Sketch Of The Historical Phonology of Galician-Portuguese

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2010

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).[1] The last grammar centered on the medieval language was Josef Huber's *Altportugiesisches Elementarbuch* (1933).[2] 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, dīcit, flent],* or a vowel before another vowel [e.g. *meliōrem]*, etc.). Palatalized *l, n* and *m*, and *b* plus *yod*, are represented as /λ/, /ɲ/, /mʲ/, /bʲ/. 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

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[1] A lightly revised second edition appeared in 1962. The oft reprinted Portuguese translation, *Do Latim ao Português*, trans. António Houaiss (Rio de Janeiro, 1961), is based on the first edition. (Here I have used William's own annotated copy of the first edition, with the author's corrections and additions in autograph on intercalated pages).

[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)rīre > abrir*, VtrV > VdrV e.g. *mātrem > madre*, VcrV > VgrV e.g. *lucrāre > lograr*. The conditions of a rule are specified using the following kind of notation: *ę > ẹ /__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, *ę > ẹ /__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 occurences. 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.

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[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)
conjug. = 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, *Dicionário Etimológico-Crítico Castellano e Hispánico*

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 Tormo, *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 Português 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 Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*

Michaëlis = C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*

Niermeyer = J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*

Nunes = J. J. Nunes, *Compêndio 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*

Ramos = M. A. Ramos, "Nota linguística" (in E. Gonçalves & M. A: Ramos *A Lírica Galego-Portuguesa* [Lisbon, 1983]).

Rei = F. Fernández Rei, *Dialectoloxía da Lingua 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*

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[4] The Portuguse 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.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY OF GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE

I. EVOLUTION OF THE VOWEL SYSTEM

TONIC VOWELS

Summary[5]

Lat. ā, ǎ > VL a
Lat. ĕ > VL ę
Lat. ē, ǐ > VL ẹ
Lat. ǐ > VL i
Lat. ǒ > VL ǫ
Lat. ō, ǔ > VL ọ
Lat. ū > VL u

In tonic position: Latin long and short *a* became VL *a*. Long *i* became VL *i* and long *u* became VL *u*. Short *e* and short *o* became VL open *e* and *o*, respectively. Short *i* and long *e* became VL close *e*, while short *u* and long *o* became VL close *o*. The VL vowels are all maintained in tonic position in GP unless there are conditioning factors that complicate the environment.

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

    ante > ante
    artem > arte
    ǎuem > ave
    cǎpit > cabe
    *cǎpu- > cabo
    dǎre > dar
    fǎcit > faz
    grǎuem > grave
    iǎcet > jaz
    mǎle > mal
    mǎneō > manho
    partem > parte
    sǎlit > sal
    sǎpit > sabe
    vǎlet > val

Lat. ĕ > VL ę > ę
    dīxĕrat > dissęra (similarly in the perfect stem of all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs; for
        close *e* in the perfect stem of GP 2nd conjugation weak verbs, see below on *ę > ẹ)*

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[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.

ĕrat > ẹra (rhymes with *quisẹra*, etc.)
est > éste (more commonly *é)*
fēcĕrit > fezẹr (similarly in the future subjunctive of all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs)
fĕra > fẹra (rhymes with *posẹra < posĕrat* in Guilhade 14)
gentem > gente
lĕuem > lẹve

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

Lat. ē, ĭ > VL ẹ > ẹ

dēbēre > devẹr (i.e. the stem vowel -e- in the infinitive of Latin 2nd conjugation verbs)
fēcit > fẹz (also *fẹzo)*
quētum (for *quiētum)* > quẹdo
zēlo- > cẹo

capĭllum > cabẹlo
*capĭtia (← caput, -ĭtis, n.) > cabeça
cĭto > cẹdo
desĭdium > desẹjo
ille > ẹle (app. from nom.; compare *elo < illum)*
illam > ẹla
illum > ẹlo (*elos* rhymes with *cabẹlos)*
in > ẹn
inde > ẹnde, ẹn
ipse, ipsa > ẹsse, ẹssa
iste, ista > ẹste, ẹsta
inter > entre (also *antre)*
mĭnus > mẽos, mẹos[6]
sĭne > sẹn
tĭmeō > tẹmo
trīstĭtiam > tristeça
*uincisset (for *uīcisset)* > vencẹsse[7]
uĭcem > vẹz
uĭdeō > vẹjo
uĭridem > vẹrde

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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' am*or) 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. *vẽer < vēnerit*, 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-*ẹsse-* from Latin plup. subj. -*ĭsse-* in all forms of the imperfect subjunctive in 2nd conjugation weak (regular) verbs. In contrast, *i > ẹ* in mānsissem *> masẹsse* and all GP 2nd conjugation strong verbs (fēcissem > *fezẹsse*, dīxissem > *dissẹsse*, tenuissem > *tevẹsse*, etc.). This distinction is neatly illustrated in Sevilha 3 where the poet rhymes *morrẹsse / sofrẹsse* (two weak verbs) in the second strophe and *ouvẹsse / quisẹsse* (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. ĭ > VL i > i

ad sīc > assi (also *asse, asi, ase)*
audīre > oír
cīncta > cinta
dīcō > digo
fīlium > filho
illīc > alí
frīgidam > fria
īre > ir
īram > ira
ītam > ida
sīc > si (also *se)*
trīstem > triste
uīlem > vil
uīdī > vi

Lat. ŏ > VL ǫ > ǫ

dormiō > dǫrmho
hŏdiē > ǫje (rhyming with *lǫnge*, Casal 1; Sachs [§ 81] cites *loge* from the 10th century)
lŏcō > lǫgo
*mŏrō > mǫro
possum > pǫsso
rŏgō > rǫgo

Lat. ō, ŭ > VL ọ > ọ

flōrem > flọr
illōc > aló
maiōrem > maiọr
nōs > nọs
rōstrum > rọstro
seniōrem > senhọr
sōlum > sọl
tōtum > tọdo
uōs > vọs

punctum > pọnto
turrem > tọrre
uerēcun(d)iam > vergọnha
undam > ọnda
unde > ọnde

Lat. ū > VL u > u

ūna > ũa
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 > tu
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 *i* the only possibilities.

Pretonic

a

    *fābŭlāre (for *fābŭlārī)* > falar
    mānsisset > masesse

    ămīcum > amigo
    attendere > atender
    păuōrem > pavor
    tam magnum > tamanho

e

    errāre > errar
    nĕgāre > negar

    dērēctum > dereito
    sēcūrum > seguro
    zēlāre > cear

    bĭbere > bever
    dĭcēbat > dezia (usually *dizia)*
    lĭcēre > lezer
    mĭsellam > mesela
    tĭmēre > temer
    *uĭcātam > vegada

i

    *fībellam (← fībula) > fivela
    *fīdāre (← fidere) > fiar
    īrātum > irado
    mīrārī > mirar
    But *addīuīniāre > ade̦vinhar (dissimilation or weakening?)

o

    dormīre > dormir
    colligere > colher
    cŏmedere > comer
    *mŏrāre (for *mŏrarī)* > morar
    *morrere (for *mŏri)* > morrer
    mŏuēre > mover
    sŏlēre > soer

    hōc annō > ogano
    mōnstrāre > mostrar

    mŭlierem > mo̦lhe̦r
    suspecta > sospeita

u

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

Tonic in Latin, pretonic in GP

a

    cădere > caer

    dīcere > dizer
    făcere > fazer
    iăcēre > jazer

e

    *pĕtīre (for *pĕtĕre)* > pędir
    mĭttere > meter

o

    accurrere > acorrer
    fŭgere > fogir (also *fugir)*

u

    dūcere > duzer

With secondary accent

a

    cāritātem > caridade
    partitiōnem > partiçon

ę

    lēgālitātem > lęaldade
    But *ēquālāre (for *aequālāre)* > iguar

i

    *mĭnuātum (← minuere) > minguado (elsewhere *menguado)*
    misculāre > mizcrar (elsewhere normally *mezcrar)*
    uindicāre > vingar (also *vengar)*

ǫ

    *turpitātem > *tǫrpidade (or formed from *tǫrpe* < turpem)

ọ

    dŭbitāre > dọvidar (also *duvidar)*
    *hŭmilitōsum [GP *umilde*, built on the stem of *humilitatem*, + *oso]* > omildoso (Dinis)

Post-tonic/final

a

    amīcās > amigas
    bonās > bõas, 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 > digan
    dīxeram > dissera
    sentiat > sença

ę

    {amēs > ames}

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

ę > ẹ when final
lĕuem > lẹvẹ
grăuem > gravẹ
(and any unaccented final *e* in GP)

Lat. ī > VL i > i *or* e
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 *posīvī* or *posuī)* > pugi
quaesistī > quiseste (Casal 3)

ọ
amō > amo
dīcō > digo
maneō > manho
audiō > ouço

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

Intertonic

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

a
aggrăvāre > agravar

ę
Intertonic *ę* is lost.
*apĕrīre > abrir
*coopĕrīre > cobrir
{lībĕrāre > livrar}

ẹ
uerēcundia > vergonha

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

Intertonic -ĭ- can be lost by syncope, and is regularly lost between *l ,r, n*, or *s* and a stop:
alĭquem > algo
{bonĭtātem > bondade}
dēlĭcātam > delgada

    lēgālĭtātem > lealdade
    nōbĭlem > nobre
    posĭtum (*repostas* in Virgil) > posto
    uērĭtātem > verdade
    uĭrĭdem (Ap. Prob. *virdis*) > verde
    ML caballĭcāre > cavalgar (Avoin, *pastorela)*

It can also be lost between two stops, as in recĭtāre > *rez'dar > *redzar > rezar (Bolseiro 1 *rezo*)

But *-ĭ-* > *-i-* in a number of words, most or all of them learned:
    cārĭtātem > caridade (learned/church word)
    dubĭtāre > dovidar, duvidar (Leon.; *dultar* elsewhere)
    {iūdĭcāre > juizar (with hiatus; Leon. *julgar* in *Amigo* and elsewhere)
    partĭtiōnem > partiçon
    pūrĭtātem > poridade ('secrecy', 'confidence')
    suspĭrāre > sospirar (maybe a learned word)

Elsewhere intertonic *i* is retained as *e*:
    sēmĭnāre > semẽar
    trādĭtōrem > traedor (trisyllabic)

i
    -i- is lost in the future of verbs in *-ir*:
    *salirá > salrrá
    *guarirá > guarrá
    *venirá > verrá

ǫ
    memŏrāre > nembrar

ọ
    labōrāre > lavrar

    compŭtāre > contar
    fābŭla > fala[8]
    *singŭlāria > senhleira (thus in **BV**; *senneira* [nn = /ŋ/] in **N**)

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

Miscellaneous Changes

ĕ > i (in hiatus before an accented i)
    sĕdēbat > siía (also *seya* in CSM)
    uĕnīre > vĩir
        (The nasalized *ĩ* 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. *ī*; once we find the spelling *ueir* [Bolseiro 4, v. 1 *ueir* **B** : *uijr* **V**]).

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

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[8] 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 *-i:*
fēcī > figi (also *fiz, fix*)
*prēnsī (for *prendī*) > prix
quaesīuī > *quēsī > quiji (also *quix, quis*)
uēnī > vin

Note: *ti* and *si* are prob. formed by analogy with mihī > 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, *comego* three times.

Initial *i* can be lost before *n-:*
ināmōrātum > namorado
ī(n)sāniam > sanha
in + illum > no (similarly *na* < in + illam, *nos* < in + illos, *nas* < in + illas)
in + *odiāre (← odium) > nojar (from Prov.)
(ĭnĭmīca > nemiga 'calumny' is a false etymology.[9])

ĭ > i
Tonic:
cingat > cinga
inde ad > inda
*infingat > enfinga
*marābilia > maravilha
uĭa > via

Pretonic
uĭtiōsum > viçoso

Tonic in Latin, pretonic in GP
cingere > cinger̦

ŏ > u
In most cases this change is due to the metaphonic effect of *i*, which raised the vowel in the preceding syllable:
cŏgitāre > cuidar (also *coidar*)
obuiāre > uviar /uvjar/
pŏsī > pugi (also *puge, pus*)
pŏtuī > pudi
sŏlēbat > suía (Porto Carreiro 2 [and attested elsewhere]; usu. *soía*)

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* < inimīca, 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) *mīcacula, '[not] at all': *Ca non á verdade nemigalha /en sonho* "For there is no truth *at all* in dreams" (Briteiros 3).

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

ŭ > 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}.[10]

i,e > Ø / l, r, n, z, s __#

After *l*:
    fallit > fal
    lēgālem > leal
    male > mal
    mīlle > mil
    quālem > qual
    salit > sal
    solet > sol
    sōlem > sol
    tālem > tal
    ualet > val
    uīlem > vil

After *r*:
    mare > mar
    parem > par

After *n*:
    canem > can
    fīnem > fin
    manet > man
    pānem > pan
    *perdōnet > perdon
    pōnit > pon
    tenet > ten
    *trīstēdinem > tristen [Piel]
    uenit > ven

After *z*:
    addūcit > aduz
    crūcem > cruz (learned word)

---

[10] Apparent exceptions to this rule are cases of paragogic *e* found in two texts: *mare, banhare*
(Estevan Coelho 2); *Portugale, portugueese, fazere, lavrare, deitare, 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, /ɛ̣/ deriving from Latin *ĕ*, appears to be closed to *ẹ* in various contexts:

Before a final nasal.
ę > ẹ /__n#
    aduĕnit > avẹn
    bĕne > bẹn
    conuĕnit > convẹn
    quĕm > quẹn
    rĕm > rẹn
    tĕnet > tẹn
    uĕnit > vẹn

> That these words have *ẹ* is suggested by the fact that they regularly rhyme with two words with *ẹ* from Latin *ĭ* and Germanic *i*, respectively: *ẹn* < inde, *sẹn* < Germ. *sinn*. And some occasionally rhyme with other words with an etymologically close *e*: desdẹn < Prov. *desdenh* (< *disdignu-), *detẹn* < dētĭnet. (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* < prĕtium (via Prov.), which rhymes with *fez* < fēcit, *vez* < vĭcem.

In *mẹdo* < *mẹdo* < mĕtu- the *e* seems to have been closed by metaphonic influence of the following *u*.[11] The word rhymes with *cẹdo* < cĭto and *quẹdo* < quētum.

Open *e* also appears to be closed before final *-enho* or *-enha*.
ę > ẹ /__nhV#
    tĕneō > tẹnho > tẹnho
    vĕniō >vẹnho > vẹnho
    tĕneat > tẹnha > tẹnha
    uĕniat > vẹnha > vẹnha

> In Requeixo the latter two forms rhyme with *detẹnha* < dētĭneat (though we could postulate a reanalyzed form *dētĕneat).

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

---

[11] See GHG. Rei (p. 41) shows the current distribution of *mẹdo* and *mẹdo* in Galicia. Roughly speaking, the vowel remains open in the east but is closed throughout the west.

sĕdeō > sẹjo > sẹjo (rhymes with *uẹjo* < vĭdeō, *desẹjo* < *dēsĭdium, *desẹjo* < *dēsĭdiō).
Similarly *seja* < sĕdeat (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)* > perdẹr
 *uīuĕrit (for *uīxĕrit)* > vivẹr

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 *-ẹr* (never with future subjunctives of 2nd conjugation strong verbs such as *dissẹr, fezẹr, ouvẹr*): Elvas 4, where *perder* rhymes with *querer*; Folhente 1, where *viver* rhymes with *querer, poder* and *viver*; and Galisteu Fernandiz 3, where *viver* rhymes with *seer* and *aver* (Cf. GHG §192c).

That *é*, 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 *ĕ+ĕ,* instead of yielding open vowel, produced a close one – possibly a case of "enclitic raising"*).

<div align="center">

DIPHTHONGS

</div>

au > ou[12]
Tonic:
 aurum > ouro
 aut > ou
 causam > cousa
 Maurōs > mouros
 paucum > pouco

With secondary accent:
 autōricāre > outorgar

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
 *lautiāna > louçana
 *pausāre > pousar

 (note: but not in auscultāre > *ascuitar*, where the first vowel was already reduced in LL, due to the dissimalatory 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* (OHCGL 473-74).

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 > ẹ
    laetum > lẹdo
    *daemōn (nom.) > dẹmo
    quaerit > quẹr

We know the quality of the vowel in *quer* because it rhymes only with words ending in *-ẹr*: *molhẹr*, *mestẹr*, and the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of future subjunctives deriving from *–ĕrit* in GP 2nd conjug. strong verbs: *podẹr* < pŏtuĕrit, *quisẹr* < quaesiĕrit, *vêẹr* < vēnĕrit, etc. Forms from this set never rhyme with the corresponding forms of GP 2nd conjug. 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' > lẹli (Solaz 2)

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

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)

ẹi
    amāuī > amei
    dĕdī > dei
    factum > feito
    herī > eire ('yesterday')
    ripārium > ribeiro (see on *-āri- > -eir-)*
    suspectam > sospeita

ẹu
    *deut (< *dĕuit for *dedit)* > deu
    ĕgo > eu
    mĕum > meu (and, by analogy, *teu, seu* [for archaic *sou* < suum])
    lĕuem > lẹu (via Prov.)
    *greue- > grẹu (Prov.; for *grăue-,* by analogy with *lĕue-*)

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

ẹu

    *uincēuit (for *uīxit)* > vencẹu

    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 -*ẹu* as in *eu, meu, seu, deu.*

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

iu
    *rīdīuit (for *rīsit)* > riiu
    *sentīuit (for *sēnsit)* > sentiu
    *uīdīuit (for *uīdit)* > viu

oi
    cogĭtāre > coidar (also *cuidar*)
    {dormitorium > dormidoiro}
    ductum > doito
    *moriō > moiro
    multum > moito (also *muito*)

ou
    amāuit > amaut[13] > amou
    causam > cousa
    habuit > ouve (metaphony)
    saltum > souto (see below on -*Vlt*- clusters)
    *sapuit (for *sapīuit)* > soube (metaphony)
    *traxuit (for *traxit)* > trouxe (metaphony)
    uadō > vau > vou

    Germ. kausjan > cousir (via Prov. *cauzir*)
    AA ddáwra 'turn' > doura (Solaz 2)

ui
    auscultāre > ascuitar (elsewhere *ascoitar*)
    cōgitāre > cuidar (also *coidar*)
    {frūctum > fruito}
    {luctum > luito}
    multum > muito (also *moito*)

Normally, when two vowels come into contact after the loss of intervocalic *l, n, d or g* (see below), they continue to constitute two separate syllables: sălīre > *sair*; tĕnēre > *tẽer*; uĭdēre > *veer*; lĭgāre > *liar*. Sometimes the product is a diphthong: cōgĭtāre > *cuidar/coidar,* dĕdī > *dei*, rĕgem > *rei*, ĕgo > *eu*, uădō > *vou*, uădit > *vai*. A special case is măgis > *mais* which is usually a dipthong, 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).*

GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE NASALIZED VOWELS

The fall of intervocalic *n* gave GP a new class of nasalized vowels (ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ) and dipthongs (õe, ãe).

-VnV- > nasalized V+V
    mănēre > mãẹr
    tĕnēre > tẽẹr
    uĕnīre > vĩir
    dōna > dõa

---

[13] -*aut* for -*auit* 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 *ē > i* is due to metaphonic influence of final *i* in:
    fēci > figi (also *fiz, fix)*
    *prē(n)sī (for prendi) > prix
    quaesī(v)ī > *quēsi > quiji (also *quix, quis)*
    uēnī > vin

The group *-ári-* before *a* or *u* becomes *-eir-.*
    *abellānāriam > avelaneira
    *barquārium > barqueiro
    caballārium > cavaleiro
    carrāriam > carreira
    *frontāriam > fronteira
Cf. *-yri- > -eir-* in Grk. martyrium > marteiro.

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

ŏ > u is sometimes due to metaphonic effect:
    cōgitāre > cuidar (also *coidar)*
    obuiāre > uviar /-vj-/
    pŏsī > puji (also *puge, pus)*
    pŏtuī > pudi
    sŏlēbat > 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 mĕtum > *mẹdo > mẹdo* (rhyming with *cẹdo < cĭto* and *quẹdo < *quētum)* may be due to metaphony.

ŏ > ǫ
    *dŏlum > dǫo

dŏlum should have given an open *o*, but instead yields *dọo*, rhyming with *sọo* < sōlum, 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')
    mandātārium > mandadeiro
    manuāriam > maneira
    montārium > monteiro
    prīmārium > primeiro
    scutārium > escudeiro

oi
    {cŏrium > coiro}

ou
    placuerit > prouguer
    sapuit (var. of *sapīuīt*) > soube
    *traxuit (for *traxit*) > trouxe

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-
cl- > cr-
cr-

gl- > gr-
gr-

INITIAL CONSONANTS

GLIDES

i = /j/ > j /dʒ/ or /ʒ/
    iăcet > iaz
    iam > ja
    iŏcārī > jogar
    iūdĭcem > juiz
    iūrāre > jurar

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

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

LIQUIDS

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

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

    *radia > raia
    rem > ren
    rīuum (*rium* Ap. Prob) > rio
    rōstrum > rostro

NASALS

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

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

FRICATIVES[14]

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

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

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

Labial stops

panem > pan
petere > pedir
pīnum > 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[15]

Dental stops

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[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 (< profectum).*

[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-bellīta > la-velida*. Malkiel suggests a derivation from *mellitus*.

    tardem > tarde
    tē > te
    terram > terra
    tornāre > tornar
    tū > tu

    dare > dar
    dē > de
    dīcere > dizer
    dolēre > doer
    dōna > dõas, 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
    cuiium > 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 l derive here from
        -nn- and -ll-)

g- before a front vowel becomes the palatal affricate /dʒ/.
    {gelulm > geo}
    gentem > gente
    {gemere > gemer}

INITIAL CLUSTERS WITH TWO CONSONANTS

1. Beginning with a fricative.

f + liquid

fl- > ch-
   {*flāgrāre (for *frāgrāre)* > cheirar} (the expected outcome for native words)

fl- > fr-
   flōrem > fror, frol
   *flōrīta > frolida
(These outcomes represent recent borrowings.)

fl-
   flōrem > flor (learned).

fr-
   frīgidam > fria

s + stop

Inital combinations of *s* + voiceless stop are retained, but develop an i, which then becomes *e,* in front of the cluster:
sT- > isT- > esT-
ML scutārium > escudeiro
   speculum > espelho
   stāre > estar
   stātuāle (cēra) > estadal (only the plural *estadaes* is found in *Amigo)*
   sturnum > estorn-inho (with diminutive suffix, in Johan Airas, *pastorela)*
   ? {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)
   plāgam > chaga
   plāgāre > chagar
   {plēnum > chẽo}
   plōrāre > chorar
   plūs > chus
   *plicāre > chegar

pl- > pr-
   placēre > prazer (a relatively late borrowing)
   placitum (via Prov. *pleito)* > preito
   placitum (> *prazdo) > prazo
   plānum (via Prov. *plan*) > pran (in the phrase *de pran*, 'clearly', 'certainly')

pr- is regularly retained:
   prātum > prado
   prendere > prender
   prīvātum > privado
   probāre > 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. blial(t) > brial

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

brio is of disputed etymology.[17]

dental + r

tr-
     trāditōrem > traedor
     trēs > 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-

Inital 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].

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[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-*.

{scrīptum > escrito}
strātum > estrado
{strictum > estreito}

MEDIAL CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS

MEDIAL CONSONANTS

GLIDES

i > j /ʒ/
    *aiātis (< habeātis) > ajades
    cuiium > cujo

u > v (normally, just as in initial position)
    auem > ave
    leuem > leve
    pauōrem > pavor
    uīuere > 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 reguarly lost:
    caelum > cẹo
    candēla > candea
    dolēre > doer
    *dolum > doo
    *grātulāre > gradoar
    malum > mao, {malam > maa}
    quālēs > quaes
    recēlāre > recear
    salīre > sair
    salūtem > saude
    sōla > soa
    sŏlēre > soer
    sōlitātem > soïdade
    sōlum > soo (adj.; cf. *sol* adv.)
    stātuāles > estadaes ('candles')
    uolāre > voar
    uoluntātem > voontade
    zēlāre > cẹar ('be jealous')
    zēlōs > cẹos ('jealousy')

But *-l-* survived in
    ualēre > valer
    (*color* in Dinis 23 is a learned word; elsewhere regularly *coor*)

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[18] Only *sclingō* ('the cry of geese' OLD) and *scloppus* ('the sound made in striking something full of air' OLD) begin with *scl-* in Latin (*escrarecer* [CSM] < *exclārescere ← exclārāre). And only two words begin with *spr-*, *sprētus* and *sprētor*, both extremely rare. *espranar* (CSM) is a loanword (note the retention of intervocalic *-n-*) and in any event comes from *explanāre*, not from an initial Latin *spr-*. Compare *esprandor* < splendōrem, *espreitar* < explicitāre (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
    īram > ira (learned word)
    parāre > parar
    plōrāre > chorar

Non-initial *r* is subject to metathesis:
    *appect(o)rāre > *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 > mẽos
    *pēnātam > pẽada
    perdōnāre > perdõar
    pōnere > põer
    *ratiōnātam > razõada
    sēmināre > semẽar
    *sono (← sum) > sõo (cf. It. *sono*)
    tenēre > tẽer
    uānum > vão
    uenīre > vĩir
    *uerānum (← ver 'spring') > verão (Dinis, *pastorela*)
    ūnam > 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 > irmana (also *irmãa, irmaa*)
*lautiāna ? > louçana (also *louçãa, louçaa*)
*maneāna (← mane 'in the morning') > manhana (Torneol 1)
pēna (< poena) > pena (Ponte 2)
pēnata > penada (also *pẽada*)
pīnum > pino (also *pinho* [=*pĩo*])
sānum > sano (elsewhere *são*)
sonāre > sonar (Giinzo 8, elsewhere *sõar*)
uenībat > venia (Solaz 2; elsewhere *vĩa, viinha*)

FRICATIVES[19]

-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 *detẽer*.)

- 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
   rīpam > riba
   *ripārium > ribeiro
   *sapiat > sabha
   sapōrem > sabor
   superbia > sobervha

b > v
   dēbēre > dever
   bibere > bever
   ML caballum > cavalo
   *fībellam (← fībula) > fivela
   habēre > aver

---

[19] 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 (< profectum).*

*marābilia (← mīrābilia) > maravilha
probāre > provar
*trabāre (← trabs, trabis) > travar

Intervocalic *b* disappears entirely in two very common words:
ĭbī > i
ŭbī > u

In Proto-Romance intervocalic *b* falls in the all important verb *habeō > *ayo*. It also falls in the ending of the impefect, *-ībat > -ia* (also found as the stem of the new conditional mood: *-ia* as in *perderia*).[20]

But *si* for *sĭbī* and *ti* for *tĭbī* were prob. influenced by the analogy of mihī > mī > *mi. noscum* and *uoscum* (Ap. Prob.) were also formed by analogy, *not* directly from Lat. *nōbīscum* and *uōbīscum* by loss of intervocalic *b*.

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

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

-d- is lost (sometimes with a change in the first vowel, e.g. *loir*)
benedictiōnem > beençon (intervocalic *n* and *d* are both lost).
comedere > comer
crēdere > crẹer
crūdam > crua (in *cruamente)*
*excadescere (← cadere) > escaecer
fīdāre (← fīdere) > fiar
iūdicem > juiz
laudāre > loar (also *louvar)*
lūdere > loir
mercēdem > mercẹe
paradīsum > paraiso

---

[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 > sẹẹr
    trāditōrem > traẹdor
    trāditiōnem > traiçon
    *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 *siía*, rarely *seía*).

-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
    uīcum > Vigo

    -lĭc- > -lĭg- > -lg-
    voicing of -c- occurs before syncopation in:
        dēlĭcātum > *deligatu- > *delegado > delgado
        ML caballĭcāre > *caval'gar > cavalgar
        ML follĭcāre > *fol'gar > folgar
        LL sērĭcum > *sir'go > sirgo

before a front vowel *c* is palatalized, yielding a voiced affricate or fricative):
-c- > -z- = /dz/ or /z/
    addūcere > aduzer *(aduzir)*
    dīcere > dizer
    facere > 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 > alguem
    aliquod > algo
    antīquom > antigo
    *sequīre (for *sequī)* > seguir

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

    dīxit > disse
    dīxeram > dissera
    addūxisset > adusesse
    addūxit > adusse

-g- is normally lost:
 cōgĭtāre > coidar, cuidar
 *contĭgescere (cf. {conter} [CSM] < *contigere) > contecer
 *desmagare (← PGerm. magan) > desmaiar
 frīgĭdam > fria
 lēgālem > leal
 lĭgāre > liar
 măgis > mais
 măgisteria > maestria (app. from Prov.)
 navĭgium > navio
 rĕgem > rei
 mea germāna > mha irmana[21]

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:[22]
 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
 *fallītus (← fallere) > falido
 illāc > alá
 ille > ele
 illīc > alí

---

[21] The change germāna > *irmana* can be explained by assuming that *g* was lost intervocalically in phrases such as mea germana > *mia irmana*. We see similar treatment of word-final and word-inital 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).

[22] 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-
*cammīnum (Celt.) > caminho
committere > cometer

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

-ff- > -f-
afeitar > 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

-gg- > -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.

/-uy-/ > /vj/
    seruiat > servha
    (secondary) o(b)viāre > uviar
    (both examples are bisyallabic)

-li- > -lh-
Medial /*l* is palatalized, becoming /λ/
    cōnsilium > conselho
    *marābilia > maravilha
    meliōrem > melhor
    milium > milho
    mulierem > molher
    *similiāre (for *simulāre*) > semelhar (cf. *sembrar*)
    ualeat > valha

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

The group *-ári-* before *a* or *u* becomes *-eir-* due to metaphony
    *abellānāriam > avelaneira
    *barquārium > barqueiro
    carrāriam > carreira
    frontāriam > fronteira
    mandātārium > mandadeiro
    manuāriam > maneira
    montārium > monteiro
    primārium > primeiro
    scutārium > escudeiro

-my- > /mʲ/
    dormiō > dormho
    (secondary) *accalumniāre > acoomhar

-ny- >/ɲ/
    balneāre > banhar
    *compania (← pan) > companha
    *extrāneāre > estranhar
    īnsāniam > sanha
    *maneāna > manhana
    maneō > manho
    seniōrem > senhor
    somniāre > sonhar (see below on *-mn-* clusters)

teneō > tenho
ueniō > venho

s followed by *i* can become *j* (= /dʒ/ or /ʒ/):
{mānsistes (perf. 2nd pl. of *manēre*) > majestes}
*posī (for *posuī* / *posīvī*) > pugi
prēnsiōnem > prijon
{vīsiōnem > vijon}

*sapiat > sabha /bʲ/)

t is palatalized, resulting in /ts/ or /s/
*altiāre > alçar
*capitia > cabeça
*coratiōnem > coraçon
fortia > força
grātiam > graça
*mentiātis > mençades (vs. *mentire > mentir*)
orātiōnem > oraçon
partitiōnem > partiçon
petitiōnem > pediçon
pretiāre > preçar
sacrātiōnem > sagraçon
sentiō > senço (cf. sentīre > *sentir*)
tertiārium > tercer (with apocope, as in *tercer dia*, with a monophthong instead of a
  diphthong; cf. *terceiro*)
trīstitiam > tristeça
uitiōsum > viçoso

d is usually palatalized, producing the affricate /dʒ/ or the fricative /ʒ/
-dy- > -j-
*dēsidium > desejo
hodiē > hoje
inuidia > enveja
uideō > *uidyo > vejo
sedeō > *sedyo > sejo
(The result -ç- instead of -j- in *perdiat (for *perdat*) > *perça* may have arisen by analogy with
forms like faciat > *faça*, sentiat > *sença*)

But *d* is lost before an ĭ 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 sagiam > 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-
-Vlt- > -Vt-
      -alt- > -out-
      -ult- > -uit-, -oit-
-alc- + front > -ouc-
                -rl- > -l- (secondary)
-rs- > -ss-
-rb- > -rv-
-rc- + front > /ts/
-rqu- + front > /ts/
-rg- + front > -rj- /dʒ/
                -ml- > -mbr- (secondary)
                -nl- > -nn- (secondary)
-mn- > -n-
-nu- > -n-
-nu- > -v-
-ns- > -s-
-nc- > + front > /nts/
-ng- + front > /ndʒ/
-fl- > -ch-

-su- > -s-
-sl- > -l-
-sc- + front > /ts/
              -zd- > -z- (secondary)
-pl- > -ch-
              -pl- > -pr- (borrowings)
-pr- > -br-
-bl- > -l-
              -bl- > -br- (secondary)
-br- > -vr-
              -br- > -b- (secondary)
              -bt- > -lt- (secondary & Leon.)
              -bd- > -d- (secondary)
-tu- > -t-
-tr- > -dr-
-du- > -v-
              -dg- > -lg- (secondary & Leon.)
              -cl- > -lh- (secondary)
-cr- > -gr-
-gr- > -ir-
-ps- > -ss-
-pt- > -t-
-bu- > -v-
-du- > -v-
-Vct- > -Vt-
      -act- > -eit-
      -ict- > -it-
      -oct- > -oit-
      -uct- > -oit-

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

l + 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 intervocalically)
   albam > alva
   ML albōrem > alvor

-lt-
-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-, -oit-
   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-
   dormīre > dormir
   germānam > irmana, irmãa
   tormenta > tormenta

-rn-
   tornāre > tornar
   {perna > perna}

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

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

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
    fortem > forte
    mortem > morte
    partem > parte

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

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

But -rc-, -rqu- > -rç- /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*.
těnuit > *těnŭuit > *tẽove > teve[23]

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[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 *těnēuit* with analogical *ē* (see GHG §219e); he is not thinking of the possibility of an anaptyctic vowel, which would have been short coming from *ténuit*. Piel (p. 234) sees an intermediate *tẽvi* (< tenuī) with the nasal then assimilated to *v*. Sacks (§142), however, cites the forms *teobe*, *teoue*, *teube*, and *teuuerunt* (all eleventh century), where the spellings -eo- and -eu- cannot be explained by analogy with *seve* or by *tenvit* but are consistent with an intermediate *těnŭvit* (*teuuerunt* apparently represents *tě-nŭ-uē-runt*). The anaptyctic *u* would have arisen in HL, after the syncope of -Cuw- 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 *sĭlŭae* [for *sĭlvae*], *ăcŭāī* [for *ăquae]*, and *sŭādent* [for *suādent])*. Compare *coube* < *ca-bu-ui < *caput; *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> semblante (< OF)
    *sim(i)lāre > 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 + illōs >enlos > ennos (written *en-nos* or *enos*)
    in + illās > 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:
    admōnstāre > amostrar
    pēnsāre > pesar

-ns- is a sign of learned words or borrowed words:
    cōnsentīre > consentir
    pēnsāre > pensar

-nf-
There are two outcomes. The *n* can be retained:
    confundere > confonder
    *infingēre/*infingīre > 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-
    ambōs > 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 > enfinger
    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
    suspīrāre > sospirar
    suspecta > sospeita

-st-
    hostem > oste
    iste > este
    stāre > estar

Prov. toste (for *tosto*) > toste

-sc- remains before a back vowel:
    abscondere > asconder
    auscultāre > ascuitar
    cognōscō > conhosco
    LL noscum (for *nōbīscum*) > nosco
    LL uoscum (for *uōbīscum*) > vosco
    *nāscat (for *nāscātur)* > nasca
    *scutārium > escudeiro

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

Exceptionally, -sc- > x /ʃ/ 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}
    *seduī, -uit (for *sēdī, -it)* > {sivi, sive}, seve.

stop + liquid

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

Secondary, after syncope:
    ap(ĕ)rire > abrir
    *cup(e)rāre > cobrar

     *incop(ĕ)rire (← coperīre, var. of *cooperīre*) > encobrir

-bl- > -ll- > -l- (see Williams §86.2)
    *fābulāre (for *fābulārī*) > *fallar > falar[24]
    sub illum > *soblo > *sollo > solo (written *so-lo*)
    {ubī illum > *ublo > *ullo > ulo (written *u-lo*, similarly *u-los, u-la, u-las*)}

(secondary) -bl- > -br-
    secondary {ambulāre > ambrar}
    nōbilem > nobre (learned)

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

(secondary) -br- > -vr- (after syncope of -*o*-)
    labōrāre > 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, -*j*- shows this is
        a non-native form; prob. from Castilian.)[25]

-tr- > -dr-
    mātrem > madre
    patrem > padre
    patrōnem > padron
    petram > pedra

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

-cr- > -gr-
    lucrāre > lograr
    sacrātionem > sagraçon
    sacrātum > sagrado

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

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

-gr- sometimes remains in learned words

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[24] *fābulāre* might have turned out differently. If it had not suffered syncope but had lost the intervocalic -*l*- it could have yielded *favoar. And if it had syncopated it might have resulted in *fabrar (cf. ambulāre > *ambrar*) or *favlar (cf. OS *fablar* and the form *favlan* in a GP passage in Raimbaut de Vaqueiras). Compare *tavoa* (< tabula), *tavoeiro, tavleiro* (both < tābulariu-), *tavlĩa* (← tabulĩna), 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 < *sobrelho*.

[26] But compare {perīculum > *perigoo*}, app. with an intervening *perigulo (voicing of *c > g* took place before syncope – otherwise we should have gotten **perilho).*

{nigrum > negro}

stop + fricative

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

b is assimilated to following *v:*
-bv- > -v-
    obuiāre > uviar (= /uv^{j}ar/)

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

ex- > es-
    *excadēscere > escaecer
    expetere > espedir
    *extrāneāre > estranhar

stop + stop

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

-pt- > -t-
    captāre < catar ('look for')
    {septem > sete}
    {scrīptum > escrito}

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

(secondary) -bd- > d
    *recabdar (< recapitāre) > recadar

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

-Vct- > -Vt-
c is lost and the preceding vowel becomes a diphthong, except in the case of *-ict-*.

-act- > -eit-
    factum > feito
    tractam > treita

-ect- > -eit-
    affectāre > afeitar
    affectum > afeito (adv. 'certainly')
    *dectāre (de + iectāre) > deitar
    dērēctum > dereito
    dispectum > despeito
    suspecta > sospeita

-ict- > -it-
   dictum > dito

-oct > -oit-
   *coctam (< coacta) > coita
   noctem > noite
   {octo > oito}

-uct- > -oit-
   ductum > doito (Dinis, *pastorela)*

II. Three-Consonant Clusters

Summary

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

1. The first member is a liquid

-rct- > -ct-
   *experctāre > espertar (?)
   {farctum > farto}

-rbi- > -rvh- /rvj/ (with b > v, as intervocalically)
   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(i)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 *fingĕre* is *fictum*; *-n-* was added by analogy).
    cīnctam > cinta
    punctum > ponto
    sanctum > santo

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

nasal + stop + liguid

-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
    *uostrum (with analogical *o*) > vosso
    (These have been attributed to VL **nossum, *vossum)*

(secondary) -scl- > -scr-
    *misc(u)lāre > 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 plagāre > *chagar*)
    applicāre > achegar

-bsc- > -sc-
    abscondere > asconder

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

FINAL CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS

FINAL CONSONANTS

l
Cases of final */* in GP do not derive from final */* in Latin, except for sal > *sal* ('salt').
    fallit > fal
    male > mal
    mīlle > mil
    sālem > sal
    salit > sal
    solet > sol
    sōle > so̤l (Johan Airas, *pastorela*)
    sōlum > so̤l (adv.)
    ualet > val
    uīlem > vil

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

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 > mẽor

---

[27] The etymology of this adverb (or particle) is disputed. Latin *-d-* sometimes becomes *-r-* in proclisis before a labial, e.g. (in inscriptions) ARFVISE = *adfuisse*, ARVORSUM = *aduorsum*, APURFINEM = *apud finem* (OHCGL 475-76). Thus, *aduĕnīre*, for example, would have given rise first to a verb *aruĕnīre, whence arvĩir*, susequently re-analyzed as *ar vĩir* 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: **ar**uenas, **ar**uentores, **ar**uocatos, **ar**fines, **ar**uolare, **ar**fari dicentes pro **ad**uenas, **ad**uentores, **ad**uocatos, **ad**fines, **ad**uolare, **ad**fari... (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
    amīcam > amiga
    amīcum > amigo
    bonam > bõa
    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 *mẽos.*
    amātis > amades
    amīcās > amigas
    amīcōs > amigos
    *bellītās > velidas
    causās > cousas
    crās > cras
    es > es

---

[28] In *sõo* < *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 > mẽos
    quaerimus > queremos
    vēnistis > vẽestes

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

b
Final *b* is lost in:
    sub > so

But it is assimilated to a following *l* 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 > vẽer
    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 hīc > 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
　　illinc > alén

-x /ks/ > -s
　　dē ex > des

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

-st disappears in est > *é* (cf. OSp. *es*) 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 > bõo / 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.