OLD FRENCH LOANWORDS IN OLD SPANISH

BY

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ABSTRACT

Social contacts between the Spanish and the French in the Late Middle Ages were pervasive and profound. During this period, and as a result of this contact, Spanish speakers adopted a considerable number of French words, both to supplement the Spanish lexicon with new forms reflecting imported entities and ideas and, presumably based on prestige factors, to replace native words by more esteemed lexical items.

The incorporation of Old French words into Old Spanish has not failed to attract scholarly attention but lacunae appear in the literature on the subject with regard to the manner in which these words were adopted (i.e. through written or oral expression), details of their impact on Old Spanish phonological and morphological systems and, conversely, the strategies employed by Old Spanish speakers to adjust these foreign elements to their own native linguistic practices.

This enquiry examines these aspects of the problem and poses the theoretically engaging question of why some words were borrowed by Old Spanish and were subsequently rejected by the speakers so that, ultimately, a native word prevailed.

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instilled in me the gift of faith which was of paramount importance in the writing of this thesis.

Finally, a very loving thank-you to Hugh Justin Smith, who reminded me of all the beauty in life outside of the academic world.

To Sunshine, Bogie and Sally

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Background

The stage was set for French incursions into Spain in A.D.711 when the Peninsula was invaded by Moslem troops from North Africa, who within six years ruled most of the country with the exception of a few northern districts.

The rapid expansion of Moslem power in Spain generated hostility in the Christian world and Charlemagne's armies penetrated Spain on numerous occasions with the intent of capturing as much Moslem territory as possible. In Catalonia, they seized all the major cities and organized a Frankish province called the Spanish March.

During this period of political and social unrest, an important religious event occurred in Spain; the sepulchre and the body of the Apostle James were alleged to have been discovered in the North. To commemorate this event, a church and a bishopric were erected at the site. Soon afterward, many new dwellings appeared, forming the city of Santiago de Compostela, which attracted pilgrims from all over Europe.

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The pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, which were underway in the ninth and tenth centuries, continued in intensity throughout the eleventh and twelfth. Paramount among these pilgrims were French poets and wandering minstrels carrying with them their legends, ballads, songs and of course their famous epics.

Because of the Moslem advances, Pope Alexander II, in 1063, sent an international expedition to Spain. The French were represented under the leadership of the Baron of Lower Normandy, accompanied by numerous knights. During the Western Crusade of 1087, a host of French nobles and their entourages crossed the Pyrenees. Many of the French soldiers chose to remain in Spain, where they formed new settlements or assimilated with the native people.(Sholod 1966:224)

Since the French played such a dominant role in aiding the Spanish in their struggle against the Moslems, it is not surprising to find that French influences were introduced and accepted.

The Spanish conflict with Moslem adversaries was not only political but also religious. Christianity was being threatened by Islamic influences, while at the same time, interest in the church declined as a result of a general lack of unity among the Christian people. To rectify the problem, Sancho el Mayor (1000-1035) had introduced the

Benedictine rite of Cluny from France into various monasteries. ˄ These Cluniac monks were reputed to have made great efforts to reform the church as well as monastic practices. Substantial financial grants were bestowed on these French clerics by the Spanish aristocracy, thus enhancing Cluniac prestige.

The Abbot of Cluny promoted the marriage of the Spanish king, Alfonso VI, to Constance, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy of France, thus further advancing the influence of the French ecclesiastics.[1] She arrived in Spain in 1079 accompanied by a Cluniac monk engaged as her secretary and he successfully promoted Cluniac interests through the establishment of chapels and inns for the pilgrims en route to Santiago de Compostela. In 1080, Constance introduced yet another Cluniac monk to Spain, Bernard of Perigord, who in the same year was appointed Abbot of Sahagun, an important town on the pilgrims' route. He was later appointed Archbishop of Toledo by the king and thenceforth had the opportunity to appoint French clergy to many Spanish bishoprics. It was not long before French bishops occupied many of the Catholic dioceses throughout the country.

The monks of Cluny had succeeded in supplanting Mozarabic rite with Roman rite in the newly conquered territories as well as instituting French handwriting in

the Spanish monasteries. As all liturgical books had to be
written in the French language, by decree of the Great
Ecclesiastical Council held in Leon in 1090, this offered
great assistance to the French monks in introducing the
Carolingian writing system (i.e. a form of writing based
on half capital letters, later to be the model for printed
characters). Toledan writing (i.e. Visigoth minuscule
letters) thus ceased to be used as notaries employed the
new letters. As a result of this innovation, religious
literature of the eleventh century had to be rewritten.

During the twelfth century, the Cistercian monks of
France were encouraged to enter Spain to aid in the
unification of Spanish Christians since the Cluny order was
by now showing signs of decline. The Cluniac monks
apparently came to place more importance on temporal
matters than on religious problems and their organizational
abilities faltered, possibly because they no longer
received the same generous payments bestowed on them by
former kings. A time came when they refused to pay taxes,
persecuted Jews in their jurisdiction and took to keeping
mistresses. Defournaux (1949:49) noted:

> On voit se réintroduire, dans les
> abbeyes espagnoles, les vices et les
> abus contre lesquels avaient lutté les

premiers   clunisiens   venus   dans   la
péninsule...

Before French influence waned, Santiago de Compostela
had not only become an archbishopric but also a centre of
litterae where many educators from France were given
positions.

French literature which quickly gained esteem focused
on the epic which in the Medieval period was one of
France's most influential and far-reaching literary cre-
ations.   The impact of the French epic persisted for
several centuries and its prestige extended throughout all
of Europe.

Though the epics were written pieces of work, for the
most part, they were transmitted by word of mouth by
troubadours who recited them to public audiences.

The first category of epic tales was the 'chansons de
geste', or songs of deeds which illustrated the militaris-
tic and feudal characteristics of the people. The songs
also referred to the sanctuaries on the pilgrims' routes.

The first significant Old French epic text was the
Chanson de Roland (1080) which inaugurated the genre and
established a criterion for the epic. This renowned
literary script refers to Charlemagne's reign, conquests
and battles against the Moors in Spain. In the Chanson de

<u>Roland</u>, Charlemagne is nobly portrayed as the hero and since, according to legend, he had spent seven years in Spain, his fame was widely recognized in that country.[2] Discussing Charlemagne's popularity, Defournaux noted: (1949:292)

> La popularité de Charlemagne fut telle,
> dès le XIIe siècle, que son prestige
> servit à des fins <<utilitaires>>.
> L'église de Compestelle avait associé
> l'Empereur à l'Apôtre, pour justifier
> ses vastes ambitions et accroître la
> vogue de son pèlerinage.

Barton Sholod (1966:155) noted that by 1030 the popularity of <u>Roland</u> and other French epics had become so tremendous in certain areas of Spain that large numbers of children were being baptized with the names of their parents' favourite epic heroes and heroines; the greatest vogue of Carolingian names occurred in the 1060's. (e.g. Rodlandus, Rollanus, Oliverius, Olivers, Olivier)

One of the greatest poems of the European Middle Ages was the national Castilian epic ,<u>Poema</u> (or <u>Cantar</u>) <u>de Mio Cid</u> (1140). The <u>Chanson de Roland</u> and the <u>Poema de Mio Cid</u> have been compared with regard to style and techniques.

For example, in the <u>Poema de Mio Cid</u>, the lines are grouped into verses of ten to twenty lines called <u>laisses</u> in French as they were in the <u>Chanson de Roland</u>. The use of assonance (the rhyme of one or two vowels without regard to consonants) is found in the <u>Cid</u> as well as in the Old French epic.

Ramon Menéndez Pidal recognized French claims to dominance in the field though the Castilian epic was not merely an imitatived reproduction of the French model.(Smith,C. 1972:xv)

The <u>Cantar de Roncesvalles</u>, another one of the pieces of work to survive of the Spanish epic genre, also reveals the appeal of the French archetype. (Defournaux 1949:314)

> La Chanson de Roland ou un texte dérivé
> d'elle a fourni le nom de Roncevaux
> (Spanish Roncesvalles), le personage de
> Marsile, ainsi que l'idée de la
> trahison du comte carolingien Galaron
> (Ganelon)....les thèmes épiques
> français avaient conquis dès le milieu
> du XIIe siècle une grande popularité.

Literature is a vehicle for transporting words across cultures and borrowings can be associated with certain French literary sources and techniques which tend to

suggest a foreign presence in Old Spanish. Discussing Old Spanish literature A. Castro noted: (1971:426)

> ...literature turned to French sources and forms (the religious theatre; the poetic stanza of four fourteen syllable verses in monorhyme...

The Poema de Mio Cid introduced the following French borrowings: banda < French bande which first appeared in the epic Voyage de Charlemagne written in the early twelfth century: emplear < French empleier, first recorded in the Chanson de Roland, 1080. Also found in this same Old Spanish epic is the expression llorar de los ojos which appears to be an imitation of the expression plorer des oilz found in the Chanson de Roland.(Smith, C. 1972:lviii)

In the early years of the thirteenth century, the first Spanish universities were founded. Alfonso VIII had a great respect for French education and when he founded his school of studies at Palencia in 1208, he sent for masters from France. Because of the high prestige of French education, Spanish students were also encouraged to study in Gallic universities.

The impact of these religious, political , cultural and literary influences emanating from France is attested

to by the multifarious French loanwords that entered the Spanish language.

During this period of Old Spanish, the prestigious French language appears to have been widely spoken among people of the upper classes. These aristocrats highly favouring French not only borrowed the foreign words but also seem to have adopted word formations unfamiliar to Spanish grammar in order to make their native Spanish words more like French words. (e.g. <u>noche</u> /noče/ > <u>noch</u> /noč/) (Lapesa 1968:144). With respect to this practice Anderson (1979:21) stated:

> Social factors seem to have overridden
> syntagmatic features of the language
> for a time, at least among the upper
> classes of Old Spanish society,
> resulting in new distribution patterns
> hitherto alien to the language.

The enormous prestige of the French set the stage for the adoption of loanwords, but how easily were French loanwords adopted into Spanish? The languages shared common characteristics but also exhibited important differences. For example, in the earliest known literary work in French, the <u>Sequence of St. Eulalia</u> (A.D. 880), features

which are distinctly French are revealed in words such as
concreindre and bellezour illustrating the diphthongization
of the high mid vowels (i.e. /e/ > /ei/ and /o/ > /ou/).

Written Spanish is first attested in the Glosas
Emilianenses and the Glosas Silenses (10th century A.D.).
Evidently Spanish in nature are words such as buena and
dueno in which the word final vowels /a/ and /o/ have been
retained. Old French had already reduced or eliminated
these final vowels. The divergence in the languages in the
ninth and tenth centuries attested in the written form was
no doubt taking place in the spoken language even before it
appeared in writing.

The treatment of loanwords in Old Spanish in part
hinges on the degree of difficulty encountered by each word
and to some extent on the method by which it was borrowed.
Words displaying certain characteristics will have been
adopted from written French while others will have entered
the language through oral expression.[3] Their impact on Old
Spanish would presumably be different in accordance with
the method of borrowing.

If one keeps in mind that few were literate - a
minority of nobles and the clergy - it would seem that
forms taken from literate sources might appear in Old
Spanish literature but those slow to penetrate the unlet-
tered masses of the Spanish population would show a greater

propensity to disappear from the language than those incorporated through oral contact.

A number of Old French loanwords in Old Spanish subsequently disappeared, possibly because they did not filter down to the common people.

1.2 The Origin of the Loanwords

To establish that a given word is a loanword, it is first necessary to consider its phonological development. If a word is not native, it may show (1) a sound change not representative in the history of the language, or (2) a lack of sound change.

Examples:

(1) Lat. abantaticum > OFr avantage > OSp avantaja instead of avantadgo/avantazgo

(2) Lat. argentum > OFr argent > OSp argent instead of argiento

Several of the Old French loanwords which appeared in Old Spanish were of Germanic origin. The Germanic dialect bestowing the loanword determines whether the borrowing entered Spanish directly from Germanic sources or via French (i.e. Germ. > Fr. > Sp.). Spanish vocabulary of Germanic origin was adopted from either Gothic or Swabian.[4]

Of the Germanic languages, Old French was influenced by Frankish, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old English and Old High German. (De Forest 1916:375)

Example:

OHG aleman > OFr aleman > OSp aleman

The Gothic form was alamann which would give OSp alaman(o).

During the Medieval period numerous dialects were spoken in France. However, Francien, the Ile de France dialect, which became the national language, is the source of the loanwords under discussion.[5] Geographically, this prestigious dialect was rooted in the central region of the country encompassing Paris.

The Old Spanish dialect examined here which adopted the Old French loanwords in question was Castilian, which gained the most prominent position among the country's dialects, and became the norm for standard Spanish.

The Old French loanwords studied in this thesis were borrowed by Old Spanish during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Notes to Chapter One

[1] Discussing French influence, Lapesa (1968:142) noted:

> Los siglos XI al XIII marcan el apogeo
> de la inmigración ultrapirenaica en
> España, favorecida por enlaces
> matrimoniales entre reyes españoles y
> princesas de Francia y Occitania.
> Todas las capas de la sociedad, nobles,
> guerros, eclesiásticos y menestrales,
> experimentaron la influencia de los
> visitantes y colonos extranjeros.

[2] "Seven" is possibly a fictitious number. It ia difficult to ascertain whether Charlemagne ever actually spent seven years in Spain as his battles were numerous and in various areas on the continent.

[3] v. Chapters 2 & 3 for orthographic and oral influences

[4] The Swabians were a Germanic tribe which survived in N.W. Spain for a century and a half until it fell to the Visigoths.

[5] The term "French" was used to denote "Francien" during the Middle Ages. (v. Price, G. 1971:11)

CHAPTER TWO

ORTHOGRAPHIC INFLUENCE OF OLD FRENCH ON OLD SPANISH

A principal focus of this thesis is to establish criteria to ascertain the medium in which French loanwords were incorporated into Spanish. The undertaking is complex and, with a great percentage of the borrowings, there is often insufficient data to determine the circumstances under which they were originally adopted. However, through an investigation of the phonetic components, there appear to be grounds for postulating that some of the borrowings emanated from Old French orthography and others from spoken forms.

It is important to note the assumption that the scribes responsible for the Old Spanish writings during the period under discussion were not all native speakers of Spanish. Since a great number of these scribes were of French origin, it is not surprising to find that Spanish phonological rules were often overlooked when introducing Old French loanwords in Old Spanish.

2.1 Old French Nasalized Vowels

The following examples illustrate the orthographic sequence
e + nasal consonant in Old French and Old Spanish. The
dates indicate first appearances in the borrowing
language.[1]

Old French	Old Spanish
argent	argent (1220-50)
assembler	asemblar (1220-50)
avenement	aveniment (1220-50)
consentement	consentiment (1250)
empleier	emplear (1140)
encoragier	encoraiar (1250)
estrument	estrument (1220-50)
membre	membre (1220-50)
rencure	rencura (1140)
sen	sen (1220-50)

By the mid eleventh century, /ẽ/ had lowered to /ã/ in
Old French. In La Chanson de Roland (1080), laisses were
introduced with assonances in /ã/ and /ẽ/, indicating that
these two vowels had become identical. For example, tant
is found in assonance with vent. (Pope 1952:168-70) The
coalescence of /ã/ and /ẽ/ was purely an oral manifestation
and was not represented in orthography and documentation.

Though the Old French vowel /e/ had phonetically
become /a/, it remained /e/ in the Old Spanish adaptation,
suggesting the word derived from an orthographic form. Old

Spanish spelling was reputed to have been a faithful picture of the language as it was spoken in official and cultured circles at Toledo[2], and would have, in all likelihood, adopted /a/ had these words been orally transmitted to Old Spanish.

2.2 Old French /s/ ± Consonant

The voiceless fricative /s/ was effaced during the course of Old French when it occurred in the environment before a voiceless occlusive. However, prior to its complete obliteration, which appears to have been in the twelfth century, /s/ was reduced to an aspirated /h/. The spelling of Old French loanwords in German substantiates this change. (e.g. tschahtel = chastel and foreht = forest). (Pope 1952:151; Bourciez, E. and J. 1982:162) Further support is found in the Orthographia Gallica, a treatise on French spelling composed in the thirteenth century, in a statement explicitly explaining that when /s/ is affixed to /t/, it produced /h/; est and plest are pronounced as if spelled eght and pleght. (Pope 1952:151)

When in Old French /s/ occurred in the environment before a voiced consonant, it underwent two sound changes before its effacement in the eleventh century. Firstly, it

voiced to /z/ and then passed to the voiced dental fricative /ð/. This transition to /ð/ was indicated in Anglo-Norman renderings of French borrowings. (e.g. isle > idle; asne > adne). It appears that /s/ disappeared before a voiced consonant in the eleventh century. (Bourciez, E. and J.1982:162) Though /s/ + occlusive had ceased to be pronounced, its orthographic representation persisted until the eighteenth century. (Étienne 1980:64)

The following examples illustrate Old French loanwords in Old Spanish which contain the consonant cluster /s/ + voiceless stop (i.e. /p,t,k/).

Old French	Old Spanish
baston	baston
escot(e)	escote
estui	estui
mestier	mester
prestre	prestre

As noted in the orthography, Old Spanish adopted these loanwords with the /s/ + voiceless stop intact. All of the above Old Spanish words were first documented in the thirteenth century, (v. Berns 1964 and Corominas 1954) and are likely to have evolved from Old French literary sources. If Old Spanish speakers had perceived the above loanwords orally, they would presumably have adopted them either without /s/ or with an aspirated sound.

There are two examples of loanwords containing /s/ + voiced consonant.

Old French	Old Spanish
desdaingnier	desdennar (1250)
esmaiier	desmayar (1250)

Had the loanwords been adopted from oral sources, one would expect them to appear without the /s/ or at least to reflect the reduction to /ð/ did the Anglo-Norman borrowings.[3]

2.3 Old French Final /t/

Word final unsupported /t/, which resulted from the loss of a word final Latin morpheme, was weakly articulated in Old French throughout the eleventh century after which time it was completly effaced.[4]

Example: donat /donat/ > /donaθ/ > /dona/

Presumably the Old French words bot and mot were pronounced /bo/ and /mo/ by the turn of the twelfth century. These words were first recorded in Old Spanish in the works of Berceo between 1220 and 1250. Old French word final /t/ was retained in Old Spanish with the subsequent addition of /e/, as illustrated in the following examples.

<u>Old French</u>   <u>Old Spanish</u>

bot   bote
mot   mote

Old French documentation seems to have been the source of the Old Spanish words since they first appeared more than a century after the Old French phonological change took place. (Fouché 1961:656-59)

2.4 <u>Old French</u> <u>-nn-</u>

As Spanish developed from Popular Latin, the nasal cluster <u>-nn-</u> palatalized to /ñ/. (e.g. <u>pannu</u> > <u>paño</u>) However, in some loanwords the second element of the cluster changes to the dental stop /d/.[5] Compare the following:

<u>Old French</u>   <u>Old Spanish</u>

banniere   bandera
pennon   pendon

Yet another borrowing containing the nasal cluster fails to observe the above process.

<u>Old French</u>   <u>Old Spanish</u>

tannerie   taneria

In order to replace -nn- with -nd-, it would have to be known that a double n existed in Old French, a fact that was not evident in pronunciation, since the group nn was phonetically reduced to /n/. (Bourciez, E.and J. 1982:193) It therefore appears that bandera and pendon are from the written forms while tanaria, without /d/, may have resulted from oral contact.

2.5 Old French Vocalized /l/

In Popular Latin, the liquid consonant /l/ had a velar pronunciation when it occurred in pre-consonantal position. In Old French, this /l/ vocalized to /u/ after /a,e,i,o/ and disappeared after /u/ by the late tenth century.(Elcock 1960:358)[6] Compare:

/l/ > /u/ / /a,e,i,o/_____ C

e.g. Popular Latin halt > OFr haut /aut/

/l/ > Ø / /u/_____C

e.g. Popular Latin pulicella > OFr pucelle /pucelə/

Despite the sound change, /u/ was only sporadically represented in the orthography. In La Chanson de Roland (1080), altres is written for /autres/ and dulce appears for /dusə/. (c.f. Modern French douce) Although the

letter l had vocalized before a consonant, it continued to be used freely to denote the new sound. (Ewert 1943:114)

The following examples depict Old French words containing the vocalized l and the borrowed forms in Old Spanish.

<u>Old French</u>   <u>Old Spanish</u>

blialt, bliaut   brial
colp   colpe/golpe
fealte   fealdad
pulcelle, pucelle   punçella
jalne, jaune   jalde

The Old French word <u>blialt</u>, also written <u>bliaut</u> at that time, was adopted with the orthographic -<u>al</u>- intact. Since the word in question contained two l's, dissimilation occurred - a normal process in Spanish.

Old French <u>colp</u> and <u>fealte</u> were presumably pronounced /coup/ and /feaute/ by native speakers. However, Old Spanish borrowed the words with the orthographic l intact.

Both <u>pulcelle</u> and <u>pucelle</u> are documented in Old French. The second form illustrates the loss of /l/ after /u/. Old Spanish rendered the word as <u>puncella</u>. The /n/ following /u/ suggests that the Old French form containing the orthographic l was the one adopted since in Old Spanish /l/ dissimilated to /n/ when another /l/ followed in the

same word. Again, had the vocalized version of the word been manifested, dissimilation would not have taken place.

Old Spanish <u>jalde</u> conforms to the Old French orthographic form <u>jalne</u> and not the spoken form /jaunə/.

These words, and no doubt others, appear to have been taken into Spanish directly through written channels with perhaps little or no stimulus from the spoken language.

Notes to Chapter Two

1   Dates noted by Berns, K. and Corominas, J.

2   Entwistle noted (1948:157) that during the Middle Ages there was a demand for a uniform spelling in the official language. As a result of this pressure, the scribal practices of Castile showed considerable uniformity as spelling was regulated by the Toledan chancery. The system adopted was almost perfectly phonetic.

3   The OSp word desmayar shows a change in prefix (i.e. OFr es- > OSp des-). De Forest notes that this change is not unusual considering the frequency of des- in OSp.

4   They, of course, could have entered the spoken language earlier and not been recorded in the literature.

5   Ford (1911:266) supports the theory that in loanwords -nn- > -nd-.

6   Opinions differ as to exact time of this change. Dauzat states that /l/ vocalized to /u/ by the 11th century (p.87); Lanly, A., toward the end of the 11th (p.28); Batany, J., between the 10th and the 11th

(p.37); Fouché, P., finished towards the end of the 11th (1961 p.854); Meyer-Lübke, before the literary period, citing examples from the 11th century (p.435).

CHAPTER THREE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORTHOGRAPHIC VERSUS ORAL BORROWINGS
AND PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.1 Introduction

As Old French loanwords were incorporated into Old
Spanish, they often underwent modifications in order to
conform to the new phonological structure. The changes and
processes involved in the adaptation of these words often
appear to reflect their orthographic origins. Similarly,
words borrowed via oral tradition can sometimes be deter-
mined by phonetic criteria. A comparison of the phonologi-
cal systems of the two languages showing their similarities
and differences facilitates our understanding of the medium
by which loanwords were incorporated into Old Spanish and
the strategies employed by Old Spanish speakers to accommo-
date them.[1]

3.2 Vowels

During the period dealt with in this thesis, the
vocalic system of Old Spanish may be represented
schematically as follows. (Menéndez Pidal 1966:44)
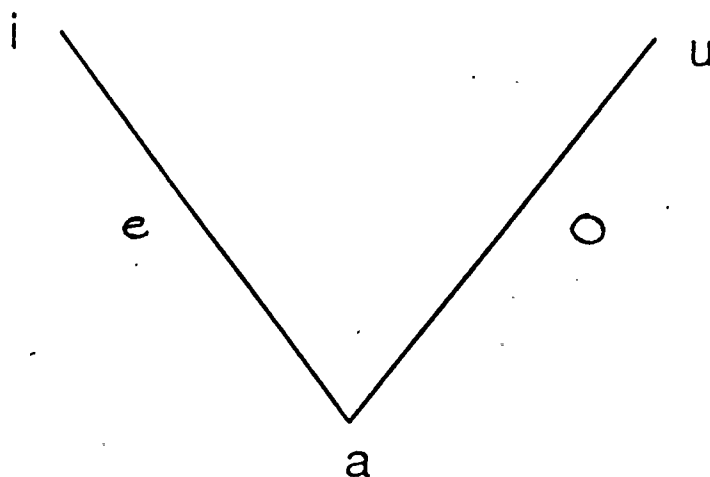
Figure 1 Medieval Spanish Vocalic System

The French vocalic system was less conservative and more complex in its development from Popular Latin. Aside from the oral and nasal vowels which appeared in Old French, there were also many diphthongs in the language. However, these sounds were continuously changing during the Medieval period. For this reason, it is difficult to establish which sounds were present at a specified time. From the sources consulted, it appears that the following were probably in existence during the era under discussion: /ie, ei, ou, uo/ and nasalized varieties of these and other sequences.

The oral and nasal vowels may be represented as follows: (Pope 1952:79; Rochet 1976:87)
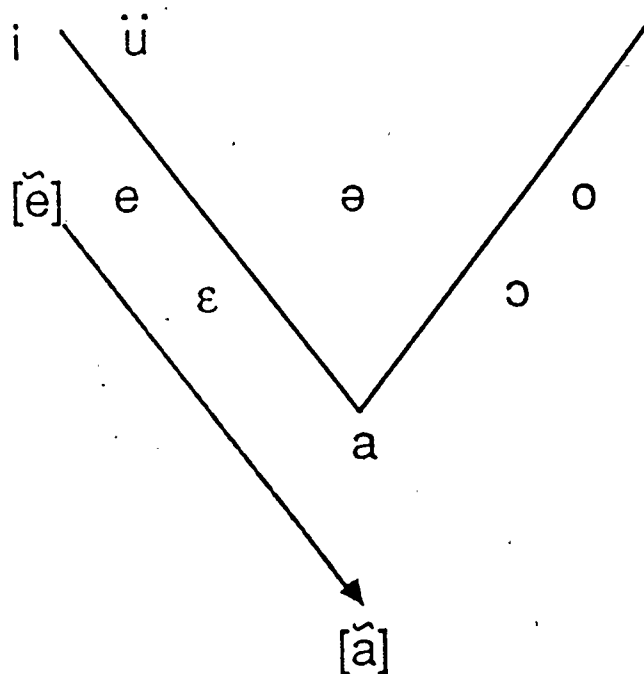
Figure 2 Medieval French Oral and Nasal Vowels

As illustrated in the above figures, Old Spanish did not have equivalent sounds for all the Old French vowels. Upon borrowing a word containing an unfamiliar sound, Spanish substituted a native phone having similar features. For example, the Old French high rounded front vowel /ü/ was foreign to Old Spanish. However, in the adopting language /u/, the high rounded back vowel, served as a substitute. (see examples below).

3.3 Consonants

The Old Spanish consonantal system is represented as follows. (Alarcos 1951:17)

	LABIAL	APICO DENTAL	DORSAL DENTAL	PALATAL	VELAR	LARYNGAL
NON-CONTINUANT	p	t	ć	č	k	
	b	d	ź	ǧ	g	
CONTINUANT	f		s	š		
	v		z	ž		
	m		n	ñ		
			l	λ		
			r rr			

Figure 3 Medieval Spanish Consonantal System

The French consonants were undergoing considerable change during this period. The table below represents both the old and the new sounds occurring in the language at that time. (Pope 1952:81; Einhorn 1974:3)

	LABIAL	APICO DENTAL	DORSAL DENTAL	PALATAL	VELAR	LARYNGAL
NON-CONTINUANT	p	t	ć	č	k	
	b	d	ź	ǧ	g	
CONTINUANT	f		s	š		h
	v		z	ž		
	m		n	ñ		
			l	λ		
			r	rr		

Figure 4 Medieval French Consonantal System

The Old French and Old Spanish consonantal systems were similar during this era. However, in Old French a merging of certain sounds was in effect and either of the sounds in the following pairs may have been in use.

/ć/ [ts] / /s/ [s]   /ź/ [dz] / /z/ [z]

/č/ [tš] / /š/ [š]   /ǧ/ [dž] / /ž/ [ž]

On the other hand, in Old Spanish the sounds in each of these pairs remained distinct. (i.e. they were not in the process of merging as in Old French).

The following list of examples depicts the manner in which Old French sounds were adopted by Old Spanish. (also see Appendix for phonemic transcriptions).

Examples:

OFr [a]	>	OSp [a]	abeter	> abetar
OFr [e]	>	OSp [e]	pelote	> pelota
OFr [ɛ]	>	OSp [e]	esmaiier	> desmayar
OFr [ə]	>	OSp [-a]	bande	> banda
	>	OSp [-e]	sage	> sage
OFr [i]	>	OSp [i]	sire	> sire
OFr [o]	>	OSp [o]	boter	> botar

One exception occurs: OFr froncir > OSp fruncir

OFr [ɔ]	>	OSp [o]	trotter	> trotar

OFr [u], orthographic l, >   OSp [l]

OFr colp > OSp colpe

OFr [ü]	>	OSp [u]	rue	> rua

One exception occurs: OFr br_ūnir > OSp br_onir

OFr [an] > OSp [an]   b_ande   >   b_anda

OFr [an] orthographic _en > OSp [en] arg_ent > arg_ent
(v. 2.1)

OFr [on] > OSp [on]   bast_on   >   bast_on

OFr [in] > OSp [in]   p_incel   >   p_insel

OFr [ai] > OSp [ai]   rep_aire   >   rep_aire
OFr orthographic ai[ɛ] > OSp [a] jam_ais > j_am_as (v. 3.9)

OFr [p] > OSp [p]   _pennon   >   _pendon

OFr [t] > OSp [t]   _tache   >   _tacha

OFr [k] > OSp [k]   _carole   >   _carola

OFr [b] > OSp [b]   ga_ber   >   ga_bar
        > OSp [v]   _Bernard   >   _Vernald

OFr [d] > OSp [d]   _dar_d   >   _dar_do

OFr [g] > OSp [g]   _grange   >   _granja

OFr [ts] > OSp [ts]   _cisne   >   _cisne

OFr [tš] [š] > OSp [tš] _chantre   >   _chantre

OFr [dž] [ž] > OSp [dz] _jamais   >   _jamas

OFr [s] > OSp [s]   _sen   >   _sen
(v.2.2 re s + consonant)

OFr [z] > OSp [z]   mai_son   >   mai_son

OFr [f] > OSp [f]   _flotte   >   _flota

OFr [h] from Germanic sources > OSp [f] _honte > _fonta

OFr [v] > OSp [v]   _viande   >   _vianda
        > OSp [b]   tro_ver   >   tro_bar

OFr [r] > OSp [r]   _rue   >   _rua

```
OFr [l]  >  OSp [l]      legier   >   ligero
OFr [λ]  >  OSp [λ]      bataille >   batalla
OFr [m]  >  OSp [m]      mast     >   mast
OFr [n]  >  OSp [n]      nombre   >   nombre
OFr [ñ]  >  OSp [ñ]      agnel    >   annel
```

3.4 Apocope

The phonological process of apocope (i.e. the loss of word final unstressed vowels) occurred in Popular Latin and continued in both Old French and Old Spanish.

The unstressed vowels /a/, /e/ and /o/ appeared in Old Spanish word final position and of these /e/, and sometimes /o/, were apocopated. This process, which primarily affected nouns and adjectives, exposed the consonants /l,r,s,z,n,d,ć/ in word final position (Menéndez Pidal 1966:170) and, as a rule, until the eleventh century, these were the only consonants permitted in that position.

Examples:

Popular Latin	Old Spanish
tale	tal
creatore	creator
mese	mes
luce	luz
pane	pan
veritate	verdad

Final Old French vowels, with the exception of /ə/, had also apocopated and many Old French words terminated in consonants and consonant clusters. It appears that Old French had extended apocope further than Old Spanish in that the former seems to have tolerated more consonants and consonant clusters in word final position. The following are recorded in the Old French text <u>Chanson de Roland</u> (1080): <u>adenz</u>, <u>besanc</u>, <u>chef</u>, <u>cest</u>, <u>mult</u>. The words <u>num</u>, <u>sum</u>, <u>hom</u>, <u>dunc</u>, <u>Franc</u>, <u>dunt</u>, <u>melz</u>, <u>volt</u> and <u>grant</u> are found in <u>La Vie de Saint Alexis</u> (first half of the twelfth century).

In the second half of the eleventh century, incidents of apocope grew considerably in Old Spanish. Word final /e/ was lost in environments other than those deemed admissible (i.e. after palatals, velars and labials). Lapesa termed the process "extreme apocope" and noted that between 1200 and 1220 the use of extreme apocope multiplied greatly in Castile.[2]

Through the study of loanwords, it appears that this phenomenon may have resulted from the continual contact of Spanish with French linguistic practices. Lapesa (1951:196) noted that the regions in which apocope was the most intense during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries coincided with dioceses regulated by French monks.

During this era, examples of this contact are clear from borrowings in which words end in consonants other than those permitted in Old Spanish.

French	Spanish
franc	franc
duc	duc
argent	argent
sergent	sergent
Arnalt	Arnald

Adopting these words intact exemplifies the extent of French influence on Spanish at that time. Furthermore, the Spaniards appear to have apocopated final vowels in their native words which would exhibit consonants and consonant clusters unacceptable to the rules of the language. The appearance of these words was thus imitative of French. Compare:

(i) the Crónica General De España by Alfonso X El Sabio (13th century)

dond   (<donde)
noch   (<noche)
fuert   (<fuerte)
ric   (<rico)
huest   (<hueste)
adelant   (<adelante)

(ii) Poema de Mio Cid (12th century)

grand   (<grande)
cort   (<corte)
mont   (<monte)

(iii) <u>Auto</u> <u>de</u> <u>Los</u> <u>Reyes</u> <u>Magos</u> (12th century)

achest	(<acheste)
dond	(<donde)

(iv) <u>Disputa</u> <u>Del</u> <u>Alma</u> <u>Y</u> <u>El</u> <u>Cuerpo</u> (late 12th or early 13th century)

nog	(<noge)
fust	(<fuste)

(v) <u>Gonzalo</u> <u>de</u> <u>Berceo</u> (12th or 13th century)

sociedat	(<sociedate)
gent	(<gente)

Apocoped forms remained prevalent, at least in the literature, as attested by documentation, until French influence diminished in the fifteenth century. At that time, most final vowels were restored. Final vowels were not restored after dental consonants, in accordance with the spoken language, unless the dental occurred in post consonantal position. Note the following:

grand	>	grande	caridad	>	caridad
mont	>	monte	pues	>	pues
much	>	mucho	tan	>	tan

Native linguistic structures seem to have been maintained among the lower classes and were adhered to again by the scribes once French prestige diminished. (Anderson 1973:175) In other words, extreme apocope in

written Spanish imitated French from written French models
(e.g. _duc/duc_).

3.5 The Adaptation of Old French /h/

The laryngeal fricative /h/ was lost quite early in
the pronunciation of Popular Latin. In Old French it also
disappeared in the orthography (e.g. Latin _habere_ > French
avoir). During the Middle Ages a graphic _h_ was added to
the beginning of some words; however, it was not pronounced
(e.g. Latin _hora_ > Old French _eure_ > French _heure_).

As a result of the strong Frankish influence in the
fifth century, Gallo-Roman vocabulary adopted numerous
Germanisms containing /h/ and this aspirated sound was
maintained in French until the end of the Middle Ages.
(Elcock 1960:254)

Frankish	Old French
hapja	hache
hardjan	hardir, hardi
haunitha	honte
harpa	harpe

On the other hand, when Spanish borrowed words
containing /h/ directly from Germanic sources, this /h/ was
omitted. (e.g. Gothic _haribergo_ > OSp _albergo_). However,
/h/ was not disregaded in the Old French loanwords of

Germanic origin; it was replaced by /f/. Observe the following.

Old French	Old Spanish
hache	facha
hardi	fardido
harpe	farpa
honte	fonta

The fact that Old Spanish employed f suggests that there was no /h/ and that Old Spanish /f/, a bilabial fricative [ɸ], served as the equivalent to Old French /h/.[3]

Since the letter f represented the aspirated sound, one may presume that in the words above the Old French aspirated /h/ was perceived orally. Orthographic forms would not indicate whether or not the h was aspirated or mute.

3.6 Dissimilation

Dissimilation is the phonological process in which two phonetically similar sounds in a word become less alike. This process, which is commonly regarded as a 'sporadic change', occurs customarily among the liquid consonants /l/ and /r/ and the nasal consonants /n/ and /m/. Lathrop (1980:98) noted:

As the Spanish language developed, it did not usually allow two 'r's, two 'l's or two nasals in the same word, and usually changed the manner of articulation of the second sound, although sometimes the first was altered.

```
r ---- r    >    r ---- l
l ---- l    >    r ---- l, l ---- r
n ---- n    >    l ---- n, n ---- l, n ---- r
n ---- m    >    l ---- m, r ---- m
```

Popular Latin   Old Spanish

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arbore              arbol
calamellu           caramillo
hispanione          español
an(i)ma             alma
```

Posner (1961) also noted that when dissimilation occurred /r/ was the most common substitute for /l/ and vice versa. She also stated that the most usual substitute for dissimilated /n/ is the liquid /l/ in all positions in French and Spanish. The liquid /r/ sometimes substitutes for dissimilated /n/.

The process of dissimilation appears to have been operative in the following loanwords:[4]

	Old French	Old Spanish
(1)	bandon	baldon
(2)	corsier	corcel
(3)	Bernard	Vernald

Numbers (1) through (3) illustrate Old French n --- n becoming l --- n and r --- r becoming r --- l.

During the Medieval period, the /r/ of the infinitive appears to have had no influence on the dissimilation process in Old Spanish.

Old French	Old Spanish
adrimer	adrimar
brunir	bronir
froncir	fruncir
parler	parlar

In the loanwords above, in which dissimilation took place, sounds were modified in their articulation rendering them to become less alike.

Dissimilation may also result in the deletion of a sound. (c.f. /b/ in jambon)

Old French	Old Spanish
jambon	jamon

These words exhibiting dissimilation would appear to have been borrowed through oral sources or at least quickly filtered down to common speech.[5]

3.7 Metathesis

Metathesis, the process of sounds interchanging in a word, occurs in the following loanwords:

Old French	Old Spanish
bevrage	brebaje
jarser	sarjar, sajar [6]

The liquid consonants /l/ and /r/ appear to be very mobile and they commonly pass from one syllable to another. Meyer-Lübke (1974:514), discussing the tendancy of /r/ to combine with an initial consonants, states:

En espagnol l'r remonte volontiers vers

la syllabe initiale.

Metathesis may have been utilized in the rendering of Old French bevrage to Old Spanish brebaje on the basis that the combination /vr/ within a word was not compatible in the phonosyntactic rules of Spanish.

In all of the Old Spanish renditions of Old French jarser (to cut make an incision), it is evident that Spanish speakers rejected the consonant cluster rs. The modification of rs to ss occurred in Popular Latin and thus explains the Spanish propensity to write ss in jassar. The interchanging of s and j, seen in Spanish sarjar, was not a

common practice. However, the process may have been carried out if only to dissolve the r̲s̲ cluster. The r̲ in the first syllable of sarjar was obliterated thereafter.

Old Spanish scribes employed Late Latin spelling s̲s̲ in some cases or metathesized s̲ and j̲, suggesting oral borrowing since the form was modified to conform to Old Spanish phonological sequences.

3.8 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is the phonological process involving the insertion of a sound within a word in order to facilitate articulation. A consonant may be introduced between two vowels to maintain a clear distinction between two sylla- bles and thus preventing the formation of a diphthong as seen in the first two examples below. The insertion of epenthetic /n/ between a vowel and consonant, as in the third example below, appears to be a common phenomenon in Spanish as it was in Popular Latin.(e.g. Latin macula > mancula > Spanish mancha). Menéndez Pidal (1966:189) noted that this particular process occurred with no apparent rationale. However, inserting the epenthetic consonants suggests that the forms entered through oral channels.

Old French	Old Spanish
coart	cobarde
truand	trufan
pichier	pinchier

3.9 The Adaptation of Old French /ai/

Towards the twelfth century the French diphthong /ai/ evolved into /ɛi/ and by the middle of the century, it was reduced to /ɛ/ when it occurred before a consonant cluster or before /s/.

$$/ai/ \; > \; /\epsilon i/ \; > \; /\epsilon / \; / \; \underline{\quad} \; \begin{cases} CC \\ /s/ \end{cases}$$

In the environment before a single consonant, the diphthongized pronunciation was maintained for a long while, and also when it appeared in hiatus. (e.g. plaie /plaiɛ/) (Bourciez, E. & J. 1982:59)

A number of French words containing the orthographic ai were borrowed by the Spanish and these loanwords fell into two specific categories:

(i) ai > a
(ii) ai remained intact

The following loanwords fall into the first category:

Old French	Old Spanish
carcais	carcaj
jamais	jamas
vaissel	baxel

The following belong to the second category:

Old French	Old Spanish
baile	baile
repaire	repaire
saie	saie
fontaine	fontaina

The first category indicates that the French ortho-graphic _ai_, which represented / ε /, was adopted by the Spanish as /a/, a near equivalent of / ε /, which Spanish lacked. Where French preserved the diphthong /ai/, Old Spanish also supported it in the borrowing. It appears that the words in the first category are a reflection of the Old French spoken language while those in the second category could have been from oral or orthographic sources. However, the lack of /ai/ in Old Spanish phonology suggests an orthographic origin.

Two words fail to fall into the above categories.

Old French	Old Spanish
faisan	faisan
maison	maison

In the above Old French words the orthographic ai represented /ɛ/. Since Old Spanish borrowed ai intact, the words were presumably taken directly from the orthography. Also, the adaptation of the orthographic s in both of the words indicates a written source since in Old French this s represented /z/ when it occurred between voiced sounds. Had these borrowings entered the language via oral means, they would presumably have been spelled with a z as were the following borrowings in 3.10.

3.10 Old French /ć/ and /s/

In the following examples the orthographic c in the Old French words represented /ć/ or /s/. A double s represented /s/ which voiced to /z/ when it appeared between voiced sounds. Old Spanish borrowed these words substituting orthographic c and ss with z, indicating that these loanwords were adopted from oral sources.

Old French	Old Spanish
dancier	danzar
garçon	garzon
crosse	croza

Had these words emanated from orthograpic sources, one would expect c and s to be retained.

Notes to Chapter Three

1   A comprehensive analysis of the phonetic treatment of
Old French loanwords in Old Spanish has been completed
by Klaus Berns, who in his study deals with the
adaptation of each individual Old French sound as it
occurs in Old Spanish.

2   In 66 documents examined, Lapesa (1951:208) noted 259
cases of apocope, many of which exposed final conso-
nants not compatible to Spanish phonology. He attri-
butes this phenomenon to French influence. (1951:121)

> La   influencia   lingüística   de los
> inmigrantes   "francos"   favoreció la
> apócope de la "e" final en casos como
> "part", "mont", "allend", "cort", que a
> mediados del siglo XII habían adquirido
> extraordinaria difusión.

Menéndez   Pidal   further   suppots   this   belief
(1966:169-70).

> Con todas estas apócopes el español de
> los siglos XII y XIII se asemajaba
> mucho al frances.

3   Menéndez Pidal (1968:228) notes that <u>h</u> never appears
in the <u>Cid</u>.

4   Old French <u>girofle</u> and Old Spanish <u>girofre</u> seem to be
a counter example to the above statements.

5   OSp <u>brial</u> < OFr <u>blialt</u> and OSp <u>puncella</u> < OFr <u>pulcelle</u>
also exhibit dissimilation; however, in 2.5 it was
shown that these words originated from orthographic
sources on the basis of /l/ failing to vocalize.

6   Another form of the word appeared as <u>jassar</u>.

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Nouns

Old French final vowels became Ø except /-a/ which became /-ə/ in feminine nouns and in some masculine nouns. (e.g. Latin fem. porta > OFr porte: Latin masc. cicinum > OFr cisne). In such cases, the articles la and le differentiated masculine and feminine.

Old Spanish final /a/ remained intact; /-e/ and /-i/ became /-e/; /-o/ and /-u/ became /-o/. Masculine nouns could be depicted by /-o/ (e.g. muro), or /-e/ (e.g. membre) or Ø (e.g. pan). Feminine nouns ended in /-a/ (e.g. porta), or /-e/ (e.g. noche), or Ø (e.g. nación). The articles la and el also distinguished feminine from masculine.

4.1.1 Feminine Nouns

When Old French feminine nouns terminating in /ə/ were accepted into Old Spanish, the final /ə/ was replaced by /a/. Feminine nouns in Old Spanish were not affected by apocope since /a/ was never subjected to that process.

Old French	Old Spanish
bande	banda
canele	canela
flotte	flota
guise	guisa
meche	mecha
rote	rota

As noted in 4.1, Old Spanish had feminine nouns terminating in both /-a/ and /-e/. Had the above feminine nouns been perceived in the orthography, it seems there would not have been a need to alter the word final vowel. However, if the words were noted orally, native Spanish speakers may have associated the use of the Old French feminine article la with the Spanish suffix /-a/ since it appeared to be more common than /-e/ in feminine nouns.

4.1.2 Masculine Nouns

The manner in which French masculine nouns were adapted in Spanish fell into four categories.

(i) Old French /ə/ became Old Spanish /e/.

Old French	Old Spanish
cisne	çisne
membre	membre
prestre,preste	preste
sire	sire

(ii) Those lacking a final vowel added a final /e/ or /o/:

Old French	Old Spanish
coart	cobarde
galop	galope
blanc	blanco
dard	dardo

or (iii) were accepted intact with no final vowel since they terminated in a consonant phontactically acceptable in Spanish.

Old French	Old Spanish
agnel	annel
batel	batel
aleman	aleman
don	don
chancelier	chanceller
cipres	çipres
solaz	solaz

(iv) Some words were accepted intact with the generally unacceptable apocopated forms.

Old French	Old Spanish
Arnald	Arnald
duc	duc

It appears that category (i) may have resulted from either written or oral contact as indicated by word final e. However, when Old French /-ə / occurred in feminine nouns, it was altered. On the other hand, this /-ə/ in masculine nouns retains its orthographic representation e.

Category (ii) appears to consist of oral borrowings. Upon hearing the French words ending in a sound generally unacceptable in Old Spanish phonology, Spanish speakers would automatically affix a word final vowel. Had these words come through the orthography, it is unlikely that the scribes would add this vowel since extreme apocope was prevalent in the literature at the time.[1] Applying this rationale, it appears that the nouns in category (iv) resulted from the orthography since a final vowel was not added where one would be anticipated.

Since the words in category (iii) terminated in an acceptable word final sound, their transmission could have been either oral or orthographic.

4.2 The Development of Infinitival Forms

The infinitival forms of the four Latin conjugations, -are, -ere, -ere and -ire, were retained in Old French while Old Spanish retained only three of the conjugations.[2]

(1) Popular Latin -are > OFr -er, OSp -ar

e.g. Pop.Lat. cantare > OFr. chanter, OSp. cantar

(2) Popular Latin -ere > OFr -oir, OSp -er

e.g. Pop.Lat. videre > OFr. voir, OSp. ver

(3) Popular Latin -ere > OFr -re, OSp Ø (absorbed by (2))

e.g. Pop.Lat. facere > OFr. faire, (OSp. hacer of (2))

(4) Popular Latin -ire > OFr -ir, OSp -ir

e.g.Pop.Lat. sentire > OFr. sentir, OSp. sentir

4.2.1 The Adaptation of Old French -er Verbs

Even though Old Spanish had infinitival forms ending
in -er, when Old French verbs with this ending were
borrowed by Old Spanish, they assumed the Old Spanish /-ar/
infinitival form. For this reason, the verbs appear to
have evolved from oral transmission with the unfamiliar /ɛ/
of the Old French /-ɛr/ being adapted as /-a-/ which, for
Spanish speakers, was a near equivalent of /ɛ/.

Old French	Old Spanish
abeter	abetar
boter	botar
dancier	danzar
parler	parlar
quiter	quitar
trotter	trotar

4.2.2 The Adaptation of Old French -ir Verbs

As might be expected, Old French -ir verbs were assimilated in Old Spanish with the ending intact.

Old French	Old Spanish
brunir	bronir
froncir	fruncir

Since the infinitival ending /-ir/ remained intact in the borrowing, it is difficult to ascertain, on that basis alone, whether the transmission occurred orally or orthographically. However, in both of the examples above there are vowel changes whereby Old French /ü/ > Old Spanish /o/ and Old French /o/ > Old Spanish /u/, which may indicate an oral source.

4.2.3 Old French -re and -oir Verbs

No examples were found of Old French -re /rə/ or -oir /oir/ verbs being borrowed. There may have been good

reasons for this - the forms are infrequent in French and had no phonological or orthographic counterparts in Old Spanish.

4.3 The Adaptation of the Old French Suffix /-ment/

Contrary to expectation, French words containing the suffix -ment, were borrowed with this suffix intact.

Old French	Old Spanish
avenement	aveniment
consentement	consentiment
estrument	estrument

The Old French suffix -ment was the result of normal phonological developments from Popular Latin -mentum. The Old Spanish form of the morpheme was generally -miento. As in Popular Latin, in both Old French and Old Spanish, when the suffix was affixed to the verbal stem, a vowel was interposed between the verbal stem and the suffix in correspondence with the conjugation.

When the suffix was affixed to /-er/ and /-ir/ verbs in Old Spanish, /-i-/ was the most common vowel inserted and /-e-/ was the rarest (Pattison 1975:41). For this reason, it is not surprising to find that Old Spanish assimilated Old French avenement and consentement as

<u>aveniment</u> and <u>consentiment</u> where the interposing /-e-/ becomes /-i-/. However, it does appear unusual that Old Spanish altered this vowel and not the suffix itself.

Again through French influence, the structural rules of Spanish grammar were violated. As attested in the present day language, the suffix /-ment/ eventually gave way to the usual forms /-miento/ or /-mente/.[3] The lack of a final vowel and failure to diphthongize seem to indicate an orthographic influence. The pronunciation of the suffix further suggests a written source. As noted in 2.1, the Old French suffix was pronounced /mant/ whereas the Old Spanish pronunciation was /ment/.

4.4 The Adaptation of the Old French Suffix /-aǧe/

The Classical Latin suffix -<u>aticus</u> was an adjectival ending. In Popular Latin, it was commonly used to form neuter nouns denoting titles and services. It thereafter acquired an abstract and collective meaning.

By regular phonetic development, Latin -<u>aticum</u> resulted in Old French /-aǧe/ and in Old Spanish /-azgo/.[4]

e.g. Popular Latin <u>coraticu(m)</u> > Old French <u>corage</u>

Popular Latin <u>pontaticu(m)</u> > Old Spanish <u>pontazgo</u>

The following borrowings illustrate that when Old Spanish incorporated Old French words terminating in /-aǧe/, the suffix remained intact. In the examples cited below, it can not be determined whether the borrowings resulted from orthographic or oral sources.

Old French	Old Spanish
barnage	barnage
corage	corage
dommage	domage
orage	orage

Old French nouns terminating in /-aǧe/ were masculine and this gender generally remained intact.

Notes to Chapter Four

1   OSp bote, mote, colpe and estandarte have all affixed a final /e/ to the Old French forms. However bote and mote have already been ascribed an orthographic source on the basis of fianl /t/ being observed (v. 2.3). Colpe was also said to have emanated from the written language due to the failure of /l/ to show vocalization (v. 2.5) and estandarte also resulted from the orthography due to the inclusion of /s/ (v. 2.2). These words were presumably assimilated quickly by the common people since a final vowel was affixed.

2   The Latin infinitival forms illustrated generally evolved as shown. However, in some Old French verbs, the infinitive has since been remodelled. (e.g. Latin bibere > OFr boivre which has since become boire)

3   The Spanish suffix -miento was derived from the Latin suffix -mentum, whereas Spanish -mente was derived from the Latin noun mente. For more detail see Menéndez Pidal (1966:226, 335)

4   In Gallicisms the Spanish form was generally /-aje/ as in <u>viaje</u> and was later used with native words. (v. Anderson and Rochet 1979:310)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LOANWORDS

The acceptance of foreign words does not imply permanency in the recipient language. For various reasons Spanish rejected a number of Old French loanwords it had formerly sanctioned. One hundred and sixty nine Old French loanwords were examined in this thesis (see Appendix) of which 49, or 29%, were subsequently rejected.

Though loanwords may stylistically enrich a language, it appears that Old French borrowings often provided synonymous forms in Old Spanish - a condition that may have lead to their later disappearance. Listed below are loanwords which were lost apparently in favour of synonyms present in Old Spanish at the time of borrowing.[1]

The Loanword	Synonyms	Meaning
abetar	renuncar, entregar	submit
annel	cordero	lamb
ardiment	ardimiento	courage
argent	argento	silver
asemblar	juntar, convenir	assemble
avantaia	adelante	forward

aveniment	advenimiento	arrival, event
barnage	poder, potencia	power
bocla, bloca	broquel(also Fr.)	boss of a shield
chanzon	cancion	song
consentiment	consentimiento	consent
crochel	campana	bell
domage	danno, perdida	hurt, loss, damage
duc	duque	duke
estrument	instrumento	instrument
estui	caja	case
enclin	inclinado	inclined
faisan	uso, costumbre (h)adbito	habit
follia	locura	madness
franc	franco	frank
gabar	engannar	to mock
gento	gracioso	graceful
laido	feo	ugly
mast	estaca, palo	piece of wood
maison	casa	house
membre	miembro	member
me(n)ge	remedio, medicina	medicine
merchandia	negocio	trade, commerce
mester	menester	need; occupation
moton	obeja	sheep
ostalage	(h)ospedado hospederia	lodging

punçella	nina	girl
repaire	vuelta	return home (Noun)
rencura	afliccion	bitterness, sorrow
sage	sabio	wise
sen	conoscia, sapiencia intellegentia	intelligence, wisdom
sergent(e)	servidor, criado	servant
sire	sennor, duenno	lord
sojornar	asentar, detener	to rest, stay
trobar	hallar, descubrir	to find
usage	uso	habit; usage

This category accounts for 84% of the loanwords rejected.

A second category of rejected loanwords consists of forms replaced by lexical items or phrases that entered Spanish subsequent to the appearance of the borrowed forms.[2]

The Loanword	Superseding Form	Meaning
arlote	ramera	harlot
caròla	baile[3]	choral dance
croza	baculo pastoral cayado del obispo	bishop's crosier
deranchar	salir de las filas	to break ranks
encoraiar	no deslalentar	to have heart, courage

fonta	insulto, afrenta	insult
pinchiar	botador, cantaro	pitcher
tost	pronto, listo	prompt

This category accounts for 16% of the loanwords rejected.

It appears that synonymy, as reflected in the largest percentage of rejected forms, was a major cause of the disappearance of loanwords.

As might be expected , of the 49 loanwords lost, those incorporated via written channels seem to indicate a greater percentage of loss than those that entered the language through oral sources.

On the basis of the data presented in Chapters Two and Three, the table below represents the number of words borrowed and the number lost in the specified categories.

	No. of Words Borrowed	Words Lost
From Written Source	42	23 (55%)
From Oral Source	57	13 (23%)
Undetermined Source	70	13 (19%)[4]

Figure 5   Loss of Loanwords

These results were anticipated since words entering the language via the literature would not all filter down to the speech of the common people.

Notes to Chapter Five

1   These words are cited by Oelschläger and Corominas as being present in the Old Spanish language during the time period under discussion.

2   These superseding forms did not appear in Medieval Spanish according to Oelschälger's _Medieval Spanish Word List_.

3   This is not the same _baile_ indicated in the Appendix which means bailiff.

4   If all 13 of the words lost from the category "Undetermined Source" were from oral sources, then it would appear that the greatest loss occurred in the oral borrowings. However, it seems unlikely that these 13 words in question would all be of oral origin since the figures in the other two categories indicate that the words from orthographic sources disappear in greater numbers.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This work has examined Old French loanwords in Old Spanish in an effort to illustrate the motivations for borrowing, the manner in which the words were accepted and the means by which they entered the Old Spanish vocabulary.

A major problem concerns the origin of the borrowings themselves. It has not always been clear whether or not a particular word entered the Medieval Spanish lexicon directly or through intermediaries such as Provencal or Catalan. In making an assessment of this nature, I have relied on the authorities in the field of Romance studies. Clearly, however, there is room for more detailed investigations in this area of Franco - Hispanic linguistic relationships.

Another, so far, unexplored aspect of these relationships concerns the treatment of Old French -re and -oir verb forms. Were these infinitival structures ever borrowed, and if so, how were they phonologically adapted?

Of interest, also, would be a more detailed analysis of morphological motivations in the choice of Old Spanish

gender allomorphs (e.g. /e/, /o/ and Ø) as applied to Old French nouns.

The treatment of loanwords in Old Spanish is theoretically a valuable tool for assessing the chonology of linguistic events in Old French, but to do this, a distinction must be made between orthographic and oral borrowings in Old Spanish, a dichotomy toward which this thesis has attempted to contribute.

Two other periods of importance in Franco – Hispanic relationships, the Renaissance and the Modern periods, might also be profitably investigated where additional findings could further illuminate some of the conclusions reached here.

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APPENDIX

Old Spanish	Old French	Etymon
abetar /abetár/	abeter /abetέr/	Frk betan
adobar /adobár/	adober /adobέr/	Frk dubban
adrimar /adrimár/	adrimer /adrimέr/	OHG rimen
alemán /alemán/	aleman /alemán/	OHG aleman
annel /anέl/	agnel /anέl/	Lat agnellum
ardiment /ardimént/	ardiment /ardimánt/	Ger hardjan + Lat mentu
argent /argént/	argent /argánt/	Lat argentum
arlote /arlóte/	arlot /arlót/	?
asemblar /asemblár/	assembler /asamblέr/	Lat assimulare
avantaia avantaja /avantáǧa/	avantage /avantáǧə/	Lat abantaticum
avisar /avisár/	aviser /avisέr/	Fr viser Lat visare
aveniment /avenimént/	avenement /avenəmánt/	Lat advenimentum
Arnald /arnáld/	Arnald /arnaúd/	OHG Arnald
bachiller /baciλέr/	bacheler /bacɛlέr/	Lat baccalarius
baile /baíle/	baile /baílə/	Lat bajulum
baldón /baldón/	bandon /bandón/	Ger bann
banda /bánda/	bande /bándə/	Frk binda

bandera /bandéra/   banniere /banyérə/   Frk bandwa

barnage, bernaje /barnáǧe/ /bernáǧe/   barnage, bernage /barnaǧə/ /bɛrnaǧə/   Lat baronaticum

barón /barón/   baron /barón/   Frk baro(ne)

bastardo /bastárdo/   bastart /batárt/

baston /bastón/   baston /batón/   Lat bastum

batalla /batáλa/   bataille /batáʎə/   Lat battalia

batel /batél/   batel /batέl/   ONS bat

baxel /basél/   vaissel /vɛsέl/   Lat vascellum

bedel /bedél/ bidel /bidél/   bedel /bedέl/   Ger bidel

bofordo /bofórdo/   bohort /bohórt/   Frk bihurdan

boton /botón/   boton /botón/   Fr boter

brebaje /brebáǧe/   bevrage /bevráǧə/   Lat bibere

blanco /blánko/   blanc /blank/   Frk blank

blasón /blasón/   blason /blasón/   ?

brial /briál/   blialt, bliaut /bliáu/   ?

boçla, bloca /bókla/ /blóka/   bocle /bóklə/   Lat buccula

broquel /brokél/   bocler /boklέr/   Lat buccula

bote /bóte/   bot /bo/   Lat buttem

botar /botár/   boter /botέr/   Frk botan

bronir /bronír/   brunir /brünír/   Ger brunen

buriel /buriél/ burel /burél/	burel /burél/ buriau /buriáu/	Lat burra
canela /kanéla/	canele /kanélə/	?
carcaj /karkáǧ/	carcais /karkέs/	Per tarkas
carola /karóla/	carole /karólə/	Lat chorus
cendal /ćendál/	cendal /ćandál/	Lat sindon + alem
chanceller /čanceλér/	chancelier /canceλér/	Lat cancellarium
chanzon /čanzón/	chanson /čansón/	Lat cantare
chanzoneta chanconeta /čanzonéta/ /čanćonéta/	chansonette /čansonétə/	Lat cantare
chantre /čántre/	chantre /čántrə/	Lat cantare
çibelina /ćibelína/	zibeline /ćibelínə/	Lat sabellum
çiprés /ćiprés/	cipres /ćiprέs/	Lat cypressum
çisne /ćísne/	cisne /ćísnə/	Lat cicinum
çitola /ćitóla/	citole /ćitólə/	Lat cithara
cobarde /kobárde/ covarde /kovárde/ covardo /kovárdo/	coart /koárt/	?
colpe /kólpe/ golpe /gólpe/	colp /koup/	Lat colaphum
consentiment /konsentimént/	consentement /konsantəmánt/	Lat consentimentum
çorage /koráǧe/	corage /koráǧə/	Lat coraticum
corcel /korćél/	corsier /korsiέr/	Lat cursum

cota /kóta/	cote /kótə/	Frk kotta
crochel /kročél/	clochier /kləčyér/	Lat clocca
croza /króza/	crosse /krósə/	Ger krukio
danzar /danzár/	dancier /dančiér/	Frk dintjan
dardo /dárdo/	dard /dard/	Frk darod
deán /deán/	dean /deán/	Lat decanus
deranchar /derančár/ derranjar /derangár/	derangier /derangyér/ desrangier /derangyér/	Lat dis + OHG hring + Lat -are
desdennar /desdeñár/	desdaignier /dɛdaiñyér/	Lat disdignare
desmayar /desmayár/	esmaiier /ɛmaiyér/	Lat ex + OHG magan + Lat -are
domage /domáǧe/	dommage /domáǧə/	Lat damnaticum
domar /domár/	domer /domér/	Lat dominare
don /don/	don /don/	Lat donum
duc /duk/	duc /dük/	Lat ducem
emplear /empleár/ enplear /enpleár/	empleier /ampleyér/	Lat implicare
enclin /enklín/	enclin /anklín/	Lat inclinare
encoraiar /enkorayár/	encoragier /ankoraǧyér/	Lat coraticum
erege /eréǧe/	erege /eréǧə/	Lat haereticum
escote /eskóte/	escot(e) /ekót(ə)/	Frk skot
esgremir /esgremír/	escremir /ekremír/	Frk skermjan
espolón /espolón/	esperon /eperón/	Frk sporo

estaca /estáka/	estache /etáčə/ estaque /etákə/	Ger staka
estandarte /estandárte/	estandart /etandárt/	Frk standord
estrument /estrumént/	estrument /estrumánt/	Lat instrumentum
estui /estúi/	estui /etúi/	Fr estuier < Lat studiare
facha /fáča/	hache /háčə/	Ger hapja
fardido /fardído/	hardi /hardí/	Frk hardjan
farpa /fárpa/	harpe /hárpə/	Frk harpa
fonta /fónta/	honte /hóntə/	Frk haunida
faisan /faisán/	faisan /fɛsán/	Lat phasianus
faraute /faraúte/	haraut /haráu/	Ger hariwald
fontaina /fontaína/	fontaine /fontaínə/	Lat fontana
flecha /fléča/	fleche /fléčə/	Frk fliugika
fealdad /fealdád/	fealte /feauté/	Lat fidelitas
flota /flóta/	flotte /flótə/	Scd floti
follia /fóλa/	folie /fóλə/	Lat follis
franc /frank/	franc /frank/	Frk frank
frunçir /frunčír/	froncir / froncír/	Frk hrunkjan
gabar /gabár/	gaber /gabɛ́r/	ONS gabba
galope /galópe/	galop /galóp/	Frk walahlaupan
galopear /galopeár/	galoper /galopɛ́r/	Frk wola lopan
ganar /ganár/	gagnier /gañɛ́r/	Frk waidanjan

garnacha /garnáča/	garnache /garnáčə/	Fr garnir
garzón /garzón/	garçon /garsón/	Frk wrakjo
gento /génto/	gent /gant/	Lat genitum
giga /gíga/	gigue /gígə/	Ger giga
girofre /girófre/	girofle /giróflə/	Lat caryophyllum
granja /gránǧa/	grange /gránǧə/	Lat granea
guisa /gísa/	guise /gísə/	Frk wisa
jalde /ǧálde/	jalne /ǧaúnə/	Lat galbinum
jamás /ǧamás/	jamais /ǧamέs/	Lat. jam + magis
jamón /ǧamón/	jambon /ǧambón/	?
joya /ǧóya/	joie /ǧóyə/	Lat gaudia
justa /ǧústa/	joste /ǧótə/	Lat juxtare
justar /ǵustár/	joster /gotέr/	Lat juxtare
laido /laído/	laid /laid/	Frk laid
ligero /liǧéro/	legier /leǧέr/ ligier /liǧyέr/	Lat leviarium
linaje, linnage /lináǧe/	lignage /lináǧə/	Lat lineaticum
maison /maisón/	maison /mεsón/	Lat mansionem
manjar /manǧár/	mangier /manǧyέr/	Lat manducare
mantel /mantél/	mantel /mantέl/	Lat mantellum
mast /mast/	mast /ma/	Frk mast
mecha /méča/	meche /méčə/	Grk myxa/Lat micca
mege /méǧe/ menge /menǧe/	mege /méǧə/	Lat medicum
membre /mémbre/	membre /mámbrə/	Lat membrum

merchandia /merčandía/	mercheandie /mɛrčeandíə/	Lat mercatatem
message /mesáǧe/ menssage /mensáǧe/	message /mesáǧə/	Lat missaticum
mester /mestér/	mestier /metyέr/	Lat ministeriu
mismo /mísmo/ misme /mísme/	meisme /meísmə/ mesme /mέsmə/	Lat metipsimum
mote /móte/	mot /mo/	Lat muttum
motón /motón/	moton /motón/	Gal multo
nombre /nómbre/	nombre /nómbrə/	Lat numerum
novel /novél/	novel /novέl/	Lat novellum
orage /oráǧe/	orage /oráǧə/	Lat auraticum
ostalage /ostaláǧe/	(h)ostelage /oteláǧə/	Lat hospitalaticum
peaje /peáge/	peage /peágə/	Lat pedaticum
pendón /pendón/	pennon /panón/	Lat pinna + onem
parlar /parlár/	parler /parlέr/	Lat parabolare
percha /pérča/	perche /pέrčə/	Lat·perticam
paje /páǧe/	page /páǧə/	Lat pagicum ?
pelota /pelóta/	pelote /pelótə/	Lat pilotta < pila
pinsel /pinsél/	pincel /pinćέl/	Lat penicellus
pinchiar /pinčyár/	pichier /pičyέr/	?
preboste /prebóste/	prevost /prevó/	Lat praepositu
prestre /préstre/ preste /préste/	prestre /prέtrə/ preste /prέstə/	Lat presbyter

puncella /puṅćéla/	pucelle /pućέlə/ pulcelle /pućέlə/	Lat pulicella
quitar /kitár/	quiter /kitέr/ quittier /kityέr/	Lat quietus
repaire /repaíre/	repaire /repaírə/	Lat repatriare
rencura /renkúra/	rencure /rankǘrə/	Lat rancor + -ure
Roldán /roldán/	Roland /rolánd/	OHG Rothland
rota /róta/	rote /rótə/	OHG hrotta
rua /rúa/	rue /rǘə/	Lat ruga
sage /sáǧe/	sage /sáǧə/	Lat sapius
saie /sáie/	saie /sáie/	Lat sagia
sajar /saǧár/ sarjar /sarǧár/ jassar /ǧasár/	jarser /ǧarsέr/	Lat charissare
saluage /saluáǧe/	salvage /salváǧə/	Lat silvaticum
semitón /semitón/	semiton /semitón/	Lat semintonum
sen /sen/	sen /san/	OHG sinn
sergent(e) /serǧént(e)/ sergenta /serǧénta/	sergent /sɛrǧánt/	Lat servientem
sire /síre/	sire /sírə/	Lat senior
sojornar /soǧornár/	sojorner /soǧornέr/	Lat subdiurnare
son /son/	son /son/	Lat sonum
tacha /táča/	tache /táčə/	Lat tacca- or Frk tekan
tachar /táčar/	tacher /táčέr/	as above

tanaría /tanaría/	tannerie /taneríə/	Fr tanner
solaz /soláć/	solaz /soláć/	Lat solacium
toca /tóka/	toque /tókə/	Clt toc
tost /tost/	tost /to/	Lat tostum
trotar /trotár/	trotter /trotér/	OHG trotton
trobar /trobár/	trover /trovér/	Lat tropare
trufán /trufán/	truand /truánd/ truant /truánt/	Gal trugant
usaje /usáǧe/	usage /usáǧə/	Lat usaticum
vassallage /vasaláǧe/	vassallage /vasaláǧə/	Lat vassallum
Vernald /vernáld/	Bernard /bɛrnárd/	OHG Berinhard
vianda /viánda/	viande /viándə/	Lat vivanda/vitanda
vinagre /vinágre/	vinagre /vinágrə/	Lat vinu acra