but paucum > pouco, autōricāre > outorgar; see above, under
au).

p > b
 capere > caber
 *cuperāre > cobrar
 recipere > receber
 ripam > riba
 *ripārium > ribeiro
 *sapiat > sabha
 sapōrem > sabor
 superbia > sobervha

b > v
 dēbēre > dever
 bibere > bever
 ML caballum > cavalo
 *fibellam (‘fibula’) > fivela
 habēre > aver

19 In Latin fricatives were rare in medial position. All examples of Latin -s- derive from -ss- (e.g.
causa > causa), since intervocalic s had been voiced and then rhotacized before the Classical
period. In any event, there are no words in the cantigas d’ amigo reflecting Classical or Late
Latin -f- except in compounds, where they occur at a morpheme boundary, e.g. de&fender,
re&ferir, pro&veito (< profectum).
*marābilia (← mīrābilia) > maravilha
probāre > provar
*trabāre (← trabs, trabis) > travar

Intervocalic *b* disappears entirely in two very common words:
 ibī > i
ūbī > u

In Proto-Romance intervocalic *b* falls in the all important verb habeō > *ayo. It also falls in the ending of the imperfect, -iba > -ia (also found as the stem of the new conditional mood: -ia as in perderia).

But si for sībī and ti for tībī were prob. influenced by the analogy of mihi > mī > mi. noscum and uoscum (Ap. Prob.) were also formed by analogy, not directly from Lat. nobiscum and uōbiscum by loss of intervocalic *b*.

-t- is voiced (but not in autōricāre > outorgar, etc. see above under au).
cito > cedo
grātum > grado
*grātuāre > gradoar
*latum (for latus) > lado
laetum > ledo
lītem > lide
metum > medo
mūtāre > mudar
pariētem > pared
prātum > prado
probātum > provado
tōtum > todo
uetāre > vedar
*uicātam > vegada
uiūtam > vida
uōta > voda
(quitar and quite are borrowed from OF).

Rarely, medial *t* is maintained:
dētinēre > detēer
(prob. due to analogy with the simplex.)

-d- is lost (sometimes with a change in the first vowel, e.g. loir)
benedictōnem > beençon (intervocalic n and d are both lost).
comedere > comeer
crēdere > creer
crūdam > crua (in cruamente)
*excadescere (← cadere) > escaecer
fidēre (← fidere) > fiar
iūdicem > juiz
laudēre > loar (also louvar)
lūde > loir
mercēdem > mercée
paradīsum > paraiso

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20 Though often called a tense of the indicative, the conditional functions as the GP equivalent of a Latin potential subjunctive in the apodosis (often with implied protasis) of contrary-to-fact conditions (e.g. CL si possem, irem = se podesse, iria). The conditional is not used in the protasis of a condition. The forms of the conditional can still be split by a pronoun in GP: se vos foder podesse, foder-vos-ia [Johan Soarez Coelho CEM 234]).
perfidia > perfia
sedēre > seër
trādītōrem > traëdor
trāditiōnem > traëdon
*trīstēdinem > tristen (‘sadness’, hapax)
uidēre > veer

(julgar < iūdicāre is Leon.; it coexists with the expected GP form, trisyllabic {juigar}, with regular loss of intervocalic d.)

But it is retained as an archaism in:
   sedēbat > sedia (Estevan Coelho 1; normally siā, rarely seïa).

-c- > -g- before a back vowel (but not in paucum > pouco; see above, under au).
   LL autōricāre > outorgar
dīcātis > digades
hōc annō > ogano
hāc hōrā > agora
locō > logo
locālem > logar
lūcum > Lugo
pācāre > pagar
*percontāre > preguntar
plicāre > chegar
uacāre > vagar
uerēcundia > vergonha
uicum > Vigo

-fic- > -lig- > -lg-
   voicing of -c- occurs before syncopation in:
   dēlīcātum > *deligatu > *delgado
   ML caballīcāre > *cavalgar > cavalgar
   ML folīcāre > *folgar > folgar
   LL sērīcum > *sirgo > sirgo

before a front vowel c is palatalized, yielding a voiced affricate or fricative):
-c- > -z- = /dz/ or /z/
   addūcere > aduzer (aduzir)
dicēre > dizer
facēre > fazer
licēre > lezer (subst.)
*tracēre (for trahere) > trager (Leite de Vasconcellos)

-qu- > -g- (with loss of the labial element):
   aqua > agua > augua (by metaphony)
   aliquem > algum
   aliquod > algo
   antīquom > antigo
   *sequīre (for sequi) > seguir

-x- > /ʃ/ when followed by final -i ; otherwise -x- > /s/.
   dīxī > dixi, disse
   addūxī > aduxe

   dīxit > disse
dixeram > dissera
addūxisset > adusse
addūxit > adusse
-g- is normally lost:
  cōgĭtāre > coidar, cuidar
  *contĭgescere (cf. {conter} [CSM] < *contigere) > contecer
  *desmagare (← PGerman. magan) > desmaiar
  frigĭdam > fria
  lēgālem > leal
  līgāre > liar
  māgis > mais
  lãgisteria > maestria (app. from Prov.)
  navigĭum > navio
  rēgem > rei
  mea germāna > mha irmana\(^2^1\)

But -g- is not lost in:
  fugere > fogir (a striking exception; cf. OSp. foir, Sp. huir)
  plāgam > chaga
  plāgāre > chagar
  negāre > negar
  rogāre > rogar

-gn- yields palatal -nh- /ɲ/
-gn- > -nh-:
  cognōscere > conhecer
  pugnāre > punhar
  quam magnum > camanho
  tam magnum > tamanho

But -gn- gives a different result in several words:\(^2^2\)
  insignāre > ensinar
  rēgnum > reino (possibly due to the influence of rei < regem)

**MEDIAL GEMINATE CONSONANTS**

All medial geminate consonants except -rr- and -ss- are reduced to a single consonant and remain.

-ll- > -l-
  abellelāna (nux) > avelana
  allongāre < alongar
  bellam > bela
  *bellītam > velida
  *fallūtus (← fallere) > falido
  illāc > alá
  ille > ele
  illic > alí

\(^2^1\) The change germāna > irmana can be explained by assuming that g was lost intervocally in phrases such as mea germana > mia irmana. We see similar treatment of word-final and word-initial consonants in the formulas hōc annō > ogano, hāc hōra > agora and (perhaps) illa *bellīta > la velida. In the first two cases c is kept at word-end (against the rule) and voiced to g, while in the second case b > v takes place at the beginning of a word. Cf. also ad + GP inda > ainda. Cunha (Zorro, s.v.) accepts Malkiel’s argument that this word suffered an early palatalization and loss of g, which we could summarize as ge- > ye > yi > i. The argument goes back to Cornu (accepted by Meyer Lübke).

\(^2^2\) These words have in common the fact that a front vowel, i or e, precedes -gn-. But the explanation may be merely that they entered GP later than the words in the first set.
illōc > aló
mīlle > mil
uīllam > vila
ML caballum > cavalo

-rr- is maintained
  accurrere > acorrer
  errāre > errar
  *morrere > morrer
  terram > terra
turrem > torre

-mm- > -m-
  *camminum (Celt.) > caminho
  committere > cometer

-nn- > -n-
  hōc annō > ogano
  ingannum > engano
  ML pannum > pano

-ff- > -f-
  afetar > affectāre
  *suffrēre (for sufferre) > sofrer

-ss- is maintained:
  fēcisset > fezesse
  possum > posso
  passāre > passar
  passer > passar (Ap. Prob.) → passar-inha (Johan Soarez Coelho 5)

-pp- > -p-
  appōnere > apõer
  apprehendere > aprender
  ML cappa > capa

-bb- > -b-
In borrowings from Germanic:
  *a + dubbare (← Germ. dubban, through OF) > adubar
  Germ. via Prov. (?) gabban → gabar

-tt- > -t-
  mittere > meter
  attendere > atender
  attribuere > atrever
  committere > cometer
  (cf. AA hatta > atá)

-dd- > -d-
  addūcere > aduzer (aduzir)
  ad + dūrē > adur (or via Prov. adur?)

-cc- > -c- (/k/)
  accalumniāre > acoomhar
  *accordāre > acordar
  eccum ille > aquele
  eccum iste > aqueste
eccum hāc > acá
eccum hīc > aquí
eccum hinc > aquen

-\text{-gg-} \rightarrow -\text{g-}
aggravāre > agravar

**CONSONANT FOLLOWED BY YOD**

Medial Clusters consisting of a consonant followed by yod (deriving from an \(i\) or an \(e\) in hiatus) yield different results. Normally the consonant is palatalized. Sometimes there is a metaphonic effect on the vowel of the preceding syllable.

\(/\text{-uy-}/ \rightarrow /\text{vj}/
seruiat > servha
\((\text{secondary})\) o(b)viāre > uviar
\((\text{both examples are bisyllabic})\)

\(-\text{li-} \rightarrow -\text{lh-}\)
Medial /\(i\)/ is palatalized, becoming /\(\text{ʎ}/
consili\(\text{um}\) > conselho
*marābilia > maravilha
melīōrem > melhor
milīum > milho
mulīarem > molher
*similiāre (for \(\text{simulāre}\)) > semelhar (cf. \(\text{sembrar}\))
uleat > valha

The same holds for \(-\text{lli-}\)
illiu- (\(\text{gen.}\) illius or illius) > lhi, lhe
nulliu- (\(\text{gen.}\) nullius [the \(i\) is given as long in grammars, but can also be short]) > nulho

The group \(-\text{ári-}\) before \(a\) or \(u\) becomes \(-\text{eir-}\) due to metaphony
*abellānāriam > avelaneira
*barquāriam > barqueiro
carrāriam > carreira
frontāriam > fronteira
mandātāriam > mandadeiro
manuāriam > maneira
montāriam > monteiro
primāriam > primeiro
scutāriam > escudeiro

\(-\text{my-} \rightarrow /\text{m}/
dormiō > dormho
\((\text{secondary})\) *accalumniāre > acoomhar

\(-\text{ny-} \rightarrow /\text{n}/
balneāre > banhar
*compania (\(<\text{pan}\)) > companha
*extrāneāre > estranhar
īnsāniam > sanha
*maneāna > manhana
maneō > manho
seniōrem > senhor
somniāre > sonhar (see below on \(-\text{mn-}\) clusters)
teneō > tenho
ueniō > venho

\(s\) followed by \(i\) can become \(j\) (\(= /dʒ/\) or \(/ʒ/\)):
{mānsistes (perf. 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. of manēre) > majestes}
*posī (for posui / posīvi) > pugi
prēnīōnem > prijon
{visīōnem > vijon}

*sapiat > sabha \(/b)/\)

\(t\) is palatalized, resulting in \(/ts/\) or \(/s/\)

*altāre > alçar
capitā > cabeça
coratiōnem > coraçon
fortia > força
grātim > graça
*mentiātis > mençades (vs. *mentire > mentir)
oratiōnem > oraçon
partitiōnem > partiçon
petitiōnem > pediçon
pretiāre > preçar
sacratiōnem > sagraçon
sentiō > senço (cf. sentire > sentir)
tertiārium > tercer (with apocope, as in tercer dia, with a monophthong instead of a diphthong; cf. terceiro)
tristiātiam > tristeça
uitiōsum > viçoso

d is usually palatalized, producing the affricate \(/dʒ/\) or the fricative \(/ʒ/\)

-dy- > -j-
*dēsidium > desejo
hodiē > hoje
iuidia > enveja
uideō > *uidyo > vejo
sedeō > *sedyo > sejo
(The result -ç- instead of -j- in *perdiat (for perda t) > perça may have arisen by analogy with forms like faciat > faça, sentiat > sença)

But \(d\) is lost before an \(i\) in hiatus in:
badium (Latin < Celt.) > baio (‘bay’) in baiosinho (with diminutive suffix, Dinis 17).
medium > meio (elsewhere meo)
*radiam > raia (rhyming with saia in Johan Airas, pastorela)

-cy- > /ts/ or /s/
*amināciāre > amẽaçar
faciō > faço

-gy- : \(g\) can also be lost before yod:
LL sagiām > saia

-gn- > -nh- /ɲ/
cognōscere > conhecer
pugnāre > punhar
quam magnum > camanho
tam magnum > tamanho
MEDIAL CLUSTERS
(other than a consonant followed by yod; see above)

These are listed according to the first element in the general order: glide (i, u), liquid (l, r), nasal (m, n) fricative (f, s), stop (in the order p, b, t, d, c, qu, g). The same order is followed in each subsection for the second element of the cluster.

Summary
1. Stable
   -ls- (falso)
   -lp-
   -lt- (alto)
   -rm-
   -rf-
   -rp-
   -rt-
   -rd-
   -rc- + back
   -rg- + back
   -mp-
   -mb-
   -nt-
   -nd-
   -nc- + back
   -nqu- + back
   -ng- + back
   -sc- + back
   -sp-
   -st-
   -sc- + back

2. Unstable
   -lu- > -lv-
   -ru- > -rv-
   -lb- > -lv-
   -alt- > -lv-
      -alt- > -out-
      -ult- > -ult- -oit-
   -alc- + front > -ouc-
      -rl- > -l- (secondary)
   -rs- > -ss-
   -rb- > -rv-
   -rc- + front > /ts/
   -rq- + front > /ts/
   -rg- + front > -rj- /dz/
      -ml- > -mbr- (secondary)
      -nl- > -nn- (secondary)
   -mn- > -n-
   -nu- > -n-
   -nu- > -v-
   -ns- > -s-
   -nc- > + front > /nts/
   -ng- + front > /nd3/
   -fl- > -ch-
I. Two-Consonant Clusters

1. The first member is a liquid.

The first member is /l/.

/lu-/ > /lv-
{doluērunt > dolveron}
saluum > salvo
ualuerit > valver
{uoluere > volver}

/ls-

falsum > falso
falsitātem > falsidade

I + consonant

All stops except /b/ are preserved following /l/. But /l/ is usually vocalized in the combinations /alt- and /ult-, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

/lp-
culpa > culpa

/lb- > /lv- (with /b > /v/, as intervocally)
albam > alva
ML albōrem > alvor
-It-
-alt- > -out-
  alt(e)rum > outro
  saltum > souto (Johan Airas, pastorela)

But -alt- remains in:
  altum > alto
  altāre > altar (prob. a learned word)

-ult- > -uit-, -oilt-
  auscultāre > ascuitar (elsewhere ascoitar)
  a + *uoltōrem > avuitor (‘vulture’)
  multum > muito, moito

-lc- : the group -alc- before a front vowel becomes -ouc- :
  {calcem > couce}

The first member is r.

-ru- > -rv-
  servīre > servir
  seruum > servo
  ceruum > cervo

-rl- > -l-
  (secondary) per + illum > perlo > pelo
  (secondary) prō + illum > porlo > polo
  (secondary) quaerit illum > querlo > quelo (written que-lo)
  AA macar (< Grk. makaire) + lo > macalo (written maca-lo)

-rm-
  dormire > dormir
  germānam > irmana, irmā
  tormenta > tormenta

-rn-
  tornāre > tornar
  {perna > perna}

-rf-
  perfacere > perfazer
  perfida > perfia
  perfidiāre > porfiar

-rs- > -ss-
  {versum > vesso
  persōna > pessōa}

r + stop

After r all consonants except $b$ are preserved ($c$ and $g$ being palatalized before front vowels).

-rp-
  *corpum > corpo
  *turpitātem > torpidade

-rb- > -rv- (with $b > v$, as intervocalically)
  disturbāre > destorvar
herbam > erva
uerbum > vervo

-rt-
  artem > arte
  fortém > forte
  mortem > morte
  partem > parte

-rd-
  ardēre > arder
  {merdam > merda}
  perdōnāre > perdōar

-rc- remains before a back vowel
  arcum > arco
  bāricam (< Grk. < Coptic) > barca
  circāre > cercar

But -rc-, -ru- > -rc- /rts/ or /rs/ before a front vowel.
  *parcīre (for parcere) > parcir
  {torquēre > torcer}

-rg- > -rg- with velar g before a back vowel:
  ergō > ergo
 uirgō > virgo (learned word)

But -rg- > -rj- /dʒ/ or /ʒ/ before a front vowel:
  {mergere > merger}

even when secondary
  er(i)gere > erger

2. The first member is a nasal.

nasal + u

-nu- > -n-
  manuāria > maneira.

-nu- > -v-
But in once case n app. becomes intervocalic in front of anaptyctic u and then falls, leaving v.
  tēnuit > *tēnŭuit > *tẽove > teve

23 Williams (§199.8) says tenuit became teve by analogy with seve (< seduit). But an analogical formation seems unlikely, given that tev- is far more frequent than sev-. Santamarina rightly doubts a reconstruction *tēnēuit with analogical ē (see GHG §219e); he is not thinking of the possibility of an anaptyctic vowel, which would have been short coming from tēnuit. Piel (p. 234) sees an intermediate *tēv (< tenuī) with the nasal then assimilated to v. Sacks (§142), however, cites the forms teobe, teoue, teube, and teuerunt (all eleventh century), where the spellings -eo- and -eu- cannot be explained by analogy with seve or by *tenuit but are consistent with an intermediate *tēnŭvit (teuerunt apparently represents *tē-nũ-uē-runt). The anaptyctic u would have arisen in HL, after the syncope of -Cuv- in Proto-Romance but long before the fall of intervocalic n. (On metrically verifiable diaeresis of u before a vowel in Latin, see OHCGL, p. 66 [with note 16], which cites silũae [for silvae], ăcũāi [for āquae], and sũădent [for suādent]). Compare coube < *ca-bu-ui < *capuit; soube < *sa-bu-ui < *sapuit (in both cases, voicing of intervocalic -p- can only take place if an anaptyctic vowel has developed).
nasal + liquid

-ml- > -mbr-
An epenthetic -b- appears in:
   sim(i)lante> sembliante (< OF)
   *sim(i)lär> sembrar (< OF; cf. the native semelhar)

-nl- > -nn-
   in + illum > enlo > enno (written en-no or eno)
   in + illa > enla > enna (written en-na or ena)
   in + illös> enlos > ennos (written en-nos or enos)
   in + illäs > enlas > ennas (written en-nas or enas)

nasal + nasal

Usually an m before an n is lost:
-mn- > -n-
   damnum > dano
   somnum > sono

also when secondary:
   domina > domna > dona

secondary -nm- > -lm- (by dissimilation following syncope)
   anima > *anma > alma

vowel + fricative

-ns-
In Latin -Vns- > -Vs- is widely attested: the nasal is lost and the vowel lengthened:
   admőnstāre > amostrar
   pěnsāre > pesar

-ns- is a sign of learned words or borrowed words:
   cőnsentīre > consentir
   pěnsāre > pensar

-nf-
There are two outcomes. The n can be retained:
   confundere > confonder
   *infingēre/*infingire > enfenger/enfengir

Or it can be lost:
   confundere > cofonder

nasal + stop

All stops remain following a nasal, but c and g are palatalized before a front vowel.

-mp-
   rumpere > romper
   semper > sempre

-mb-
   ambŏs > ambos

-nt-
ante > ante
cantāre > cantar
fontem > fonte
*leuantāre > levantar
mentem > mente
montem > monte
quantum > quanto
sentīre > sentir
tantum > tanto

-nd-
dēfendere > defender
inde > ende
mandāre > mandar
mundum > mundo
unde > onde

-nc- > /nts/ or /ns/ before a front vowel:
vincere > vencer
ML lanceāre > lançar

-nqu- > -nk-
nunquam > nunca

-ng- remains before a back vowel:
cingat > cinga
*infingat > enfinga
longum > longo

-ng- > /ndʒ/ or /nʒ/ before a front vowel:
cingere > cinger
īnfingere > enfing
longē > longi (adv.)
tangere > tanger

3. The first member is a fricative

-su- > -s-
{consuere > coser}

(secondary) -sl- > -l-
deus + illum > deulo (written Deu-lo)
totās illās > todaslas > todalas
uidētis illum > vedeslo > vedelo (written vede-lo)

s + stop

Following s, voiceless stops – p, t, k (= c in front of a back vowel) – are normally maintained:

-sp-
dispectum > despeito
suspirāre > sospirar
suspecta > sospeita

-st-
hostem > oste
iste > este
stāre > estar
Prov. toste (for tosto) > toste

-sc- remains before a back vowel:
abscondere > asconder
auscultäre > ascultar
cognoscō > conhosco
LL noscum (for nōbiscum) > nosco
LL uoscum (for uōbiscum) > vosco
*nāscat (for nāscātur) > nasca
*scutārium > escudeiro

But -sc- before a front vowel becomes -ç-/ts/ or /s/:
*contigescere (← contingere) > contecer
cognōscere > conhoscer
crēscere > crecer
*merescēre (← merēre) > merecer
*nāscēre (for nāscī) > nacer
*parescēre (← parēre) > parecer

Exceptionally, -sc- > x /∫/ in a Galician placename:
Crexente < crēscentem (Johan Airas, pastorela)

(secondary) -zd- > -dz- > -z-

placitum > *prazdo > *pradzo > prazo (cf. preito, from same source but though Prov.)
recitāre > *rezdar > *redzar > rezar (rezo in Bolseiro 1)

4. The first member is a stop.

Stop + u

-tu- > -t-
u is generally lost after t but the consonant remains:
{batuere > bater}
mortuum > morto

But t can also be voiced (before u drops out)
-tu- > -d-
potuerat > podera
{futuere > foder}

-du- > -v- (by assimilation)
aduenit > aven
aduentum > avento

-du- > -v- after the loss of intervocalic -d- in:
{*crēduī, -uit (for crēdidī, -it) > crivi, crive, creve}
*sedui, -uit (for sēdī, -it) > {sivi, sive}, seve.

Stop + liquid

-pr- > -br-
{*capra > cabra}

Secondary, after syncope:
ap(ĕ)rere > abrī
*cup(e)rāre > cobrar
*incop(ĕ)rire (← coperire, var. of coopĕrire) > encobrir

-bl- > -ll- > -l- (see Williams §86.2)
   *făbulăre (for făbulāri) > *fallar > falar24
   sub illum > *soblo > *sollo > solo (written so-lo)
   {ubi illum > *ublo > *ulo > ulo (written u-lo, similarly u-los, u-la, u-las)}

(secondary) -bl- > -br-
   secondary {ambulăre > ambrar}
   nŏbilem > nobre (learned)

-br- > -vr-
   {librum > livro}

(secondary) -br- > -vr- (after syncope of -o-)
   labôrăre > lavrar (or did b > v precede syncope?)

(secondary) -br- > -b-
   super + illum > sobrelo > sobelo (loss of r due to following l)
   ? superc(u)lum > *sobrelho > *sobelho > sobejo (If the etymon is correct, -f- shows this is
   a non-native form; prob. from Castilian.)25

-tr- > -dr-
   mătre > madre
   patrem > padre
   patrŏnem > padrón
   petram > pedra

-cl- (resulting from syncope) > -lh- 26
   nec *micac(u)la > nemigalha
   oc(u)lum (oclum Ap. Prob.) > olho
   spec(u)lum > espeelho

-cr- > -gr-
   lucrăre > lograr
   sacrătionem > sagraçon
   sacrătum > sagraño

-ct- > -zd- > /dz/ or /z/
   rec(i)tăre > *rezdar > rezar

-gr- > -ir-
   g is palatalized, becoming yod and diphthongizing the preceding vowel
   {*fragăre (for flăgrăre) > cheirar}
   {integrum > enteiro}

-gr- sometimes remains in learned words

24 făbulăre might have turned out differently. If it had not suffered syncope but had lost the
   intervocalic -l- it could have yielded *favăor. And if it had syncopated it might have resulted in
   *fabar (cf. ambulăre > ambrar) or *favar (cf. OS fabiar and the form favian in a GP passage in
   Raimbaut de Vaqueirias). Compare tavoa (< tabula), tavoeiro, tavleiro (both < tābulariu-), tavǎla
   (< tabulina), all forms found in CSM.

25 If the variant in Johan Meendiz de Briteiros 1, v. 7 sobreio B (sobeio V) is correct, it would
   represent sobrejo < *sobrelo.  
26 But compare {periculum > perigoo}, app. with an intervening *periguloo (voicing of c > g took
   place before syncope – otherwise we should have gotten *perilho).
\{nigrum > negro\}

**stop + fricative**

- ps- \(\rightarrow\) ss- (or final -s) in:
  - ipse, ipsa, ipsum \(\rightarrow\) esse, essa, esso
  - met- + ipse \(\rightarrow\) medes (maybe from Prov.)

\(b\) is assimilated to following \(v\):
- bv- \(\rightarrow\) v-
  - obuiāre \(\rightarrow\) uviar (\(= /uv\vbar/\))

-x- /ks/ \(\rightarrow\) /ʃ/ sometimes with metaphonic effect on back vowel in preceding syllable
  - dīxī \(\rightarrow\) dixe
  - laxāre \(\rightarrow\) leixar
  - *traxuit \(\rightarrow\) trouxe

ex- \(\rightarrow\) es-
  - *excadēscere \(\rightarrow\) escaecer
  - expetere \(\rightarrow\) espedir
  - *extrāneāre \(\rightarrow\) estranhar

**stop + stop**

The second consonant remains; the first can be lost or transformed, and sometimes yields a diphthong:

- pt- \(\rightarrow\) t-
  - captāre < catar ("look for")
  - \{septem > sete\}
  - \{scriptum > escrito\}

(secondary) - bd- \(\rightarrow\) t-
  - \{dub(i)tāre > *dubdar > dultar (Leon.; compare GP duvidar, dovidar, without syncope)\}

(secondary) - dg- \(\rightarrow\) lg-
  - *judgāre \(<\) iūdicāre > julgar (Leon. [Cintra, pp. 320-21]; the native GP form, found elsewhere, is trisyllabic julgar without syncope)
  - \{LL natīca > nadega > *nadga > nalga\} is Leon.; cf. Port. and Gal. nadega without syncope

-Vct- \(\rightarrow\) Vt-

\(c\) is lost and the preceding vowel becomes a diphthong, except in the case of -ict-.

- act- \(\rightarrow\) eit-
  - factum \(\rightarrow\) feito
  - tractam \(\rightarrow\) treita

- ect- \(\rightarrow\) eit-
  - affectāre \(\rightarrow\) afeitar
  - affectum \(\rightarrow\) afelho (adv. 'certainly')
  - *dectāre (de + iectāre) \(\rightarrow\) deitar
  - dērectum \(\rightarrow\) dereito
  - dispectum \(\rightarrow\) despeito
  - suspecta \(\rightarrow\) sospeita
-ict- > -it-
  dictum > dito
  
-oct > -oīt-
  *coctam (< coacta) > coita
  noctem > noite
  {octo > oīto}

-uct- > -oīt-
  ductum > doito (Dinis, pastorela)

II. Three-Consonant Clusters

Summary

-rct- > -ct-
-rbi- > -rvh-
-mny- > -nh-
  secondary -mny- > -mh-
-mpt- > -nt-
  secondary -npt- > -np-
  secondary -ndg- > -ng-
-mpl- > -nh-
  secondary -mpl- > -np-
-mpr- > -nt-
-ncl- > -nch-
  secondary -ncl- > -nch-
-nct- > -nt-
-ffl- > -ch-
-spu- > -sp-
-str- > -ss- (?)
  secondary -str- > -str-
-ppl- > -ch-
-bsc- > -sc-
  secondary -bsc- > -str-
  secondary -ctr > -tr- > -rt-

1. The first member is a liquid

-rct- > -ct-
  *experctāre > espertar (?)
  {farctum > farto}
-rbi- > -rvh-/rvj/ (with b > v, as intervocally)
  superbia > sobervha

2. The first member is a nasal.

-mny- > -nh-
  somniāre > sonhar
  somnium > sonho

secondary -mny- > -mh-
  accalumniāre > acoomhar (calomiare registered by Sacks §82 [10th cent.])
  (Here m remains and is palatalized by yod).

In the following cases the middle consonant is lost:

-mpt- > -nt-
comp(u)tāre > contar
com(u)ptum > conto
(with m > n, as always before a dental.)

secondary -ntp- > -np-
  *ant(e)parāre > amparar
  (with n > m, as always before a labial).

secondary -ndg-
  -ndic- > -ndig- > -ndg- > -ng-
  vind(ï)cāre > vingar (intervocalic c is voiced before syncope, then d is lost in front of the resulting g).

-nct- > -nt-
  *infincta > enfinta (the past part. of fingêre is fictum; -n- was added by analogy).
  cinctam > cinta
  punctum > ponto
  sanctum > santo

secondary -ngl-
  *singulār > senlheira (‘alone’)
  (senlheira is the form found in BV; in V the cluster is simplified: senneira [nn = /ŋ/].

nasal + stop + liquid

-mpl- > -nch- /ntʃ/
  {amplum > ancho}
  {implēre > encher}

-mpl- > -mpr-
  complētum > comprido (semi-learned?)

-ncl- > -nch- /ntʃ/
  {inclūdere > enchoir}

3. The first member is a fricative

-ffl- > -ch- /tʃ/ or /ʃ/
  afflāre > achar

-spu- > -sp-
  conspuere > cospir

-str- > -str-
  rōstrum > rostro (elsewhere rosto)

But in two common words we apparently find -str- > -ss-
  nostrum > nosso
  *uosstrum (with analogical o) > vosso
  (These have been attributed to VL *nossum, *vossum)

(secondary) -scl- > -scr-
  *misc(u)läre > mezcrar

4. The first member is a stop.

A geminate consonant followed by r remains
apprendere > aprender
attribuere > atrever
aggravāre > agravar

But -ppl- > -ch-/tʃ/ (like initial pl- in plagäre > chagar)
applicāre > achegar

-bsc- > -sc-
abscondere > asconder

(secondary) -ctr > -tr- >-rt-
*aspect(o)rāre (← pectore-) > apertar (with metathesis)

FINAL CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS

FINAL CONSONANTS

l
Cases of final /l/ in GP do not derive from final /l/ in Latin, except for sal > sal (‘salt’).
    fallit > fal
    male > mal
    milē > mil
    sālem > sal
    salit > sal
    solet > sol
    sōle > sol (Johan Airas, pastorela)
    sōlum > sol (adv.)
    uale > val
    uiilem > vil

(Care should be taken to distinguish between sol ‘sun’ < sōlem, sol (adv. = ‘only’) < sōlum, and the verb form sol ‘is accustomed to’ < solet, 3rd p. sg. pres. of sōlēre).

r
GP final -r comes from a Latin final -r in the prepositions per and par. Other cases of final r in GP do not derive from a Latin final r.

    ad > ar (Cohen & Weiss). 27
    ad dūrē > adur (< Prov. ? or native [Lapa])
    amāre > amar (and all infinitives)
    fuerit > for (and all 1st and 3rd sing. fut. subj. forms)
    maiōrem > maior
    mare > mar
    minōrem > mēor

27 The etymology of this adverb (or particle) is disputed. Latin -d- sometimes becomes -r- in proclisis before a labial, e.g. (in inscriptions) ARVFISE = adfuisse, ARVORSUM = aduorsum, APURFINEM = apud finem (OHCGL 475-76). Thus, aduëntire, for example, would have given rise first to a verb aruēntire, whence arvīr, subsequently re-analyzed as ar viir with ar becoming a particle that nearly always precedes a verb (or verbal phrase, or a negative just before a verb). Hence, in Berdia 5, quen leve vai, leve x’ ar ven, ar ven would be the phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic heir to aruenit. The Latin grammarians provide ample evidence for this etymology. Priscian (5th to 6th cent. CE), for example, writes: antiquissimi uero pro ad frequentissime ar ponebant: aruenas, aruentores, aruocatos, arfines, aruolare, arfari dicentes pro aduenas, aduentores, aduocatos, adines, aduolare, adfari... (Weiss, OHCGL blog). And, as Weiss mentions (ibidem), “The so-called Glossary of Placidus (CGL 5.7.34 and 5.48.29) gives arueniet: adueniet.”
parem > par

Latin final -r is metathesized in:
  inter > entre, antre
  pro > por
  semper > sempre
  super > sobre

m
Final m is lost in all verbal endings:\(^{28}\)
  imperf. indic. amābam > amava
  plup. indic. amāueram > amara
  pres. subj. amem > ame
  imperf. subj. amārem > amar (personal infin.)
  fut. perf. indic. amāuerim > amar (fut. subj.)
  plup. subj. amāuissem > amasse

Final m is also lost in nearly all acc. sing. endings in adjectives, participles, nouns and pronouns:
  altum > alto
  amātum > amado
  amicam > amiga
  amicum > amigo
  bonam > bôa
  grauem > grave
  illum > lo
  illam > la
  manum > mão
  partem > parte
  turrem > torre

It is kept, exceptionally, in monosyllables (and in alguen by analogy with quen)
  aliquem > alguem (alguen)
  quam > quam (quan)
  quem > quem (quen)
  rem > rem (ren)
  tam > tam (tan)

n
Final n is kept in:
  in > en
  nōn > non

s
Final s remains in verb forms, in the plural of nouns, adjectives, participles, pronouns, and in the adverbs cras, mais and mëos.
  amātis > amades
  amicās > amigas
  amicōs > amigos
  *bellitās > velidas
  causās > cousas
  crās > cras
  es > es

---

\(^{28}\) In sóo < *sono (cf. It. sono) the til in õ is a vestige of the final -m of sum, which in turn is the only trace in Latin of the PIE primary athematic 1st pers. sing. ending -mi (as in Vedic ásmi ‘I am’, Eng. am; OHCGL 385).
gravēs > graves
illōs > -los, os
illās > -las, as
magis > mais
minus > mêos
quaerimus > queremos
vēnīstis > vēestes

Final s is assimilated to a following initial / of the pronouns la(s), la(s). See -ls- under medial clusters

b
Final b is lost in:
sub > so

But it is assimilated to a following / in:
sub illum > *soblo > *sollo > solo (written so-lo)
{ubī illum > *ublo > ulo (written u-lo)}

t
Final t is lost everywhere except in the word éste (see below).
In all verb forms:
amat > ama
amābat > amava
*audent (for audiunt) > oen
addūxisset > adussesse
cadit > cae
dīxērunt > disseron
dīxerat > dissera
dīxit > disse
fēcerint > fezeren
sentiat > sença
solēbat > soía (suía)
vēnerit > vēer
valet > val

And also in:
et > e
quōmodo et > come

In éste < est -t is not final even though we find est in the MSS. This form is used only before vowels (hence, with elision of the final -e), while éste is always used before consonants.

d
Final d is lost:
ad > a
*ale (from alid for aliud ?) > al
aliquod > algo
eccum istud > aquesto
istud > esto
per ad > pera (maybe with accent on the last syllable)
quid > que

c
Final c is lost in:
eccum hāc > acá
eccum hic > aquí
eccum hinc > aquen
illāc > alá
illīc > alí
illōc > aló
in tunc > enton
per hoc > pero (maybe with accent on the final syllable)
quōmodo ac > coma (equivalent to como < quōmodo and come < quōmodo et)

**FINAL CLUSTERS**

-nt > -n
  amant > aman
  vident > veen
  dīxerint > disseren
  sunt > son

-nc > n
  in tunc > enton
  illin > alén

-x /ks/ > -s
  dē ex > des

-st > -s
  post > pos
  ad post > apos
  dē post > depos

-st disappears in est > é (cf. OSp. eš) but is kept as an archaism in éste (with paragogic -e)

Apocope of final syllables.
A few adjectives and adverbs normally suffer apocope in proclitic position. In particular, grande / gran, ende / en, muito / mui function as allomorphs: the longer form is regularly found, with elision, before an initial vowel (e.g. grand’ amor, end’ aver, muit’ amar); the shorter form appears in front of an initial consonant.

  centum > cento / cen
  bonum > bōo / bon
  dominum > domnum > {dono} / don
  grandem > grande / gran
  inde > ende / en
  malum > mao / mal (e.g. mal sem, mal dia)
  multum > muito / mui
  sanctum > santo / san (in the names of saints)

It is uncertain whether tam and quam derive from Lat. tam, quam or from tanto and quanto in proclisis (REW 8546 favors the former hypothesis; Huber §158b, Williams §74b, GHG §21c.1 prefer the latter; Corominas, s.v. tanto, is undecided). A continuation of Lat. tam and quam seems more likely, given the Iberian Romance evidence.