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Conjugational Reverberations

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LATIN WORD-MEDIAL CONSONANTS LOST IN PORTUGUESE:
EARLY AND DELAYED CONJUGATIONAL REVERBERATIONS
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1. It has been known, for well over a century, that Galician-Portuguese, at undetermined preliterary dates, lost up to five intervocalic consonants (simple, not lengthened) in words inherited from ancestral languages -- primarily, but not exclusively, Latin. These losses have been traditionally -- and doubtless correctly -- dealt with as instances of regular sound change, whether the analysts appealed to sound correspondences ("laws") or to phonological rules. Interestingly, in as many as three concrete cases of such loss a neighboring language as closely related to Galician-Portuguese in other respects as is Spanish offers no counterparts; as if by way of compensation, Spanish tends to lose two simple consonants, namely f word-initially before any vowel (and also intervocalically) and g word-initially only before front vowels;² of these the former has been fully preserved in Portuguese, while the latter, to be sure, was shifted ([g] to [ʒ] via [ʝ]) in certain³ instances, rather than being doomed to indiscriminate loss.

We shall not be here directly concerned with the fine details of these sound changes, nor with their relative chronology, and least of all with the circumstantial justification of apparent exceptions from them, but solely with the rhythm of their impact on conjugation. Some of the concluding ripples produced by that impact are still observable in action, as it were: Such has been the slowness and complexity of partly morphological, partly lexical reactions and ensuing adjustments to a chain of revolutionary phonological upheavals. The basic raw facts have been ascertained and documented in a series of historical grammars of Galician-Portuguese and in a slightly shorter parallel series of historico-comparative grammars of Romance, starting with the manual of K. von Reinhardstoettner (1878: §§ 15, 17, 21, 23, 29) and with the opening volume of F. Diez's magnum opus (1836: 218, 222, 227, 235-7, 242).

Accordingly, we have thus divided our responsibilities. The senior partner, a comparativist and diachronic linguist by training, will provide the gross outline of the process, as observable from without; the junior partner, a native speaker of Brazilian Portuguese (with, specifically, a Minas Gerais and Goiás background), will add some elaborative remarks -- in the context of the aftershocks of the aforementioned quakes -- on certain choices still available to the educated native speaker and writer of her country -- remarks flowing chiefly from her intuitive grasp of the language. At intervals, European Portuguese and Spanish will be brought in by way of a foil.

2. Of the five situations in which a loss took place, four -- at first glance -- occurred without immediately affecting the survival of the words at issue, which belonged to a variety of form classes. The fifth, by far the least frequent, probably confined to verbs, pan-Romanic and, by implication, the oldest of all (Richter, 1934: 8 and 9), resulted either in the loss of the lexical unit which was, or might have been, so affected, or in its escape from extinction at the cost of essentially non-phonological restructuring.

Consider the vicissitudes of the following model items, assumed for a variety of reasons to have been transmitted by word of mouth and here selected, wherever possible, from the ranks of form classes other than verbs, with the ancestral form preceding in each instance its outgrowth:

(a) GRADU 'step, degree' > grau 'id.; rank, order, station'; VADU 'ford' > vau;

(b) CAELU 'sky, heaven' > céu; TĀLĒS 'such' (pl.) > tais;

(c) LĀNA 'wool' > lã (via OPtg. lãa); LŪNA 'moon' > lua (via OPtg. lũa);

(d) LĒGĒS 'laws' > leis; MAGIS 'more' > mais 'id.' beside mas 'but' (however, FŪGERE 'to flee' > fugir);

(e) TRAHERE 'to drag, pull' > trazer 'to bring' (a substitute for OPtg. trager which, in turn, probably betrays the influence of parental AGERE 'to push from behind, drive'); VEHERE alongside deponential VEHI 'to transport, carry on one's back and shoulders': doomed to extinction in all Romance languages.⁴

The Spanish counterparts of the eleven words preserved are, and have been practically from the start: grado, vado; cielo, tais; lana, luna; leyes (OSP. also leys), (heavily stressed) más beside (lightly stressed) mas; traer.⁵

For the student of diachronic phonology it is arresting to observe how most of the slots thus vacated were rather speedily filled (thus, Latin intervocalic -T- yielded Romance secondary -d-, as in the past participial endings -ado, -ido, and anciently also -udo, from ancestral -ATU, -ĪTU, and -ŪTU); how, in Galician-Portuguese, a new -l- and -n- arose through degemination of Lat. -LL- and -NN-, as in Castela 'Castille', lit. '[a string of] armed camps', and in ano 'year', from CASTELLA (pl., a morphological variant of CASTRA) and ANNU, respectively. Then again, /ge/, /gi/, spelled -gue-, -gui-, once more sprang into existence through reorganization -- in the direction of levelling -- of certain verbal paradigms, as when OPtg. erger 'to raise' (traceable in the last analysis to ERIGERE), under pressure from ergo 'I raise', erga 'I may raise', etc., became erguer /erger/ -- comparable in this respect to Sp. erguir. In addition, isolated borrowings from Germanic, involving originally /gwe/, /gwi/ -- as in guerra 'war' --

in the end, after reaching the stage of /gʁʁ/, enriched the representation of /ge/, /gi/.

There are on record instances of restitution of lost consonants (a) through borrowing of cognates from Eastern and Southern neighbors (including exceptional instances of false restitution); (b) through adoption of learned counterparts (Latinisms, "cultismos"); and (c) through switch to variants of the given radical displayed by other members of the same paradigm. Only a few specimens of these processes will cross our path. Further complications stem from the fact that, aside from chronological divergencies, the loss of ground did not occur in the same fashion for the individual consonants affected by this trend. One assumes, on the basis of parallels, that intervocalic /d/, before disappearing, passed through a fricative stage, [ð]; and that [ǰ] changed to something like [j] on its way to zero; but even indirect evidence is scant. In the case of /l/ between vowels, there appears to have occurred a single leap from existence to non-existence, without any intermediate stages. In sharp contrast to this state of affairs, /n/ practically never disappeared at once, but in the majority of cases permanently nasalized the preceding vowel, as in BENE 'well' > Lisbonese /bãj/, Brazilian /bẽj/. In a minority of cases, the development went further, either through straight denasalization, as in LUNA > OPtg. lũa > mod. lua, or by denasalization followed by restitution of some nasal, which need not be the original /n/, but may be an /m/ or a /ñ/ as well; cf. UNA 'one' (f.) > OPtg. ũa > mod. uma, dial. unha. This number of steps explains why the loss of n, where it occurred at all, postdated the loss of d, ǰ, and l (not to mention h) by a considerable margin, taking us as a rule to the end of the Middle Ages.

3. It was to be expected from the outset that changes of such magnitude would have measurable consequences (a) for the bare survival and preservation of rank of certain verbs (as well, to be sure, as of certain nouns, etc.), simply as lexical units; and (b) for the crystallization and/or further development of given conjugational schemata. Upon further inspection such prognoses turn out to be well-founded.

What one normally witnesses, among verbs, is a two-step development -- a situation readily understandable especially where the eventual loss of an -n- is involved: VIDĒRE 'to see' > OPtg. (disyllabic) veer > mod. ver; similarly, CREDERE 'to believe' > OPtg. creer > mod. crer; RIDĒRE 'to laugh' > OPtg. riir > mod. rir; VENĪRE 'to come' > OPtg. věir, vīir > mod. vir. Where the newly contiguous vowels are sufficiently differentiated, as when a back or a central vowel is followed by a front vowel, no contraction occurs, hence a single-step development is apt to be involved, at least in the standard: MOLĒRE 'to grind' > old and mod. moer, RĪDERE 'to gnaw' > old and mod. roer, SALĪRE 'to hop' > old and mod. sair 'to go out, leave'. In Peninsular dialect speech the evolution can go one step farther, as when RĀDERE 'to scrape' > OPtg. raer survives vestigially as rer, or as when CAD-ERE, V. Lat. *-ERE > OPtg. caer, rather than yielding, in turn, to cair

sporadically gives rise to quer. In contrast, Spanish ordinarily has kept its sequences of two identical (or near-identical) vowels, hence LEGERE > leer, as against Ptg. ler from older leer; PROVIDĒRE 'to furnish, provide' > proveer as against Ptg. prover via older proveer; OSp. riir > mod. reír (with vowel dissimilation, like decir 'to say' and freír 'to fry') vs. Ptg. rir and, in their retinues, Sp. sonreír, anciently sonriir 'to smile' < SURRIDĒRE vs. Ptg. sorrir. In the case of a very few extra-frequent verbs, both languages, in the end, have practiced contraction: SEDĒRE 'to sit' > OSp. OPTg. seer 'to sit, be' > mod. ser 'to be'; VIDĒRE 'to see' > OSp. OPTg. veer > mod. ver. Regular in Spanish cross-temporally, but in Portuguese solely at the medieval stage has been its compound POSSIDERE 'to own, possess' > OSp. posseer > mod. poseer, whereas OPTg. posseer -- as if retreating before the threat of *posser -- allowed itself to be attracted by atribuir, confluir, and similar learned formations, succumbing in the end to the lure of possuir. Where -n- was in jeopardy, the hazard materialized only in Portuguese; witness PŌNERE 'to place' > Sp. poner vs. OPTg. pōer > mod. pôr; TENERE 'to hold' > Sp. tener 'to hold, have' vs. OPTg. tēer > mod. ter; and aforementioned VENĪRE 'to come' > Sp. venir vs. OPTg. vē-, vī-ir > mod. vir, plus their respective compounds; on coll. Br.-Ptg. conter see below. This superficial confrontation of the two languages shows at a glance that, where comparison is at all feasible, the ultimate reverberations of the consonant loss -- itself sometimes arrived at via some such intermediate stage as the dissolution of a nasal in the preceding vowel -- tended to linger on distinctly longer at or near the Atlantic Coast than in the Center of the Peninsula, with appropriate consequences also for New World Romance.

4. A seldom witnessed phenomenon has been the replacement of an "endangered" consonant by a relatively "safe" or "resistant" one. Thus, SĀNARE 'to make sound, heal, cure', after having actually reached in the Middle Ages the foreseeable form sāar, was headed toward becoming *sar (i.e., toward acquiring a form roughly comparable to that of dar 'to give' < DARE) when -- as if through false restoration of -r-, a phoneme resistant to attrition, at least, word-medially and not infrequently substituted for other sonorants -- mod. sarar 'to overcome sickness, recover health' came into existence. It is possible that contact with some such near-synonymous verb as curar 'to heal' had a not insignificant therapeutic share in this development. To this day, the past ptc. curado is widely used for recovery from any illness (e.g., conversationally: E sua gripe? -- Está curada). Significantly, even though Portuguese, to express 'sound, hale, hearty, healthy, sane', places at the disposal of its speakers the adj. (m.) são, (f.) sã -- a cognate of Fr. sain, Sp. and It. sano, etc. and, like them, an offshoot of SĀNUS -- , it also boasts an idiosyncratic, practically synonymous derivative, namely sadio, undoubtedly echoing Late Lat. SANATIVUS, a word which the congeners of Portuguese have allowed to perish. Sadio, as against são, carries the advantage of lighter exposure to ambiguity, just as sarar surpassed sāar in degree of resistance to attrition.⁷

Observe that, in the absence of metrical evidence, it is difficult to determine whether such medieval graphies as leer, riir were still disyllabic or already monosyllabic at any given cut-off point; however, in order for sāar to have emerged from its predicament as sarar, it must at the critical stage still have been disyllabic.

5. One set of problems of the first magnitude we have already touched upon in passing are those involving the disambiguation of homonyms and near-homonyms in the ranks of verbs. Two major sub-categories can be here established; each carries with it its own remedies:

(1) Either two forms pertaining to the paradigm of the same lexical item -- forms neatly distinguished from time immemorial in a typical verb -- happen, by way of exception, to collapse, or to threaten to collapse, ordinarily in consequence of a peculiar sound development;

(2) Or, constituents of two different verbal paradigms, at a certain juncture, may begin to sound alike, normally once more as a result of a distinctive phonological process. In Romance, the irksome coincidence may involve two (or more) persons, numbers,⁸ tenses, or moods. The phenomenon cuts across several languages, which -- for all that one knows -- may display different degrees of tolerance. Programmatically, we must here confine ourselves to such situations as have been provoked by loss of one of the chosen intervocalic consonants.

In the rhizotonic forms of the preterite, Lusophones have traditionally preferred such light contrasts between the 1st and the 3d sg. as pude 'I could' vs. pōde 'he could', pus 'I placed' vs. pōs 'he placed', tive 'I had' vs. teve 'he had', but did not seriously mind complete identity of forms, as in quis 'I, he (suddenly) wanted', soube 'I, he learned'. Only in one instance were the final vowels markedly differentiated: vim 'I came' vs. veio 'he came', in lieu of the original pair vīe vs. vēe, from VENI and VENIT, respectively. The eventual denasalization of the 3d sg. form alone and the expansion of the oral monophthong (e) into a falling diphthong (ei) destroyed the last semblance of symmetry between I and III, apparently making an unequivocal marking by -o imperative. Contrast this delicate interlocking with the across-the-board solution advocated by Castilian: pude ~ pudo, puse ~ puso, quise ~ quiso, supe ~ supo, tuve ~ tuvo, vine ~ vino.¹⁰

Different sorts of solution have been seized upon in Portugal and in Brazil (to postpone comment on the therapeutic device favored by speakers of Spanish) to avert the collision of certain pres. ind. and pres. subj. forms in the case of the one and only verb whose erratic paradigm presented the risk of such an internal clash. The verb at issue, a descendant of Lat. VADERE 'to go hastily, rush', has, we recall, entered, since before the dawn of textual tradition, into the composite paradigm of ir 'to go'. The two forms headed for collision were direct descendants of VADIMUS 'we rush' and VADAMUS 'let us rush!'; the medieval Portuguese counterparts were vamos and vaamos. Mandatory contraction of the two consecutive near-identical

central vowels threatened to produce a form inadequately differentiated from its counterpart in the indicative. In this emergency speakers of Lisbonese allow the a phoneme in the indicative to be rendered by an allophone one expects to hear before a nasal, namely [vəmuʃ], while using, in defiance of the norm, the alternative allophone in the subjunctive, namely [vamuʃ] -- unless they altogether surrender and switch allegiance to imos, extracted from ir. Playing here with the [v] : [a] contrast is, typologically, the same device that Lisbonese speech, as codified by A. dos R. Gonçalves Viana, uses in effectively opposing amamos 'we love' to amámos 'we loved'. The average Brazilian, being unskilled in the use of this phonological trick, can be expected to fall back on all sorts of circumlocutions for the indicative/subjunctive and the present/preterite predicaments, e.g., through replacement, where circumstances so warrant, of the 1st pl. by a gente, which governs the non-ambiguous 3d sg. Most of the remaining forms of the present-tense paradigms of ir, incidentally, are exempt from ambiguity: ind. vou, vais, vai, ... ides; subj. vá, vás, vá, ... vades, except for the 3d plural, which once more allows vão to straddle both moods: No Lisbon-style solution is this time available.

The most archaic Spanish texts, some of them dialectally tinted, still had recourse to vaa(mos) in the subjunctive. Therapeutic measures included preservation (or restoration) of the d: vada, or an experiment, destined to be successful, with innovative vaya, in transparent imitation of (h)aya 'let me, him, her, it have!', also 'let there be!', and in rhyme with older caya, subsequently transmuted into caiga 'let him fall', leaving only the old imper. ¡vamos! 'let's go and do it!' intact -- at present, functionally, more an interjection than a member of a verbal paradigm (Hanssen, 1913: § 231).

To round out this account: Portuguese lacks any particle that marks, say, the subjunctive mood -- on the order of Rum. sá and Fr. que -- or any particle announcing or otherwise identifying a tense, so that the respective kinds of ambiguity can indeed become troublesome. However, drawing the requisite distinction between, say, the 1st and the 3d pers. sg. is something that can be accomplished through extension of the scope of the personal pronouns, who thus gradually tend to become inflectional prefixes, as has happened on a grandiose scale in Modern French. Now spoken Brazilian Portuguese, in the wake of the elimination of tu and vós by você, vocês, respectively, has undergone an all-encompassing coalescence of the 2nd and 3d pers. verb forms, sg. and pl. alike; and once speakers become accustomed to saying Você soube 'thou learnedest', êle, ela soube '(s)he learned', they extend this habit to eu soube 'I learned', all of which contributes mightily to disambiguation. In Spanish the heightened frequency of yo, él, ella before ambivalent quiera, quería, quisiese, quisiera has likewise been observed -- but on a scale incomparably more modest.

6. Where two different verbs are involved in a (near-) homophonous relationship, the coincidence of the paradigms may be total, or pervade a varying number of forms, or be restricted to just one

form; also, the forms so affected may occupy the same niche or different niches within the edifices of the two paradigms.¹¹ Again, we shall confine ourselves to situations characterized by loss of a medial consonant.

The disappearance of intervocalic -D- and -L- threatened to lead to a head-on collision between VALĒRE 'to have the power or strength, be healthy' and VĀDERE 'to go, walk, rush', which latter, in turn, had, we recall, entered with its near-synonym EŌ, ĪRE into a kind of suppletive or symbiotic relationship. According to the predictive rule, Forms II-VI of the pres. indic. of the parent language, namely VAL-ĒS, -ET, -ĒMUS, -ĒTIS, -ENT, should have yielded OPtg. *vae(s), *vaemos, *vaedes, *vaem, with the prospect of certain further gambits (*vai, *vaeis, etc.). Nothing of the sort actually happened; one finds instead: vale(s), etc., as if the rule deleting VIV had never sprung into existence.¹² Since, on circumstantial evidence (witness Fr. vaux, vaut; Sp. val-g-o, -es; It. val-g-o, -i), we are dealing here with a vernacular formation not exempt from obedience to rules, either restoration or especially-motivated preservation of -L- must be involved. The only reason for the avoidance of *vaes, etc. could have been prior occupation of these vital slots by the offspring of VĀD-IS, -IT, ... 'thou goest, he goes, ...'. Only a fine-tuned statistico-chronological inquiry will some day determine whether VĀDERE / ĪRE enjoyed precedence over VALĒRE on account of the earlier loss of -D- or as a result of the verb's higher incidence, superior grammatical rank, and phraseological importance, etc. The process of restoration may well have worked thus: The 1st pres. ind. VALEŌ and the entire pres. subj. VALEAM, etc. no longer had any intervocalic /l/ in Late Latin in view of the compression of these (and similar) forms into /vaλ-o, -a/ -- and palatal l was exempt from erosion and eventual disappearance. On the model of OPtg. ponho, pōes, ... (from pōer 'to place'), tenho, tēes, ... (from tēer 'to have, hold, own'), and venho, vēes, ... (from vēir, vīir 'to come') -- given the well-known affinity of n with l and the status of underlying phoneme that n may be said to have had in, say, pōes, tēes, vēes -- the l could indeed have been restored, or even preserved,¹³ in vale(s), etc. and the threat of irksome homonymy thus averted.

One of the most dramatic lexical collisions due to consonant erosion exclusively involved the Latin families of Class. CADĒRE (*CADĒRE in folk speech) 'to fall' and CALĒRE 'to be warm'. As if their partial overlap were insufficient, the descendant of ancestral CĀNĒRE 'to have white or graying hair', INCĀNĒSCERE 'to turn white or hoary', was likewise caught in this tangle. How far things were allowed to go can be inferred from the fact that in a single late-medieval text available in a scrupulous critical edition, namely the "Orto do Esposo", aqueecer₁ 'to happen' (cf. Gr. Vorfall, Zufall) and aqueecer₂ 'to warm up' could smoothly function side by side, the former being flanked by (a) queecimento 'accident'. Otherwise the two domains of 'falling' (cayr, caidiço, caymento; queeda; esque(e)cer [both transitive and impersonal], esque(e)cimento) and

of 'heating', 'exciting' (esqueentar, esqueentamento; qua- or que-entura 'fever'; queente) were rather neatly distinguished, to say nothing of the separate place reserved for cão '(turned) white' (of hair) < CANU.¹⁴ To some extent the later development served to wipe out any overlap or even to block any risk of ambiguity, as when, little by little, cã(s) 'white hair' < CANAS and encanecer 'to turn white', with restoration of -n- (under joint Latin and Spanish pressure?), have been disentangled, the adj. cão jettisoned, and equivocal encaecer altogether withdrawn from circulation.

In the cognate languages CADÈRE /~~*-~~ÈRE and CALÈRE, in the company of their satellites, have peacefully coexisted without infringing on each other's territories,¹⁵ witness Fr. (obs.) ch(e)oir 'to fall' (replaced by tomber, lit. 'to tumble'), ch(e)ance 'luck, fortune, chance' (lit. 'the falling of dice'), chute 'fall' plus déchoir 'to fall (from high estate)', déchéance 'downfall', échoir 'to fall due, fall to one's share', échéance 'maturity of bill', on the one hand; and (obs.) chaloir 'to be warm or hot, be of relevance', nonchalance 'listlessness, unconcern', chaleur 'warmth, heat', chaleureux 'warm, affectionate', on the other. In Spanish, similarly, caer 'to fall', caída '(down)fall', decaer 'to decay, decline', recaer 'to fall back, relapse', acaecer 'to happen', (obs.) encaecer 'to give birth to', (obs.) escaecer 'to forget' (lit. 'to drop from one's memory'), etc.,¹⁶ have not, in any way, interfered with caliente 'warm' (of water), caluroso 'warm' (of climate or human attitude), calor / OSP. calura 'warmth, heat', calentar 'to heat' alongside (rare) calecer 'to become hot', acalorar 'to warm, heat, excite, encourage', calentura 'fever', acalenturarse 'to become feverish', (r)escaldar 'to become red-hot', escalfar 'to poach, burn, bake brown'.

In Portuguese, however, ca(d)- and ca(l)- have both, in the last analysis, been reduced to /K₁/ vs. /K₂/, with /Ka-/ and /Ke-/ acting as occasional, sporadic variants, witness qu-eda 'fall' beside qu-ente 'warm'. The verb for 'falling', in the Standard, changed from ca-er to ca-ir during the late Middle Ages, conceivably in imitation of sair 'to leave, depart' and, to some extent, also of trair 'to betray', except that in certain dialects of metropolitan Portuguese the evolution ran the following extra-lively course: caer > queer > quèr, quèl, sharply clashing in the quality of its nuclear vowel with those of crer, ler, ser, ter, ver, to cite familiar examples of monosyllabic infinitives. At present, characteristic debris of the former ca(d)- and ca(l)- families will be tententially differentiated, in any Portuguese-speaking territory, by contrastive use either of prefixes (zero or a- vs. es-) or of otherwise fairly colorless interfixes (-eç- vs. -ent-). In the semantic realm of 'heat, warmth', the idiolect of one native Brazilian does not at all include aquentar, relegates quentar to the fringe as rural, but grants full recognition to esquentar and aquecer, endowing the former especially with figurative meanings (as in 'heated debate', cf. E. to warm up); requentar 'to heat again' has entrenched itself as an iterative verb;¹⁷ however, judging from

lexicographic evidence, the reverse distribution of semantic nuances and overtones can also be corroborated.¹⁸ In the retinue of esquecer (Lisbonese: esquêcer) 'to forget' one can safely place: esquecidoço 'forgetful' (=Sp. olvidadizo), esquecimento 'oversight', and esquecível 'worthy of oblivion'.¹⁹

From this network of connections queda emerges as a real trouble-maker, first through the uniqueness of its formal relationship to cair, a verb to which it continues to be solidly attached, as a verbal abstract, on the semantic side; second, through its interference with the free development of quedar 'to stop, remain still' < QU(I)ETARE 'to quiet' (with ficar lending itself readily as a substitute; contrast the thwarted growth of quedar in Portuguese with the verb's unimpeded blossoming in Spanish²⁰); and third, through the collapse of the old bridge to esquecer: Noun and verb have become isolates, sharing the one negative feature of resisting any association with 'heat'.²¹

7. A verb debilitated by loss of its central consonant pillar may tend to become conjugationally defective; small wonder that Portuguese surpasses Spanish in the number of lacunary paradigms. Both languages, to this day, share the hollowness of roer 'to gnaw, nibble',²² from RODĒRE; but Optg. raer, via reer, before long yielded rer, which has survived in isolated dialects only, as (a)rrer, being in addition confined to strictly technical uses.²³ Otherwise, after passing through an intermediate state of defectiveness,²⁴ it became extinct in Portuguese, as against its undiminished vigor in Spanish. For 'scraping, scratching' the present-day Lusophone puts to use rapar, of other than Latin provenience (Meyer-Lübke, 1930-35: §7057); also raspar and aranhar.

Where Latin radical-final V1V was at issue, only the Portuguese partner, foreseeably, was "hollowed out": Witness doer 'to ache, hurt' < DOLĒRE, moer 'to grind' < MOLĒRE, and soer 'to be wont to' < SOLĒRE, as against Sp. doler, moler, soler. Of these three similarly architected verbs doer seems to have suffered no shrinkage of use (its pres. ptc. doente serves as the basic word for 'ill, sick', matching Sp. enfermo and Fr. malade in this respect).²⁵ Moer in its primary sense appears to be equally well represented on either side of the language border; yet the familiar figurative use of Sp. moler 'to wear out through ceaseless talk' is alien to Portuguese, even though moer, on a more modest scale, is tantamount to 'harassing' (tr.), 'mulling sth. over' (intr.), and 'tiring oneself out', particularly in the stereotyped phrase estou moído 'I'm worn out.' Soer tends to be restricted to the 3d pers.; in other contexts speakers appeal to costumar.

There is a good chance that Optg. chouvir 'to close' < CLAUDĒRE and goir 'to enjoy' < GAUDĒRE, as well as obscene peer < PEDERE became defective verbs before altogether losing their foothold in the Portuguese lexis.²⁶

8. Total lexical loss in Portuguese, at a stage amenable to direct observation, vs. unfettered survival in Spanish -- against the backdrop of consonant attrition -- characterizes, aside from the

aforementioned case of RĀDERE, also the biography of ADDĒRE 'to add'. Ptg. adir is palpably late and learned, as is shown, e.g., by its otherwise inexplicable switch to the -ir conjugation class, cf. abstrair 'to abstract, detach' < ABSTRAHERE, exprimir 'to express, manifest, reveal' (=Sp. expresar) < EXPRIMERE, as against genuinely vernacular trazer, orig. trager 'to bring' < TRAHERE 'to drag', espremer 'to squeeze, wring out' < (=Sp. exprimir) < EXPRIMERE); also, it lacks any counterpart in Spanish (except for the action noun adición and its offshoots). Adir is clearly a pale substitute for OPtg. ẽader, enader, a verb completely antiquated at present, but once used copiously²⁷ and best explained as a reflex of IN+[N]ADDERE and thus a counterpart of OSp. ẽnader, which in turn was gradually transmuted into añadir, in harmony with two broad trends, and has lingered on unimpaired after this adjustment, cf. such common phrases as de añadidura 'extra, into the bargain' and por añadidura 'besides' (see Malkiel, 1975: 512-20). The verbs actually used instead in Modern Portuguese are agregar (far more sparingly than in Spanish), aditar, and, above all, acrescentar, idiosyncratically Portuguese with this meaning, since Sp. acrecentar invariably refers to 'increasing, promoting, fostering' rather than to plain 'adding'. The leap from -er to -ir, unlike the state of affairs in Portuguese, is, we repeat, highly characteristic of Late Old Spanish, as is prefix-like e->a-; whether the Luso-Latin archetype had an *-NN- (like its Proto-Spanish counterpart) or just an *-N- does not follow unequivocally from the garbled medieval spellings.

9. An entirely different process, namely the replacement of an eroded verb with a substitute drawn from within the same family, is demonstrated by the vicissitudes of crer 'to believe'. Crer, to be sure, is still in use, flanked by the verbal abstract crença 'belief' (akin to Fr. croiance, Sp. creencia, E. credence, from Church Lat. CRĒDENTIA minted alongside preëxistent FIDĒS), but a large proportion of present-day speakers prefer acreditar, built on the verbal noun crédito, used on a world-wide scale as a banking term, for 'loan': Gr. Kredit, R. kredit, Fr. crédit, etc. Unquestionably, formal counterparts of the substitute verb exist elsewhere, witness Fr. accréditer, E. accredit, G. akkreditieren, It. accreditare, Sp. acreditar. The word's semantic range in those languages is, as a rule, narrow and technical, alluding to diplomatic maneuvering ('to proffer or accept ambassadorial credentials') or, once more, to banking operations ('to give or gain credit'). In Brazil, the banking term has been truncated to creditar. Only in Portuguese has the shriveling of the descendant of CRĒDERE enabled acreditar to qualify as a widely-acknowledged substitute word.

At this point one may ask why *positar, easily extractable from depositar 'to entrust to (for safekeeping)' and comparable to E. posit, did not similarly tend to dislodge pôr, from older põer < PŌNERE. Our answer to such a query would be that the word-central nasal, although absent from the infinitive for several centuries, has succeeded in entrenching itself in other sectors of the para-

digm: pres. subj. ponha, impf. punha, 2d pl. pres. ind. (in Lisbon) pondes, etc., while the loss of ancestral D, as in crer, ser, and ver, rapidly pervaded the entire paradigm,²⁸ thus making the availability of a tendential replacement all the more urgent.

Among the various patterns of verbal abstracts (action nouns) apt to give rise to secondary verbs potentially qualifying as substitutes those drawn upon most consistently during the period of gestation were the nouns descending from parental -TIO/-TIONE. Thus, BENEDICERE 'to bless', lit. 'to speak well' (as against MALEDICERE 'to curse', lit. 'to speak badly, harshly') cut loose from the primitive DICERE > dizer and became benzer. For a roughly parallel split contrast the French simplex dire with bénir and its two polar opposites, maudire 'to curse' beside médire 'to slander, vilify'; all three verbs, incidentally, show different degrees of cohesion with dire, and the Italian proper names Benito beside Benedetto also point to complications at the past-participial level. To revert to Portuguese, benzer is overshadowed by abençoar, based on benção < OPTg. bençom < BENE(DI)CTIONE. At the negative end of the line, one finds both amaldiçoar and maldizer (the latter in the company of the two participles maldizente and maldito). Maldizer alone is available for 'slandering' and thus, semantically, matches Fr. médire; maldizente, as a rule, shares this responsibility ('evil-speaking', 'slanderer'). Alternatively, maldizer (=Fr. maudire) competes with amaldiçoar, without equaling its strength, and drags behind it maldito, common in racy imprecations, in that direction. In judging this entire family, abounding in all sorts of cultural implications, it is vital to remember that the survival of the D is controlled by closeness of the association of these compounds with the simplex: Apparently 'blessing' is less firmly bracketed with 'saying' than are 'cursing' or 'slandering'.

The most complexly-structured biography, and one entirely at variance with the events independently observed in Spanish, is that of OPTg. traer 'to betray, double-cross' (=OSp. trair, witness to this day traidor 'traitor, treacherous'), from ancestral TRADERE. At the modern stage traer, presumably after having run the risk of attrition to *treer > *trer and, at the same time, having fallen under the spell of sair 'to go out, leave' (from SALIRE) and having further been swayed by the transmutation of OPTg. caer 'to fall' into cair, has given way to trair. The move in that direction, familiar more from the history of Spanish (cf. eñader > añadir) than from that of Portuguese, was to produce a difficulty as soon as, in the wake of Humanism, the numerous compounds of TRAHERE 'to pull, drag', absorbed -- unlike the simplex -- as learned words, were likewise assigned to -trair in Portuguese lexical space, in dramatic contrast to the course of events pursued by Spanish; hence abstrair 'to abstract', atrair 'to attract', contrair 'to contract, draw together', detrair 'to detract, malign', extrair 'to extract', etc., vs. abs-, a-, con-, de-, ex-traer. The continued coexistence of trair 'to betray' and of a whole phalanx of compounds which genetically as well as semantically are much closer to trazer (older trager < TRAHERE) than to trair might have become an unsurmountable

obstacle were it not for the sociolinguistic fact that the -trair words do not at present belong, and have, one gathers, at no time pertained, to genuine folk speech, a circumstance which has reduced the hazard of any friction with thoroughly vernacular trair < TRADERE. Still, any Lusophone who feels uncomfortable about trair is at liberty to appeal for help to atraiçoar for 'betraying', from OPTg. traicom (= mod. traição), based on TRADITIONE.

Finally, OGal.-Ptg. goir/gouvir from GAUDERE 'to rejoice', apparently influenced, in its switch to the -ir conjugation class, by AUDIRE 'to hear' with which it shared the AUD- kernel, yielded ground to gozar, extracted from gozo 'enjoyment' < GAUDIUM.

10. While pôr, ter, vir, as well as ver have been, in every respect, too important to have suffered, from erosion, damage irreparable in the long run, their less privileged compounds have occasionally come close to doing so. OPTg. avir, from ADVENIRE (a verb to whose family we owe Fr. aventure, E. adventure, etc.), was anciently one of the principal words available for rendering the concept of 'to happen'. Conversely, mod. advir (with a Latinized prefix tending to remove it from vernacular vir, consequently a hybrid) is severely restricted to literary use, having long since yielded pride of place to acontecer, ocorrer, and passar in less lofty contexts. More common are convir 'to make an arrangement', (impers.) 'to suit', and sobrevir 'to occur unexpectedly'. Ptg. revir 'to come back' is used at rare intervals in comparison with voltar, while Fr. revenir nicely balances retourner; true, the relevancy of this example is weakened by the fact that Sp. revenir, though unaffected by erosion, is also confined to marginal use.²⁹ Contar has been spared decay, in part because in colloquial Brazilian it no longer ranks as a compound of ter sharing that verb's conjugational idiosyncrasies, so that 'it contains' is rendered by paroxytonic conte (the way 'he eats' is come and 'he drinks' is bebe, from comer and beber, respectively), rather than by oxytonic contém, as in the literary standard (Macedo, 1984: 327, who reports that even pôr here and there yields ground to "regular" botar and colocar). Finally, the willingness of certain native descriptive or prescriptive grammarians to postulate a separate conjugational class in -or, based on the infinitive and on the 1st pl. pres. ind., for lexical items such as compor 'to compose' and supor 'to suppose', with -or being thus placed on the same hierarchical plateau as traditional -ar, -er, -ir, may rank as one more symptom of a disintegrative trend stemming from the loss of n in PONERE > pôr (via põer).

11. The possibility of remedial borrowing of a cognate from Spanish is a solution at most grudgingly admitted by Lusophiles. Yet while OPTg. espir, mod. despir 'to strip, shed' (found also in Galician and in Western Asturian) look like perfect Western reflexes of EXPEDIRE 'to extricate, disengage, set free', OPTg. espedir, mod. despedir 'to dismiss, send away' give the impression of echoing Sp. (d)espedir, which in turn might well represent a local blend of EXPEDIRE and PETERE 'to request': OSP. espedir-se 'to request a leave of absence (from the overlord)'. The intricate mosaic of the vicissitudes of this verb family has been laboriously pieced together

elsewhere (e.g., Malkiel, 1981: 127-9, with references to earlier probings). Suffice it at this point to state that 'I dismiss' was, for centuries, (d)espido in Portuguese rather than, as at present, despeço (arrived at secondarily under pressure from peço 'I request') -- and that the older conjugational model³⁰ points invariably in the direction of a fairly old Castilian loan.

12. With a more generous slice of time at our disposal we might profitably have discussed a few additional "case histories", e.g., the changing fortunes of (RE)MANĒRE 'to stay, dwell, abide' (OPTg. māer > maer; remāer), which the speakers might have saved from attrition and eventual disappearance by allowing it to become *mair. The changing status of a few descendants of MONĒRE 'to admonish' and PŪNIRE 'to punish' is another topic that had to be postponed. We could also have pointed out that, under a special constellation of circumstances, two verbs bequeathed by Latin can turn out to be in each other's way in Spanish rather than in Portuguese. Thus, so far as IUNGĒRE 'to join' and UNG(U)ĒRE 'to anoint' are concerned, Portuguese neatly pits jungir (perhaps transmitted through a learned conduit) against ong-er, -ir, while Spanish, already wavering between uffir and uncir 'to yoke', could not afford to reserve, in addition, a niche for an identically-sounding verb conveying an entirely different message. While this problem casts welcome light on homonymic collisions in the verbal domain, it does not directly hinge on the risks to which certain verbs plagued by loss of intervocalic consonants are exposed. More immediately relevant to our inquiry, but awaiting a liberal quota of preliminary pioneering research, is the issue as to why LEGERE 'to read' produced at first leer, later -- via vowel contraction -- ler in Portuguese, whereas the compound ELĪGĒRE ("recomposed" *ELEGĒRE) 'to choose, (s)elect' yielded medieval enleger, modern eleger, with a characteristic /z/, while in Old Spanish leer and esleer harmonized.³¹

In any event, if a quick glance at the ranks of -er and -ir verbs has enabled us to identify so many and such stimulating situations involving primary and secondary repercussions of consonant loss in Portuguese, one readily envisions the size of a potential harvest had the entire Portuguese lexicon been subjected to comparably close inspection.

END NOTES

1. Nasalization of the preceding vowel, potentially conducive to total loss of the nasal, appears in Germanic toponyms, such as Guimarães. Loss of -l- and nasalization coöccur in the Arabism OPTg. fuão 'Mr. So-and so-', later replaced (with some help from Spanish?) by fulano.

2. Cf. Late OSp. raéz (previously rafez, rahez) 'cheap', from Arabic; FÖRMÖSU 'shapely' > OSp. fermoso > mod. (h)ermoso 'handsome'; GELĀRE 'to freeze' > (h)elar.

3. Note the contrast between FUGĒRE 'to flee' > fugir (a treatment characteristic of verbs) and REGE 'king' (a course followed

chiefly by nouns). If this distinction holds ground, it can be argued that OPtg. leer (mod. ler) 'to read' < LEGERE was influenced in its behavior by lei 'law' < LEGE.

4. Among the few non-verbal examples of intervocalic h, the vicissitudes of NIHIL(UM) ~ NIL 'nothing', originally an opaque compound (from *NE + HILUM, see Ernout and Meillet, 1959-60: 294b-295a), need not be discussed here, since the word has survived only vestigially, in North Central Sardinia and in Dauphiné (Meyer-Lübke, 1930-35: § 5922a). Conversely, COHORS, -TIS 'courtyard' was a simplex; yet, on the strength of epigraphic evidence and of transcriptions with Greek characters, it was universally pronounced C(H)ŌRS, -ŌRTE and, at a later date, even CURTE, and the same holds for its derivatives in -ĀLE, *-ĪLE, as was made clear by Meyer-Lübke (1930-35: § 2032-33) and Ernout and Meillet (1959-60: 131a). Standing in a class by itself, PRAEHENDERE 'to seize, grasp', a blurred compound of PRAE- and *HENDERE, was pronounced PRENDERE already within the confines of Latin and is thus irrelevant to the problem under scrutiny. Its compression into a single, indivisible word is confirmed by the rise of APPR(AE-H)ENDERE ('to grasp' > 'to learn') and COMPR(AE-H)ENDERE ('to grasp' > 'to understand'). The basic offshoots are Ptg. Sp. aprender, comprender; the learned variants Ptg. a-, com-preender, Sp. aprehender show semantic specialization.

5. On the Old Spanish side of the situation it suffices to consult R. Menéndez Pidal (1941: § § 38, 41, 43, and 1950: 260-1); E. Alarcos Llorach (1954: 330-42, and 1968: § § 146, 149, 154); also R. Lapesa (1980: § § 18, 40). In regard to the state of business in Portuguese, information can be culled from specialized grammars (including J.J. Nunes, 1919: 83, 98, 103, 105, 107-9, and J. Huber, 1933: § § 159, 199 [with further literature], 227, 244, 251) and the sections on phonology of historico-comparative grammars (stretching from W. Meyer-Lübke, 1890: § § 436-7, 450, 454, 457, etc., to Lausberg, 1956: § § 297, 377, 385, 395, 405 -- in addition to the sources mentioned in the previous notes). Rich in illustrations of the vicissitudes of Lat. -l- and -n- in Portuguese is J. Leite de Vasconcelos (1959: 138-44, 266-8).

6. It is arguable that the complications which the conjugation of OPtg. (re)māer 'to abide, dwell' < (RE)MANERE brought with it were in part responsible for the adoption of such more manageable inchoative forms as permanecer and remanescer 'to remain'.

7. Leite de Vasconcelos likens sadio to vadio 'idle, lazy, vagrant, truant', 'loafer, bum' and padeiro 'baker'; observe the Peninsular use of ã to mark the contraction of two pretonic a's (1959: 138-9). Responsible for correctly etymologizing sarar was J. Cornu (1882: 95; 1904-6: § 255), who improved upon an earlier view advocated by F. Diez and F.A. Coelho. We owe the most circumstantial word history to C. Michælis de Vasconcelos (1910: 389-92) who, in addition to dating and documenting saar and sarar, pointed out sporadic traces of sāar and even of (Latinizing?) sanar. The parallel she drew with ĀLās 'wings' > OPtg. as > mod. asas, however, is dubious, since -- unlike the

noun -- the infinitive was accompanied in its shift by the entire paradigm. On the semantic plethora of mod. são ('they are', 'healthy', 'saint') see Celso Cunha (1978:60).

8. The classic example of Type (1) is offered by the imperfect tense, which at the Latin stage neatly distinguished its paradigmatic ingredients: AMAB-AM, -AS, -AT, ...-ANT (from 'to love'), whereas in Old Italian I and III coincided (amava), a state of affairs which prompted later generations of speakers to differentiate them (amavo...amava). In modern French I, II, III, and VI have collided in actual pronunciation: [ɛm], creating one of those numerous situations in which the use of the personal pronoun had to be generalized (j'aime,...). Cf. Sp. ve '(he) sees' and ive! 'see!' (which, it is true, is distinctly rarer than ive! 'go!', from ir, a suppletive verb).

9. Spanish and standard Portuguese alike have prevented ancestral ES 'thou art' and EST '(he) is' from colliding, yet in so doing either language has followed its own innovative course: eres vs. es; és vs. é. By allowing andar 'to walk' to adopt the endings of tener 'to have, hold' in the preterite (anduv-e, -iste, etc.) Hispanophones have managed to keep apart the pres. ind. and the pret. at least in the 1st pl. of this one verb: andamos vs. anduvimos, a privilege which speakers of Brazilian Portuguese must forgo.

10. The products of FUI~FUIT are similarly distributed: Ptg. fui~foi vs. Sp. fui~fue; i.e., the carrier of the distinction is in one language the stem vowel, in the other the desinential vowel. Akin to the treatment of vir in the 3rd sg. pret. was that of dar 'to give': The u [w] of deu [dew] via [dɛw] '(he) gave' clearly cannot go back to DEDIT, a reduplicative archetype that might, at best, have produced uncharacteristic *dei [dɛj]. If so, Sp. dio could well have gone through the same evolutionary stage, reflecting the change éu [ɛw] > io familiar from Deus 'God' (and adeus! 'good-bye!'), judeu 'Jew', romeu 'pilgrim', etc.; see Malkiel (1976: 435-500). The loss of medial D in deu increases the relevance of this example, which for precisely this reason also invites comparison to VIDIT '(he) saw' > Ptg. viu, whereas Old Spanish was split between vio and vido (a form still abundantly found in dialect speech; see Malkiel, 1960: 281-346). To revert to Ptg. veio '(he) came', it is palpably closer to Western OSp. veno (as present in a cluster of texts studied by K. Pietsch) than to mod. vino. On balance, veio, deu, and viu testify to the bonds that united certain verbs which had suffered loss of their pillar consonants.

11. Randomly selected illustrations include: E. cleave 'sever, split' / cleft vs. cleave 'adhere' / cleaved; E. lie (=Gr. liegen) / lay vs. lie (=Gr. lügen) / lied, with numerous deviations in colloquial varieties; E. lay / laid vs. lie / lay; Sp. ¡sé! 'be!' vs. se 'I know'; Fr. teint '(he) t(a)ints, colors' vs. tint '(he) had, got', both pronounced [tɛ̃], from teindre and tenir, respectively. On the problem of near-homonymy see Malkiel (1979:1-36).

12. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos once briefly toyed with the

idea that valer was, at least in part, a Latinism (1910: 365-7, 389-92), but, fortunately, gave it up in her Glossary to the Cancioneiro da Ajuda.

13. Additionally, the use of valer, valor, valia, etc. as commercial terms over, practically, the entire Romance domain could have lent collateral support to the -l- .

14. See Maler (1964: s.vv.), whose helpful Modern Portuguese glosses in themselves often constitute eloquent pieces of evidence.

15. Except that CALÈRE, along with CANÈRE 'to be white-haired', CARÈRE 'to lack', CAVÈRE 'to heed' may have been instrumental in shifting CAD-, at an early juncture, from the -ERE to the -ÈRE conjugation class, at least in folk parlance. Observe that CALÈRE, unlike the state of affairs in Catalan, Occitan, French, and yet other congeners, fell short of developing into a full-fledged verb in Luso- and Hispano-Romance, where it may indeed be a Gallicism or Provençalism (see Christmann, 1958: 26-31, who remained unaware of the symptomatic value of the preservation of l).

16. Additional members of the family can be gleaned from any dictionary: acaecimiento 'event' (less common at present than acontecimiento), caedizo 'ready to fall', caedura 'loose threads that fall from loom', recaída 'relapse, backsliding', etc. (We omit from our Spanish and Portuguese inventories such formations as were transmitted through learned channels, e.g. caduco 'decrepit, transitory'.) See further Malkiel, Forthcoming, where Mod. Gal. que(e)r and dial. Ptg. (Xalma) quel are documented.

17. Here are some illustrative phrases and sentences coined spontaneously by Raquel Teixeira: um quarto aquecido 'a room equipped with a heating system' as against um quarto esquentado 'a roomful of hotly-arguing people'; ela esquentou (vs. requentou) a comida; o paletó esquentou a criança 'the coat kept the baby warm'; eu me aqueci com a bebida 'the drink made me feel warm'; eu me esquitei com a bebida 'the drink warmed me, and I got high'.

18. Thus Taylor (1958: s.vv.), who typically favors Brazilian over Portuguese usage, credits aquecer-se not only with the meaning 'to warm oneself' (hence aquecedor 'heater', aquecimento 'heating'), but also, in conjunction with com, with the figurative meaning 'to get angry (at)'; he records not only esquentar 'to heat up, incense', shoring up its position with a pair of foreseeable derivatives: esquenta-d(iç)o 'hot-headed' and esquentador 'heater, heating', but also reserves a niche in his edifice for aquestar 'to warm, heat, stimulate, animate'.

19. From H.H. Carter's edn. (1952-53: 71-103) of an Old Portuguese verb dictionary we have excerpted the following entries: 2310 recalesco 'de cabo [aquecer]'; 1850 obliviscor 'esquecer'; 2705 tepeo (tepesco) 's'esqueêtar'; 373 calefacio and 374 caleo (calesco) 'esquetar'; 517 comcaleo 'esquetar' and 996 [a]estuo (bullio) 'esquentars(s)e'; 1400 incaleo 'queecer' [=OSp. calecer]. These entries should be assessed against the background of 1401 incaneō 'êcaecer' [matching tightly Sp.

encanecer rather than OSp. encaecer 'to give birth to'] and of 1413 incido 'queer' [i.e., a side-line of and, phonologically, the alternative to caer > cair].

20. Maler's data (1964: 130a) show the health and strength of OPtg. quedar 'to cease, discontinue', later overlaid (in part) by deixar (de+ inf.).

21. Ptg. olvid-ar, -o, -adiço, listed in certain dictionaries, give the impression of being borrowed from Castilian.

22. Except that this verb has the unique distinction of exhibiting three rival forms at certain points of its paradigm, e.g., in the 1st pres. ind.: roo ~ royo ~ roigo, a three-way split which may inhibit some speakers and especially writers and discourage them from making use of such dubious forms.

23. See J. Leite de Vasconcelos (1895-6: 132) and C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1910: 365-7). The former supplies the forms rer, rendo, rido, and the definition 'rapar o sal das marinhas', pinpointing the use of the verb at Alcacer-do-Sal, Setúbal, Aveiro; the latter supplies, by way of Galician parallels, (de)caer > (de)queer and maer > meer; identifies at Alcacer-do-Sal the three rival forms of the infinitive: raer, rer, and arrer (while labeling reer as medieval); records two meanings: 'vassojar o forno depois de aquecido para a cozedura' and 'rapar ou puxar com o rodo o sal das marinhas'; and, in addition, has overheard the derivative rêdoria 'acção de rapar o sal'.

24. Defectivity based on partial obsolescence may go back to a situation such as the distribution of ra- : re- in typical Old Portuguese texts: pret. rráy, p. ptc. rraído beside inf. rrer.

25. The two languages operate with similar constructions of do(1)er: Ptg. dói-me o polegar agrees with Sp. me duele el pulgar 'my thumb (or big toe) hurts'.

26. A close parallel to goír has been dial. oír 'to hear' (Além-Minho): After the contiguity of ou (from AU) and i, triggered by the loss of -D-, had created a phonotactically undesirable sound sequence, speakers had the choice between (a) reducing ou to o or (b) erecting a new buffer by means of intercalary -v-: Hence goír, oír vs. gouvir, ouvir.

27. Illustrations are offered by Carter (1952-53: No. 89 -- êader) and by Maler (1964: 79b -- emader, with numerous scribal variants; cf. the verbal abstract emadimento).

28. The 2d pl. forms of the pres. ind. -- alien to Brazil's colloquial usage -- credes, ledes, ides (subj. vades), rides, pondes, tendes, vindes -- display a d [ʃ] traceable to desinential -TIS, much as these verbs' pl. impts. (ide, vinde, etc.) exhibit a d echoing -TE. All these items are thus irrelevant to the problem under discussion.

29. As a reflexive verb it means 'to be consumed by degrees, discharge moisture; give up a point obstinately contested, be pricked and grow sour', the two standard verbs for 'returning' being volver and regresar.

30. The conjugational pattern irgo, ergues, ... irga; sinto, sentes, ... sinta is incontrovertibly Western, even where it has overlaid an older schema, such as senço, sentes, ... sença. Conversely, the spread of metaphonic i from I to II, III, VI (as in agrido, agrides, etc., from agredir 'to assail') betokens the imitation of a Castilian model (pido, pides, ...), unthinkable before the 15th century.

31. Enleger can be cited from numerous medieval sources, e.g., the text edited by Maler (1964: 82b, with the corresponding p. ptc. enleito). Carter's verb vocabulary, unfortunately for our purpose, offers only [e]scolher (1952-53: No. 1032). Esleer was acceptable to Don Juan Manuel.

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