

Linguistic Variation in the *Fazienda de Ultramar*

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of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Statement of originality

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Abstract

The *Fazienda de Ultramar* is considered to be the earliest extensive prose work in Castilian. The aim of this study is to assess, quantify and examine in detail the linguistic variation in the text and attempt to explain this variation with reference to the various factors that may influence it: internal linguistic factors such as palaeographic, morphological and syntactic considerations, or external extra-linguistic factors comprising *variatio*, register and scribal considerations.

I focus on six variables. Three are orthographic: the use of <m>, <n>, or <̄> to represent /M/ before a bilabial; the use of <i> or <y> to represent /i/; the use of <l> to represent /ʎ/ and <r> to represent /r/ intervocalically. Three are morphological variables: variant forms for derivatives of Latin *quōmodo*; *-ie* and *-ia* Imperfect and Conditional forms; weak object pronoun apocope. Amongst the most significant conclusions from this study are the following:

I demonstrate that the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda* is much greater than that proposed by Echenique (1981). On the basis of my analysis of the data from the *Fazienda*, I argue that the extent of *leísmo* in other medieval Castilian texts needs to be re-assessed.

The information provided by CORDE on the use of *cuemo* and *cumo* pre-1250 shows a concentration of these forms in documents from Northern Castile. The discovery of the phrase *por consieglo*, previously unique to the *Fazienda*, in one of these documents also establishes a further connection to Northern Castile. I suggest that the manuscript may well originate from this region.

It is generally accepted that more than one scribe was involved in the copying of the *Fazienda*. I test the hypothesis that different scribal interventions may account for some of the variation in the *Fazienda* and find evidence to support this hypothesis.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the debt I owe to the Department of Hispanic Studies at the University of Sheffield, where I did my undergraduate degree. Frank Pierce, Tony Heathcote, Sergi Beser and colleagues combined a respect for academic rigour with an enthusiasm for and a delight in their subject. I hope that this thesis may be a fitting testimony to their efforts to inspire the same in me.

I must also thank Ian Michael who introduced me to the *Fazienda* in 1971. I am sure that neither he nor I envisaged then how long a gestation period this thesis would have. Ian and I used to attend Alan Deyermond's Medieval Research Seminars at Westfield College (as it was then), so it is perhaps fitting that Queen Mary should receive this thesis.

I am also indebted to my supervisors at Queen Mary, Rosa Vidal and Chris Pountain, for their patience and forbearance. Without their support this thesis would not exist and any merit it may have owes a debt to their critical comments and their advice.

I would also like to thank my children, Alan, Linda and Michael, for their love and support. I owe a special thanks to Alan for his insightful comments on my efforts and to Michael for organising my map. Finally, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my wife Jill, whose love and constant support have been invaluable and to whom I dedicate this thesis.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1

MS 1997

University of Salamanca Library MS. 1997, more commonly known as the *Fazienda de Ultramar*, has two major claims to fame. Firstly, it is considered to contain some of the earliest translations of passages from the Bible into a Romance language. Avenoza (2012: 294) identifies the *Fazienda* as the first known work in the group of Old Testament texts translated from the Masoretic Hebrew. Francomano (2011: 319) regards it as containing ‘the earliest surviving extensive translation of Biblical passages into Castilian’. Lacarra (1993: 24), despite the questions regarding its dating, believes that ‘habría que considerarlo como una de las más tempranas traducciones romances de la Biblia’. Secondly, it represents the earliest significant example of pre-Alphonsine non-notarial Castilian prose and, with over 72,000 words, provides a valuable corpus for historical linguists. Lapesa (1981: 233) describes the *Fazienda* as ‘la primera obra extensa en prosa castellana’. Bouzouita (2017: 127) states that ‘La *Fazienda* es de un valor considerable para la comunidad filológica y lingüística ya que constituye una de las primeras obras en prosa en español medieval’.

In section 1.2 I present the history of the manuscript and provide a description of the manuscript. I discuss Lazar’s 1965 edition of the text in section 1.3 and various issues raised by Lazar in 1.4. I consider various studies of the *Fazienda* and articles that refer to it in 1.5, and I outline the scope of this thesis in 1.6.

1.2

The Manuscript

Moshe Lazar (1962) first brought University of Salamanca Library Ms. 1997 to the attention of Hispanists in an article entitled ‘La plus ancienne adaptation castillane de la Bible’. The manuscript itself was untitled but Lazar provided it with the title *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar*, taking the phrase from a passage in the exchange of letters that head the text, and this is the title by which the manuscript is now universally known.

Ont te ruego *que* tu me enbies escripto en vna carta **la fazienda de vltra mar** e los nonbres de las cibdades & de las tierras, como ovieron nonbre en latin & en ebrayco e quanto a de la vna cibdat a la otra, e las marauyllas *que* Nuestro Sennor Dios fezo en Iherusalem e en toda la tierra de vltra mar.¹ Fol. 1^{ra21-30}

1.2.1

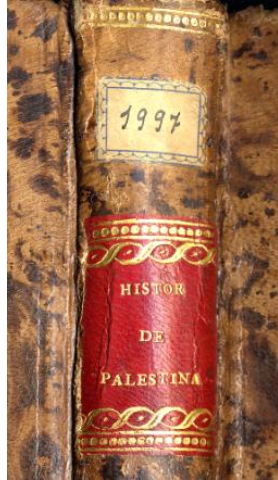
History of the Manuscript

Lazar explained how he had come across the text amongst the manuscripts which were returned by General Franco to the University of Salamanca from the Palace Library in Madrid where they been taken by Charles IV. In the introduction to his *Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca Conde de las Navas* (1900: 188n1), referring to the *Sección de Manuscritos*, observes that ‘se encuentran procedencias de los Colegios de San Bartolomé de Salamanca y del Mayor de Cuenca, cuyas Bibliotecas debieron de traerse à Palacio en el reinado de Carlos IV’ (1788-1808). The return of these manuscripts was to mark the receipt by General Franco of an Honorary Doctorate from the University on 8th May 1954 on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the granting of a Charter to the University of Salamanca by Alfonso el Sabio. During its time in Madrid the manuscript

¹ Citations from the *Fazienda* are my own unless otherwise stated. I indicate folio and line number(s).

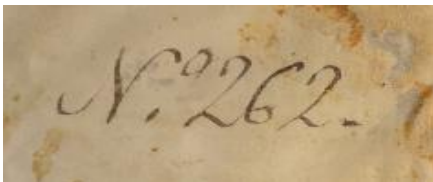
received a new binding - one more fitting for the Palace Library - together with the title *Histor de Palestina* on the spine.

Fig. 1.1 **Palace Library Title**



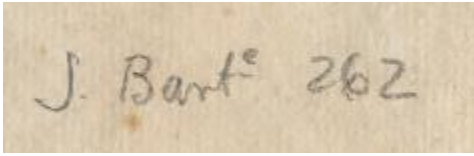
The library classification references allow us to trace the manuscript's history.

Fig. 1.2 **Colegio de San Bartolomé Classification**



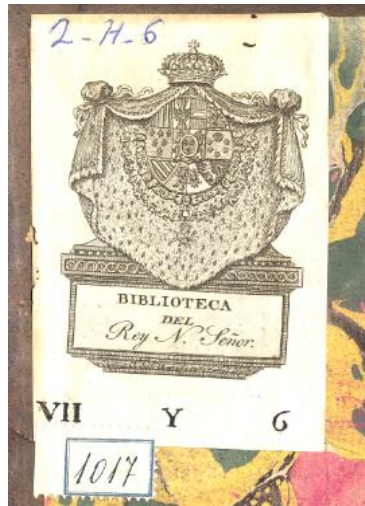
The number 262 on the first guard folio relates to its time in the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* in Salamanca (founded 1401) and this is further evidenced by the handwritten S. Bart^e 262 on one of the two folios added between the original manuscript and the Palace Library binding.

Fig. 1.3 **Detail added in the Palace Library binding.**



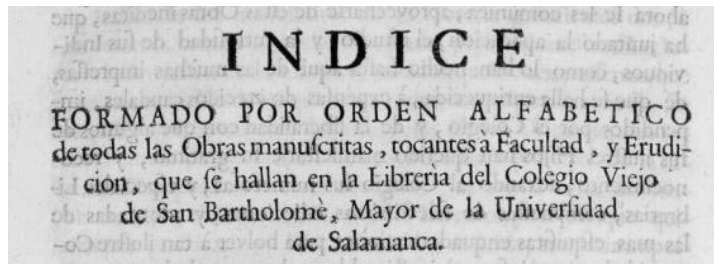
The new binding bears the label of the *Biblioteca del Rey N. Señor* with its escutcheon on the inside cover, along with two library classification references (Fig. 1.4). The first, VII Y 6, is a classification associated with Ferdinand VII (1813-33). Beaujouan (1962: 48) explains that ‘le chiffre romain indiquait la salle - la septième pour les manuscrits - la lettre désignait l’armoire et le chiffre arabe la tablette’. When Ferdinand died in 1833, these manuscripts were moved to provide apartments for Queen Isabella’s mother, Marie Christine. Beaujouan (1962: 48) refers to this act as ‘le caprice d’une femme’. The classification 2 - H - 6, added by hand, relates to the position of the manuscript in the second room in the new location. The bookcase and shelf designations were also changed. In addition there is also a small label bearing the number 1097. Beaujouan (1962: 50) mentions that, under the direction of Jesús Domínguez Bordona in the 1930s, the Library undertook a re-classification assigning to each item an individual number. This individual classification, which Beaujouan (1962: 209) describes as an example of ‘les dernières cotes du Palais Royal’, was the classification of the manuscripts when they were returned to Salamanca. Lazar (1962: 251) remarks that ‘mon attention a été attirée par le manuscrit 1017 (actuellement 1997)’. The *Fazienda* manuscript was reclassified in Salamanca University Library with the number 1997.

Fig. 1.4 **Palace Library label**



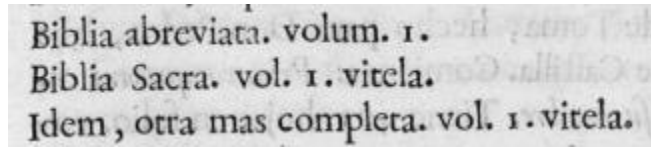
Arbesú (2011- 17) refers to MS1997 as ‘un manuscrito que contenía una obra hasta entonces desconocida’, although Lazar (1965: 10n3) moots the possibility that it might be either the *Biblia abreviata* or the *Biblia sacra* referred to in the *Historia del Colegio Viejo de S. Bartholomé, mayor de la célebre Universidad: Segunda Parte, Tomo Tercero* by Joseph de Roxas y Contreras. Roxas y Contreras (1768: 308-41) provides the following alphabetical index to manuscripts in the Colegio San Bartolomé:

Fig. 1.5 **Roxas y Contreras Index**



On page 313 we find the items referred to by Lazar but a close scrutiny of the Index provides no direct reference to anything resembling the *Fazienda* manuscript.

Fig. 1.6 **Items referred to by Lazar (1965: 10n3)**



Lecoy (1969: 574) mentions that ‘Lazar a eu l’heureuse fortune de découvrir le ms. 1997’. Requena (1974: Chapter 1: 2), describes Lazar’s discovery of the *Fazienda* as a qualified one, given that ‘su existencia ya había sido notada por Gayangos’², although Requena fails to detail this reference. Nevertheless Requena is correct to qualify Lazar’s discovery. The manuscript is listed, and also described, in an inventory of manuscripts of the *Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé* which is ascribed to Antonio Tavira y Almazán.³ Beaujouan (1962: 43-44) notes that Bishop Tavira compiled his inventory of the libraries of the *Colegios Mayores* of Salamanca between 1799 and 1802.

A copy of this inventory is found in three items in the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*:

a) BNE 7284 MICRO 4935⁴

Índice de los libros manuscritos que estaban en el Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca.

This text contains solely the index of the manuscripts in the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* listing some 474 items, including number 262, the manuscript of the *Fazienda*.

² Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (June 21, 1809 - October 4, 1897). He was Professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid 1843-71.

³ Antonio Tavira y Almazán (1737-1807), Bishop of Salamanca 1798–1807.

⁴ This text can be accessed at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000080873&page=1>

b) BNE 4404 MSS.MICRO 12725⁵

Índice de los libros manuscritos de los Colegios Mayores de San Bartolomé, Cuenca, el Arzobispo y Oviedo de Salamanca.

This text contains the same index of the manuscripts in the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* as in BNE 7284, together with indices for other *Colegios*. There is also a handwritten note opposite the title page identifying the text as belonging to Don Manuel González.⁶

Fig. 1.7 Title page and facing page from BNE 4404



c) BNE 18037 MSS.MICRO/10621⁷

*Índice de los libros manuscritos de los Colegios Mayores de Salamanca.*⁸

This text also contains the same index of the manuscripts in the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* as in BNE 7284, together with the indices for the other *Colegios*. An interesting feature of this text is the handwritten note by Pascual de Gayangos on the title

⁵ This text can be accessed at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000076911&page=1>

⁶ I have, as yet, not been able to identify this person.

⁷ This text can be accessed at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000134010&page=1>

⁸ This item is listed by Roca amongst the manuscripts belonging to Gayangos (1904: 224, number 608).

page, stating that he bought it in 1869 from the heirs of Don Bartholomé José Gallardo.⁹

This note might explain the reference to Gayangos by Requena.

Fig. 1.8 Title page from BNE 18037 with handwritten note by Pascual de Gayangos



The entry for the *Fazienda* from BNE 18037 in Fig. 1.9 shows Gallardo's annotations and underlining.

⁹ Bartolomé José Gallardo y Blanco (1776-1852) studied in Salamanca and enjoyed the patronage of the University librarian Juan María de Herrera and Bishop Tavira.

Fig. 1.9 Entry 262 in BNE 18037 describing the manuscript of the *Fazienda*.



The manuscript description makes it clear that the text was regarded more as a Holy Land Itinerary than a Bible translation, whilst noting the author's knowledge of Hebrew and comparing the style of the translation of the Scriptures with that of the *Biblia de Ferrara*. The title *Histor de Palestina*, which it acquired in the Palace Library, similarly reflects this consideration. This also leads one to discount the possible Bible associations mentioned by Lazar above. Significantly the description also highlights the linguistic importance of the language of the text, identifying it as 'de lo primero que se escribió en Castellano' (and underlined by Gallardo), a fact that has been endorsed by the many subsequent linguistic studies that feature or cite the *Fazienda*. The description of the *Fazienda* in this index is clearly the source of the Salamanca University Library catalogue entry which I encountered in 1972.

Almerich, Arcediano de Antioquia.

Historia y descripción de la Palestina, escrita por ----, por mandado de D. Ramon por la gracia de Dios Arzobispo de Toledo ... Códice en Pergamino - 4º. Iv. Palacio 1997. sign. ant. S. Bartolomé 262.

VII - Y - 6

¿2 - 11 - 6?

1017

Biblia (?) Es libro sumamente raro, y de q' ninguna noticia se halla, y por el language puede ser acaso de lo primero q' se escribió en castellano. El Autor tenía gran conocimiento del Hebreo, y traduce los pasajes de la Escritura, literalmente casi como en la Biblia llamada de Ferrara. - 4º. Iv. S. Bartolomé: 262. sig. 1017.

The word 'Biblia' is added to the description in the Salamanca University Library entry although this is circumscribed by the associated question mark. The second Palace Library classification shows the bookcase designation as the number 11 rather than the letter H and, for some reason, has question marks attached to it.

1.2.2 Description of the manuscript

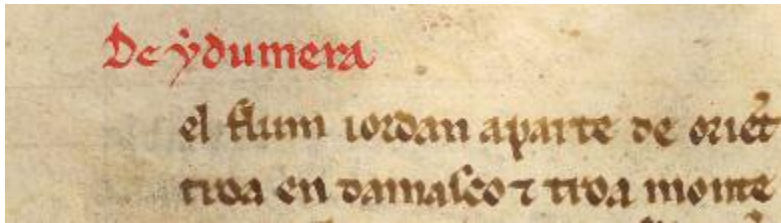
MS 1997 measures 175-185 mm by 135-140 mm and consists of 86 folios and is written in an early Gothic book hand on parchment, probably sheepskin or goatskin. The collation of folios follows Gregory's Rule. The text is written on 84 of the folios. The first folio has N.º 262 on the *recto* side and an alphabet on the *verso*. The second folio is blank. For the purposes of his 1965 edition Lazar discounted these first two folios and began the numbering for his edition with the third folio. Subsequent scholars have followed the numbering in Lazar's edition to allow for ease of comparison. The online

transcription of Arbesú (2011-17) follows this practice and I also use Lazar's foliation in my transcription and edition. The modern numbering in pencil of the manuscript, which can be seen in the top right corner of the *recto* folios in the readily available digital facsimile, follows that of Lazar. The original pencil numbering, which reflected all 86 folios, has been altered subsequent to 1973 when I first consulted the manuscript in Salamanca. A close scrutiny of the modern numbering (folios 41^r and 49^r for example) reveals the original numbering underneath the modern one. Similarly, the current facsimile shows pencil markings indicating the changes made by Lazar to re-arrange the text and to correct the mishandling and confusion of the folios of the original manuscript by the scribes. These markings once again postdate 1973.

I cannot agree with the observation of Sánchez-Prieto and Torrens (2010: 36n2) that 'las consecuencias de la falta de pautado pueden apreciarse, por ejemplo, en el códice 1997 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, que contiene la *Fazienda de Ultramar*'. There is no lack of *pautado*. The text is arranged in two columns and, for the most part, the ruling-guidelines are clearly visible, along with the prickings. Each column consists of 35 lines. However, folios 22^v, 23^r, 54^r, 55^r, 55^v, 66^v, and 67^r have 34 lines of text and folios 68^r and 78^v have 33. Column 'a' of folio 79^r has 34 lines of text but these actually occupy the space of 35 lines. From line 25 to 32 the scribe veers off the horizontal and the next 7 lines of text equate to 8 in column B, which has 35 lines. There are two more 'line anomalies': folio 36^{va}, where the rubricator has written the heading above the first line and outside the ruled frame, which is clearly visible:

Fig. 1.10 Heading outside ruled framework

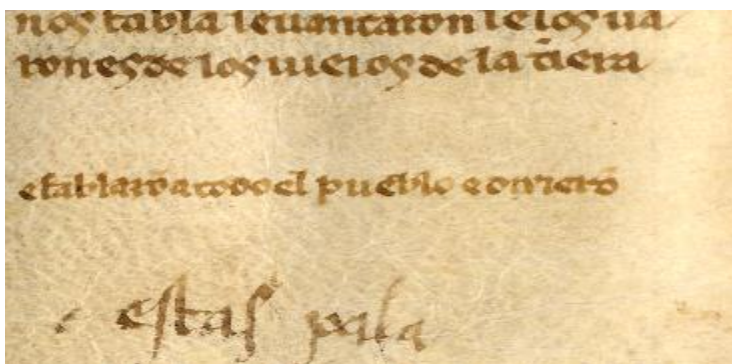
Fol. 36^{va}



and folio 60^{vb}, where the scribe has written an extra line some three lines below the last line of the column:

Fig. 1.11 Additional line of text outside framework

Fol. 60^{vb}



It would appear that this might have been originally intended as a catchword which has not been understood as such. Subsequently, 'estas pala' has been added as a catchword to reflect the start of folio 61^{ra}. The following catchwords provide some indication of the organisation of quires in the *Fazienda*.

Fol. 8 ^{vb}	myo sennor	vertical written in a box, 4 bifolia ¹⁰
Fol. 16 ^{vb}	De israel al desiert	vertical, 4 bifolia
Fol. 24 ^{vb}	lo ueo	horizontal, 4 bifolia
Fol. 32 ^{vb}	e echos sobrella	vertical, 4 bifolia

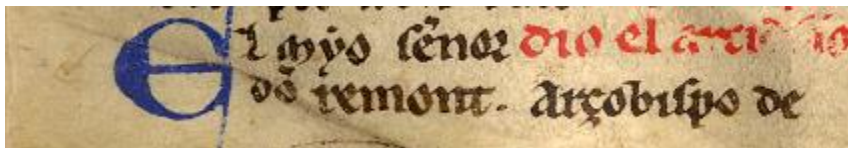
¹⁰ It would appear that the two guard folios represent a separate bifolium.

Fol. 40 ^{vb}	e fueron tod	vertical, 4 bifolia
Fol. 48 ^{vb}	murio dauid ¹¹	horizontal, 4 bifolia
Fol. 60 ^{vb}	estas pala	horizontal, 6 bifolia
Fol. 68 ^{vb}	la fin sera	horizontal, 4 bifolia
Fol. 76 ^{vb}	segadores	horizontal, 4 bifolia

The manuscript appears to comprise eight quaternions and one sexternion (folios 49^{ra}-60^{vb}). The text is divided into 188 sections, of widely varying lengths. The shortest consists of just 23 words (folio 27^{rb7-11}) and the longest 1,483 words (folios 81^{ra29}-82^{vb23}). The sections are indicated by coloured initials, either blue or red, with rubricated headings. The scribe clearly communicates to the rubricator the need to insert an initial by leaving a rectangular space 3, 4 or 5 letters in and 2 lines deep and indicates the initial to be inserted. Folio 1^{ra34-35} shows clearly the ‘e’ that the scribe has left in the margin as a guide to the rubricator.

Fig. 1.12 Guide letter ‘e’ for insertion of initial

Fol. 1^{ra34-35}

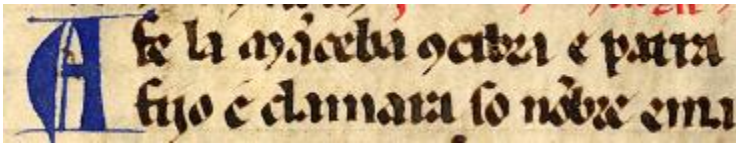


Sometimes, the ‘guide letter’ is in the space left for the insertion of the initial (folio 83^{vb33-34}).

¹¹ Lazar (1965) reads ‘O murio David’ and misinterprets this as a guide for the rubricator. Note 42: ‘Ce sous-titre se trouve au bas du folio, mais n’a pas été transcrit dans le texte’.

Fig. 1.13 Guide letter 'a' for insertion of initial

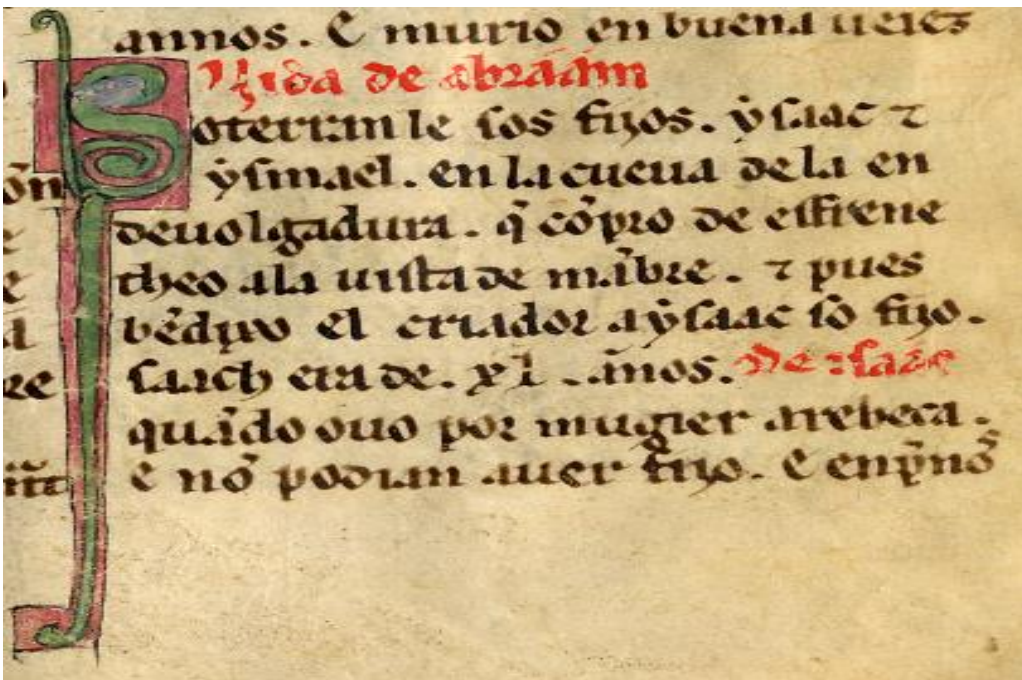
Fol. 83^{vb33-34}



Often this guide letter is not visible, having faded, been erased or overwritten with the coloured initial. When no space has been left, it is for the insertion of a 'J' in the margin (folio 18^{va5} *Jo*, folio 27^{rb13} *Josue*, folio 82^{vb23} *Jvda*, folio 83^{rb29} *Jstra*). In folio 3^{rb33} the rubricator joins the 'J' for *Jsaach* with the preceding S for *Soterran* in line 28.

Fig. 1.14 Combined Initials

Fol. 3^{rb28-33}



This communication between scribe and rubricator occasionally breaks down. In folio 35^{rb18} the scribe has not left any space for the 'A' to go with the *lli* and the rubricator has had to use the margin.

Fig. 1.15

Initial in margin

Fol. 35^{rb18}

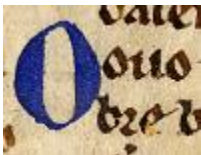


In folio 34^{vb32}, although the scribe has not left any space and has written out the *ouo* himself, the rubricator has still inserted a blue capital 'O' in the margin.

Fig. 1.16

Unnecessary Initial

Fol. 34^{vb32}

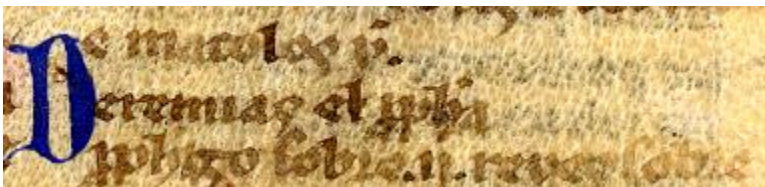


In folio 59^{vb30} the initial required is a 'J' to complete *eremias* but the scribe appears to have written something resembling a 'd' to guide the rubricator, who has taken him at his word and produced the meaningless *Deremias*.

Fig. 1.17

Wrong initial 1

Fol. 59^{vb30}

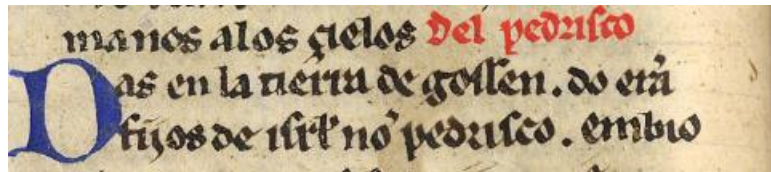


A similar error occurs in folio 14^{vb15} where the scribe has left space for the insertion of an 'M' to complete *as*, but appears to have written the letter 'd' in the right-hand margin. The rubricator has produced the senseless form *Das*.

Fig. 1.18

Wrong initial 2

Fol. 14^{vb15}

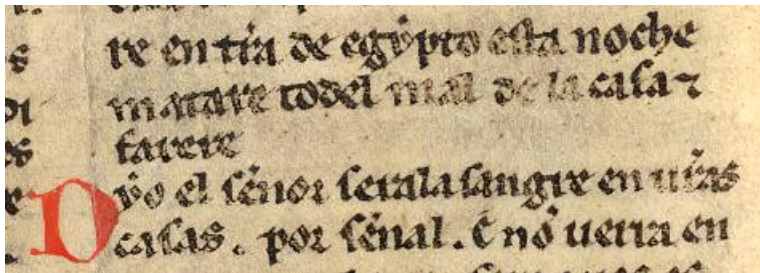


In folio 15^{vb23} the scribe appears to have left space to correct the form *farere*, perhaps to *fare*, and insert a word or phrase – perhaps *iudizios* to correspond to the *iudicia* of the Vulgate or the *juyzios* of E3.

Fig. 1.19

Space left for correction?

Fol. 15^{vb21-25}



The text corresponds to Exodus 12:12.

Passare en *tierra* de Egipto esta noch e matare tod el mal de la casa & farere... Dyo el Senmor. Sera la sangre en *uuestras* cascas por sennal e non uerra en uos mortalidat.

Fol. 15^{vb20-26}

Vulg et transibo per terram Aegypti nocte illa percutiamque omne
 primogenitum in terra Aegypti ab homine usque ad pecus et in cunctis diis
 Aegypti faciam iudicia ego Dominus Exod 12:12

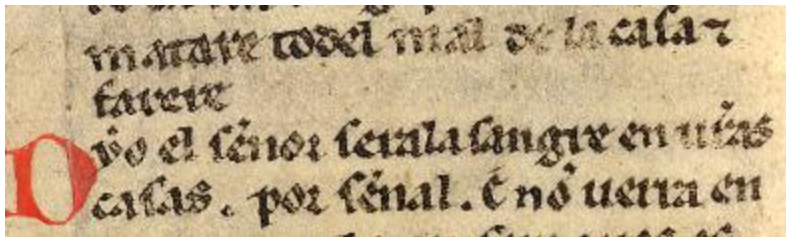
E3 & pasare por tierra de egipto enesa noche & matare todo mayor en egipto
 de omne fasta quatro pea & en todos los ydolos de egipto fare juyzios yo
 adonay¹²

The rubricator seems to have understood the space as representing space for a heading and has mistakenly inserted the initial D in the margin ahead of yo.

Fig. 1.20

Misunderstanding

Fol. 15^{vb23}

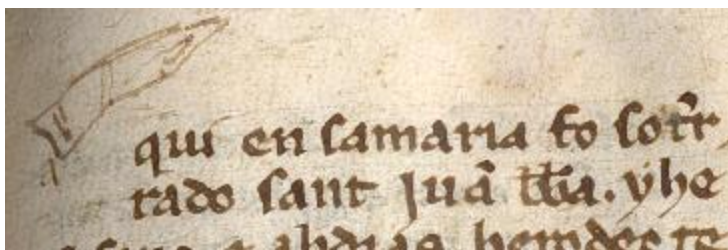


On five occasions the rubricator has failed to insert the initial: folios 1^{ra10}, 32^{va27}, 32^{vb35}, 36^{va1} and 45^{ra1}, although the guide letter is clearly visible in folio 32^{va27} and in folio 45^{ra1}.

Fig. 1.21

Missing initial

Fol. 45^{ra1}



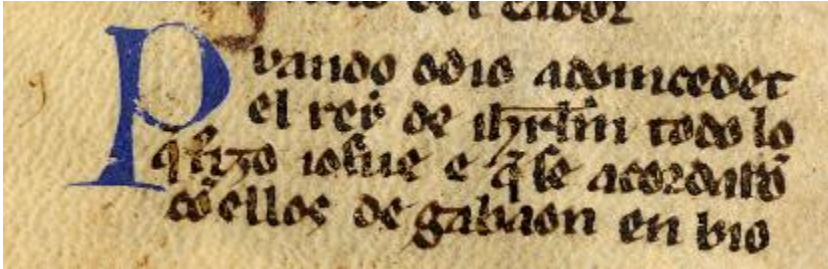
¹² The citations from other Romance Bibles are taken from BibMed.

On another occasion the rubricator has inserted the wrong initial when the scribe's instructions are perfectly legible. In folio 29^{va32} he has written a P in blue before *vando*, when a Q is clearly indicated.

Fig. 1.22

Wrong initial 3

Fol. 29^{va32}



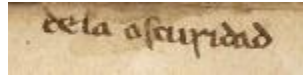
The initials are plain, coloured either red or blue, with the colours generally alternating. The 'E' in folio 17^{vb} and the 'P' on folio 72^{va} are slightly more elaborate, combining the two colours, red and blue. There are seven historiated initials: folios 1^{rb}, 1^{vb}, 2^{va}, 3^{rb}, 41^{ra}, 49^{ra} and 61^{ra}, although the first two examples have not been coloured in.

Fernández-Ordóñez (2010: 239-42) talks about a layering of sectioning, a hierarchy as it were from the more general to the more specific: book, chapter, section, sub-section and that the size of the initial can reflect this hierarchy. There would appear to be no evidence of this structuring in the *Fazienda*. There are 188 sections, as defined above, but not all the section headings have been inserted. Some 58 have been omitted. It is possible on many folios to see the instructions for the rubricator (27 occasions) or, at least, some evidence of these instructions although the majority appear to have been removed in preparing the manuscript for binding.

Fig. 1.23

Instructions for rubricator

Fol. 15^{rb}

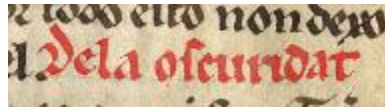


The instructions appear above column B. However, the rubricator writes:

Fig. 1.24

Actual Rubric

Fol. 15^{rb12}



1.2.3

Scribal corrections of the text

There are numerous scribal errors and corrections throughout the manuscript. These present us with clear evidence that the manuscript is a copy of a romance vernacular text.

Anticipation

Fol. 4^{ra19-26}

This can be clearly seen in the following extract where the scribe has made two anticipatory errors (emboldened). Both errors anticipate material to come. The scribe has corrected one by marking *sobre* for omission with dots underneath. The final sentence is somewhat corrupted.

Respuso Ysaac & dyxo: De grossura de la tierra & del ruçio **sera tu bendicion** de los cielos sera tu bendicion. Sobre tu espada biuras e a to ermano seruiras. E sera quant podestare e soluero [**sobre**] so iugo sobre tu ceruiz.

Repetition

The phrase *por enemigo su espada sacada* is marked for omission with dots above the words. The scribe has repeated the same phrase which occurs after *en la uia* earlier in folio 24^{va14-15}.

Abrio Nuestro Sennor oios de Balaam e ujo el angel *que* estaua en la uia [**por enemigo su espada sacada**], espada en su mano, e omillos le e adolor.

Fol. 24^{va34-vb2}

Hypercorrection

The phrase *en la uia* is marked for omission with dots above and below. The scribe appears to have repeated *en la uia* which follows *angel* two lines previously.

Ensannos Nuestro Sennor por *que* y fue e estido el angel en la uia por enemigo, su espada sacada. Vio el asna el angel [**en la uia**] e arredros de la carrera.

Fol. 24^{va16}

The text corresponds to Numbers 22: 22-23. A comparison shows that the repetition of *in via* actually occurs in the Biblical text. This would appear to be a case of hypercorrection.

Vulg et iratus est Deus stetitque angelus Domini **in via** contra Balaam qui
 sedebat asinae et duos pueros habebat secum cernens asina angelum
 stantem **in via** evaginato gladio avertit se de itinere Num 22: 22-3

There are also examples that would appear to be errors by the copyist but may more likely be attributed to errors already present in the original text. If we take the two passages in the *Fazienda* that correspond to Isaiah 9:6:

(1.1^a) mancebo fo nado a nos e fijo fo dado a nos; e fue la meiorança fobre su
espada Fol. 57^{ra33-35}

(1.1^b) mancebo fo nado a nos e fijo fo dado a nos; & fo la meiorança sobre su
espada Fol. 83^{rb19-20}

and compare them to the Biblical text:

Vulg parvulus enim natus est nobis filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus
super **umerum** ei Isa 9: 6

The word *espada* in the two *Fazienda* passages is clearly an error for what was *espalda* originally. It is my contention that these two passages, along with other Messianic passages, were independently copied from an original which contained the error.

1.3 Lazar's edition (1965)

Lazar's edition comprises an introduction, the text together with explanatory footnotes, and a glossary. Lazar covers a number of issues in the introduction: dating, authorship, along with Biblical and Itinerary sources and I discuss these in Section 1.4 below.

1.3.1 Reviews

In his review of Lazar's edition Williams (1967: 744) is full of praise for the introduction but believes 'his (Lazar's) textual editing is marred by excessive printing errors, unnecessary annotation, and a defective glossary'. He then proceeds to list numerous examples of these faults. Cantera Burgos (1966: 131), in his review, again

welcomes the edition stating that Lazar ‘edita ahora cuidadosamente el citado ms.’ He notes occasions where Lazar has corrected or commented unnecessarily and other occasions where he has failed to correct or comment. He observes that the glossary ‘en modo alguno recoge la riqueza léxica que la *Fazienda* atesora’ and goes on to provide a long list of forms that he suggests could have been included in the glossary (1966: 132-3). Lecoy’s review (1969: 576) addresses mainly the question of the authorship of the *Fazienda*, although he gently suggests that ‘Lazar sera d’accord avec nous pour la considérer comme une édition d’attente et de premier jet, mais qui a besoin d’être reprise’. Vårvaro (1969: 244) similarly finds himself dissatisfied with the edition of the text while Arbesú (2011-17: Contenidos, ¿Una edición digital?) points out that ‘la transcripción adolece de numerosos errores en la práctica totalidad de sus páginas, llegando incluso a omitir líneas completas del texto’. Arbesú notes that Lazar’s edition, with all its faults, ‘ha servido de base para la mayor parte de estudios sobre esta obra’.

1.3.2

The text

The problems with the text are manifest. Lazar provides no transcription criteria to assist the reader and, notwithstanding Cantera’s generous evaluation, transcription errors abound. Cotrait (1971:474) regrets the fact that ‘l’éditeur n’ait pas fait précéder le récit d’Almerich de l’énoncé de son systyème de transcription’. However, Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 535) observes that ‘no es lo peor que el editor no explicitara los criterios de la edición’ and points out that ‘una compulsa de la versión editada con el manuscrito ofrece una sorprendente cantidad de lecturas deficientes y erróneas’. In fact the only indication of Lazar’s editorial criteria lies in the following statement: ‘Nous avons ponctué le texte, mis des majuscules où il fallait, et des accents sur le verbes au futur’

(1965: 10n3). His use of accents on futures is far from consistent, as can be seen in the following examples. It would appear that the first person singular is the only form regularly accented, as in:

(1.2^a) Yo **faré** lo que tu me mandas Lazar 46.21¹³ Fol. 4^{ra19-26}

(1.2^b) non le **faré** atal enganno Lazar 52.28 Fol. 3^{ra11-12}

whereas, the third person is not accented, as in:

(1.3^a) e Israel **fara** fonsado Lazar 92.4 Fol. 25^{va16}

(1.3^b) e **fara** desperder remasaia de la cibdad Lazar 92.5 Fol. 25^{va17-18}

(1.3^c) Pruevalos e veré **que faran** Lazar 104.15 Fol. 31^{va3-4}

Similarly there is no consistent pattern to the resolution of the nasal diacritic before a bilabial. Within the one sentence Lazar resolves the nasal abbreviation as <m> in *nombres* and as <n> in *nonbre*.

(1.4^a) e los **nombres** de las cibdades e de las tierras como ovieron **nonbre** en
latin e en ebraico Lazar 43:6-7

The manuscript reads:

(1.4^b) Elos **nōbres** de laf / cibdades τ de las tierras como o/vierō **nōbre**. En latin
τ en ebra/yco Fol. 1ra²³⁻²⁶

In dealing with versions of the same word using either <r> or <rr> to represent /r/ Lazar is again inconsistent. Where the form *tiera* appears in the manuscript, as in:

¹³ Page and line reference in Lazar (1965).

- (1.5^a) Cayo mortalidat en **tiera** Fol. 48^{va13}
- (1.6^a) la / **tiera** q'l delecto Fol. 10^{va34-35}
- (1.7^a) los aduxo / de **tiera** de egipto Fol. 44^{rb20-21}

Lazar has variously:

- (1.5^b) Cayo mortalidat en **tier[r]a** Lazar 142.22
- (1.6^b) la **tierra** quel delecto Lazar 60.1
- (1.7^b) los aduxo de **tiera** de Egypto Lazar 134.15

Similarly, where the manuscript has:

- (1.8^a) **foteraron** el cuerpo / en torente cedron. Fol. 48^{rb25-26}
- (1.9^a) e **foteraron** / lo en famaria. Fol. 44^{rb9-10}
- (1.10^a) los de famaria / que **foterauan** un om'e Fol. 44^{rb12-13}

Lazar has variously:

- (1.8^b) **soter[r]aron** el cuerpo en tor[r]ente de Cedron Lazar 142.10
- (1.9^b) e **soterraronlo** en Samaria Lazar 134.9
- (1.10^b) Los de Samaria que **soteravan** un omne Lazar 134.10

1.3.3 Transcription errors

There are also frequent errors of transcription in the edition, as in the following cases:

i) Estas son aguas de baratar, o barataron fijos de Israel con so Sennor

Lazar 87.17

Ms reads eftas fon / aguas debaraiar obaraiarō fijos /de ifrl cō fo fēnor

Fol. 23^{va12-14}

On a number of occasions Lazar's edition omits without explanation text which is in the manuscript. I embolden the missing text.

j) Corrio Esau a encuentro de so ermano e echo sobre sobre cuello e saludolo

e omillos Esau

Lazar 50.10-11

The text reads:

Corrio Esau a encuentro de so ermano **e abraçol** & echo sobre so cuello el

braço e saludo lo. & omillos Esau.

Fol. 5^{ra34-rb1}

and corresponds to Genesis 33:4.

Vulg currens itaque Esau obviam fratri suo amplexatus est eum stringensque

collum et osculans flevit

Gen 33:4

k) E pregolo Jacob que el se yria devagar con sus conpannas

Lazar 50.16-17

The text reads

e prego lo Iacob *que* **el se yria ques tornasse, ca** el se yria deugar con sus

conpannas.

Fol. 5^{rb10-12}

- l) sy faran como fizieron del dya que los adux de Egipto e adoraron a otros dios. Lazar 104.15-16

The text reads

sy faran como fizieron del dya *que* los adux de Egipto, **que me dexaron en Egipto** e adoraron a otros dios. Fol. 31^{va4-7}

- m) Estonz por conplirla Lazar 181.6

The text reads

Estonz **la uedat** por conplir la Fol. 68^{ra12-13}

- n) era perdudo so cuerpo encendedero de fuego Lazar 180.27

The text reads

era perdudo so cuerpo **e era** encendedero de fuego Fol. 68^{ra15-17}

1.3.4 Re-ordering the text

For his edition Lazar chose to re-order various passages in the manuscript. He explains that ‘Nous avons rétabli, dans la mesure du possible, l’ordre des chapitres de la Bible’ (1965: 151n39). He suggests that the scribe must have been faced with ‘une liasse de folios détachés’ and blames this for the ‘confusion anormale dans les événements et les récits relatés’ (1965: 151n39). Martínez Álvarez (2001: 133) refers to ‘el trastrueque de ciertos pasajes del texto que se preocupó en ordenar meticulosamente Moshé Lazar’. I argue that Lazar has conflated what may be the result of the confusion of a few loose folios with a somewhat more casual regard by the original author/compiler for the precise

ordering of Biblical chapters and books. Lazar is correct to believe it necessary to re-order the text of the manuscript in order to re-establish the original text. However, he has re-ordered passages where there is no need from a textual point of view solely in order to re-establish the Biblical order of the content. Table 1.1 shows the extent of Lazar's re-ordering.

Table 1.1 Lazar's re-ordered passages

Lazar's re-ordering	Folio reference	Manuscript order	Lazar reference
1	1 ^{ra11} – 52 ^{vb22}	1	
2	54 ^{vb3} – 55 ^{rb29} este (for esta) clamo	3	151.22
3	52 ^{vb29} – 54 ^{vb3} e to dios	2	153.3
4	56 ^{ra26} – 56 ^{va15} cibdad enpararé	5	156.16
5	57 ^{va22} – 59 ^{vb30} En Jherusalem regno	8	157.7
6	56 ^{va16} – 56 ^{vb4} En Jherusalem prophetizo	6	161.13
7	55 ^{rb29} – 56 ^{ra25} [los] quiero	4	161.23
8	56 ^{vb4} – 57 ^{va20} [non] los entendran	7	163.4
9	59 ^{vb31} – 60 ^{rb29} [J]eremias	9	164.26
10	61 ^{ra28} – 61 ^{va11} Fo apres	11	165.28
11	60 ^{rb30} – 61 ^{ra28} Al primer an[n]o	10	166.23
12	61 ^{va11} – 63 ^{ra12} Dixo el princep	12	168.6
13	63 ^{va7} – 64 ^{ra8} E dixom el Sennor	14	171.22
14	63 ^{ra12} – 63 ^{va7} E depues dixo	13	172.21
15	64 ^{ra8} – 84 ^{vb35} Depues torno[m]	15	173.18

Table 1.2 shows more accurately the re-ordering that is actually required in order to re-establish the original text.

Table 1.2 Re-ordering necessary to restore the original text

Re-established order	Folio reference	Manuscript order
A	1ra – 52vb22	A
B	54vb3 – 55rb29	C
C	52vb22 – 54vb3	B
D	56ra26 – 56vb4	E
E	55rb29 – 56ra25	D
F	56vb4 – 84vb35	F

I propose simply interchanging passage B and passage C, and also passage D and passage E. These re-arrangements are also adopted by Lazar although his divisions of the text are not exactly the same as my own. As can be seen below all of these essential adjustments occur in mid-sentence and in mid-verse, unlike Lazar's other re-arrangements. Indeed several of his adjustments actually coincide with section breaks (4, 5 and 9 in Table 1.1).

1.3.5 Adjustments in order to restore the original text

- i) E ueno *con* todo el pueblo a Sichem e (52^{vb22} - 54^{vb3}) clamo merced a Roboam, fijo de Salomon.

The break in text occurs in the middle of 1 Kings 12:3.

Vulg venit ergo Hieroboam et omnis multitudo Israhel et // locuti sunt ad
Roboam dicentes 1 Kgs 12:3

ii) Dixo el rey a este omne de Dios: Priegot agora delant (55^{rb29} - 52^{vb22}) to
Dios que priegues que me sane mie mano.

The break in text occurs in the middle of 1 Kings 13:6.

Vulg et ait rex ad virum Dei deprecare faciem // Domini Dei tui et ora pro me ut
restituatur manus mea mihi 1 Kgs 13:6

iii) E yo *ennadre* en tos dias .xv. annos, e de mano del rey de Siria te escapare.
Esta (54^{vb3} - 56^{ra26}) cibdad enparare.

The break in text occurs in the middle of 2 Kings 20:6.

Vulg et addam diebus tuis quindecim annos sed et de manu regis assyriorum
liberabo te et civitatem hanc et protegam urbem // istam 2 Kgs 20:6

iv) E dixo: Non adugades mas sacrificios de uanidad; *uuestros* encensos,
uuestros cabos de lunes e *uuestros* sabbados *que* clamades non los (56**vb4**
- 55^{rb29}) *quiero*.

The break in text occurs in the middle of Isaiah 1:13.

Vulg ne adferatis ultra sacrificium frustra incensum abominatio est mihi
neomeniam et sabbatum et festiuitates alias // non feram iniqui sunt coetus
vestri Isa 1:13

- v) Engruesa el coraçon deste pueblo e sus oreias agrauia e ciega sos, en quanto ueran con sos oios e oyran con sues oreias, (56^{ra25} - 56^{vb4}) entendran con so coraçon, e tornaran e sanar los e.

The break in text occurs in the middle of Isaiah 6: 10.

Vulg excaeca cor populi huius et aures eius adgrava et oculos eius claudere forte videat oculis suis et auribus suis audiat // et corde suo intellegat et convertatur et sanem eum Isa 6:10

Mencé-Caster (1998:18-19) identifies two potential end users for an edition of a medieval text: one primarily interested in the content and the other more concerned with the linguistic features. She details what the latter requires of such an edition:

Or, pour que le texte ainsi transcrit puisse constituer un outil de travail fiable pour le philologue et l'historien de la langue, il faut que l'éditeur «transcripteur» donne sans cesse à ce dernier les moyens de retrouver derrière les apparats du texte livré, l'*idiosyncrasie* de l'écriture de manuscrit.' (1998: 19)

While Lazar's edition is rightly praised for bringing to a wider audience a text that is considered to be one of the earliest Biblical translations into Romance, it is quite clear that his edition is not sufficiently accurate to meet the criteria that Mencé-Caster prescribes for the needs of the linguist.

1.4 Issues

Arbesú (2011-17) observes that 'Los problemas surgen al considerar prácticamente cualquier aspecto de la *Fazienda*. ¿Quién la compuso? ¿Cuándo? ¿Dónde? ¿Para qué?'. In section 1.4.1 I address the first two of these questions together, as they are

1.4.1.1

External evidence

An exchange of letters between Remont ‘por la gracia de Dios arçobispo de Toledo’ and Almerich ‘arçidiano de Antiochia’ introduces the *Fazienda*. Remont requests of Almerich that:

tu me enbies escripto en vna carta la fazienda de vltra mar e los nombres de las cibdades & de las tierras, como ovieron nonbre en latin & en ebrayco e quanto a de la vna cibdat a la otra, e las marauyllas que *Nuestro Sennor Dios* fezo en *Iherusalem* e en toda la tierra de vltra mar.

Almerich replies:

yo me metre a saber lo quanto yo mejor podyere. E la demandare en las *sanctas* scripturas de latyn & de hebreo’.

Lazar (1965: 11) has no difficulty in identifying the Remont of the first letter as being ‘Raimundo, originaire d’Agen, nommé évêque d’Osma en 1109, puis archévêque de Tolède en 1126’¹⁵. Similarly, Hiestand (1994: 9) finds that ‘Aucune problème ne se pose en qui concerne le premier personnage’. Although there is a general consensus concerning this identification of Remont, the identity of the Almerich of the second letter has proved more problematical. Lazar (1965:11) identifies the most likely candidate as being:

Aimeric Malafaida (ou Malefaye), originaire de Salamiacum (peut-être Solignac, dans le Limousin), doyen du chapitre d’Antioche jusqu’en 1142, date à laquelle il fut nommé troisième Patriarche d’Antioche, et qui mourut en 1187 selon les uns, en 1196 selon d’autres.

¹⁵ Francis Raymond de Sauvetât, Archbishop of Toledo 1125-1152.

According to Lazar, if Aimeric Malafaïda were the writer of the second letter and the author of the *Fazienda*, then the text must have been composed between 1126 (Raymond named Archbishop of Toledo) and 1142 (Aimeric named Patriarch of Antioch). However, if we discount this identification, then Lazar believes that:

il n'en resterait pas moins que notre texte a été commandé par don Raimundo après 1126 et avant 1152, et rédigé par un certain Almerich, archidiacre d'Antioch entre ces deux dates.

whereas Lazar (1965: 12n8) believes that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these letters, Deyermond (1971: 84) points out that 'such letters are a far from reliable form of authentication' and goes on to express some 'historical objections' regarding the proposed authorship. Aimeric and Raymond were both French and their language of communication would have been either French or more likely Latin, but certainly not Spanish. He also highlights the fact that Raymond, although associated with a 'school of translators' in Toledo,¹⁶ showed no interest in translations into vernacular Spanish. In addition, the translations associated with Raymond were of scientific works from Arabic into Latin and there is no record of any biblical or religious translations.

Lecoy (1969: 575) similarly dismisses Aimeric Malafaïda as a possible author, stating that Malafaïda 'ne savait certainement pas un traître mot d'espagnol'. He points out that the author of the *Fazienda* does not display the personal knowledge of the Holy Land that one would expect of someone living in Antioch. Vârvaro (1969: 240) also rejects Malafaïda as the author, citing William of Tyre who describes him as 'quasi analfabeta'. According to Vârvaro the age difference between Raymond and Aimeric

¹⁶ Pergola (2013) examines the discussion of the Toledan School of Translators from Jourdain through Haskins up to González Palencia and concludes that 'it is now highly unlikely that a school of translators existed in Toledo'.

makes it unlikely that we can take at face value Almerich's description of Raymond as 'myo ermano por la conpannya de las letras que aprisimos en vno' (folio 1^{rb7-8}). He goes on to draw attention to a factual error in the material relating to the fall of Tyre.

Depues al tyenpo de los francos la patriarca Bermudo¹⁷ la cerco & la combatio con los conpanneros e preso la, & dalli conquirio el regno de Iherusalem.

Fol. 9^{va7-11}

This description would appear to be a somewhat mangled reference to the siege and capture of Tyre in 1124 by a force of Venetians and Franks. It was definitely not a springboard to the capture of Jerusalem. For Vârvaro it is unthinkable that 'una ventina d'anni dopo un franco di Terrasanta potesse dirla avvenuta «al tienpo de los Francos» e soprattutto ritenerla il trampolino per la conquista del regno di Gerusalemme' (1969: 240). According to Kedar (1995: 134-5) the author of the *Fazienda* drew on the Itinerary of Fretellus for this passage and the reference to the kingdom of Jerusalem is due a misinterpretation of the phrase *regnum inde David sublimans et accrescens*. Stone and Kedar (2006: 497) state that 'The attribution to Aimery of *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar* should, however, be disregarded'.

Given what is known about Archbishop Raymond of Toledo, it seems doubtful that he would have commissioned a version of the scriptures and a description of the Holy Land in the vernacular. Lazar's identification of Aimeric Malafaida as the recipient of Raymond's request and the author of the *Fazienda* has also been shown to be flawed. This calls seriously into question the authenticity of the letters themselves. Most likely they were written to add authority to the text with the use of the name of Raymond,

¹⁷ Probably refers to Gormond de Picquigny, Patriarch of Jerusalem 1118-1128.

Archbishop of Toledo, and to add credibility to the Holy Land material written by a certain Almerich, Archdeacon of Antioch.

1.4.1.2 Internal evidence

In the opinion of Lazar, given that the author was based in Antioch and was describing ‘les villes les plus importantes et les lieux saints du Royaume de Jérusalem’, he could not have failed to mention ‘la conquête d’Ascalone par les Francs et la prise de Jérusalem par les Musulmans’ (1965: 13). The former event he dates as 1153 and the second as 1184 (sic).¹⁸ Lazar goes on to state that as ‘notre auteur parle souvent et longuement d’Ascalone et de Jérusalem surtout’, it is to be expected that these two events would be mentioned, however briefly.

The phrase ‘souvent et longuement’ relating to Ascalon is somewhat strange. There are just two references to Ascalon in the *Fazienda*. The first:

(1.11) Priso Iuda a Gazar & Escalona e toda essa *tierra* Fol. 30^{va16-17}

corresponds to:

Vulg cepitque Iudas Gazam cum finibus suis et Ascalonem atque Accaron cum terminis suis’ Judg 1:18.

The second is somewhat garbled:

(1.12) taiare sos estageros dAsdont, a susfrient uerdugo dEscalona; miria Acre, deperdere la romasala de los filisteos, diz el Sennor Fol. 71^{va25-30}

but corresponds to:

¹⁸ Jerusalem fell to the forces of Saladin in 1187 after its army was defeated at the Battle of Hattin.

Vulg et disperdam habitorem de Azoto et tenentem sceptrum de Ascalone et
convertam manum meam super Accaron et peribunt reliqui Philisthinorum
dicit Dominus Deus Amos 1:8

Both these references are biblical and there are no topical or geographic references to Ascalon in the text. Lazar suggests that the failure to mention the siege and capture of Ascalon in 1153 indicates that the *Fazienda* was written before that date. However, neither is there any mention of the perhaps more significant battle of Ascalon of 1099, which is generally regarded as the final engagement of the First Crusade (Asbridge. 2004: 323-7).

Lazar also believes that the failure to mention the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 is significant. There are 187 references to Jerusalem throughout the *Fazienda*. The majority of them correspond to a biblical passage, as in:

En Iherusalem prophetizo Ysayas el profeta, el fil de Amos; profetizo sobre Iudea e Iherusalem en dias de .iij. reyes, de Ozias e de Ioatan so fijo & de Acas e de Ezechias, e fueron reys de tierra de Ierusalem Fol. 56^{va16-22}

which corresponds to:

Vulg Visio Isaiae filii Amos quam vidit super Iudam et Hierusalem in diebus
Oziae Ioatham Ahaz Ezechiae regum Iuda Isa 1:1

Other references simply give geographic or more general information as in:

- (1.13) De Gabaon a Iherusalem a quatro migeros e es a parte *de meridie*.
Iherusalem ouo nobre primero Luça e depues ouo nonbre Bethel'

Fol. 46^{va27-31}

- (1.14) De Iherusalem fasta Bethleem a dos leguas'

Fol.76^{va34-35}

The only topical reference to Jerusalem in the *Fazienda* would appear to be the erroneous reference in the passage cited by Vårvaro above.

Clearly it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions from the lack of reference to an event as there may be reasons for this omission, other than the fact that it has not yet happened. However Hiestand (1994: 10-11), with a similar justification, suggests changing the *terminus ante quem* from 1152 to 1145 'parce que l'auteur ne connaît pas la découverte de la tête de saint Jean Baptiste à Sébaste survenue cette année-là' and makes the point that 'Lazar ne s'est pas aperçu de cet indice fort important pour la datation de l'oeuvre'(1994: 10). Unfortunately Hiestand does not reference the source of this item of information and I have not been able to verify this discovery of John the Baptist's head. However, in a paper on the tomb of John the Baptist at the Sebastiya Conference in 2011 Carla Benelli states that 'Soon after Usamah's visit (1142) the condition of the church at Sebaste was radically altered. In 1145, William 1, patriarch of Jerusalem, reported the casual finding of the saint's (John the Baptist) remains and granted a 40-day indulgence to all those who contribute to rebuild the church'. There appears to be no specific reference to the head of the John the Baptist.

Sanchis Calvo, although her focus is essentially on the language of the *Fazienda*, also adds to the discussion of the possible dating (1991: 4). She draws attention to the penultimate sentence in the following passage:

‘Suso en monte Calvarie o Ihesu *Christo* priso pasion, cay la sangre yuso & fendio la pena; ad *aquel* lugar dizen Golgota. A sinjestro un poco, en medio el eglesia, es el uer sepulcro o Ihesu *Christo* fue metjdo. Adelant un po es el coro e el altar de *sancta* Maria, del medio del mundo. Adelant un poco en es lugar o trobo la uera *cruz sancta* Elena, madre de Costantjn, *que* fue enperador deroma.

Vn poco adelant apar de orient es el altar de fanta trinjdad o la uera *cruz* solie estar. Todo es en la eglesia, dentro en el sepulcro.’ Fol.78^{va25} - 78^{vb9}

She points out that ‘La Santa Cruz estuvo en ese lugar hasta su pérdida en la batalla de Hattin (1187), poco antes de la toma de Jerusalem por Saladino’ (1991: 4). She then goes on to say ‘El uso del pasado “solie” parece indicar que la reliquia ya no estaba allí cuando se escribió la frase’ (1991: 4). Although her contention that this phrase was written after 1187 appears to run counter to the dating suggested by Lazar, Sanchis Calvo does not necessarily think so. She puts forward the possibility of an original version pre-dating 1151 which has suffered ‘interpolaciones and retoques’ (1991: 4).

Sanchis Calvo’s argument carries weight as, unlike previous internal evidence, it relies on material which actually appears in the text rather than something which does not. It is surprising, however, that no mention is made of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin which would account for the disappearance of the True Cross and its subsequent re-appearance paraded through the streets of Damascus. It is possible that the reference

could be to a more prosaic relocation of the relic during the renovations of the Church of Holy Sepulchre in the reign of Queen Melisende (1131-61). The Church was reconsecrated on 15 July 1159 exactly fifty years after its capture by the first Crusaders.

There is perhaps another reference in the text that might shed some light on the date of composition.

Alli sobre mare Galilee & es Elguiacob e a y .j. castiello *que* assi a *nonbre* el Gue Iacob. Quant yua fuyendo por mjedo de so ermano Easu, alli passo el rio *con* su blago solo, e al tornar *que* fazien *quand* uinie de *Aram*, de tierra de Mesopotania, de casa de sos parientes. Fol. 35^{ra23-32}

The reference is to Genesis 32, where Jacob crosses the Jordan with his family and wrestles with the angel.¹⁹

Vulg *cumque* mature surrexisset tulit duas uxores suas et totidem famulas
 cum undecim filiis et transivit vadum Iaboc Gen 32:22

The ford of Jaboc is Jacob's Ford or Le Gué (de) Jacob as it was known in Crusader times. In 1178-79 Baldwin built a fortification, Chastellet, as a line of defence at Jacob's Ford, a key river crossing.²⁰ The castle was built and destroyed within eleven months (October 1178 - 29 August 1179). If, as it would appear, the '*castiello que assi a nonbre el Gue Iacob*' refers to Baldwin's Chastellet, then this would indicate a possible post-1179 date of composition.

¹⁹ See also fol. 5^{ra17-19} where Genesis 32 is presented more fully. *Ca con myo blago solo pase el flum Iordan & agora so con dos almofallas.*

²⁰ <http://www.orient-latin.com/fortresses/chastelet> 'Vers la fin du mois de mars 1179, après six mois de travaux forcés, le Chastellet du Gué de Jacob était enfin terminé'

1.4.1.3

Linguistic evidence

Although Lazar postpones analysing the main linguistic characteristics to another occasion, he believes the language of the *Fazienda* supports or rather does not contradict the 1126-1152 time frame that he has proposed. He says that ‘du point de vue morphologique, lexicologique et syntaxique, celui-ci correspond assez bien à la langue du *Poema del Mio Cid* dont la date de composition se situe plus ou moins à la même époque’(1965: 13).

However, Lazar’s opinion of the linguistic antiquity of the *Fazienda* is not shared by other scholars. Echenique states her belief that ‘pertenece a la primera mitad del siglo XIII y tenderíamos a situarlo más bien hacia bien entrada dicha primera mitad’ (1981: 121 n 37). Lapesa (1981: 234n40) comments that ‘el castellano de la versión conservada no parece anterior a 1152, sino más bien de hacia 1220’. Bustos Tovar (1974: 224) disagrees with the dates suggested by Lazar, and on the basis of the lexical cultismos, believes that ‘parece inevitable retrasar la fecha del texto a fines del siglo XII o a principios del XIII’. Deyermond (1971: 84) believes that ‘The *Fazienda* is syntactically far more complex than the first Castilian chronicles of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; indeed, its syntax is closer to that of mid-thirteenth works’. Sanchis Calvo, after an exhaustive study of the linguistic features of the *Fazienda*, states the text ‘presenta rasgos arcaicos que no suelen aparecer ya en la segunda mitad del XII; pero no son exclusivos del siglo XII, sino que encuentran también en la centuria siguiente, sobre todo en textos anteriores a 1230’ (1991: 557). She states her belief that the manuscript that we have is not a faithful copy of an original composed by Almerich pre-1152, but rather a translation, with the interpolation of many biblical passages, made in the first half

of the thirteenth century. This is in accord with Floriano's dating of the manuscript and with her own description of the graphic system. Gómez Redondo (1998:111) also chooses to place the *Fazienda* in 'esa primera mitad del siglo XIII'. He bases this on three factors: a revised dating of 1207 for the *Cantar de mio Cid*, with whose language Lazar compared the *Fazienda*; secondly, the founding in 1212 and 1218 of the first 'estudios generales' in Palencia and Salamanca and, thirdly, the 1215 Lateran Council 'en el que se determina la recomendación de acercar el contenido de los dogmas a las lenguas vernáculas' (1998: 112). He considers the *Fazienda* to be 'una de las primeras obras en acogerse a esos dictados' (1998: 112).

1.4.1.4 Summary

The external data relating to both Raymond and Almerich can be disregarded. It is highly unlikely that Raymond would have commissioned a vernacular text and, even if we posit a Latin original later translated into vernacular Spanish, there is no evidence that Raymond was associated with translations of any biblical or religious works. Lazar's suggestion that Almerich might be Aimerich Malafaida has been roundly dismissed in subsequent studies. It is most likely that these letters are an attempt to give authority and credibility to the subsequent text. Kedar highlights similarities between the Itinerary material in the *Fazienda* and the work of Fretellus and makes the point that the author of the *Fazienda* may have taken the idea of an introductory letter from Fretellus. He points out that 'Los manuscritos de su segunda versión comienzan con una carta dedicatoria' (1995: 136).

The internal data relating to the omission of any reference to the battles of Ascalon and Jerusalem or to the discovery of the head of John the Baptist in Sebast is not in itself convincing. The omission could be due to many factors. However, the reference to the ‘disappearance’ of the relic of the True Cross from the altar of the Holy Trinity highlighted by Sanchis Calvo does suggest a composition date later than 1187. Similarly the reference to the ‘castiello *que assi a nonbre el Gue Iacob*’ indicates a composition after 1179.

The linguistic data, both syntactic and lexical, clearly place the *Fazienda* text in the 13th century but how does this square with a putative 12th century date of composition? Deyermond (1971: 85) postulates a 12th century Latin compilation later translated into Spanish and Michael (1972: 7) believes we are dealing with 13th century vernacular translation of a Latin text. In the conclusion to her book Sanchis Calvo appears to accept the authenticity of the letters and suggests that the extant text represents a translation of Almerich’s pre-1152 original, albeit by a translator of French origin and with interpolated elements. ‘No estamos, pues, ante el original redactado por Almerich antes de 1152, sino ante una traducción hecha entre 1210 y 1235, posiblemente debida a un traductor de origen francés, e interpolada’ (1991: 570). She does not, however, comment on the language of the original. Sanchis Calvo can thus account for the apparent discrepancy in the use of *solie* by accepting that there have been ‘interpolaciones y retoques’ (1991: 4). This view of the process could also account for the reference to the Chastellet of Gué Iacob which was not built until 1178-9.

To some extent the dating of the original will necessarily reflect one’s view of the process of production involved. What we do know is that the *Fazienda* represents a

compilation of elements of a Holy Land Itinerary, which would have been written in Latin, and passages from a Romance Bible which was based on the Hebrew text. In addition the author drew significantly on the Vulgate and used other biblical commentaries and material. For the purpose of dating I suggest that we can discount the authenticity of the letters and, based on the internal and linguistic evidence, we can posit a composition date in the late 12th or early 13th century. The extant manuscript is either a copy of this original or a copy of a copy and made in the first third of the 13th century.

1.4.2 Sources

Arbesú (2011-17) describes the *Fazienda* as ‘por una parte una traducción de un itinerario de Tierra Santa, y por otra una traducción de la Bible hebrea, con pasajes de la Vulgata latina’. I consider the sources for these two aspects of the *Fazienda* in 1.4.2.1 and 1.4.2.2.

1.4.2.1 Itinerary Sources

Lazar (1965: 33-9) compares selections of the itinerary material in the *Fazienda* to various medieval Holy Land itineraries, those of John of Würzburg, Saint Willibald, Innominatus VII, and Theoderich. Lazar (1965: 38) remarks on the similarity of the *Fazienda* passages with those of John of Würzburg:

Bien qu’étant indépendants l’un de l’autre, Almerich et Johannes Wirzburgensis puisent à la même source et leurs descriptions se ressemblent d’une manière frappante.

Kedar (1995) compares passages from the *Fazienda* with the same passages by Fretellus and notes that the *Fazienda* passages ‘concuerdan muy de cerca con las que figuran en la obra de Fretellus’. He also observes that Fretellus, like Almerich, begins his description in Hebron and wonders whether the *Fazienda* represents a thirteenth-century translation into Castilian of a Latin text partially derived from Fretellus (1995: 135). However, the itinerary of the Anonymous Pilgrim VI (Pseudo Beda) also starts in Hebron. Arbesú (2011:17), while acknowledging the similarities with Fretellus identified by Kedar, notes also the discrepancies and observes ‘todavía estamos a la espera de hallar la copia del *Fretellus* en el que se basó nuestra traducción’. Given the wealth of similarities amongst the various medieval Holy Land itineraries it may not be possible to identify a specific source for the itinerary material in the *Fazienda*.

1.4.2.2 Biblical sources

Lazar (1965: 20) states that Almerich, when faced with a choice between the text of the Hebrew Bible and that of the Vulgate, always chooses the Hebrew. He observes that ‘Il ne fait aucun doute que c’est le texte hébreu de la Bible qui lui a servi de source principale’ and produces numerous examples to support this statement (1965: 20-4). Lazar firmly establishes the Hebrew credentials of the *Fazienda* and these have been accepted without question by scholars in subsequent studies. The BibMed corpus notes that ‘En el itinerario de Tierra Santa conocido como *La Fazienda de ultramar* se insertan numerosos pasajes bíblicos traducidos directamente del hebreo’. Francomano (2011: 320) states that ‘Almerich’s translation of biblical passages derives almost entirely from Hebrew texts’.

Lazar does acknowledge some contribution from the Vulgate: ‘Ça et là seulement, il y a des versets traduits d’après le texte de la Vulgate’ (1965: 13) and he refers to ‘des références sporadiques au texte de la Vulgate’ (1965: 15). Sánchez-Prieto (2008b: 102) describes the *Fazienda* as ‘un romanceamiento bíblico del hebreo, al que se añaden unas pocas citas de la Vulgata’. I argue that the Vulgate plays a much greater role in the *Fazienda* than that suggested by Lazar and Sánchez-Prieto. The *Fazienda* contains over 130 Latin quotations from the Vulgate, and just 5 transliterations from the Hebrew. Clearly, a great number of the Vulgate citations are from the New Testament but even the Hebrew citations can come with a Vulgate gloss, as in:

(1.15) E *Dauid* repintios del mal *que* auia fecho e chamo mercet al *Nuestro* Senor en ebrayco e dixo: Houeni heloym *que* hazdeha, ço es: Miserere *mei*,
Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Fol. 47^{vb7-11}

The first part of the text corresponds to 2 Samuel 12:13, although it dispenses with the direct speech:

Vulg et dixit David ad Nathan peccavi Domino 2 Sam 12:13

The second part corresponds to Psalm 50: 3 (51: 3 in the Hebrew text):

Vulg miserere mei, Deus, secundam magnam misericordiam tuam
 Ps(s) 50: 3

It is my contention that the Vulgate has a more significant presence in the *Fazienda* than the ‘sporadic’ description applied to it by Lazar. An example cited by

The word הָהָל clearly presents some difficulty as can be seen by the variety of the versions above. Whilst E8 and GE reflect the Latin text and E3, Ajuda, E19, E7, E4 and Arragel reflect the Hebrew text, the *Fazienda* reflects both. There would appear to be no particular reason for the *Fazienda* to “borrow” an extra element from the Vulgate in this context. However, it may well be that, because of the difficulty of the meaning of הָהָל , the compiler of the *Fazienda* has chosen to add the extra element from the Vulgate by way of clarification. This example really illustrates my contention: that the *Fazienda* draws on both the Hebrew text and the Latin Vulgate.

Sachs (1948: 217-28) adduces evidence to show that E3 was based on the Hebrew text, rather than the Vulgate as Berger (1898) had initially maintained. He goes on to advise caution in pigeon-holing manuscripts, as he believes ‘el problema es mucho más complejo’ (1948: 218). The text corresponding to Genesis 38:14 exemplifies this complexity. The Hebrew states that Tamar had not been given to Shelah as a wife, as in:

E4 crescio zela & non gela dieron por muger. Gen 38: 14

whereas the Vulgate states that she had not received him as a husband.

Vulg eo quod crevisset Sela et non eum accepisset maritum Gen 38: 14

The *Fazienda* reflects both the ‘giving’ of the Hebrew and the ‘husband’ of the Vulgate.

(1.17) uyo *que* crecia Seila e non ge dauan por marido. Fol. 6^{ra34-35}

There is no denying the obvious influence of the Hebrew text as demonstrated by Lazar. However, as evidenced by Sachs, the issue of sources is complex. The Vulgate is not an add-on element but is woven into the fabric of the text. It is now time to re-

evaluate the *Fazienda de Ultramar* and declare it to be a product of two sources – the Hebrew Bible and the Latin Vulgate.

1.5 Studies and articles

Arbesú (2011-17) cites Conde López's comment that 'las referencias bibliográficas sobre nuestro texto (the *Fazienda*) son verdaderamente escasas' (1991: 471), but he goes on to point out that 'El panorama crítico no es hoy tan desolador'. However, in his opinion the number of studies of the *Fazienda*, mainly linguistic, does not reflect its importance. I consider three major studies of the *Fazienda* in 1.5.1 and other articles in 1.5.2.

1.5.1 Major studies

There have been three major studies of the *Fazienda*: Ganansia (1971), Requena (1974) and Sanchis Calvo (1991). Ganansia (1971: 2) declares his interest in the linguistic aspect of the *Fazienda* 'por ofrecernos un texto muy extenso de fecha temprana' with 'rasgos lingüísticos de gran interés'. His focus is primarily morphological but he also identifies certain dialectal traits 'de origen aragonés y riojano' (1971: 114-31). He includes a vocabulary (1971: 132-72) where he indicates the dialectal associations of the lexical items. He also identifies words whose previous first documentation was post-1250 (1971:173-9). He describes Lazar's edition as 'no siempre tan rigurosa como debiera ser' (1971:3) and states that he was able to clarify any doubts or difficulties by referring to a microfilm of the manuscript. Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 535) remarks on the 'sorprendente cantidad de lecturas deficientes y erróneas' in Lazar's edition and warns that, prior to any study, 'es preciso subsanar so pena de atribuir al texto lo que éste no

dice'. However, Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 534-43) details numerous examples in Ganansia's treatment of the possessive and the verb where he has overly relied on Lazar's edition and has incorporated several of Lazar's misreadings into his own data. In Ganansia's study of verb forms he points out that 'En él se han deslizado también unas cuantas lecturas erróneas de la edición'(1993: 537) and cites the reference to the form *endrar* in the vocabulary:

ENDRAR, v.intr. 'errar' 88.4. De ITINERARE.

Lazar 88.4 Movieronse del monte Or, de la via del Mar Rubro, por endrar en Edom.

Lazar (1965: 88.4 n 366) notes: endrar = "errar" and (88.4 n 367) has: Ms: Edon.

The text reads:

Mouieron se del monte Or de la uia del Mar Rubro por entrar de Edon. Fol. 23^{vb15-16}

Santiago Lacuesta lists many other errors that Ganansia has incorporated into his study. I add two more. In the vocabulary Ganansia lists:

COZMERO, s.m. 104.20 'chef militaire' (Lazar), 'soldado'?

The reference to 'chef militaire' repeats Lazar's suggestion (1965: 84 n 581).

The manuscript reads:

fara dellos cozin'os e fa/rā le todo fo feruycio

Fol. 31^{va17-18}

Although the putative *cozmeros* is an unattested form, the misreading is perhaps understandable given the adjacent minims <i> and <n>. However, a reference to the Biblical context (1 Samuel 8: 11-13) renders the reading of *cozineros* unambiguous.

Prendra uuestros fijos e porna los en la batalla, e fer le an sus armas pora su lyd, e arar le an sus sernas & segar le an sus myesses; & fara dellos cozineros e faran le todo so seruycio; Fol. 31^{va12-18}

The *Fazienda* text is somewhat confused as it conflates verses 11-13. Samuel, in response to the Israelites demand for a King, warns them what a King will do. He will take their sons for soldiers and labourers in the fields and he will take their daughters to be cooks and bakers. The reference to daughters has been omitted and the gender has been confused.

Vulg filias quoque vestras faciet sibi unguentarias et focarias et panificas
1Sam 8:13

Ganansia (1971: 177), in his list of words with their first appearance in the *Fazienda*, cites:

[haxar] 151.13; Pdoc. Afajar, 1475; ahajar, 1498 (DCEC).

The reference is to Lazar's edition:

(1.18^a) E haxaré el lignage de David por esto Lazar 151.13

The text reads:

(1.18^b) E baxare es lignage de *Dauid* por esto Fol. 52^{vb5-6}

There is no possible confusion over the manuscript reading.

Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 543) finds similar, and at times identical errors, in Sanchis Calvo (1991) and laments that ‘le pasaran inadvertidos otros y que hayan quedado incorporados al estudio como lecturas correctas’. He details a number of these errors (1993: 543-50), which I will not repeat here. I refer to Sanchis Calvo’s study (1991) frequently in Chapters 3-8. As well as her overreliance on Lazar’s readings Sanchis’s conclusions are often constrained by the limitations she herself imposes on her data. She explains that her data is based on figures that ‘unas veces afectan a todo el texto y otras a parte de él’ (1991: 5) and, as such, her conclusions will reflect these restrictions. Lazar’s flawed edition has, unfortunately, found its way into both these linguistic studies and, as a result, the picture they paint of the language of the *Fazienda* is inevitably compromised.

Requena (1974) reviews the discussion about the authorship and dating of the *Fazienda* but comes to no definitive conclusion. Requena’s main contribution is his view of the genesis of the *Fazienda*, which creates what Requena refers to as a ‘dualidad de autoria’. He envisages an original Latin *Fazienda*, which was essentially a Holy Land itinerary with brief biblical references. This was then translated into vernacular Spanish and expanded on significantly with biblical citations from a Romance Bible based on the Hebrew text and the text was Christianised with Latin quotations and Christian glosses. This ‘itinerary framework’ for the Biblical content of the *Fazienda*, postulated by Requena, is presented in greater detail by Sánchez-Prieto (2008b: 101-12). He questions whether the messianic passages are really part of the structure of the *Fazienda* and considers that they illustrate the weak structure of the work. Arbesú (2011) provides a

Vulg et ait illis quid vultis mihi dare et ego vobis eum tradam at illi
constituerunt ei triginta argenteos Matt 16: 15

1.5.2 Other articles

Sánchez-Prieto (1998a: 197-8), in his discussion of the problems encountered when editing a medieval text, includes a fragment of the *Fazienda de Ultramar*. To illustrate his ‘propuesta concreta de presentación gráfica’ he presents both a palaeographic transcription and an edited version of folios 81^{va30} to 82^{rb4}. His palaeographic transcription illustrates another difficulty that may occur at the printing stage where errors, however minor, may creep in. Fortunately, he provides a facsimile of the relevant passage to compare, thus emphasising once again the advantage of access to the original text.

Sánchez-Prieto		The manuscript reads	
81 ^{va33}	sobr’l	sobrl	no abbreviation
81 ^{vb8}	sēor	sēnor	abbreviation and ‘n’ present
81 ^{vb15}	cador	c ⁱ ador	superscript <i> present
81 ^{vb34}	cador	c ⁱ ador	superscript <i> present
82 ^{ra12-13}	e dio (13) les	di/oles	incorrect line division
82 ^{ra15}	sāpso.	sāpsō	abbreviation present

82 ^{ra16}	p'ndio	p ^a ndio	superscript <a> ²¹
82 ^{ra18}	sāpso	sāpsō	abbreviation present
82 ^{ra22}	ello	ellos	<s> present
82 ^{ra24-25}	fuer(25)rte	fue/rte	no <r> present on line 24
82 ^{ra29}	adeuinançca	adeuinança	no <c> present
82 ^{ra34}	steno	seteno	written in full
82 ^{rb4}	adeuinançiella	adeuināçiella	abbreviation present, not <n>

Martínez Álvarez (2001:134), in an article on medieval lexis and syntax, examines in detail a small passage from the *Fazienda* (fols. 60^{ra11}-60^{rb24}). She lists errors by Lazar in the passage and provides a palaeographic transcription of the passage along with her ‘texto restaurado’. She explains the various notations she uses in her transcription to represent the text, which she says ‘sigue escrupulosamente el texto del manuscrito’ (2001:134). However, there are a few errors in the transcription, which may also have entered at the printing stage:

Fol. 60 ^{ra11}	de nřo fēnor	should read	del nřo fēnor
Fol. 60 ^{ra25}	dixo el fēnor	should read	dixo el fenor
Fol. 60 ^{rb6}	Dyxo	should read	Dixo

²¹ Sánchez-Prieto 1998: 95. An ‘‘a’’ abierta procedente de la escritura visigótica’ is used to abbreviate a syllable that contains ‘a’.

Lapesa (1985: 205) has incorporated several of Lazar’s misreadings into his article on apocope. He states that the *Fazienda de Ultramar* ‘ofrece bastante intercambio entre *a* y *e* protónicas y finales’ and cites examples, several of which are errors in Lazar’s edition:

Lazar 69.2	saremos	text reads	seremos	Fol. 61 ^{vb26}
Lazar 69.3	saremos	text reads	leremos (sic)	Fol. 61 ^{vb29}
Lazar 156.2	tornerá	text reads	tornara	Fol. 54 ^{vb7}
Lazar 188.6	ardarán	text reads	arderan	Fol. 71 ^{va24}

Lapesa (1985:204) also cites an apocopated form *agost* as occurring in the *Fazienda* but without referencing it. This echoes the problem that Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 536) highlights when he finds himself unable to assess some of Ganansia’s percentages with regard to the use of possessives, as Ganansia ‘no deja constancia de las citas que ha manejado’. I have been unable to find this form in the *Fazienda*. I can confirm that there is only one occurrence of *agosto*:

(1.21)	<i>Sancta Maria</i> de Agosto	Lazar 203.19	Fol. 78 ^{vb23}
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Martínez Álvarez (1988: 921) correctly identifies the word *vysanas* (actually *uysanas*, folio 36^{vb25}) as an error by the copyist for *iusanas* (for *yusanas*). She then points out that this type of error by a copyist is not unusual and cites the case of ‘*justiolos* por *vistiolos*’ (Lazar 47.31). This is a misreading by Lazar, as the manuscript reads *uiftiolos* (folio 3^{vb9}).

The wealth of articles that address the language of the *Fazienda* or include reference to it in a wider study attest to its linguistic significance in studies of pre-Alphonsine Castilian. Among these are: *cultismos* by Bustos Tovar (1974); the word *babaylon* by Conde López (1991); ladino vocabulary and *ladinismos* by López (1973, 1975), Sephiha (1978, 1989), Vergerolle (1974); lexis by Martínez Álvarez (1988, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2002-4), Sanchis Calvo (1995, 1996, 1998), Rodríguez Molina (2012); weak object pronouns by Echenique (1981), Romani and González (2008); apocope by Lapesa (1985), Sanchis Calvo (1992); syntax by Nowikow (1985), Ricós Vidal (1992), García Santos (1992, 1997), Sanchis Calvo (2000), Bouzouita (2014, 2016).

1.6 This Thesis

Sánchez-Prieto (1998b: 289) makes the point that ‘es un principio que no necesita demostración que la fuente principal para el conocimiento del castellano antiguo son los textos’. Yet, in his opinion, historical linguists have not taken advantage of the greater accessibility to medieval texts. He bemoans what he regards as their overreliance on Menéndez-Pidal’s *Crestomatía del español medieval* or his *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* and states that ‘es prioritario interrogar nuevos textos con nuevas preguntas’. Lapesa (1981: 232) identifies three prose texts, other than *fueros* and notarial documents, dated between 1194 and 1220, i.e. from the same period as the *Fazienda*. They are the *Cronicón Villarense* or *Liber Regum*, which he describes as ‘fuertemente navarro’; the *Anales Toledanos Primeros*, which he describes as containing ‘mozarabismos’; and *Los diez Mandamientos*, which he says are written in Aragonese. For Sanchis Calvo (1991:

557) the language of the *Fazienda* is ‘fundamentalmente castellana’, although she notes that the language ‘presenta rasgos arcaicos’. Martínez Álvarez (2002-04: 605) categorises the *Fazienda* as ‘castellana a pesar de sus peculiaridades’. It would appear that the *Fazienda*, with over 72,000 words, is uniquely placed to provide an insight into ‘castellano antiguo’.

Torrens Álvarez (2003: 365) contrasts the orthographic solutions of ‘la escritura documental frente a la librería’ and makes the following observation:

el comportamiento tan distinto de códices entre los que no existe una separación cronológica tal que lo justifique, demuestra que son varias las tradiciones escriturarias que conviven en una misma época’.

I argue that the degree of linguistic variation within the *Fazienda* shows that these different traditions can co-exist, not only at the same time, but also in the same text. Whereas Sánchez-Prieto and Torrens Álvarez (2010: 34) consider ‘la coherencia de su sistema de escritura’ as a distinctive aspect of E6, a singular feature of the *Fazienda* is its lack of homogeneity.

In this thesis I propose to fill the *lacuna* that Pellen (1998: 34) identifies when he notes that ‘la variation linguistique n’a jamais été vraiment examinée pour elle-même et intégralement dans un texte quelconque’. In chapters 3-8 I present six selected variables from the *Fazienda* and examine the factors that influence that variation. To assemble my data I apply the ‘rigorous quantitative methodologies of sociolinguists’ espoused by Pountain (2016: 2), which I detail in chapter 2. I set this data in the context of similar data provided by CORDE and the *Poema* and E6 and establish that the degree of linguistic variation in the *Fazienda* is highly unusual. Sanchis Calvo (1996) lists over a hundred

words ‘coincidentes con términos del francés, occitano, catalán o aragonés y no conservadas en el castellano’. López Pierre (1973, 1975), Sephiha (1978, 1989), Vergerolle (1974) identify ladino vocabulary and *ladinismos*. Lazar (1965) has established the Hebrew associations of the Biblical passages. Soifer Irish (2016) details the well-established Jewish presence in Northern Castile, in the area around Burgos and Palencia. The popularity of the route to Santiago along the *camino de Santiago* attracted pilgrims from all over Europe, especially France, and encouraged the establishment of monasteries and hospitals to meet the needs of pilgrims. I suggest that there is evidence in the data from the *Fazienda* to locate the copying of the manuscript in this region of Northern Castile, possibly around Palencia, where these various factors come together and co-exist at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Santiago Lacuesta (1993) made the case for a new edition of the *Fazienda* yet, nearly a quarter of a century later, this need has still not been met. In this chapter I describe how I have set about rectifying this omission. Emiliano (2011: 153-4) points out that, given the complex problems involved in transcription, no single edition of a medieval manuscript will ever meet the needs of all potential users. Almeida (2013) echoes this view when she observes that ‘cualquier nivel de representación de un texto medieval implica la pérdida de datos de algún tipo’. This difficulty is a result of what Mencé-Caster (1988: 17) refers to as a ‘carrefour de voulos’. Emiliano identifies three phases in the editorial process: transcription, transliteration and edition, which he describes as ‘different tasks and steps of the philological work, each with its specific goals and procedures’. In order to meet the requirements set out by Mencé-Caster (1988: 19) to provide ‘un outil de travail fiable pour le philologue et l’historien de la langue’ I follow the process suggested by Emiliano. He makes the point that ‘the linguistic study of medieval texts requires highly conservative transcriptions’ (2011: 153). Arbesú’s transcription falls within this conservative range but, inevitably, it involves a measure of editorialisation. The editorial criteria are clearly set out: the text is not corrected and word spacings are maintained as in the manuscript; all abbreviations are resolved and shown in italics, as are also superscript letters; the nasal tilde when it precedes a bilabial is always resolved as <m>; the tironian sign is represented by the ampersand & and, when it occurs

en mayúscula, by &'. However, even Arbesú's conservative transcription cannot meet the needs of all potential users. He does not preserve the long <ɫ>, which is probably understandable as he does not regard it as significant. I would argue that this is an *a priori* judgement and one that may obscure possible useful information. For example, in the *Fazienda* there is sporadic use of long <ɫ> in word-final which may or may not correlate with a change of scribe. The resolution of abbreviations involves making choices and, inevitably, these choices alter the text and may conceal useful information. Arbesú's choice of <m> to resolve the nasal tilde before a bilabial is in line with current usage but is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the manuscript, where <n> + /b/ or /p/ with 270 occurrences is more frequent than <m> + /b/ or /p/ with 205 occurrences. The abbreviation *fĉ-/sĉ* occurs 92 times and is resolved as *sanct-*, although this form never actually occurs in full throughout the manuscript. However, the forms *Sant-/ſant-/ſāt* do appear some 69 times. The abbreviation *třa* is always resolved as *tierra* with a double <r>. This does at least reflect the majority occurrence of *tierra* (181 times) over *tiera* (69 times) but it obscures the fact that the scribe has three possible choices, i.e. the abbreviation is a choice in itself and can possibly inform about scribal involvement in the manuscript. The abbreviated form is used on 189 occasions. Word spacing in the manuscript is respected although it not always clear whether the scribe intended there to be a space or not. The maintenance of this, at times arbitrary, word spacing can create problems. For the linguistic researcher this means having to think laterally when using the otherwise excellent Concordance. For example, a search for forms of *delant/delante* to assess possible apocope requires looking also for *de lant/de lante* and, as the concordance simply lists 3537 occurrences of *de*, one finally ends up having to check out

lant and *lante*. A transcription must meet the needs of individual researchers and, as these needs vary, it is clear that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ transcription will necessarily have its limitations.

It is important that any observations are based on reliable data and that any analysis of the data can be checked, verified and replicated. Sánchez-Prieto (1998: 143), discussing the conjunction *y*, cites *ed* as an early alternative form alongside *et* and *e* and notes that this form occurs ‘todavía una vez, salvo error, en el MS de la *Fazienda de Ultramar*’. Although he adds the proviso *salvo error*, he provides no information to allow the reader to verify this form. The source would appear to be Lazar 155.10-11:

(2.1) Assi diz Ezechias: dia [de]²² angunstia ed aquexadura nos es est

The manuscript reads:

affi diz ezechias / di atu angunftia. edaque/xadura nos es eft Fol. 54^{ra27-29}

This is a somewhat corrupted piece of text that Lazar has edited in accordance with 2 Kings 19:3:

Vulg haec dicit Ezechias dies tribulationis et increpationis et blasphemiae est
iste 2 Kgs 19:3

However, I suggest a more appropriate reading would be *e d’aquexadura*, meaning ‘and of affliction’, with the conjunction *e* and with the preposition *de* eliding with *aquexadura*. Sánchez Prieto’s comments, along with Lazar’s reading, need to be put

²² Lazar (1965: 155n172) MS: tu

into a wider context. The form *et* occurs only 11 times in the *Fazienda*, and 8 of these are in Latin quotations, as in (2.2) from Numbers 24:17:

(2.2) Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurge uirga de Israel. Fol. 39^{vb23-33}

The preposition *de* frequently elides with a following word beginning with a vowel. For example, just a few lines above (folio 54^{ra24}) the phrase *los buenos uestidos destamennas* occurs. Taking into account these three factors: the rarity of the form *et* in a non-Latin context, the frequent elision of the preposition *de*, as well as the fact that the scribe writes them all together, I suggest that we can reject Lazar's reading and dismiss Sánchez Prieto's putative *ed* as an alternate form for *et* in the *Fazienda*.

To obviate similar difficulties my references to the *Fazienda* are taken from my own transliteration unless otherwise specified. These include the folio number, whether recto or verso, whether column 'a' or column 'b', together with the line number or numbers, as in:

(2.3^a) Dixo Getro: Ve en paz. Fol. 13^{ra19-20}

(2.3^b) e dixieron le: De muert moras. Fol. 60^{va27}

For any references to material from Lazar's edition (1965) I provide page and line number and include a folio reference where appropriate, as in:

(2.4^a) non vera la **quart** part de Israel Lazar 90.23 Fol. 25^{ra4-5}

I also indicate when Lazar's reading differs from my own, as in:

(2.4^b) non uera la **quarta** part de Israel Fol. 25^{ra4-5}

In order to collect my data I have prepared three separate databases in accordance with Emiliano's three phases. In section 2.2 I present a passage from the *Fazienda*, folio 2^{rb1-15}, to illustrate how I have constructed my databases and how I propose to use them.

That there is linguistic variation in the *Fazienda* is undeniable, whether it be orthographic, morphological, syntactic or lexical. Torrens Álvarez (2003: 364) warns that 'podemos vernos tentados a interpretar toda alternancia como simple vacilación debida a la impericia de los copistas'. Sánchez-Prieto (2008a: 425) points out that from our 21st-century perspective we may find that 'la escritura se nos antoja arbitraria' and highlights 'la dificultad fundamental de clasificar e interpretar soluciones muy dispares'. He goes on to say that there is not really a choice between graphemes but rather a combination of factors that may explain the preference for one form over another.

The purpose of this study is to assess and quantify linguistic variation in the *Fazienda* and attempt to explain the variation by examining the various factors that might influence it: internal linguistic factors such as palaeographic, morphological and syntactic considerations, or external extra-linguistic factors comprising *variatio*, register and scribal considerations.

In section 2.3 I define what I mean by linguistic variation and elaborate how I propose to evaluate it in the *Fazienda*. I will assess one example of variation in the *Fazienda* to illustrate this process. In section 2.4 I present the variables that I have chosen to examine and in 2.5 I discuss the factors that affect variation.

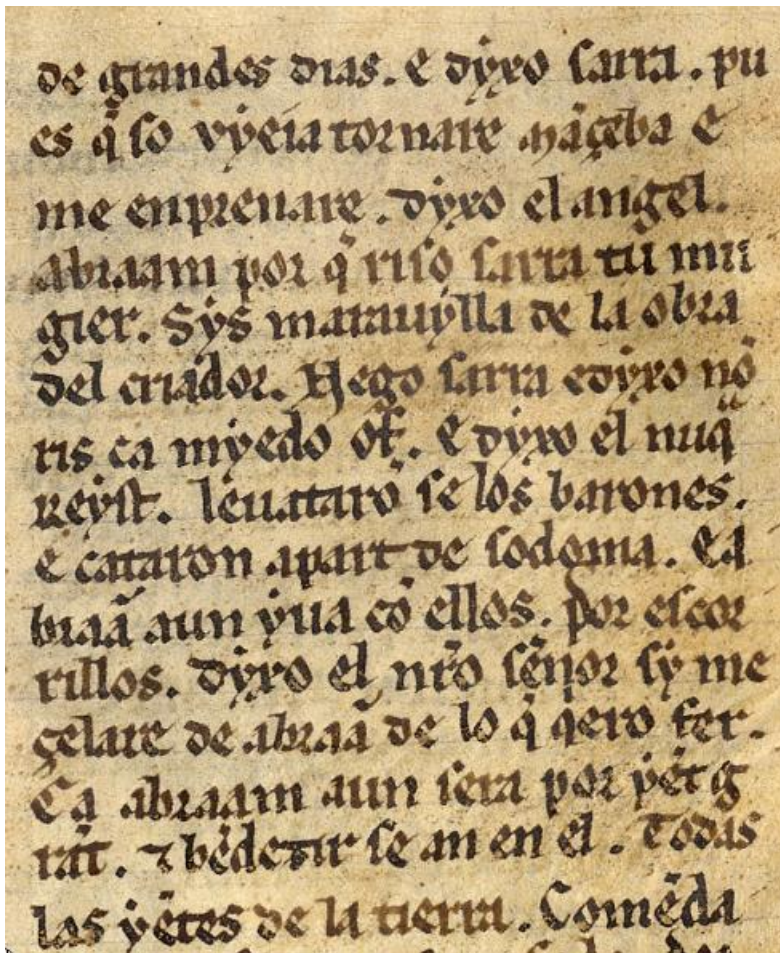
2.2

Databases

The primary source for my data is Salamanca University Library ms. 1997. My transcription was made directly from the manuscript in Salamanca and has been checked against the available facsimile copy.

2.2.1 Manuscript Folio 2^{rb1-15}

Fig. 2.1 MS 1997 Fol. 2^{rb1-15}



The advent of digital copying has facilitated direct access to many medieval manuscripts, including the *Fazienda*. This access to the manuscript provides detail that is

impossible to replicate in any other form. Torrens Álvarez (2003: 364) makes the point that to appreciate the regional peculiarities of orthography ‘es imprescindible el estudio de la documentación original conservada’. This easy access also allows one to check and verify linguistic forms very quickly. The next step is to make a transcription.

2.2.2 Transcription Folio 2^{rb1-15}

de grandes dias. E dyxo farra. pu/
es q’ fo vyeia tornare māçeba e
me enprenare. dyxo el angel.
abraam por q’ riſo farra tu mu/
5 gier. Sys marauylla de la obra
del criador. Nego farra edyxo nō
ris ca myedo of. E dyxo el nuq^a
Reyft. leuantarō fe los barones.
e cataron apart de fodoma. ea/
10 braā aun yua cō ellos. Por eſcor/
rillos. dyxo el nño fēnor fy me
çelare de abraā de lo q’ qⁱero fer.
Ca abraam aun fera por yēt g/
rāt. τ bēdezir fe an en el. Todas
15 las yētes de la tierra. Comēda/

In any transcription certain choices have to be made about what detail of graphs and allographs to include and what to omit. My transcription is intended to replicate the detail of the manuscript. I have applied the following criteria: I maintain the abbreviations of the manuscript; I maintain word divisions and punctuation; the

necessary to document it and it was, therefore, a matter of making a transcription to accommodate my particular research needs at that time. This does not, however, imply that there is no merit in distinguishing between the allographic variants of <ɫ> and of <d>.

The advantage of a palaeographic transcription version over the manuscript lies in the fact that it constitutes a readily searchable database. However, word division and word boundaries can be inconsistent. This can sometimes make it difficult to search for a particular form. For example, we need to be able to associate the following variants: *de pues*, *de puef*, *depues* and *depuef*. In addition line breaks can be troublesome for searches of specific items. There are two examples of the form *nostro* in the *Fazienda* (folios 81^{va23-24} & 82^{rb4-5}) but they occur as *no/stro* over a line break and would prove elusive to a simple search of the transcription. An interesting feature of the *Fazienda* is its quite extensive use of abbreviations. Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 440) points out the three different ways of representing the palatal nasal in the *Fuero de Alcalá*: a single consonant <n> (*senor*), a double consonant <nn> (*sennor*) or a single consonant <n> with a diacritic (*sēnor*). There is also another possibility in the *Fazienda*, with a single consonant <n> represented by a diacritic (*sēor*). The concordance to Arbesú's edition (2011-17) does not enable one to identify all four of these four variants for the palatal nasal. In my transcription I am able to quantify the use of these particular forms and compare and contrast them. For example I can easily distinguish between the use of <n> or <nn> in a particular word. The variant *senor* occurs 56 times and *sennor* 706 times. Consulting my transcription I can further distinguish between *fēor*, which occurs 5 times, and *fenor*, which occurs 51 times. I can also note that *fennor* occurs on 116 occasions whereas the

form *fēnor* occurs 590 times. This pattern of usage contrasts sharply with the usage in E6 as described by Sánchez-Prieto and Torrens Álvarez (2010: 40-41) who, commenting on ‘la escasez de abreviaturas’ in E6, observe that ‘ni siquiera *nn* deja de escribirse casi siempre con todos sus trazos’. This is confirmed by a scrutiny of Matthew E6 which shows that the abbreviated form *sēnor* occurs just 8 times compared to the 68 occurrences of the full form *sennor*. The use of abbreviations is as much a part of the recognisable signature of a manuscript as is its use of graphemes. My transcription provides easy access to this information for the *Fazienda*.

In essence, one can create a transcription that suits one’s particular research interests most appropriately and that is what I have tried to achieve. This leads on to the next step in the process, the transliteration.

2.2.3 Transliteration Folio 2^{rb1-15}

de grandes dias. E dyxo Sarra: Pues *que* so vyeia, ¿tornare mançeba e me enprenare? Dyxo el angel: Abraam, ¿por *que* riso Sarra tu mugier? ¿Sys marauylla de la obra del criador? Nego Sarra e dyxo: *Non* ris, ca myedo of. E dyxo el: *Nuqua* reyst. Leuantaron se los barones e cataron apart de Sodoma e Abraam aun yua *con* ellos por escorrillos. Dyxo el *Nuestro Sennor*: ¿Sy me çelare de Abraam de lo *que* quiero fer? Ca abraam aun sera por *yent grant & bendezir* se an en el todas las yentes de la tierra. Comenda

This is a database that is designed to meet the needs of this researcher and to facilitate the collection of data. I have not changed the spelling but I have modernised punctuation and word boundaries. The form *de lant* in the transcription becomes *delant* in

Vulg ¹²Quae risit occulte dicens: Postquam consenui, et dominus meus vetulus est, voluptati operam dabo. ¹³Dixit autem Dominus ad Abraham: Quare risit Sara, dicens: Num vere paritura sum anus? Gen 18: 12-13

DRh ¹²And she laughed secretly, saying: After I am grown old and my lord is an old man, shall I give myself to pleasure? ¹³And the Lord said to Abraham: Why did Sara laugh saying: Shall I who am an old woman bear a child indeed?

The extra-linguistic context provided by the Biblical reference can often be used to inform linguistic judgements and observations. Sanchis Calvo (1991: 83) states that nouns ending in *-ge* very rarely apocopate and cites just one example in the *Fazienda of linag* which does apocopate, as opposed to the 21 examples (Sanchis Calvo's figures) which do not. I put this example into context by citing the relevant passage, firstly from Lazar's edition, then from my transcription and, finally, from my edition.

Acomendo el rey ad Aspannaz, so mardomo, quel aduxiesse de los fijos de Israel que fuessen de linag e del regno Lazar 174.-11

Transcription Fol. 64^{rb17-21}

17 . A/
 comendo el rey adeftannat
 fo mardomo q'l aduxieffe de
 20 los fijos de ifrl q' fuessen de
 linag e del regno

My edition

DAN 1:3 Acomendo el rey ad Estannat, so mardomo, *quel* aduxiesse de los fijos de
Israel que fuessen de linage del regno Fol. 64^{rb17-21}

The transcription, which can be verified against the manuscript, shows that *linag* and *e* are written separately. If we check all the other occurrences of this lexical item in the *Fazienda* we find 17 examples of *linnage*, 4 more of *linage*, 3 of *lynnage* and 1 of *lignage*. There are also 2 examples of *linnaie* and 1 of *linaje*. None of these forms apocopate. We can also check other items with the same ending. There are 9 examples of *mensaje*, and 1 of *mensaje* and 1 of *mensaie*. There are 5 examples of *estaje*, and 2 of *estaje*. There is also 1 example of *lenguage*. None of these other forms show any sign of apocope.

My edition provides the Biblical context. The passage corresponds to Daniel 1:3. A comparison with other Romance Bibles from the BibMed corpus and with the Vulgate provides the following versions:

- E6 E dixo el rey a asphanaz mayor de los castrados que tomasse de los fijos
de israhel **del linnage de los reyes**.
- GE mando a aphanec adelantado de los sus castrados que tomasse de los fijos
de israhel de los **del linnage de los Reys**
- E3 E dixo el rrey a aspanas el mayor de sus vasallos que troxiese delos fijos
de yrrael **dela generacion del rregno**

E4	E dixo el Rey a espenas el mayoral de sus castrados que traxiesse delos fijos de ysrrael & del lynaje Real
Arragel	el rey nabucondnosor mando a asphanax el mayoral delos sus caualleros que le troxiese delos fijos de israel es de saber del linaje real
Vulg	et ait rex Asfanaz praeposito eunuchorum suorum ut introduceret de filiis Israhel et de semine regio

To return to the case of *linag*, which both Sanchis Calvo (1991: 83) and Torrens Álvarez (1998: 306) describe as an example of ‘apócope extrema’ in the *Fazienda*, the evidence from the other examples of this word (25 occurrences), together with the evidence of other words with the same ending (15 occurrences), would suggest that it is an unlikely candidate for apocope. A consideration of the Biblical context and the other versions of Daniel 1: 3 would seem to indicate that the phrase *del regno* should be considered as an adjectival phrase qualifying *linage*. Both the linguistic and the contextual evidence suggest that the separation of *linag* and *e* is purely scribal and that the text can be read as in my edition.

No single edition of a medieval manuscript will ever meet the various needs of all potential users. The three versions - transcription, transliteration and edition - complement one another and can and should be used together to inform any linguistic observation or analysis. The process outlined above underpins the data and analysis in this study. The transliteration supplies the variable and its variants which can be checked and verified against the transcription and, if necessary, the manuscript itself. The

embryonic edition provides a Biblical context and can be consulted to lend weight to any observation.

2.3 Linguistic variation

As defined by Walker (2010: 8), I use the term linguistic variation to mean ‘differences in linguistic form without (apparent) change of meaning’. This variation can be orthographic, morphological, syntactic or lexical. To analyse this variation I will first identify a variable. Walker (2010: 10) defines the term variable, which he describes as an abstract concept similar to a phoneme, as ‘different ways of saying the same thing’. I propose to adopt this definition but replace ‘saying’ with ‘writing’. The ‘different ways’ are the variants. An example of this would be the infinitive form of the derivative of *facĕre*, whether used alone or in synthetic futures and conditionals:

Variable	(Infinitive form < <i>facĕre</i>)
Variants	[<i>far</i>], [<i>fazer</i>], [<i>fer</i>]

The first objective is to establish the overall relative frequency of these variants. Firstly the number of occurrences of each variant is ascertained. There are 96 occurrences of *far*, 8 of *fazer* and 58 of *fer*. To calculate the relative frequency of any variant we need to know not only how many times that variant occurs but also how many times it could occur and does not. If we divide the number of occurrences of a variant by the total number of occurrences of the variable and multiply by 100 we can obtain the relative frequency of that variant. Of the 162 occurrences of the variable the variant *far* has a relative frequency of $(96 \div 162) \times 100 = 59.3\%$, *fazer* of $(8 \div 162) \times 100 = 4.9\%$ and *fer* of

Table 2.1 *far, fer, fazer*

Factors	far	fer	fazer	Total
Synthetic Future	87	2	0	89
Synthetic Conditional	7	1	0	8
Analytic Future	2	9	3	14
After preposition <i>por</i>	0	24	2	27
Verbal periphrasis	0	20	3	22
Noun phrase	0	2	0	2
Total	96	58	8	162

It is important to note not only the relative frequency of an individual variant across the various factors but also the relative frequency of the variants within an individual factor.

In Table 2.2 Column A% gives the relative frequency of each variant across the factors. This can be calculated by taking the number of occurrences of the variant for each factor, dividing by the column total and multiplying by 100. There are 87 occurrences of *far* in synthetic futures. The frequency is $(87 \div 96) \times 100 = 90.6\%$. There are 7 occurrences in synthetic conditionals - $(7 \div 96) \times 100 = 7.3\%$. There are just 2 occurrences in analytic forms - $(2 \div 96) \times 100 = 2.1\%$. It does not occur elsewhere. Similarly, there are only 3 examples of *fer* used in synthetic forms - $(3 \div 58) \times 100 = 5.1\%$. There are 24 cases of *fer* after the preposition *por* - $(24 \div 58) \times 100 = 41.4\%$ and 20 in verbal periphrases $(20 \div 58) \times 100 = 34.5\%$.

Column B% represents the proportion of the variants that occur within each individual factor. This can be calculated by taking the number of occurrences of the variant for a particular factor, dividing by the row total and multiplying by 100. For example, for the synthetic future factor *far* accounts for $(87 \div 89) \times 100 = 97.8\%$ of all occurrences, *fer* for $(2 \div 89) \times 100 = 2.2\%$ and *fazer* 0%. There are 14 instances of analytic futures and *fer* accounts for 9 of these, that is $(9 \div 14) \times 100 = 64.3\%$. The variant *fer* predominates after the preposition *por* $(24 \div 27) \times 100 = 88.9\%$ and in verbal periphrases $(20 \div 22) \times 100 = 90.9\%$.

Table 2.2 **Relative Frequencies**

	far	A%	B%	fer	A%	B%	fazer	A%	B%	Total
Synthetic Future	87	90.6	97.8	2	3.4	2.2	0	0.0	0.0	89
Synthetic Conditional	7	7.3	87.5	1	1.7	12.5	0	0.0	0.0	8
Analytic Future	2	2.1	14.3	9	15.5	64.3	3	37.5	21.4	14
After preposition <i>por</i>	0	0.0	0.0	24	41.4	88.9	3	37.5	11.1	27
Verbal periphrasis	0	0.0	0.0	20	34.5	90.9	2	25.0	10.1	22
Noun phrase	0	0.0	0.0	2	3.4	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	2
	96		59.3	58		35.8	8		4.9	162

To evaluate the significance of the patterns of usage of variants in the *Fazienda I* have looked at the information on the same variants in three sources. Firstly, I have consulted CORDE, especially for the period 1100-1249. The *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* is the largest database for 12th and 13th century Spanish. However, it draws its data from printed editions of texts and needs to be consulted with an awareness that editorial criteria may vary from to text. Ford (1911: Preface) warns that some modernised editions are unsatisfactory ‘for scientific purposes’ and for his selection of texts chooses editions ‘which do not deform the historical condition of the language’. Where possible I

have checked items against an original source. Secondly, I compare variation in the *Fazienda* to that in the *Poema*, which dates from roughly the same time period. Riaño Rodríguez and Gutiérrez Aja (2006) date the extant copy to 1235 ‘por las características lingüísticas y paleográficas’. The *Poema* also benefits from the concordance of Waltman (1972) and Menéndez Pidal’s three volume study with its palaeographic transcription (1964). I have also been able to consult a facsimile of the manuscript²⁴. Thirdly, I consider the use of these variants in E6, an extensive pre-Alphonsine Bible translation of 358 folios, and dated to 1250. The Biblical content mirrors much of that in the *Fazienda*. I have consulted the transcription and study of Enrique-Arias (2010) and, in particular, Montgomery’s edition (1962) of the book of Matthew. I have also been able to check and verify individual items against a facsimile copy of the manuscript²⁵.

CORDE, for the period 1100-1249, cites 33 cases of the infinitive *far*, 412 of *fer* and 372 of *fazer/façer/facer*. The figures for the use of *far* and *fer* in synthetic futures are strikingly different. *Far* is used on 212 occasions and *fer* on 7 occasions. In E6 *far* is used only in synthetic futures (344 examples) and does not appear as an infinitive. *Fer* is completely the opposite. It is not used in synthetic futures. There are eight instances of the form *fera* listed in the *Índice de formas* but a check against the manuscript reveals that six of these form part of the adverb *fera mente/mentre* and the other two are mistranscriptions for *fera* (E6 folio 221^{vb21}). The variant infinitive *fazer* appears 269 times and there are 38 occurrences of *fer*.

²⁴ Accessible at http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/cantar_de_mio_cid/obra-visor/cantar-de-mio-cid-manuscrito-el-manuscrito-de-per-abbat--0/html/

²⁵ Kindly provided by Andrés Enrique-Arias.

The *Poema* presents a different picture to that found in CORDE, E6 and the *Fazienda*. In the *Poema* there are 13 examples of the infinitive *far*, 12 of *fer* and 6 of *fazer*. The variant *far* is used in synthetic futures on 6 occasions but *fer* is the preferred form occurring on 12 occasions. The *Poema* is the exception with *fer* being used more frequently than *far*, although Menéndez-Pidal (1969: 164-5) suggests that *far* was the infinitive in the original version and that *fer* and *fazer* were introduced by Per Abbat.

With the exception of the *Poema* it appears that *far* is the default form in synthetic futures (and conditionals), as noted by Ford, and *fer* is preferred elsewhere. In CORDE *fer* and *fazer* are the main infinitive forms, whereas in E6 *fazer* is the predominant infinitive. The *Fazienda* uses *fazer* only marginally. The data from CORDE and E6 reflects the pattern of usage in the *Fazienda* shown in 2.2 and confirms that the variation in the usage of *fer* and *far* correlates mainly with function.

2.4 Choice of variables

In this thesis I examine six variables in the *Fazienda* and endeavour to account for their variation. Although there is a great deal of variation in the *Fazienda*, orthographic, morphological and lexical, for the purposes of this study I have selected six variables to consider in detail. I have selected these six because they provide a significant number of tokens for analysis (nearly 7,000), they occur extensively throughout the text and they are not dependent on any one particular lexical item. Three of them fall under the heading of orthographic variables:

- a) the use of <m>, <n>, <^> to represent /M/ before a bilabial;

There are 963 tokens.

(Chapter 3);

- b) orthographic variants for the vowel /i/;
There are 3,684 tokens. (Chapter 4);
- c) the use of <r> to represent /r/ and <l> to represent /l/.
There are 1,882 tokens. (Chapter 5).

Three are morphological variables:

- d) variant forms for derivatives of Latin *quōmōdo*;
There are 253 tokens. (Chapter 6);
- e) *ie* and *ia* Imperfect and Conditional forms;
There are 620 tokens. (Chapter 7);
- f) weak object pronoun apocope;
There are 1456 tokens (Chapter 8).

2.5 Factors that may affect variation

Torrens Álvarez (2003: 365) observes that variation is not arbitrary and that a detailed study of the use of the graphs will reveal ‘la existencia de una coherencia y sistematicidad internas’, although that may be considered a somewhat optimistic aim. She points out that orthographic variation in medieval manuscripts is unlikely to be the result of the lack of skill of the scribe as the few surviving manuscripts would have been produced in *scriptoria*. In examining the variation in the six chosen variables I will first consider the linguistic context and then any extralinguistic factors that affect variation. The factors, and the combination of these factors, will impact on the variables in different ways.

2.5.1 Linguistic Factors

The nature of the variable will, inevitably, determine what factors to assess.

Among the linguistic factors that can affect choice of variant are the following:

2.5.1.1 Phonetic context

Variable a) Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 439) observes that, in the documents of Ferdinand III and in Alphonsine documents, the patterns of usage for <m> and <n> are different before /p/ and before /b/. The data will show whether this is a factor in the *Fazienda*.

Variable (f) Vowel deletion in weak object pronouns requires the presence of a preceding or following vowel. In the case of elision the *Fazienda* data will show that vowel deletion varies according to the following vowel. The data on weak object pronoun apocope includes the following context and will show to what extent the nature of the following consonant impacts on the possible apocope.

2.5.1.2 Graphic context

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 433) notes that the use of <i>, <y> and <j> are partially conditioned by the ‘tipología paleográfica del escrito’. A check of E6 shows 47 cases of *fia(s)/fio(s)* (3.1%) and 1460 of *fija(s)/fijo(s)* (96.9%). A similar check of the *Fazienda* reveals 16 cases of *fia/fio(s)* (2.8%) and 562 of *fija(s)/fijo(s)* (97.2%). There is a significant palaeographic or orthographic constraint on the use of two short <i>s together. Torrens Álvarez (2003: 367) notes a tendency to use <y> rather than <i> to avoid confusion before letters with minims.

Variable b) Data will show whether the presence of adjacent minims, i.e. <n>, <m> or <u> affects the choice of <i>, <y> or <j> to represent /i/. In both E6 and the *Fazienda* there are numerous examples of *ymagen* but none of *imagen* despite the etymon *īmāgo*. The <y> variant with vocalic value is even used in the *Fazienda* in quotations in Latin:

(2.9) Faciamus homynem ad ymaginem & symilitudinem nostram

Fol. 1^{rb23-24}

2.5.1.3 Syntactic context

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119) remarks that previous studies on weak pronoun apocope have factored in the nature of the previous word and she has also taken into consideration ‘la clase morfológica de la palabra precedente’.

Variable f) In presenting the data on weak object pronoun apocope I consider not only the preceding element - whether it is a verb, *qui/que*, *no*, an adverb, a conjunction, a pronoun, or another element, but also the following element – whether it is a pause, a vowel, a different consonant, or the same consonant. The data will show to what extent apocope is influenced by the surrounding syntactic environment.

2.5.1.4 Lexical item

Torrens Álvarez (2003: 367) points out that individual lexical items, for whatever reason, can show a preference for one variant or another. She notes that in the Alphonsine corpus edited by Kasten and Nitti the sequence ‘vowel + *yto*’ occurs 407 times, whereas the combination ‘vowel + *ito*’ occurs on 37 occasions, and that all 37 instances of ‘vowel + *ito*’ correspond to the form *pleito*. She observes that this fact ‘apunta claramente a que

algunas palabras cuentan con tradiciones particulares de escrito'. These lexical preferences can be seen in a number of the variables.

Variable b) Tables 3.24 and 3.25 in Chapter 3 show the differing preferences of forms, seemingly irrespective of linguistic factors.

Variable e) Table 7.10 in Chapter 7 shows contrasting preferences of different verbs in the imperfect.

2.5.1.5 Position of the variable

The choice of variant can be influenced by the position of the variable in the word. Sánchez-Prieto and Torrens Álvarez (2010: 38) observe that both uncial and upright allographs of <d> occur in E6 but only the uncial variant occurs in word-final position. Similarly, the round variant of <s> is generally preferred in word-final position in the *Fazienda* accounting for nearly 95% of all occurrences.

Variable b) I present data on the use of <i>, <y> and <j> to represent /i/ in word-initial position, in an interconsonantal position and in word-final position and assess whether the position in the word affects the choice of variant.

Variable f) The position of the variable in the word-phrase is a factor. Elision of weak object pronouns only occurs with mesoclysis, when the weak object pronoun occurs between the infinitive form and the auxiliary in analytic futures and conditionals.

2.5.1.6 Function of the variable

The evidence from the use of *far* and *fer* detailed above illustrates the correlation that may exist between the function of the variable and the choice of variant. The use of *cuemo* has been generally associated with presence of stress when it has an interrogative

or exclamative function. Sanchis Calvo (1991: 63) establishes three categories according to function to discuss the usage of *como* and *cuemo* in the *Fazienda*.

Variable d) I adopt Sanchis Calvo's categories and examine to what extent the function of the variable affects the choice of variant and whether the *Fazienda* data supports the association of *cuemo* with stress.

Variable e) In discussing the variants <ie> and <ia> most studies do not distinguish between their use in different tenses. I present the data for imperfect, conditional and pluperfect tenses and assess whether the choice of variant is affected by the tense. I also consider the different functions of the third person singular form of the imperfect tense of the verb *auer* to assess whether there is any correlation between the function and the choice of <ie> or <ia>.

2.5.1.7 Morphology of the variable

Variable b) Torrens Álvarez (2003: 367) notes that words with the prefix *in-* can be an exception to the use of <y> instead of <i> before 'letras con palo', a factor which she describes as 'el peso de la conciencia morfológica de la palabra'. There is no use of the <y> variant in the 64 examples of *infierno* in E6 or in the 5 examples in the *Fazienda*. There are a number of factors that may help explain this discrepancy: firstly, the Latin etymon *infērnūm*; secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the morphological influence of the prefix *in*, what Torrens Álvarez (2003: 367) identifies as 'la conciencia de la formación morfológica de la palabra' and thirdly, unlike the letter *y*, the letter *i* can carry the nasal diacritic. There is just one example in the *Fazienda* of <y> carrying a diacritic – *latŷ* (folio 1^{rb13}).

Variable a) The strength of this morphological awareness informs the consideration of the use of <n> or <m> before a bilabial in words beginning with the prefix *con-* or *en-*. Data shows that words with these prefixes strongly prefer the variant <n>.

Variable e) The use of *-ie* or *-ia* in all persons of the verb in all persons is presented in order to assess to what extent, if any, the person of the verb affects the choice of form.

2.5.2 Extralinguistic factors

2.5.2.1 Variatio

Morreale (1978: 252) observes that it is necessary to distinguish between ‘*variatio* como ornato estilístico y variación como lengua’, a distinction which she acknowledges is not always easy to make, especially ‘en un estadio del castellano caracterizado por una pluralidad de temas y soluciones fonéticas, morfológicas y sintácticas’. Enrique-Arias (2010: 77) describes *variatio* as ‘la alternancia de variantes lingüísticas en proximidad’ and observes that in E6 this represents ‘una búsqueda deliberada de evitar la repetición a la hora de traducir estructuras paralelas al original’. The example (2.10) that Morreale provides of the translation in E6 of Ezekiel 17:24 and the comparison with the Vulgate clearly meets this criterion (1978: 250). The same lexical item (*lignum, ligna*) is used on five occasions in the Vulgate whereas E6 uses three different lexical items (*maderos, arbol, lenno*). Repetition is also avoided by simply using the adjective with the definite article and omitting the noun - *el baxo* and *el seco*.

(2.10) e sabran todos los **maderos** de la tierra que yo dios abaxe el alto **arbol**. e enalce **el baxo**. e seque el **lenno** uerde. e **el seco** fiz reuerdecer E6

Vulg et scient omnia **ligna** regionis quia ego Dominus humiliavi **lignum** sublime et exaltavi **lignum** humile et siccavi **lignum** viride et frondere feci **lignum** aridum Ezek 17: 24

The Vulgate usage reflects the repetition of the same lexical item *otz* which is used five times in the Hebrew Bible. This repeated usage is also reflected in the various Romance Bibles in the BibMed corpus. Morreale also cites from Isaiah 66:5 (2.11), where E6 again avoids repeating the same lexical item. Arragel similarly avoids repetition, using *verbo* and *palabra*, as does E3 using *palabra* and *mandado*.

(2.11) Escuchat la **palaura** de dios los *que* tremedes del so **uierbo** E6

Vulg Audite **verbum** Domini qui tremetis ad **verbum** eius Isa 66:5

There is a clear intent in the E6 translation of both these Biblical passages to avoid the repetition of a lexical item that occurs in the Vulgate, especially in such close proximity. The translator is exercising the choice of a lexical item for a stylistic or rhetorical effect. This is a conscious action to use variation for an affect on the reader and/or listener.

However, when we consider the examples of *variatio* that Morreale provides in regard to the use of different graphemes the evidence is far less convincing. Morreale cites the following examples of the two variants <i> and <y> ‘entre consonantes’ (1978: 253): *Egipto* and *Egypto*, Isaiah 27:12-13; *assyrios*, Isaiah 37:33 and *assirios*, Isaiah 37:36. I provide the context for these items in examples (2.12^{a&b}) and (2.13^{a&b})

(2.12 ^a)	desdel oriella del fluvio fastal rio de egypto	Isa 27:12	E6	Fol. 58 ^{va9-10}
(2.12 ^b)	los <i>que</i> fueran echados en tierra de egypto	Isa 27:12	E6	Fol. 58 ^{va14}
(2.13 ^a)	Por ende dize Dios del rey de los assyrios	Isa 37:33	E6	Fol. 63 ^{ra8}
(2.13 ^b)	firio en el huest de los assirios	Isa 37:36	E6	Fol. 63 ^{ra15-16}

The first example is an unfortunate one because the E6 text actually reads *egypto* in both (2.12^a) and (2.12^b). Nevertheless, it does raise the issue of exactly what constitutes *variatio*. Whereas the lexical examples from Ezekiel and Isaiah occur in the same sentence and clearly reflect some authorial input, the orthographic difference between *egipto* and *egypto* is not the same. The examples occur in different Biblical verses and are some three or four lines apart in the manuscript. The examples of *assyrios* (folio 63^{ra8}) and *assirios* (folio 63^{ra15-16}) are three verses apart and some eight lines of text apart. It is difficult to see how these examples of graphemic variation can be considered as examples of the same *variatio* as the lexical examples from Ezekiel and Isaiah. They reflect neither the ‘ornato estilístico’ of Morreale nor the ‘proximidad’ of Enrique-Arias.

I also contend that this variation must also be considered in the context of other occurrences of the two forms. In E6 there are 177 occurrences of *egipto* and 85 of *egypto*. While *variatio* might account for a specific occurrence of these two forms in a particular instance, *variatio* does not explain the variation throughout the text. Similarly, the form

assirios is used on 27 occasions and *assyrios* on 13 occasions. In the *Fazienda* there are 96 examples of *egipto* and 47 of *egypto*. This is a similar relative percentage to that of E6. However, the pattern of distribution of these two forms in the *Fazienda* is distinctive. The variant *egipto* is used throughout the manuscript but the 47 examples of *egypto* all occur in the first 32 folios. *Variatio* does not explain this pattern of occurrence.

Moreno Bernal (2004: 194) describes *variatio* as a device ‘que contribuye a embellecer la prosa’ and observes that, in E6, one often finds the alternation of two forms even in the same paragraph. He cites this passage from E6, corresponding to Ezekiel 5:12:

(2.14) la tercera parte de ti morrá de pestilencia e de fambre dentro de ti (sic)²⁶, e
 la tercera part morrá a espada en derredor de ti, e la otra terzera (sic)²⁷
 parte de ti esparzirá en todo viento E6 Ezek 5:12

Moreno Bernal notes that, in this example, *variatio* involves not only the use of apocopated *part* and non-apocopated *parte* but also the presence and omission of *de ti*. He does not envisage the possibility that the non-apocopation of *parte* might owe something to the presence of the following *de ti*. In the *Fazienda* all 34 examples of the full form *parte* are followed by the preposition *de*. It is also difficult to be certain whether the omission of *de ti* after *la tercera part* is deliberate or merely a *lapsus*. To evaluate this passage from E6 fully it is important to see what the writer was translating. I provide the Vulgate version of Ezekiel 5:12 for comparison.

²⁶ Manuscript reads *dentro en ti*.

²⁷ Manuscript reads *tercera*.

he would have been able to identify a fourth possible type of *variatio*: lexical (*esparzida/uertida*). Once again I provide the corresponding passage from the Vulgate.

Vulg vivo ego dicit Dominus Deus quoniam in manu forti et brachio extento et
in furore effuso regnabo super vos et educam vos de populis et congregabo
vos de terris in quibus dispersi estis in manu valida et brachio extento et in
furore effuso regnaba super vos Ezek 20: 33-4

These examples focus on a small piece of text. However, to fully appreciate the reasons for variation one must also look at the broader picture. Enrique-Arias (2008: 125) talks of ‘el amplio número de factores estructurales (internos) y contextuales (externos) que condicionan la variación en los textos escritos’. What other factors are present that favour apocope? Is the omission of the *con* deliberate or simply an oversight? What other combinations of *mano* and *fuerte* are there in the manuscript? *Variatio* implies a positive intent on the part of the writer. When dealing with a translation a comparison with the original is essential to evaluate such intent. The translator replaces the two adjectives *forti* and *valida* used with *manu* with the one – *fuert(e)*. This may reflect a desire for *repetitio* on the part of the translator or perhaps, more likely, the difficulty of finding an appropriate synonym for *fuerte*. The Hebrew text uses the same adjective *chzqe* on both occasions. *Variatio* can be a useful descriptive tool to explain lexical and syntactic variation in a specific piece of text, as evidenced by Morreale’s examples from Ezekiel and Isaiah but it cannot explain the degree of orthographic variation that we find in the *Fazienda*. *Variatio* should not be confused with variation that can be explained with reference to a range of linguistic factors.

2.5.2.2

Register

Requena (1974: 26-30) suggests that some lexical variation in the *Fazienda* may be explained by the inherent duality between what he regards as the ‘Latin *Fazienda*’ based on an Itinerary source and the ‘Biblical *Fazienda*’, based on the Hebrew Bible.’ He notes that the verb *degollar* is preferred in the Biblical part whereas *descabeçar* is used in the Itinerary part of the *Fazienda*, although he does point out that there are exceptions. There are nine occurrences of *descabeçar*+. Two of these can be directly related to the Biblical text.

(2.17^a) Este Geu fizo descabecar .lxx. barones e los fijos de Acab
2 Kgs 10:3-8 Fol.33^{rb21-23}

(2.17^b) Zebee e Salmana descabeço los Gedeon tras el flumen Iordan.
Judg 7:25 Fol. 33^{vb29-31}

There are ten occurrences of *degollar* +. Just two of these cannot be directly related to the Biblical text.

(2.18^a) Est Herodes tolyo la mugier a so ermano Felyp e por aquella occasion
fizo degollar sant Iuan babtista. Fol. 78^{rb33-35}

(2.18^b) Depues uino en Roma e alli lo fizo el cruel Nero degollar Fol. 79^{ra16-18}

There does appear to be a different preference in each register. A scrutiny of the texts in BibMed reveals that *descabeçar* + is very uncommon in Biblical texts, with *degollar* + clearly preferred.

reference to the beheading of St Stephen the Protomartyr is incorrect as he was stoned to death (Acts 7:57-58). Although register would appear to be a factor in the choice of variant, it is clear that *descabeçar* + is used with a much more limited lexical meaning, specifically involving the loss of the head. The reference in (2.17a) is to the killing of the sons of Ahab, whose heads were placed in baskets and sent to Jezrahel. Similarly, in (2.17b), although the text is somewhat confused, Judges 7:25 describes how the Israelites took the heads of Oreb and Zeb across the Jordan to Gideon. While register does seem to play a part in this choice of lexis, it appears one must also factor in the literal meaning of these two verbs.

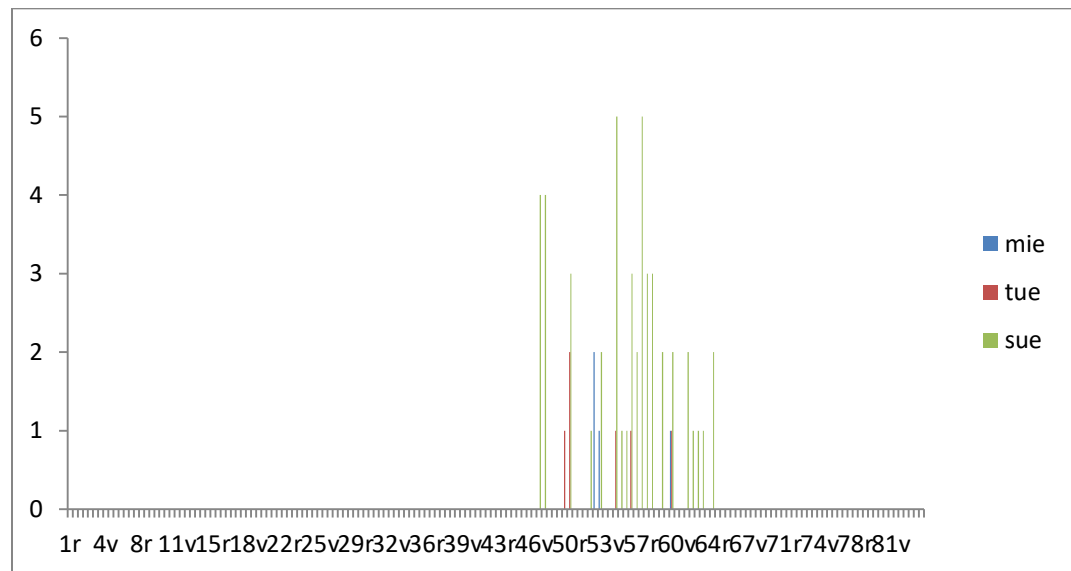
2.5.2.3 Scribal Factor

A singular feature of the *Fazienda* is the apparent involvement of a number of different scribes in the copying. Lazar (1965: 9-10) suggests that the manuscript is the product of one main scribe with the occasional interruptions of other hands. However, most studies are of the opinion that other scribes play a more significant role, although the number of scribes involved and the extent of their involvement has yet to be determined. Arbesú (2011-16) believes that the numerous changes of hand, together with the linguistic evidence, point to the fact that the text was copied by more than one scribe. Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 543) also remarks on ‘la intervención de varias manos en el texto del manuscrito, como se echa de ver claramente por el trazado de la letra’. According to Michael (1972a: 4) ‘the manuscript of the *Fazienda* seems to have been copied by a number of scribes in Castile’. He is of the opinion that these scribes took more part than Lazar believed and claims to have noticed ‘some variance between them’, namely ‘the archaic preservation of final <e> which is common from folio 43 verso to

folio 75 recto but not elsewhere' (1972b: 7). Michael even goes as far as to suggest that the archaic forms *mie*, *tue*, *sue* which occur in the *Fazienda* may be ascribed to a particularly senile scribe.

In 2.3 I detailed the procedure to establish the relative frequency of variants. I also use bar charts to display the pattern of variation of variants. For example, the archaic possessives identified by Michael - *mie* (4 occurrences), *tue* (6 occurrences) and *sue* (50 occurrences) - only occur between folios 52^{vb}-64^{rb}. This unusual pattern of occurrence is illustrated in Chart 2.1.

Chart 2.1 **mie, tue, sue**



Sánchez-Prieto (1998: 297) states:

El examen de la documentación producida en distintos centros (sean éstos la cancillería real, un monasterio o la cancillería episcopal) nos lleva a la convicción de que las tendencias personales del escriba afloran de manera muy limitada.

Chart 2.1 appears not to reflect this picture of textual homogeneity. The degree of linguistic variation in the *Fazienda* presents a *prima facie* case for considering the extent to which different scribal hands may be involved in the variation. The impact that the copyist may have on a medieval text is highlighted by various scholars. Franchini (2008:336), when discussing the *Cantar de Roncesvalles*, identifies the dilemma faced when dealing with medieval texts as follows:

el problema crucial consiste en determinar lo que debe atribuirse al copista del fragmento conservado y lo que se hallaba ya en la versión original.

Allen (1976: 23) in his examination of apocope in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* makes the point that ‘if the scribe ...was Aragonese, this may have some influence on the style, but it is difficult to estimate how much’. Torrens Álvarez (1995b: 356 n36), discussing the pattern of use of upright ‘d’ and uncial ‘d’ in the *Liber admonitionis*, observes that ‘las diferencias entre las dos partes del libro pueden obedecer a las preferencias de los copistas’. Douvier (1995: 235) notes that the two 13th century manuscripts of the *Suma de los nueve tiempos de los pleitos* reflect the different solutions of the respective copyists to the representation a nasal before a bilabial.

Lazar identifies changes in hand in footnotes and comments on these changes. His footnotes are collected and presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Lazar's footnotes

Lazar	Lazar's comments	Folio
p.80, n.285	Changement d'écriture à partir d'ici.	20 ^{rb35}
p.81, n.292	L'écriture change encore, et est plus pendchée vers la gauche.	20 ^{vb23}
p.83, n.306	Changement d'écriture: paraît la seconde main.	21 ^{vb1}
p.83, n.314	Nouveau changement d'écriture; paraît être une troisième main.	21 ^{vb35}
p.89, n.381	L'écriture, à partir d'ici, redevient plus régulière, presque comme au début du ms., et il n'est guère impossible que ce soit la première main.	24 ^{rb3}
p.90, n.400	L'écriture, à partir d'ici, redevient très régulière et soignée, mais n'est pas la première main.	24 ^{vb35}
p.91, n.416	L'écriture est à nouveau irrégulière.	25 ^{va1}
p.93, n.446	Changement d'écriture; paraît la seconde main.	26 ^{rb11}
p.94, n.449	L'écriture redevient très régulière, comme la première main.	26 ^{va1}
p.113, n.703	L'on note à partir de ce mot un changement total d'écriture.	35 ^{ra12}
p.114, n.712	L'écriture redevient régulière.	35 ^{va1}
p.128, n.892	L'écriture redevient irrégulière.	42 ^{ra1}
p.130, n.922	Changement d'écriture	42 ^{vb15}
p.131, n.925	D'ici jusqu'au f.44v, l'écriture est très irrégulière et défectueuse, sa lecture plus difficile et plusieurs mains y alternent.	42 ^{vb26}
p.132, n.936	L'écriture de la colonne b est moins grossière que celle de l'autre colonne. Il se peut que ce soit la même main avec une plume différente.	43 ^{rb}
p.172, n.358	Les huit premières lignes de ce folio ont une écriture aux lettres plus grandes, plus amples; il semble s'agir moins d'une main différente que d'une plume mal taillée.	64 ^{ra1-8}

I have identified four substantial scribal hands consisting of over 3000 words, Hands A, B and C correspond exactly to the changes in hand identified by Lazar and emboldened in Table 2.4. Hand D corresponds to the clear change of hand between the end of folio 81^{rb} and the start of folio 81^{va}, as illustrated in figs. 2.2 and 2.3.

Fig. 2.2 Folio 81^{rb30-35}

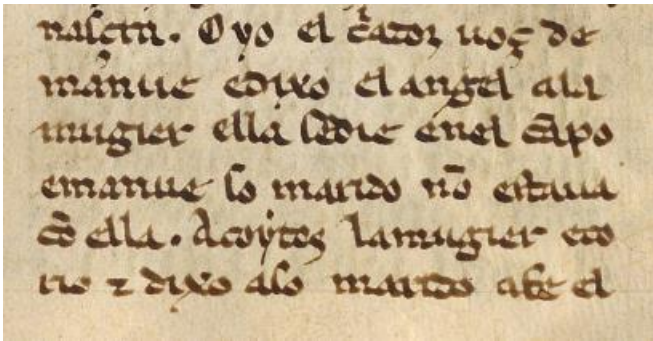
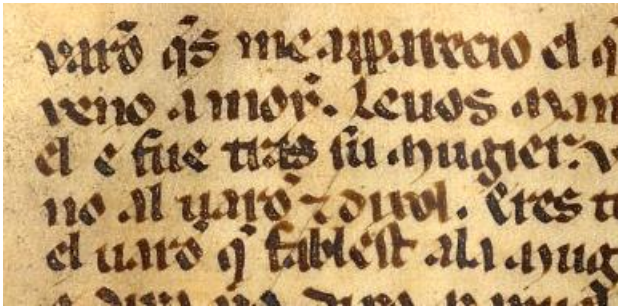


Fig. 2.3 Folio 81^{va1-5}



I add Hand D, which is a very regular and uniform hand, to the three previously identified hands.

Hand A	1 ^{ra11} > 20 ^{rb35}	17,000 + words
Hand B	26 ^{va1} > 35 ^{ra11}	7,000 + words
Hand C	35 ^{va1} > 41 ^{vb35}	5,500 + words
Hand D	81 ^{va1} > 84 ^{vb35}	3,000 + words

In Chapters 3-8 I present the data for the six selected variables and examine the various linguistic factors that may explain this variation. Although both Morreale and Enrique-Arias use the term *variatio* to describe orthographic variation in E6, I prefer to restrict the term to refer to a deliberate use of variation in close proximity for rhetorical purposes, or as Moreno Bernal colourfully describes it ‘para embellecer la prosa’ (2004: 194). It is not an appropriate term to describe the extensive linguistic variation that we find throughout the *Fazienda*. Requena suggests that some variation may be explained by the different registers of his ‘Latin *Fazienda*’ and his ‘Biblical *Fazienda*’ but he notes that these are ‘unos pequeños detalles diferenciales’ and are mainly lexical (1974: 28). As the six variables have been chosen for their extensive use throughout the *Fazienda* and are not dependent on a specific lexical item, I discount any consideration of register as a significant factor in their variation. Where the pattern of variation suggests that linguistic factors may not entirely account for the variation, I will correlate the variation against the four identified scribal hands to test the hypothesis that linguistic variation in the *Fazienda* may be linked to changes in scribal hand.

Chapter 3

Variation in the orthographic representation of /M/ before /b/ and /p/

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine variation in the orthographic representation of the nasal sound before a bilabial in the *Fazienda*. In the context of a following bilabial the difference between the phonemes /m/ and /n/ is neutralised. I use the notation /M/ to represent the corresponding archiphoneme. This uncertainty over the phonemes /n/ and /m/ is illustrated by the varying use of the graphemes <m> and <n> to represent /M/ before /b/ and /p/ in the *Fazienda*. There is significant variation in the orthographic representation of /M/ before the bilabials /b/ and /p/ in the *Fazienda*, whether the consonant grouping is secondary as in *nombre* < **nōmñe(m)*²⁹ (3.1^a) and (3.1^b) or primary as in *campo* < *campu(m)* (3.2^a) and (3.2^b).

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|----------------------------|
| (3.1 ^a) | abatio la ydola <i>que</i> auya nombre Bal | Fol. 33 ^{va34-35} |
| (3.1 ^b) | & a un castiello <i>que</i> a nombre Naaman | Fol. 36 ^{va16} |
| (3.2 ^a) | Fueron amos en el campo a solas | Fol. 48 ^{ra20-21} |
| (3.2 ^b) | e trobaron se amos a solas en el campo . | Fol. 52 ^{va15-16} |

In (3.1a) and (3.2a) the grapheme <n> is used and in (3.1b) and (3.2b) the grapheme <m> is used. Although it has been largely disregarded, there is a third grapheme option, namely the use of an abbreviation <̃> to represent /M/ as in (3.1^c) and

²⁹ Analogical accusative of neuter *nōmen*, *-ñis* (Corominas: 1970)

(3.2^c). Data from the *Fazienda* will show that there is similar variation in the use of the diacritic grapheme <̄> as in the use of <m> and <n>.

(3.1^c) Aquella Gabaon agora a **nōbre** la Grant Naomaria Fol. 46^{va25-26}

(3.2^c) ella sedie en el **cāpo** Fol. 81^{rb32}

To properly assess the relative frequency of <m> and <n> we need reliable data that indicates whether these forms are as they appear in the manuscript or whether they reflect editorial intervention. Evaluation of this variation in the *Fazienda* and in other medieval texts is compromised by the unreliability of editions of texts in the expansion of abbreviations and the fact that these abbreviations are not reflected in their glossaries. Although Menéndez Pidal's 1964 palaeographic edition of the *Poema* italicises the grapheme used to expand <̄>, he does not establish the criteria he uses to choose between <m> and <n>. There is also some inconsistency in the grapheme chosen. We find both *Campeador* (285, 292, 396, 486, 743, 2685)³⁰ and *Canpeador* (175, 241, 266, 288, 2325, 2797, 2853, 3317, 3556, 3712, 3729) used to expand *Cāpeador* in the manuscript. Lazar's edition of the *Fazienda* (1965) is similarly inconsistent in the choice of grapheme. Where the manuscript has *nōbre* Lazar expands as *nombre* (Lazar 46.7-8; folio 2^{vb18}) and as *nonbre* (Lazar 43.7; folio 1^{ra25}); *mābre* is expanded as *Manbre* (Lazar 44.12; folio 1^{vb12}) and as *Mambre* (Lazar 44.29; folio 2^{ra14}). There are also inaccuracies in the text. Lazar's edition has <m> when the manuscript reads <n>: *emparada* (Lazar 45.34) for *enparada* (folio 2^{va26}), *tiempo* (Lazar 46.19) for *tienpo* (folio 2^{vb21}), and *emprenos* (Lazar 47.12) for *enprenos* (folio 3^{rb35}). It has <n> when the manuscript reads

³⁰ Line numbers refer to Menéndez Pidal's palaeographic edition (1964).

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the sole example of *conplido* (Proverbs 12:9) listed in the Enrique-Arias concordance actually corresponds to the form *cōplido* in the manuscript (folio 5^{ra}³⁴⁻⁵) which has been expanded in the text to *conplido*.

Morreale (1978: 253-4) suggests that *variatio*³³ may account for the variation in the choice of <n> and <m> in examples (3.5^a) and (3.6^a) in E6, even though they are some eleven lines apart in the manuscript.

(3.5^a) e quanto dixier, **conplido** será Ezek 12: 25

(3.6^a) toda palabra que yo dixier, **conplida** será Ezek 12: 28

However, these are unfortunate examples to choose as the abbreviation <̄> is used in both these instances in the manuscript³⁴:

(3.5^b) e / quanto dixier **cōplido** fera E6 Fol. 117^{va}7-8

(3.6^b) toda palaura q' yo dixier **cōplida** fe/ra E6 Fol. 117^{va}19-20

This highlights the danger of making observations and drawing conclusions based on unreliable and inaccurate data.

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 439) acknowledges variation in the representation of <M> in medieval texts and observes that the use of <m> before /p/ and /b/ is considered to be a distinctive feature of the so-called ‘ortografía alfonsí’. He points out that this usage is anticipated in earlier documents and refers to documents of Fernando III³⁵, where <mp>

³³ See discussion of *variatio* in Chapter 2.

³⁴ The transcription is mine. Enrique-Arias (2010) expands these forms to *conplido* and *conplida* in accordance with his editorial criteria.

³⁵ King of Castile 1217-52 and of Leon 1230-52.

(75%) and <mb> (90%) predominate. He compares this pattern with that found in Alphonsine documents, where <mp> accounts for 80% of occurrences whereas <mb> accounts for only 40% and <nb> 60%. He goes on to describe their occurrence in the *General Estoria IV* where <np> and <nb> are extremely rare with only 2 examples of <np> in the first 50 folios, and in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* where the combinations <mb> and <mp> predominate ‘pero con no pocas excepciones’. Unfortunately he does not provide any illustrative examples and offers no explanation for this variation.

The expansion of the abbreviation <̄> in editions provides some idea of how the significance of the variation in <m> and <n> is viewed. Montgomery (1962: 17) explains that in his edition of Matthew E6 ‘cuando se suprime una consonante nasal delante de una labial ponemos *m*, siguiendo la costumbre del manuscrito’. Marden (1937: Introduction, 12-13) points out that where <m> precedes a labial it signifies that the manuscript has <m>, whereas <n> in the text is either the transcription of <n> or the expansion of the abbreviation. Smith (1972: Introduction, 96-7) explains that, in his edition of the *Poema*, he has expanded the abbreviated forms *Cāpeador*, *cāpo*, *cōpañã*, to their modern forms using <mp>, although they occur with both <m> and <n> in the manuscript. These he leaves as in the manuscript. Other editors adopt a more nuanced approach. For her edition of *La grant cronica de Espanya Libros I-II* Af Geijerstam (1964:138) explains that ‘hemos optado por seguir las preferencias del escriba para cada palabra particular’. If there is no full form she uses <m> ‘que es con mucho la grafia preferida del ms.’. For the transcription of E6, Enrique-Arias (2010: 87) opts to base the choice of <m> or <n> to expand the abbreviation on the most common full form of the

word used by the copyist. Af Geijerstam and Enrique-Arias use the information from each lexical item to make their choice. It is clear from the data in their vocabularies that different lexical items show different patterns of usage. Af Geijerstam (1964: Vocabulario) lists over 120 forms of *enviar* with <n> and none with <m> and, with one exception, over 170 forms of *nombre* and *nombrar* with <m>. Enrique-Arias (2010) lists 684 examples of forms of *enuiar* with <n> and just one example of *emuio* with <m> (folio 344^{va38}). There are 586 examples of forms of *nombre* and *nombrar* with <m>. There is just one example of *nonbre* listed (John 15:21), although the manuscript text actually reads *nōb^e* (folio 264^{va26}) and has been expanded to *nonbre* (Enrique-Arias, 2010: 686).

The diametrically opposite patterns for *nombre* and *enviar* clearly validate the editorial strategy adopted by Af Geijerstam and Enrique-Arias to base their choice of <m> or <n> for the expansion of the abbreviated form on the individual lexical item. Montgomery's use of <m> and Marden's adoption of <n> ignores the preference of individual lexical items. Likewise, Sánchez-Prieto's broad generalisation about the use of <mp> and <np>, and <mb> and <nb> fails to reflect the fact that different lexical items exhibit different preferences. There is also the possibility that one lexical item can unduly affect the overall figures. In the *Poema* there are 387 occasions when /M/ precedes a bilabial, but just one lexical item - *campeador/canpeador/cāpeador* - accounts for 184 (47.5%) of all these forms.

With the exception of Morreale's suggestion of *variatio* none of the above scholars attempts to explain this variation in the choice of grapheme. Neither is there any direct reference to the significance, if any, in the use of the nasal abbreviation to

represent /M/. Douvier (1995) observes that ‘pendant plusieurs siècles, <m> et <n> ont alterné devant <p> et ’. She seeks to explain how the grapheme <n> came to represent /M/, often replacing the grapheme <m>. She cites from two 13th century manuscripts of the *Suma de los nueve tiempos de los pleitos* where the copyists reflect different solutions. In manuscript E the copyist always writes *tiempo* (7), *simple* (1) but *nombrada* (1) and *nonbrada* (1), and *conpieza* (1), *enbarga* (1). In manuscript MA the grapheme <n> is always used before /p/ – *tiempo* (9), *simple* (1), *enplazare* (1). She explains that the distribution of the graphs <mp>, <mb> and <np>, <nb> that she has observed in many 13th, 14th and 15th manuscripts suggests that this variation in usage ‘est loin d’être fortuite’. She proposes to discover the origin of what she describes as ‘cet emploi abusif de <n>’ (1995: 235). She establishes three categories which implicitly acknowledge the importance of the morphology of the lexical item in the use of <n>. In section 3.2 I present and analyse Douvier’s approach. Various factors have been identified as influencing the choice of <m> or <n>: the lexical item itself (Af Geijerstam, Enrique-Arias), the morphology of the lexical item (Douvier) and the possible preference of the scribe (Douvier, Sánchez-Prieto). In 3.3 I present and analyse data from the *Fazienda*. In 3.4 I examine to what extent various factors can explain the variation in the use of <m> and <n> and <̃>.

3.2 Douvier (1995)

Although Douvier does not explain her rationale for establishing her three categories, Categories A and B are based around the forms *en* and *con* and clearly imply that the morphological form of the word is a major determining factor in the choice of grapheme. The categories are:

- A Words beginning with a group pronounced [eMp] and spelled <emp> or <enp>, or a group pronounced [eMb] and spelled <emb>, <emu>, <emv> or <enb>, <enu>, <env>
- B Words beginning with a group pronounced [koMp] and spelled <comp> or <conp>
- C All other words containing groups pronounced either [Mb] or [Mp]

Douvier's hypothesis implies three phases. Firstly, in reference to the forms *compuesto* and *embuelto* she observes:

Parce que l'on a conscience de la composition de ces mots: *puesto con* et *buelto en*, on orthographie le préfix comme la préposition: *compuesto* et *embuelto*.

It is perhaps stretching things to describe this 'conscience' as a sensitivity to morphological boundaries but there would appear to be an awareness that the forms *puesto* and *buelto*, along with *con* and *en*, do occur separately. This explains the use of the prepositional forms *con* and *en* to replace *com* and *em*, as in *conponer* and *embuelto*. In the second phase this use of <n> is extended to such words as *comprar* and *emperador* to produce *conprar* and *enperador*, which mimic *compuesto* and *embuelto* although they contain no prefix and there are no such forms as **prar* and **perador*. The third phase sees a general extension of this pattern to words like *campo* and *nombre* to produce *canpo* and *nonbre*. We could probably add a fourth phase, which is the reversion to the use of <m>, characteristic of the 'ortografía alfonsí', and exemplified by the data from the *Lapidario* in Table 3.1.

Douvier provides data³⁶, firstly, from 2 manuscripts copied in the second half of the 13th century.

Table 3.1 *Lapidario of Alfonso el Sabio*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	51	91.1	5	8.9
B	78	98.	1	1.3
C	364	100	0	0
Total	416	98.6	6	1.4

Table 3.2 *Fuero de Alcaraz (1296)*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	1	0.9	107	99.1
B	56	55.4	45	44.6
C	223	94.9	12	5.1
Total	280	63.1	164	36.9

The data from the *Lapidario* in Table 3.1 shows the almost complete predominance of the graph <m> across all three categories and reflects what Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 439) refers to as a distinctive feature of ‘ortografía alfonsí’. In Table 3.2 the data from the *Fuero de Alcaraz* shows a preference for <n> in Category A (99.1%) and for <m> in Category C (94.9%). Category B shows a broadly similar use of <m> (55.4%) and <n> (44.6%). However, there are clear lexical preferences within the category, as illustrated in Table 3.3. Although the use of <n> has been extended to forms of *comprar* and *complir*, they still show a clear preference for <m>. Forms of *conpanna* + use only <n>.

³⁶ I present Douvier’s data in tabular form.

Table 3.3 *Fuero de Alcaraz - Category B*

<m>		<n>	
comprar	31	conprar	3
comprador	3	conprador	3
complir	22	conplir	7
		conpanna	4
		conpannero	16
		conponer +	10

Douvier further cites from the *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora* of Berceo, which shows a distinct preference for <n> in Categories A and B.

Table 3.4 *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	5	11.6	38	88.4
B	1	2.9	33	97.1
C	115	71	47	29
Total	121	50.6	118	49.4

Category C data shows a preference for <m> but again there is some variation in the preference of different lexical items, as illustrated in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora - Category C*

<m>		<n>	
nombrada	1	nonbre +	14
siempre	43	sienpre	1

Douvier (1995: 238) observes that:

C'est dans les catégories A et B – qui regroupent les mots commençant par [emp] - [emb] et par [komp] - que l'on emploie de préférence et avec la plus forte fréquence la graphie NP-NB. On peut trouver cette même graphie dans des mots de la catégorie C, mais avec une fréquence nettement plus faible.

She provides data from three other texts that show similar patterns of distribution.

Table 3.6 *La Vida de Santa Oria*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	2	11.8	15	88.2
B	0	0	31	100
C	28	56	22	44
Total	30	30.6	68	69.4

The graphs <nb> and <np> predominate in Categories A and B. Category C forms show a slight preference for <mb> and <mp> in the *Vida de Santa Oria*.

Table 3.7 *Tratado de la naturaleza del caballo*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	11	28.2	28	71.8
B	0	0	1	100
C	42	89.4	5	10.6
Total	53	60.9	34	39.1

The *Tratado de la naturaleza* prefers <n> in Category A and has just one example in Category B. Category C shows a strong preference for <m> but Douvier provides no detail of the lexical items involved. The data from the *Poema* presents a similar pattern.

Categories A and B show a strong preference for <n> (98.4% and 75%) whereas Category C shows an equally strong preference for <m> (84.3%).

Table 3.8 *Poema*

Category	<mp>, <mb>	%	<np>, <nb>	%
A	1	1.6	60	98.4
B	14	25	42	75
C	214	84.3	40	15.7
Total	229	61.7	142	38.3

There is just one example of <m> in Category A - *embia*. There is a preference for <n> in Category B and Douvier cites *conpanna* and *aconpannar* (21), *conplido* (7), and *conpeço* (11), although these items also occur with <m> – *companna* (8), *complido* (4) and *compeço* (2). In Category C there is a clear preference for <m>. Douvier provides some information on lexical items, as in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 *Poema - Category C*

<m>		<n>	
campeador	151	canpeador	11
campo	35	canpo	6
siempre	9	sienpre	2
nombre	8	nonbre	3
cumplir	2	cunplir	4
recombrar	22 ³⁷	reconbrar	1

³⁷ This is clearly a typographical error. There is actually just one example – *recombros* (3689).

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 426), discussing variation in medieval orthography, refers to a ‘conjunción de factores diversos que explican la preferencia por unas soluciones frente a otras’. Douvier’s classification into three categories helps to identify one of these factors. She notes a significant difference in the pattern of variation in the earlier manuscripts in Categories A and B, which prefer the grapheme <n>. She attributes this preference to the association of the prefix with the prepositional forms *en* and *con* where the nasal is word final. Based on her analysis Douvier puts forward the hypothesis that what she terms the ‘emploi abusif de <n>’ stems from an extension into Category C of its use in the two Categories A and B, where the graphic representation of the prefixes *con* and *en* are influenced by their graphic representation when standing alone as prepositions, even when preceding a bilabial. She states that ‘la règle exige le maintien de «N» puisque ce [m] est consonne finale dans les mots ou prépositions: *con* et *en*’ (1995: 244). Menéndez Pidal (1964: 183), discussing the assimilation of /mb/ to /m/, as in *entramos* and *loma* for example, also highlights the influence of the morphology of an individual word when he observes that ‘no hay tal asimilación cuando la nasal pertenece á un prefijo reconocido’.

In support of her hypothesis Douvier also highlights the fact that in the *Poema* the prefix *en* is frequently written separately in forms of the verb *enbiar*, indicating perhaps that they were viewed as separate elements. In fact, 46 (78%) of the 59 examples in Category A in the *Poema* display this tendency, among them: *en bia* (878, 1457, 1830 etc), *en bio* (976, 1188, 1812 etc), *en bargo* (1865), *en peñar* (92), *en pleo* (1722), *en prestan* (3248). We even find *em bia* (1854). While word boundaries are often insecure in medieval manuscripts this separation of a perceived prepositional prefix is a distinctive

feature of the *Poema*. There are a further 42 examples of this separation of the prefix *en*, for example: *en grameo* (13), *en clauedadas* (87), *en cortinado* (2206), as well as the anti-etymological *en tre* (797, 1236, 1549, 1774, 2087, 2348, and 3058). Douvier suggests that this pattern is also displayed in the *Poema* by Category B items:

Enfin, l'orthographe de deux mots de cette catégorie mérite d'être signalée: la première syllable «CON», toujours écrite avec «N», se voit séparée du reste du mot: *con panna* et *con peço*.

I have been unable to find examples in the text to validate this observation. In comparison with the 86 instances of separated *en* there are just nine instances of separated *con*: *cō tado* (142), *cō ducho* (249), *9tados* (826), *cō seio* (1099), *con solar* (1177), *cō segar* (1256), *cō ducho* (1488), *cō sigen* (1729), *con duchos* (2472). It is perhaps no coincidence that 7 of these 9 examples involve an abbreviation. The preposition *con* when standing alone is frequently abbreviated as *cō* in the *Poema*. Of the 292 forms listed by Waltman (1972) the abbreviated form accounts for 131 examples.

Douvier draws her data from a variety of 13th century texts which, with the exception of the Alphonsine *Lapidario*, provide evidence to support her hypothesis that the association of the prefixes 'en' and 'con' with their prepositional counterparts impacts on the choice of grapheme to represent /M/ before /b/ and /p/.

3.3 *Fazienda* data

The use of <m> and <n> before /b/ and /p/ in the *Fazienda* is shown in Tables 3.10 and 3.11 using Douvier's categories, although I have separated the data for <mb> and <mp>, and that for <nb> and <np>. The preference for <n> in Category A (81.9%

and 80%) and Category B (90.3%) would support Douvier's thesis that the choice of the grapheme <n> is influenced by the association of the prefix with the corresponding prepositional forms *en* and *con*.

Table 3.10 <m> and <n> before /b/

Category	<mb>	%	<nb>	%
A	23	18.1	104	81.9
B				
C	100	65.4	53	34.6
Total	123	43.9	157	56.1

Table 3.11 <m> and <n> before /p/

Category	<mp>	%	<np>	%
A	9	20	36	80
B	3	9.7	28	90.3
C	87	53	77	47
Total	99	41.3	141	58.7

The data presented in Tables 3.12 and 3.13 includes the use of the nasal diacritic before /b/ and /p/ and highlights the variation in the pattern of usage of <̃> across the three categories. There is minimal use of the diacritic in Category A. Three quarters of the forms in Category B use an abbreviation. Category C forms prefer to use an abbreviation, more so before /b/. In sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 I present and analyse the data for each category separately.

Table 3.12 <m>, <n>, and <̃> before /b/

Category	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̃b>	%
A	23	17.4	104	78.8	5	3.8
B	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	100	25.8	53	13.7	235	60.5
Total	123	23.7	157	30.2	240	46.1

Table 3.13 <m>, <n>, and <̃> before /p/

Category	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̃>	%
A	9	20	36	80	0	0
B	3	2.4	28	22	96	75.6
C	87	32.1	77	28.4	107	39.5
Total	99	22.3	141	31.8	203	45.8

3.3.1 Category A /eMb/, /eMp/

Table 3.14 presents all the data of unabbreviated forms in the *Fazienda* in this category.

Before /b/ <m> is used 23 times (18.1%) and <n> is used 104 times (81.9%)

Before /p/ <m> is used 9 times (20 %) and <n> is used 36 times (80%)

The data shows that, despite the difference in the number of occurrences, the relative frequency of <m> and <n> before /b/ (18.1% and 81.9%), and /p/ (20% and 80%) is very similar. Table 3.15 also includes figures for the use of the nasal diacritic and illustrates the relative rarity of the abbreviation, occurring just 5 times (3.8%) in this category.

Table 3.14 Category A <mb>, <nb> and <mp>, <np>

	<m>	%	<n>	%	Total
+ /b/	23	18.1	104	81.9	127
+ /p/	9	20.0	36	80.0	45
Total	32	18.6	140	81.4	172

Table 3.15 Category A <mb>, <nb>, <̃b> and <mp>, <np>, <̃p>

	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̃>	%	Total
+ /b/	23	17.4	104	78.8	5	3.8	132
+ /p/	9	20.0	36	80.0	0	0	45
Total	32	18.1	140	79.1	5	2.8	177

3.3.1.1 Category A Lexical Items

I present data for Category A lexical items in the *Fazienda* in Tables 3.16 and 3.17.

Table 3.16 <m> + /b/, <n> + /b/, and <̃> + /b/ lexical items

<m>		<n>		<̃>	
embiar +	23	enbiar +	95	ēbiar +	5
		enbalsamar +	3		
		enbayr +	2		
		enbargo	1		
		enberbenecio	1		
		enbriaguemos	1		
		enbudos	1		
Total	23		104		5

There are 132 items in Table 3.16. Forms of the verb *embiar/enbiar/ēbiar* account for 123 of the occurrences (93.2%).

Table 3.17 <m> + /p/ and <n> + /p/ lexical items

<m>		<n>	
emparar +	4	enparar +	11
emprennar +	1	enprennar +	12
emperador	3	enperador	7
emplir	1	enplir	1
		enplernar +	2
		enpeçaron	1
		enplegar	1
		enprender	1
Totals	9		36

There are 45 items in Table 3.17. There are no examples of the use of the nasal diacritic.

3.3.1.2 Summary

There are only 5 instances of the use of the nasal diacritic in this category in Table 3.16. There is also just one example, *ēbiar* (816), in the *Poema*. In the *Fazienda* it is very unusual to find a vowel in word-initial position bearing an abbreviation mark, whatever the following consonant. There would appear to be a reluctance to do so. There are 917 occurrences of the combination ‘vowel + nasal + consonant’ in word initial position³⁸. An abbreviation is used on just 88 occasions (9.6%). The only combination that regularly accepts a nasal abbreviation in word-initial position is $\bar{a} + n$, as in *āno(s)*. Although the

³⁸ In these figures I do not include forms of *omne*.

diacritic is placed above the vowel rather than the consonant in the *Fazienda*, its association is with following consonant to indicate a palatal value. The full form *anno(s)* occurs 46 times, whereas the abbreviated form *āno(s)* occurs on 56 occasions.

Enbiar + is by far the most significant item in this category in both the *Fazienda* (Table 3.16) and the *Poema*. Unlike the *Poema* there is little evidence in the *Fazienda* of the prefix being written separately. There are only 4 instances of this type of separation *en bio* (on 3 occasions in folios 29^{va35}, 76^{rb28} and 76^{va35}), *en parare* (folio 56^{ra26}). The data from both these texts runs somewhat counter to Corominas's observation (1954: 720) that 'la grafía más corriente parece ser *embia* en toda la E. Media, desde el *Cid* y Berceo hasta Nebrija'. In the *Fazienda* there are 95 forms in <n> (80.5%) as opposed to 23 in <m> (23%). The preference for <n> is even more striking in the *Poema*. There is just one example (1845) of <m> (2.8%), whereas there are 35 forms with <n> (97.2%). This pattern is reflected in data from CORDE for the period 1100-1299, which lists 1683 examples of *enbio*, *envio*, *enuio* and just 56 of *embio*.

Corominas (1954: 659) cites forms of both *emparar* and *amparar* occurring in medieval texts, as they do in the *Fazienda*. Whether we accept Corominas's etymon **anteparare* or that of Menéndez Pidal (1964) **imparare*, the data from the *Fazienda* lends further credence to the influence of the prepositional form *en* on the choice of <m> or <n>. There is a preference for forms of *enparar* + (11 cases) over *emparar* + (4 cases) in Table 3.18, whereas we only find forms of *amparar* + (10 cases).

Table 3.18 amparar, emparar and enparar

<m>		<n>	
emparar +	4	enparar +	11
amparar +	10		

It would seem reasonable to suggest that this can be explained by the fact that *am* cannot be analysed morphologically as a prefix. However, it would seem equally unrealistic to suggest that *enperador* (Table 3.18) could be analysed morphologically as *en + perador*. It appears that there is more than just morphology involved in this particular preference. A more reasonable explanation is that a process of analogy with doublets such as *emprennar/enprennar* and *emplir/enplir* may influence the use of <n> in *enperador*.

3.3.2 Category B /koMp/

This is a very restricted category which, like Category A, shows a clear preference in Table 3.19 for the use of <n>, with 28 occurrences (90.3%). Table 3.20 includes abbreviated forms.

Table 3.19 Category B <m> and <n> + /p/

	<m>	%	<n>	%	Total
+ /p/	3	9.7	28	90.3	31

Table 3.20 Category B <m>, <n>, and <> + /p/

	<m>	%	<n>	%	<>	%	Total
+ /p/	3	2.4	28	22	96	75.6	127

3.3.2.1 Category B Lexical Items

I present data for all Category B lexical items in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21 <m>, <n>, <̃p> + /p/ lexical items

<m>		<n>		<̃>	
comprar +	2	conprar +	4	cōprar +	24
complida	1	conplir +	8	cōplir +	14
		conpanna +	10	cōpanna +	40
		conpeçar +	5	cōpeçar +	13
		conpostura	1	cōponer +	3
				cōpasso	1
				cōpto	1
Total	3		28		96

3.3.2.2 Summary

Forms in <m> are clearly very marginal with just 3 occurrences. Table 3.21 shows that, unlike Category A, the abbreviated form is predominant with 96 occurrences (75.6%). Perhaps this preference for the abbreviated form is not surprising, given that 302 of the 500 occurrences of the preposition *con* in the *Fazienda* feature the nasal diacritic. The pattern of occurrences in the *Poema* presents a different picture, with 16 forms in <m> (28.6%), 28 forms in <n> (50%) and just 12 forms with an abbreviation (21.4%).

The strength of the association with the preposition *con*, whether real or simply perceived, is illustrated by the fact that, despite the Vulgar Latin etymon **cōmpĕrāre* (Corominas 1954: 873, Menéndez Pidal 1964: 586) we find 2 examples with <m> *compra*, *compro* but 4 with <n> *conprador*, *conprar*, *conprares* and *conpro*. There are, however, 24 abbreviated forms. This factor is similarly illustrated in the *Poema*, which

has no forms in <m>, 4 in <n> and 2 abbreviated forms. Data from CORDE is unhelpful as the citations do not indicate whether a particular form has been expanded or not. Prior to 1200 CORDE lists 9 cases of *complido* and 10 of *conplido*, 5 cases of *complida* and 8 of *conplida*, mostly from the *Fuero de Soria*³⁹ or the *Poema*⁴⁰. Checking against these two texts and omitting expanded forms it is necessary to revise these figures. There are 6 examples of *complido* and 6 of *conplido*. There is just one example of *complida* and there are no examples of *conplida*.

3.3.3 Category C All other /Mb/ and /Mp/ forms

In contrast to the previous two previous categories Table 3.22 shows a preference for the grapheme <m> (59%) in Category C. There 100 examples of <mb> (65.4%) and 53 of <nb> (34.6%). There are 87 examples of <mp> (53%) and 77 of <np> (47%). However, Table 3.23 shows a significant preference for the abbreviated form with 342 occurrences (51.9%).

Before /b/ <m> is used 100 times (65.4%) and <n> is used 53 times (34.6%).

Before /p/ <m> is used 87 times (53%) and <n> is used 77 times (47%).

Table 3.22 All other <m> and <n> + /b/ and /p/

	<m>	%	<n>	%
+ /b/	100	65.4	53	34.6
+ /p/	87	53	77	47
Total	187	59	130	41

³⁹ Sánchez (1919)

⁴⁰ CORDE citations are from Montaner (1993), but these have been checked against Menéndez Pidal (1964) and the manuscript.

However, Table 3.23 includes abbreviated forms and shows a significant preference for <̄> with 342 occurrences (51.9%).

Before /b/ <m> is used 100 times (25.8%), <n> is used 53 times (13.7%), and the abbreviation 235 times (60.6%)

Before /p/ <m> is used 87 times (32.1%), <n> is used 77 times (28.4%), and the abbreviation 107 times (39.5%)

Table 3.23 All other <m>, <n> and <̄> + /b/ and /p/

	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̄>	%
+ /b/	100	25.8	53	13.7	235	60.6
+ /p/	87	32.1	77	28.4	107	39.5
Total	187	28.4	130	19.7	342	51.9

3.3.3.1 Category C Lexical Items

I present data for all Category C forms in the *Fazienda* in Tables 3.24 and 3.25. Table 3.24 contains lexical items preceding the bilabial /b/ and Table 3.25 those items preceding the bilabial /p/.

Table 3.24

<m>, <n> and <̃> + /b/ forms

<m>		<n>		<̃>	
nombre +	37	nonbre +	23	nōbre +	140
comer +	4	comer +	5	comer +	17
semblança +	13	senblança	1	sēblança +	1
miembret	1	menbrar +	13	mēbrar +	30
ensemble	2	ensenbe	1	ensēble	1
lombos	2	lonbos	1		
lumbre	5			lūbre +	2
arambre	7			arābre	2
fambre	11			fābre	11
temblant	1			tēbran	1
sombra	3			sōbra	1
escombrara	1				
fembra	1				
legumbre	1				
ombros	1				
recombro	1			cōbro	1
limbral +	5				
		combatientes	2	cōbater +	8
		desmenbro	1	desmēbrar +	3
		senbra	1	sēbra	1
		conbusco	1	cōbusco	5
		senble	1		
				calūbriento	1
Mambre	1			Mābre	8
Adombeceth	1	Adonbeceth +	2		
Gambrel	1				
Imbla	1				
		Canbron	1	Cābron	1
				Çabri	1
Totals	100		53		235

Table 3.25

<m>, <n> and <> + /p/ forms

<m>		<n>		<>	
tiempo +	14	tiempo +	21	tiēpo +	12
tiemplo +	13	tiemplo +	16	tiēplo +	8
campo +	11	canpo +	6	cāpo +	26
romper +	8	ronper +	10	rōper +	15
implir +	5	inplir +	2	īplir +	3
siempre +	4	sienpre	4	siēpre	3
cumplir +	3	cunplyeron	1	cūplir +	5
lampadas +	2	lanpada +	2	lāpadas	1
tempestad	2	tenpestad +	3		
amparar +	11			āparar +	2
amplo +	8				
ompne	1				
amprender +	2				
impio	2				
		relanpago	2	relāpago	4
		exenplar +	2	exiēplo	1
		leonpardo +	2		
		anpollas	1		
		enconplir	1		
		enpiedant	1		
		tienpla	1		
		tenprno	1		
				tēptar +	4
				muchedūpne	1
Campneos	1				
		Sanpson	1	Sāpson	22
Totals	87		77		107

3.3.3.2

Summary

There is a preference for <m> over <n> before both /b/ and /p/ in this category but an abbreviated form is preferred over both. As can be seen in Tables 3.23 and 3.24 these preferences are reflected differently in individual lexical items. The most frequent lexical item is *nombre* + (37 occurrences), *nonbre* + (23 occurrences) and *nōbre* (138). There are a total of 198 occurrences, of which 69.7% are abbreviated. Other items also use all three graphemes, <m>, <n> and <̄>. Some, like *amplo* + and *impio*, only use <m>. The proper name *Sanpson* occurs in full just once, but the abbreviated *Sāpson* occurs 22 times and probably represents the simplification of the consonant group. Future and conditional forms of *comer* occur as follows: *combras*, *combra* (2), *combran*; *conbran* (4), *conbrie* (1); *cōbre* (2), *cōbras*, *cōbra* (4), *cōbredes* (6), *cōbran* (2), *cōbriemos*, *cōbrien*. As with forms of *comprar* the use of <n> in forms of *comer* has no morphological justification and has to be explained as a result of analogy with forms such as *comprar/conprar*.

3.4

Assessment of factors

The evidence from the *Fazienda* reinforces Sánchez-Prieto's attribution of orthographic variation in medieval texts to a 'conjunción de factores diversos'. In 3.4.1-3.4.5 I examine the extent to which we can attribute variation in the use of <m>, <n> and <̄> to these various factors.

3.4.1

Nature of following bilabial.

Table 3.26 presents the overall figures for the use of <m>, <n> and <̄> before /b/ and /p/ in the *Fazienda*. The percentages for the use of <m> before /b/ (23.7%) and before /p/ (22.3%) are remarkably similar, as are those for <n> before /b/ (30.2%) and

before /p/ (31.8%). The same holds true for the use of the nasal diacritic before /b/ (46.2%) and before /p/ (45.8%). It would appear that in the *Fazienda* the nature of the following bilabial *per se*, whether voiced or voiceless, does not affect the choice of grapheme used to represent /M/.

Table 3.26 All <mb>, <nb>, <mp>, <np>, <̄b> and <̄p> forms

	<m>	%		<n>	%		<̄>	%	Total
+ /b/	123	23.7	nb	157	30.2	̄b	240	46.2	520
+ /p/	99	22.3	np	141	31.8	̄p	203	45.8	443
Total	222	23.1		298	30.9		443	46	963

3.4.2 Nature of consonant group

There is no evidence that the nature of the consonant group, whether primary or secondary, significantly affects the choice of grapheme to represent /M/. This can be seen in the following extracts from Table 3.25 and Table 3.24 where both primary and secondary groups use all three graphemes.

Table 3.25 extract

<m>		<n>		<̄>	
tiempo +	14	tiempo +	21	tiēpo +	12
tiemplo +	13	tiemplo +	16	tiēplo +	8
campo +	11	campo +	6	cāpo +	26

Table 3.24 extract

<m>		<n>		<̃>	
nombre +	37	nonbre +	23	nōbre +	140
comer +	4	comer +	5	comer +	17
semblança +	13	senblança	1	sēblança	1

3.4.3 Morphology

The data from the *Fazienda* presented in 3.3 shows that Category A and Category B forms prefer the grapheme <n>. As we have seen in Tables 3.16, 3.17 and 3.21 the morphology of the word plays a role in the preference for <n> in Categories A and B. However, there is a significant difference between the use of <̃> in Category A and Category B words. There would appear to be a orthographic constraint on the use of <̃> on word-initial <e>. There are just 5 occurrences of <ē> (2.8%) in Category A. The percentage figure for Category B (75.6%) contrasts starkly with this and is perhaps influenced by the use of the abbreviation in the majority of occurrences of the preposition *con*.

The influence of the association with the prepositions *en* and *con* is undeniable and it is clear that, whatever other factors are involved, the variation in the use of <m> or <n> is lexically driven. Douvier's categories certainly explain the different preferences for *enviar*+ and *nombre* + highlighted in Af Geijerstam (1964) and Enrique Arias (2010), although it is not possible to establish the exact extent of these preferences as the figures provided in their glossaries include expanded forms. The 'domino-type' process implied by Douvier to explain the spread of the 'emploi abusif' of <n> might be an over

simplification. In Table 3.27 I present data from the *Poema* and the *Fuero de Soria* corresponding to Categories B and C. What is striking in these two early texts is the amount of variation across all five lexical items and across the two categories. This reflects the level of uncertainty as to how to represent /M/ orthographically. The extensive use of the nasal diacritic <̄> in the *Fuero de Soria* is further illustration of this uncertainty. It would appear that, as writing in the vernacular became more common, this uncertainty was to some extent tempered by the influence of the prepositions *en* and *con* which were consistently written with <n>.

Table 3.27 Data from the *Poema* and the *Fuero de Soria*

<i>Poema</i> ⁴¹	<m>	<n>	<̄>
Companna +	10	18	3
Complir +	4	7	2
Comprar +	0	2	0
Campo +	32	6	1
Nombre +	8	3	0
<i>Fuero de Soria</i> ⁴²			
Companna +	2	0	3
Complir +	8	5	25
Comprar +	11	1	20
Campo +	1	0	2
Nombre +	0	0	9

3.4.4 Scribal variation

Douvier (1995: 235) remarks on the variation in the use of <m> and <n> in two manuscripts of the *Suma de los nueve tiempos de los pleitos* and suggests that this

⁴¹ Data from the *Poema* is exhaustive.

⁴² I have taken the data for the *Fuero de Soria* from CORDE. It has been checked against Sánchez (1919) and adjusted to reflect the use of the nasal diacritic.

variation may be attributed to the different preference of the copyists. Douvier provides no details of the provenance and date of these copies and it may well be that there are diatopic and chronological factors to take into consideration. In order to explore the possible impact of change of scribal hand in the *Fazienda* I have correlated the data from section 3.3 against the identified scribal hands in Table 3.28. I include the use of the abbreviated form along with the overall percentages for all options.

Table 3.28 Correlation of <m>, <n>, <̃> with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̃>	%
Hand A	27	10.3	65	24.9	169	64.8
Hand B	23	21.7	30	28.3	53	50
Hand C	8	10.7	29	38.7	38	50.7
Hand D	6	9.4	5	7.8	53	82.8
Overall	222	23.1	298	30.9	443	46

Hand B reveals a slight preference for <m> and Hand C a slight preference for <n>. Hand D favours the abbreviation. However, it is difficult to draw any meaningful inferences from this table. There is undoubtedly significant variation in the representation of /M/ before /b/ and /p/ in the *Fazienda* but this is mainly influenced by the individual lexical item. In order to compare ‘like with like’, in Tables 3.29 and 3.30 I have correlated the two most frequently occurring lexical items against the identified scribal hands. The data serves only to confirm what we already know from the overall figures. *Nōbre* is by far the predominant form with vacillation between *nombre* and *nonbre*. The form *enbiar* is the predominant form, with some use of *embiar* and very marginal use of

ēbiar. There is no evidence that, in the *Fazienda*, different scribal hands have any significant impact on the choice of grapheme to represent /M/ before a bilabial.

Table 3.29 nombre +, nonbre + and nōbre +

Scribal hand	nombre +	%	nonbre +	%	nōbre +	%
Hand A	1	2.1	1	2.1	46	95.8
Hand B	3	16.7	1	5.6	14	77.8
Hand C	1	4.2	3	12.5	20	83.3
Hand D	1	11.1	0	0	8	88.9
Overall	37	18.5	23	11.5	140	77

Table 3.30 embiar +, enbiar + and ēbiar +

Scribal hand	embiar +	%	enbiar +	%	ēbiar +	%
Hand A	5	13.2	33	86.8	0	0
Hand B	1	16.7	5	83.3	0	0
Hand C	0	0	15	93.8	1	6.2
Hand D	0	0	0		0	0
Overall	23	17.4	104	78.8	5	3.8

3.4.5 Lexis

Variation in the choice of <m>, <n> or <̃> to represent /M/ before /b/ or /p/ is inextricably linked to the individual lexical item and any generalised remarks about the use of these graphemes before a bilabial in a particular text need to be contextualised by examining the lexical items in that text. An examination of Tables 3.24 and 3.25 illustrates the varied preferences of different lexical items. We find *fambre* (11) and *fābre* (11), *arambre* (7) and *arābre* (2) eschewing the use of <n>. We find *semblança* + (13) with negligible use of <n> and <̃>, whereas *mēbrar* + (30) is preferred to *menbrar* + (13). These tables also show the impact that one individual lexical item can have on

overall figures. The three forms *nombre*, *nonbre* and *nōbre* (200 examples) represent 30.35% of the 659 examples in Category C. The pattern of occurrence of this one lexical item inevitably affects the overall percentages for this category.

The evidence from the *Poema* similarly illustrates the impact that one or two items can have. Overall there are 226 examples of <m> representing 58.9% of the total forms. However, if we extract *campeador* /*canpeador*/*cāpeador* and *campo*/*canpo*/*cāpo* from the data the outcome is significantly different. In Table 3.31 there is little change in the percentage figures for <̄> without these two items, but the figure for <m> drops dramatically from 58.7% to 23.1% and that for <n> rises to 66.3% from 33.2%.

Table 3.31 *Poema*

	<m>	%	<n>	%	<̄>	%
Overall	226	58.7	128	33.2	31	8.1
Without	39	23.1	112	66.3	18	10.6

3.5 Conclusion

There is no one factor to which we can attribute the variation in the use of the three graphemes <m>, <n> and <̄> to represent /M/ before a bilabial in the *Fazienda*. Clearly morphology plays a part in the use of <n> in Category A and Category B forms such as *enbiar* and *conpanna*. However, orthographic considerations limit the use of <̄> in Category A whereas there is no such constraint on its use with Category B forms. Given that individual lexical items show vastly different preferences it is very difficult to ascribe variation to the intervention of different scribal hands and there appears to be no

clear evidence of this in the *Fazienda*. However, one cannot assume that the preference shown by an individual lexical item in one text will be reflected in any other text. In the *Fazienda* there are 14 cases of *tiempo* +, 21 of *tiempo* + and 12 of *tiēpo* +. The *Fuero de Soria*⁴³ contains 8 cases of *tiempo* and 49 of *tiēpo*.

Category A and Category B items emphasise the role that morphology plays in the choice of grapheme. However, the evidence of forms such *enperador* and *menbrar* + illustrate the extension by analogy of <n> to forms where there is no morphological justification. In Category C some forms clearly prefer <m>, such as *lumbre*, *arambre* and *fambre* whereas *menbrar* + prefers <n>. The nasal diacritic is extensively used to represent /M/. Discounting Category A items where there would appear to be an orthographic constraint on abbreviation, the use of <̄> accounts for 438 (55.73%) of the 786 items. By comparison, in the *Poema* the abbreviation is used in 30 (9.2%) of the 326 Category B and C forms. We can state categorically that the use of abbreviation for /M/ is a signature feature of the *Fazienda*. Before a bilabial the grapheme <̄> appears to function as an ‘archigrapheme’ representing the neutralisation of the distinction between <m> and <n> and reflects the general uncertainty in the use of these graphemes.

⁴³ I have taken the data for the *Fuero de Soria* from CORDE. It has been checked against Sánchez (1919) and adjusted to reflect the use of the nasal diacritic.

Chapter 4

Orthographic variants for the vowel /i/

4.1 Introduction

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 426) stresses the importance of studying those orthographic variants which have no ‘trascendencia fonética’ (*coger/coier*) alongside those which do have or which may have (b/v), in order to provide a true picture of the ‘tradiciones de escritura’. The issue that I focus on in this chapter falls within the former category – the orthographic representation of the full vowel /i/ in the *Fazienda*. Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 433) identifies three graphemes <i>, <j> and <y> which are used for both vocalic and consonantal values. He observes that they are not used arbitrarily but are ‘parcialmente condicionada por la tipología del escrito’ and he highlights the possible visible confusion in rapid reading caused by the juxtaposition of letters such <i> and <u>. I address the use of these variants in word-initial position before a consonant in the *Fazienda* in 4.2. I examine the use of <i>, <y> and <j> in interconsonantal position in 4.3 and in word-final position after a consonant in 4.4. Finally, in 4.5 I assess to what extent variation can be explained by the preference of the lexical item itself or by orthographic constraints. I show that the distribution of these variants does not appear to be random and explore the possibility that different scribal interventions may account for some of this variation.

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 9-10) identifies the graphs <i> and <y> which are used in the *Fazienda* to represent /i/ when it is not in contact with another vowel or when it forms a diphthong or hiatus. Variation occurs with semi-vowels in the *Fazienda*, as in:

- (4.1^a) Rachel era **muy** hermosa Fol. 4^{rb24-5}
- (4.1^b) yo fare cras plouer pedrisco **mui** grant Fol. 14^{vb3-4}
- and
- (4.2^a) Alli **yazen** muchos *martires*. Fol. 39^{va4-5}
- (4.2^b) **iazia** yo tendudo en tierra Fol. 69^{ra2-3}

However, in this chapter I deal only with full vowels, where /i/ occurs between two consonants, as in:

- (4.3^a) e **fizieron** grant batala. Fol. 76^{va9-10}
- (4.3^b) e **dyxol** *que* era de tierra de Moab Fol. 77^{ra8-9}

or in word-final position after a consonant, as in:

- (4.4^a) **Dalli** uinieron al flum Iordan. Fol. 27^{rb35}
- (4.4^b) **Ally** delant Gallizia es *Israel* Fol. 33^{ra31-2}

or in word-initial position before a consonant, as in:

- (4.5^a) e **implire** esta casa de gloria Fol. 73^{va35}
- (4.5^b) e fizo **ymagines** Fol. 57^{vb5-6}

Sanchis Calvo presents her data according to two factors:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Place in the word | a) initial, b) final and c) internal |
| 2) Stress | a) tonic, b) atonic |

4.2.1

Proper Nouns

It would appear that preference for <i> or <y> is lexically driven and there is little scope for scribal autonomy in the choice of graph, as illustrated in Table 4.1. There is just one example of <j>.

Table 4.1 Proper Nouns

<i>		<y>		<j>	
Isaac, Isaach	2	Ysaac, Ysaach	38	Jsaac	1
		Ysacar, Ysachar	5		
Isayas	1	Ysayas, Ysaas	25		
		Ysay	7		
		Ydumee, Ydumea, Ydumera	7		
		Ydidia	2		
		Yza	1		
		Ysmael	7		
Iram	2	Yran, Yram	2		
Israel, Israhel (1)	400	Ysrael, Ysrahel	5		
Israael, Isçraael, Iszrael, Iscrahel	9	Ysçraael	1		
Totals	414		100		1

There is very little variation. The grapheme <y> is preferred for all proper nouns except for *Israel* and there is just one example of the use of <j>. The preference for <i> shown by the proper noun *Israel* is somewhat deceptive as the full form is only written out in full on 13 occasions. The abbreviation *ifrl* is used on 386 occasions. This preference seems to be particularly associated with those Romance Bibles based on the Vulgate as opposed the Hebrew Bible. Table 4.2⁴⁴ presents data from the Biblia Medieval Corpus which contrasts the use of <i> in the *Fazienda*, GE and E6/E8 with use of of <y> in E3, E19, E7/E5 and E4. A closer examination of Matthew E6 and Isaiah E6 suggests

⁴⁴ The figures from BibMed in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 relate to the number of verses in which these items occur and not to the number of items themselves.

that the abbreviation is the preferred form in E6. The form *Israel* occurs 12 times in Montgomery's edition of Matthew E6 and represents expansion of the abbreviation *ifrl*. Similarly, the Enrique-Arias transcription of Isaiah E6 contains 84 examples of the abbreviation *ifrl* expanded to *Israhel* and in one case expanded to *Israel*. There is just one example of *Israhel* written out in full (Isaiah 45:11). However, Table 4.3 shows that this use of <i> does not extend to other common Biblical names, such as Isaiah. The distinctive feature of the *Fazienda* and E6 is not so much the preference for <i> over <y> in the spelling of Israel, but rather the clear preference for the use of the Latin abbreviation *ifrl*.

Table 4.2 **Israel**

	Is(r)rael	Israhel	Ysrael	Ysrahel
<i>Fazienda</i>	399	1	4	1
GE	997	699	1	0
E6/E8	1465	697	0	4
Vulgate	237	2227	0	0
E3	0	0	1838	0
E19	0	0	1373	0
E7/E5	2	0	2304	0
E4	12	0	2460	0

Table 4.3 **Isaiah**

	Isaac	Isaach	Ysa(a)c	Ysaach	Ysaque
<i>Fazienda</i>	1	1	29	10	0
GE	16	9	100	1	0
E6/E8	0	0	42	5	0
Vulgate	100	0	0	0	0
E3	0	0	10	0	96
E19	0	0	1	0	63
E7/E5	0	0	42	0	54
E4	0	0	123	0	0

4.2.2 Other word-initial /i/ + consonant items

With the exception of items that occur only once I detail the other forms with /i/ in word-initial position in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Other word-initial /i/ + consonant items

<i>		<y>		<j>	
idola(s)	2	ydola(s), ydolos (4)	46		
istorias	1	yistoria(s)	2		
isla(s)	2	yisla(s)	4		
inoios	1	ynoios, ynojos	2	jnoio	1
ira	1	yra	4		
imbral	1	yimbral(es)	2		
impio	2				
infierno, ĩfierno	5				
implios, implie, implira, implire	5				
inplyo, inplira, ĩplie, ĩplio	5				
		ymagen(es), ymaien, ymajen, ymagine(s)	18		
		ymaginys, ymaginem (Latin)	2		
id/it	4	yd/yt, ydes, ydos	8	jd	5
ire, iras, ira, iremos	14	yr, yre, yras, yra, yremos, yredes, yran	20	jremos	1
iria/irie, irian/irien	5	yria/yrie	2		
		yua, yuan, hyua, yva	20		
ixio, ixieron, ixen, ixtra	6	yxio, yxieron, yxie(n), yxtra(n), yxstra, yxieren	20		

4.2.3

Summary

There appears to be no constraint on the use of <y> to represent /i/ in word-initial position when followed by a consonant. The two most frequently occurring nouns reveal a preference of the use of <y>. There are 46 examples of *ydola* + with <y> and only 2 with <i>. This lexical item seems to be peculiar to the *Fazienda* prior to 1250. CORDE lists just 2 examples of *idola(s)* (both in the *Fazienda*) and 46 examples of *ydola(s)*, 43 of which are found in the *Fazienda* and the other 3 in the *Liber Regum*. The only examples of *ydolo* listed prior to 1250 are the 4 examples of *ydolos* found in the *Fazienda*, although Ephgrave (1935) does list 2 cases of *ydolos* in Berceo. The rarity of this lexical item can probably be explained by the Biblical nature of the content of the *Fazienda* in comparison with the other pre-1250 documents listed in CORDE. The period 1250-1299 shows much greater use but, in contrast to the *Fazienda*, the masculine form *ydolo(s)* with 153 occurrences is preferred to the feminine *ydola(s)* with just 8 occurrences. There are 18 cases of *ymagen+*, all with the variant <y> despite its Latin etymology <īmagīnem. It is even used when citing in Latin, as in:

(4.9) Faciamus homynem ad ymaginem & symilitudinem nostram.

Fol. 1^{rb23-24}

Vulg Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram Gen 1:26

Forms of the verb *yr* favour the graph <y> but the imperfect forms *yua* and *yuan* account for nearly 40% of these. In this instance the graph <y> is preferred over <i> possibly to make clear its vocalic nature and avoid it being taken for a semi-vowel.

Forms of the verb *exir* also use both variants but show a preference for <y>. On the

evidence of *impio*, *infierno*, *implir*+ and *imbral* it appears that the presence of a following nasal prevents, or at least inhibits, the use of the variant <y>.

4.3 Interconsonantal /i/

I have selected forms from the three frequently occurring verbs *dezir*, *fazer* and *uenir*, which have the following stems containing the phoneme /i/:

dezir /didz-/ (present: the apocopated 3rd person singular form was probably realised as [dits], imperfect, future and conditional)

/dif-/ (preterite, future subjunctive, past subjunctive)

fazer /fidz-/ (preterite: the apocopated 1st person singular form was probably realised as [fits], future subjunctive, past subjunctive, pluperfect)

uenir /bin-/ (imperfect, preterite, future and past subjunctive)

These verb refer to the basic human activities of ‘speaking, doing and coming’ and occur across all contexts throughout the text with a relatively high frequency (1900 tokens) and so constitute a significant dataset for analysis. In order to provide some relative perspective on the *Fazienda* data I present data from CORDE about the use of these variant spellings prior to 1250. In sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.2 and 4.3.4 I present the data for these four forms. In 4.3.5 I examine and compare the pattern of occurrence for the four forms and highlight the remarkable similarity in the pattern of occurrence of the <y> variant.

4.3.1 Orthographic variants of /didz/

The orthographic variants are <diz> and <dyz>. The variant <diz> occurs 263 times (95.3%) and the variant <dyz> 13 times (4.7%). All examples are taken from the verb *dezir* or its compounds.

Table 4.5 *Fazienda* data for /didz/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%
/didz/	263	95.3%	13	4.7

Examples

(4.10^a) Segor **dize** en ebraico Zoar, ço es piscina Fol. 2^{va28-9}

(4.10^b) Assy dezid a myo ermano, sennor Esau, quel **dyze** so sieruo Iacob
Fol. 4^{vb33-34}

(4.11^a) Onde **diz** el bendezir del agua Fol. 31^{rb1-2}

(4.11^b) Onde **dyz** en ebrayco: masterribecquir. Fol. 33^{rb29-30}

Table 4.6 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /didz/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
diz	284	22	dyz	4	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
dize	185	31	dyze	1	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
dizen	590	55	dyzen	1	1	<i>Semejanza del mundo</i>
Total	1059			6		

Table 4.6 highlights the rarity of forms in <y> in interconsonantal position prior to 1250. In these three forms of *dezir* the variant <y> is used on 6 occasions (0.6%) and 5 of these are from the *Fazienda*. Penny (1988: 341-2), in his article on the relationship between graphs and phonemes in interconsonantal position in his corpus for words ending ‘Consonant + *-ino/-jno/-yno/-ito/-jto/-yto*’, concludes that <y> (0.04%) is virtually excluded from the value /i/ and that <j> (0.41%) is very infrequent. Table 4.7 contains his figures.

Table 4.7 Penny’s figures for interconsonantal /i/

Form	Exs	Form	Exs	Total Exs	%
-ino	3666	-ito	987	4653	99.55
-jno	18	-jto	1	19	0.41
-yno	0	-yto	2	2	0.04

4.3.2 Orthographic variants of /fidz/

The variant spellings are <fiz> which occurs 294 times (88.8%) and <fyz> which occurs 37 times (11.2%).

Table 4.8 *Fazienda* data for /fidz/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%
/fidz/	294	88.8	37	11.2

Examples

(4.12^a) E **fizo** Aaron cumol comendo Moysen

Fol. 23^{tb4-5}

- (4.12^b) E **fyzo** assi Moysen a la vista del pueblo. Fol. 7^{va3-4}
- (4.13^a) & **fizieron** y altar & ofrecieron so olocaust Fol. 76^{ra4-5}
- (4.13^b) **Fyzieron** lo assy Moysen & Aaron Fol. 13^{vb28-9}

Table 4.9 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /fiz/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
fiz	72	30	fyz	2	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
fizo	586	57	fyzo	13	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
fizieron	202	32	fyzieron	1	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
Total	860			16		

There are just 16 examples of the use of <y> (1.8%) in these three forms listed in CORDE prior to 1250 and they are all taken from the *Fazienda*. These figures again highlight the rarity of this usage.

4.3.3 Orthographic variants of /dif/

The orthographic variants are <dix> which occurs 999 times (94.3%) and <dyx> which occurs 60 times (5.7%).

Table 4.10 *Fazienda* data for /dif/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%
/dif/	999	94.3	60	5.7

Examples

- (4.14^a) A postremas **dixo** que auia la fuerça en los cabellos. Fol. 82^{va7-8}

- (4.14^b) **Dyxo** Iuda: Sacad la fuera e sea quemada. Fol. 6^{rb13-4}
- (4.15^a) **Dixieron**: Viuo es & sano tv sieruo nuestro padre. Fol. 8^{va23-4}
- (4.15^b) **Dyxieron** los ermanos: Quiçab aun regnaras sobre nos. Fol. 5^{va15-6}

Table 4.11 **CORDE data 1100-1249 for /dif/**

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
dixo	989	36	dyxo	15	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
dixieron	151	18	dyxieron	1	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
Total	1140			16		

Data from CORDE in Table 4.11 shows that there are only 16 examples (1.4%) of *dyxo* and *dyxieron* listed before 1250 and they are all from the *Fazienda*.

4.3.4 Orthographic variants of /bin/

This form presents a more complex picture as it is written with both a <u> (154 times) and <v> (74 times) to represent /b/. There is just one example of <v> before <y> in *vyno* (folio 19^{rb10}). There is also the use of the variant <j> to represent the phoneme /i/. These combinations in the *Fazienda* are detailed in Table 4.12. Forms using <i> predominate (90.4%) and <y> and <j> are used equally (4.8%). The use of the variants <v> and <j> may affect the choice to use <y> or not to represent /i/. However, for the purpose of this chapter I will focus on the use of <y> and its pattern of distribution.

Table 4.12 *Fazienda* data for /bin/

Variant	<ui>	%	<uy>	%	<uj>	%
/bin/	133	86.4	10	6.5	11	7.1
Variant	<vi>		<vy>		<vj>	
/bin/	73	98.6	1	1.4	0	0
Total	206	90.4	11	4.8	11	4.8

Examples

- (4.16^a) Aqui **uino** el rey Saul demandar conseio a la fidenisa Fol. 32^{va25-26}
- (4.16^b) E Jacob **uynos** a Socoth. Fol. 5^{rb14-15}
- (4.16c) el asno en *que* vino. Fol. 53^{ra34}
- (4.17^a) E **uinieron** estos mandaderos a Balaam Fol. 24^{rb17-18}
- (4.17^b) Mouieron se e **uynieron** a so padre Fol. 9^{rb21-22}
- (4.17^c) **Vinieron** le por consolar. Fol. 36^{rb17-18}

CORDE data in Table 4.13 again emphasises the rarity of the variants <uyn> and <vyn> with 3 of the 4 occurrences supplied by the *Fazienda*.

Table 4.13 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /bin/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
uino	123	34	uyno	0	0	
vino	326	69	vyno	1	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
uinieron	14	8	uynieron	0	0	
vinieron	110	18	vynieron	3	2	<i>Fazienda</i> ⁴⁵ , <i>Libro de Apolonio</i>
Total	573			4		

4.3.5 Summary

The data from CORDE in Tables 4.6, 4.9, 4.11 and 4.13 demonstrates the rarity of the use of <y> in interconsonantal position prior to 1250 with 3,632 examples of <i> (98.9%) and 42 examples of <y> (1.1%). The singularity of this usage in the *Fazienda* is emphasised by the fact that 40 of those 42 examples in CORDE are taken from the *Fazienda*. Excluding the *Fazienda* there are just 2 cases of the use of the variant <y> in interconsonantal position in the examples cited from CORDE for the period 1100-1249.

Table 4.14 presents the data for all four forms together. The overall percentage for the use of the <y> is 6.4%. The percentage of <y> for /fidz/is almost double at 11.2%. I cannot explain this. Given the presence of minims on either side of /i/ in the form /bin/ it might be expected that there would be greater use of <y> in this variable to distinguish the vowel from the surrounding minims. This is not the case here. The use of <v> instead of <u> fulfills the same function of distinguishing between adjacent minims and probably explains this seeming discrepancy. Both the use of <y> and of <v> are examples of what

⁴⁵ The two examples listed from the *Fazienda* are transcription errors and should read *uynieron* (Lazar 57.27, Fol. 9^{rb21} and Lazar 114.28, Fol. 35^{vb9})

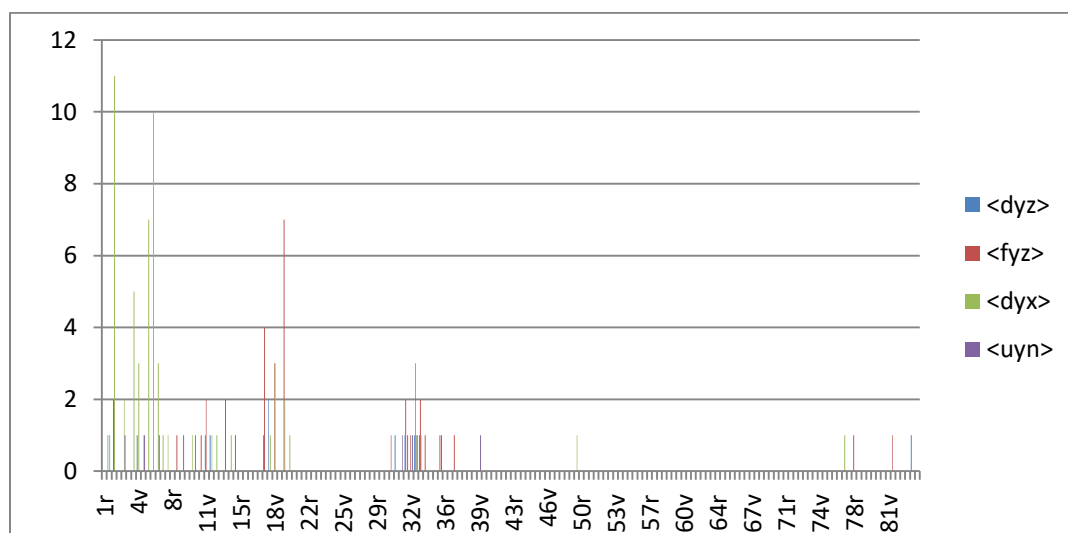
Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 426) regards as ‘la influencia que tiene lo paleográfico en la configuración de la escritura’.

Table 4.14 <i> and <y> in interconsonantal position

Variants	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/didz/	263	95.3	13	4.7	0	0
/fidz/	294	88.8	37	11.2	0	0
/dif/	999	94.3	60	5.7	0	0
/bin/	206	90.4	11	4.8	11	4.8
Totals	1778	93.0	121	6.4	11	0.6

However, it is not just the use of the variant <y> in this position that is a feature of the *Fazienda*, with 121 cases of <y> in the four forms studied. There is very little difference in the pattern of distribution of the <y> variant in the four forms /didz/, /fidz/, /dif/, /bin/ despite the variety in the raw data. This is illustrated in Chart 4.1. There appear to be no linguistic or orthographic factors common to all four forms that can account for this remarkable similarity.

Chart 4.1 All interconsonantal <y> variants



4.4 Consonant + word-final /i/

I have selected six frequently forms which each contain the phoneme /i/ in word final position. They are: the adverb /aʎi/; the adverb /asi/; the adjective and pronoun /mi/; the pronoun /ti/; the conjunction, pronoun and adverb /si/; the conjunction /ni/. I present the data for these forms in sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.5 and 4.4.6. In section 4.4.7 I analyse the occurrence of the variants <i>, <y> and <j> in word-final position, as well as the pattern of occurrence, and compare the findings for each.

4.4.1 Orthographic variants for /aʎi/

The orthograph variants are <allī> (144), <ali> (17), <ally> (29), <aly> (1) and <allj> (1). The use of <ll> or <l>⁴⁶ to represent /ʎ/ does not affect the choice of orthographic variant for /i/ and in my data I make no distinction between these forms.

Table 4.15 *Fazienda* data for /aʎi/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/aʎi/	161	83.9	30	15.6	1	0.5

Examples

(4.18^a) **Alli** delant mont Oliueti, a part de meridie, es Behtfage Fol. 80^{vb14-15}

(4.18^b) **Ally** se transfiguro Christus a sos discipulos Fol. 34^{va5-6}

In Table 4.16 CORDE lists 10 examples of the form *ally* prior to 1250 and they are all taken from the *Fazienda*.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of this feature.

Table 4.16 CORDE 1100-1249 for /a/i/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
alli	152	21	ally	10	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
ali	7	7	aly	0	0	
Total	161			10		

4.4.2 Orthographic variants for /asi/

The orthographic variants are <assi> (162), <asi> (9), <assy> (15) and <asy> (1). The use of <ss> or <s> to represent /s/ does not affect the choice of orthographic variant to represent /i/ and in my data I make no distinction between these forms

Table 4.17 *Fazienda* data for /asi/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%
/asi/	171	91.4	16	8.6

Examples

(4.19^a) E **assi** les auyno. Fol. 32^{vb21}

(4.19^b) E fyzo lo **assy**. Fol. 17^{vb28-29}

In Table 4.17 CORDE lists 22 examples using the <y> variants and 1066 with <i>. The *Fazienda* accounts for 10 of these and the *Semejanza del mundo* for another 10.

Table 4.18 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /asi/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
assi	832	37	assy	9	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
asi	234	52	asy	13	4	<i>Semejanza del mundo</i> x 10, <i>Fazienda</i> x 1, Other x 2
Total	1066			22		

4.4.3 Orthographic variants for /mi/

The variant spellings are are <mi> (161), <my> (59) and <mj> (17). Although /mi/ can have different linguistic functions, this does not appear to affect the choice of variant, as in (4.20^{a&b}) and (4.21^{a&b}).

Table 4.19 *Fazienda* data for /mi/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/mi/	161	67.9	59	24.9	17	7.2

Examples

- (4.20^a) Pon tu mano sobre **mi** anca Fol. 3^{ra}4-5
- (4.20^b) Ahe que no me credran **my** uoz Fol. 12^{vb}5-6
- (4.21^a) Dios omnipotent se aparecio a **mi** Fol. 9^{vb}28-29
- (4.21^b) Aplega los a **my** e bendezir los he Fol. 10^{ra}15-16

Although the <y> variant is somewhat more frequent in Table 4.20, it still occurs less than the variant <j>. 51 of the 54 cases of *my* listed in CORDE are taken from the *Fazienda*.

Table 4.20 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /mi/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
mi	1233	199	my	54	4	<i>Fazienda</i> x 51, others x 3
mj	79	35				
Total	1312			54		

4.4.4 Orthographic variants for /ti/

There are 117 examples of the orthographic variant <ti>, 32 of <ty> and 3 of <tj>.

Table 4.21 *Fazienda* data for /ti/

Variant	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/ti/	117	77	32	21	3	2

Examples

(4.22^a) Trametre mio angel delante **ti** e destroyra tos enemigos. Fol. 20^{vb18-19}

(4.22^b) Non los destroyre ante **ty** en .i. anno Fol. 9^{ra25-26}

(4.22c) prend un adoua e pon la delante **tj** Fol. 62^{vb15-16}

The *Fazienda* is responsible for 27 of the 39 examples of *ty* listed in CORDE in Table 4.22. There also 12 examples from the *Libro de los doce sabios*.

Table 4.22 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /ti/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
ti	398	31	ty	39	2	<i>Fazienda</i> x 27, <i>Libro de los doce sabios</i> x 12
tj	3	3				
Total	401			39		

4.4.5 Orthographic variants for /si/

There are 172 examples of the orthographic variant <si> and 12 of <sy>. The choice of variant does not appear to be affected by a difference in function, as in (4.23^{a&b}) and (4.24^{a&b}).

Table 4.23 *Fazienda* data for /si/

VARIANT	<i>	%	<y>	%
/si/	172	93.5	12	6.5

Examples

(4.23^a) Agora, **si** les parces so peccado. Fol. 20^{va35}

(4.23^b) los tollio delant **si**. Fol. 44^{va28-30}

(4.24^a) **Sy** fallare .I. justos en la cibdat Fol. 2^{rb32-34}

(4.24^b) touo el manto de Iosep ante **sy**

Fol. 6^{va12-13}

Table 4.24 again highlights the scarcity of the variant <y> prior to 1250. CORDE lists 8733 cases of *si* and 58 of *sy*, the majority of them in the *Libro de los doce sabios*.

Table 4.24 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /si/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
si	8733	671	sy	58	6	<i>Fazienda</i> x 7, <i>Libro de los doce sabios</i> x 46, <i>Apolonio</i> x 3, others x 2
sj	3	3				
Total	8736			58		

4.4.6 Orthographic variants for /ni/

There are 68 examples of the variant <ni>, 4 of the variant <nj> and 35 of the variant <ny>.

Table 4.25 *Fazienda* data for /ni/

Variante	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/ni/	68	63.6	35	32.7	4	3.7

Examples

(4.25^a) & nos quemaua **ni** non se desgastaua.

Fol. 12^{rb9-10}

(4.25^b) & non los syrba**s ny** fagas sus huebras

Fol. 19^{ra12-13}

In Table 4.26 the only examples (30) of *ny* listed in CORDE are all taken from the *Fazienda*.

Table 4.26 CORDE data 1100-1249 for /ni/

Form	Exs	Docs	Form	Exs	Docs	Text
ni	1278	167	ny	30	1	<i>Fazienda</i>
nj	329	25				
Total	1607			30		

4.4.7 Summary

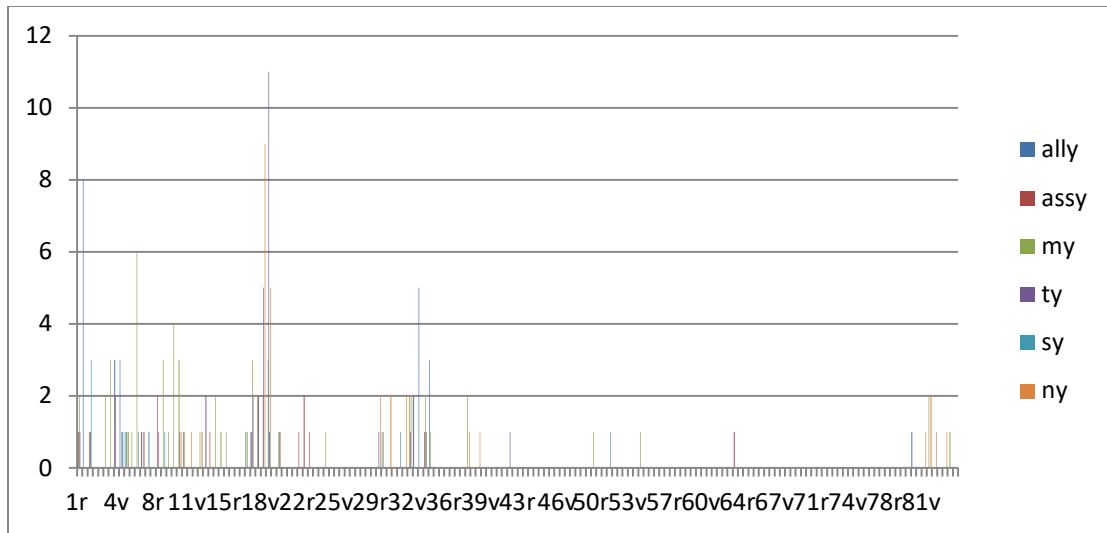
Table 4.27 presents the data for all six forms together. The overall percentage for the use of the <y> is 17.4%. However, there is a significant difference in the use of the <y> variant among the variables. The form /ni/ uses the <y> variant in 32.7% of cases, almost double the overall percentage, and /mi/ in 24.9% of cases. This usage can perhaps be explained by the need to differentiate the vowel from the surrounding consonantal minims. The use of the variant <j> with these two forms is further evidence of an orthographic influence and this is also apparent in the CORDE data in Tables 4.20 and 4.26.

Table 4.27 Orthographic variants to represent word-final /i/

Variants	<i>	%	<y>	%	<j>	%
/a/i/	161	83.9	30	15.6	1	0.5
/asi/	171	91.4	16	8.6	-	-
/mi/	161	67.9	59	24.9	17	7.2
/ti/	117	77	32	21	3	2
/si/	172	93.5	12	6.5	-	-
/ni/	68	63.6	35	32.7	4	3.7
	850	80.3	184	17.4	25	2.4

CORDE data presented in Tables 4.16, 4.18, 4.20, 4.22, 4.24 and 4.26 demonstrates the rarity of the variant <y> in the six selected forms. There are 12,869 instances of the use of <i> and 213 of <y> (1.6%), 135 of which are taken from the *Fazienda*. A comparison of the data for these six forms in the *Fazienda* shows that the use of the variant <y> in word-final position is not conditional on the individual variable but rather presents a common pattern as can be seen in Chart 4.2. There appear to be no linguistic or orthographic factors common to all six forms that can account for this remarkable similarity.

Chart 4.2 All <y> variants to represent word-final /i/



4.5 Conclusion

The data from the four selected forms in interconsonantal position, /didz-/ , /fidz-/ , /dif-/ and /bin/, presented in section 4.3, highlights the extent of the use of the variant <y> with 121 examples (6.4%). A comparison with the data presented by Penny (1988: 341-2), who found only 2 cases (0.04%) of the <y> variant in the 4674 examples in his corpus, emphasises the distinctive nature of this feature in the *Fazienda*. This is supported by the data from CORDE in Tables 4.6, 4.9, 4.11 and 4.13. The data from the six selected forms in word-final position, /aʎi/, /asi/, /mi/, /ti/, /si/ and /ni/, presented in section 4.4, shows a far greater use of the variant <y> with 184 examples (17.4%). Once again the data from CORDE presented in Tables 4.16, 4.18, 4.20, 4.22, 4.24 and 4.26 emphasises the rarity of this usage in the *Fazienda*. Table 4.28 presents this collected data and shows the contribution made by the *Fazienda* to the total of <y> forms - 175 (68.6%).

Table 4.28

All CORDE data 1100-1249

	<i>	%	<y>	%	<i>Fazienda</i>
Interconsonantal	3632	98.9	42	1.1	40
Word-final	12869	98.4	213	1.6	135
Total	16501	98.5	255	1.5	175

A comparison of the figures for the orthographic variants in interconsonantal position and those in word-final position shows that the variant <y> is much more frequent in word-final position (17.4%) than in medial position (6.4%). However, despite the differences in frequency of usage among the variants and differences according to their position in the word, a comparison of Chart 4.1 and Chart 4.2 shows an almost identical pattern of occurrence for the use of <y>. There are no features common to these ten selected variables that can account for such a distinctive pattern. Chart 4.3 illustrates the combined data for all <y> variant tokens in the *Fazienda*. There is a very distinctive pattern of occurrence for the use of the <y> to represent /i/.

Chart 4.3

Distribution pattern for all <y> forms

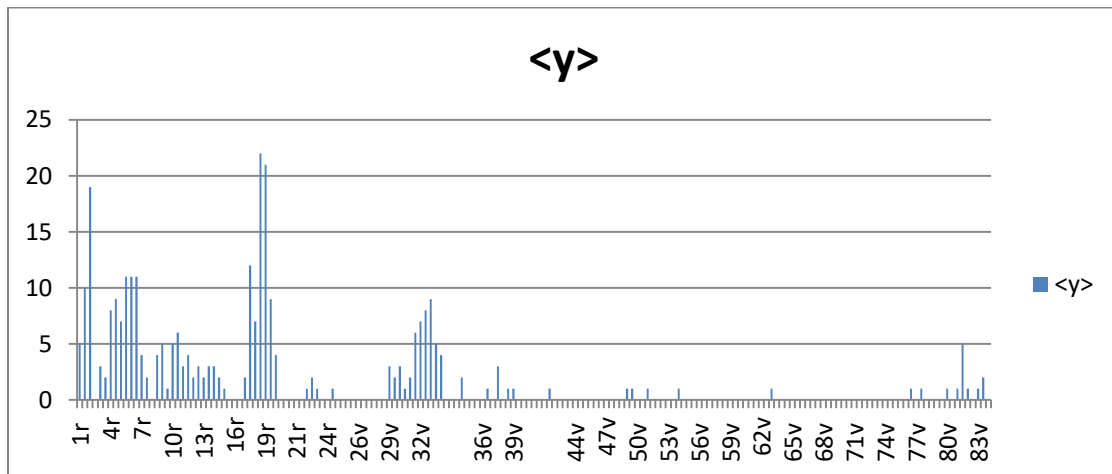


Table 4.29 presents a correlation of the variants <i> and <y> with the four identified scribal hands. The figures in Table 4.29 show the degree of correlation between the choice of the <y> variant to represent the close vowel /i/ in the scribal hands: Hand A - 26.7%, Hand B -16.9%, Hand C - 2.8%, Hand D - 6.9%, and 1.3% in the rest of the text.

Table 4.29 Correlation of <i> and <y> variants with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<i>	%	<y>	%
Hand A	611	73.3	223	26.7
Hand B	246	83.1	50	16.9
Hand C	207	97.2	6	2.8
Hand D	135	93.1	11	6.9
Other	1199	98.7	16	1.3

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 433) makes the point that the use of i, j or y, whether used as a consonant or vowel, does not reflect an arbitrary choice. The evidence of the data shows quite clearly that the use of <y> identified in this chapter is not arbitrary but reflects the choice of an individual scribe. If we focus just on the use of the <y>, Table 4.30 illustrates the extent of that choice.

Table 4.30 Correlation of <y> with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<y>	%
Hand A	223	73.1
Hand B	50	16.4
Hand C	6	2.0
Hand D	11	3.3
Other	16	5.2

Out of a total of 306 occurrences of <y> in the *Fazienda* there are 290 occurrences in the 10 selected tokens in the *Fazienda*. Although the number of words in each hand is different, these four hands account 94.8% of the use of <y>. Hand A and Hand B alone, despite accounting for just one third of the text, are responsible for nearly 90% of the <y> occurrences.

- Hand A accounts for 223 occurrences. **73.1%**
- Hand B accounts for 50 occurrences. **16.4%**
- Hand C accounts for 6 occurrences. **2%**
- Hand D accounts for 10 occurrences. **3.3%**
- Rest of the text **5.2%**

llevan *ll* voces como *villa*, *gallos*, etc, hay otras que no la llevan y debían llevarla: *lamar*, *laño*, *legar*, *alegar*, pues Per Abbat jamás escribe *ll*- inicial'. He goes on to list several words which use <l> and <ll>, as in:

(5.5a) Yo adobare con ducho por mi τ pora mif **vaffallos** *Poema* 249

(5.5^b) Grant a elgozo myo Çid con todos los **vaffalos** *Poema* 803

(5.6^a) El **caftielo** dexo en fo poder, el Campeador caualga *Poema* 486

(5.6^b) En efte **caftiello** grand auer auemos prefo *Poema* 617

He also lists several words which use <l> and which occur on one occasion: *estrelas* (332), *folon* (960), *capielo* (3492) etc. According to Menéndez Pidal 'Este parece un rasgo arcaico de la escritura de Per Abat, que no abunda ya en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII'. In section 5.2 I present and analyse data for the use of <l> to represent /l/ intervocalically throughout the *Fazienda*.

Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 439) remarks that the use of <r> to represent /r/ in intervocalic position is very rare in chancery documents from Ferdinand III and in Alphonsine codices, although it does occur elsewhere, and cites the preference for *ariba* (19 cases) over *arriba* (4 cases) in the *Fuero de Alcalá*. Again, Sánchez-Prieto does not indicate how widespread this pattern of usage is in the text. Martínez Álvarez (1988: 921) notes that, in the *Fazienda*, 'la grafía <r> for <rr> es muy frecuente', although she does not quantify that frequency. In section 5.3 I present and analyse data for the use of <r> to represent /r/ intervocalically throughout the *Fazienda*. In section 5.4 I consider separately the forms *tiera* and *tierra*, alongside the use of the abbreviation *třa*.

5.2 Use of <l> to represent /ʎ/ intervocalically

In the *Fazienda* there are no examples of <ll> in word-initial position. The consonant groups <cl-> (104 cases), <fl-> (53 cases) and <pl-> (238 cases) are consistently maintained, with just two exceptions:

(5.7^a) Qvando lo entendio, **lego** lo assi e tento lo Fol. 3^{vb13-15}

(5.7^b) Estonz **lego** Nabucodonosor a la puerta del camino Fol. 65^{vb13-15}

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 39) raises the possibility that these two cases may not be the only examples of palatalisation, as the use of the graphs <cl->, <fl-> and <pl-> could be merely ‘cultismo gráfico’. However, given what she regards as the strong Gallo-Romance influence on the *Fazienda*, she considers that ‘las grafías PL-, CL- y FL- reflejan en muchas ocasiones el mantenimiento de estos grupos en la pronunciación’. There are three clear examples of palatalisation of *pl-* after a prefix, as in:

(5.8^a) Prent el blago e **allega** tod el pueblo Fol. 23^{va4-5}

(5.8^b) E los de Iabes **allegaron** se muchos Fol. 32^{ra5-6}

(5.8^c) **Alleguem** al uno de los *que* estauan Fol. 68^{ra3-4}

There is also one occasion where <l> appears to be used to represent this palatalisation:

(5.9) E **alegaras** estos e iazras sobre to lado diestro la segunda uez
Fol. 62^{vb29-30}

The reference is to Ezekiel 4:6 but the use of *alegaras* to correspond to *compleveris* is not convincing and it may be a scribal error.

Vulg et cum compleveris haec dormies super latus tuum dexterum secundo

Ezek 4:6

Table 5.1 shows that the graph <l> is used to represent /k/ intervocalically on 50 occasions (4.5%) compared to the 1053 occasions (95.5%) that <ll> is used. There are several lexical items which only use <ll>, for instance *cauallo* + (23 cases), *uassallo* + (23 cases) and *cabello* + (7 cases). Those lexical items which use both <ll> and <l> are listed in Table 5.2. It is clear that even in these items the <l> graph is a marginal variant.

Table 5.1 Orthographic representation of /k/

<l>	%	<ll>	%
50	4.5	1053	95.5

Table 5.2 Lexical items with <l> and <ll>

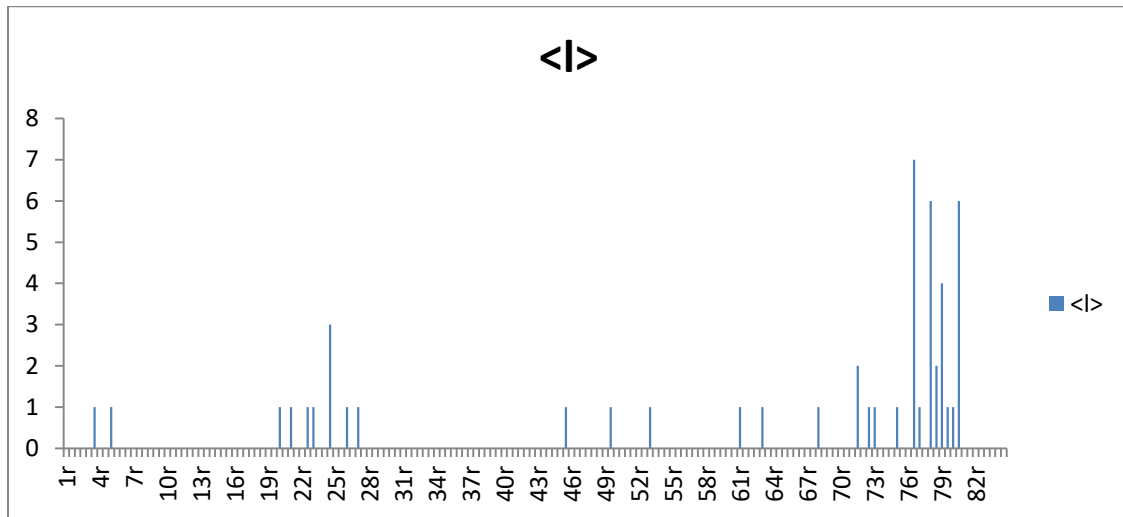
	<l>	<ll>
allegar +	1	3
allent +	1	4
alli +	18	174
aquell- +	4	57
batalla +	4	34
destellar +	1	2
ello(s) +	7	203
ella(s) +	2	124
fallar +	2	38
follonia +	1	5
marauillas +	2	18
romasalla +	1	4
toller +	2	16
trillar +	2	3
ualle +	1	5
-iell- +	1	39
Totals	50	730
%	6.4	93.6

However, it is the pattern of distribution of the <l> variant that is remarkable. 28 of the 50 cases of <l> occur between folios 76v and 80v. Chart 5.1 provides a visual illustration of this distribution. The 18 cases of *ali/aly* (42.9%), as well as 24 cases of *alli* (57.1%), occur between folios 78r and 80v which corresponds to a large passage of material from a Holy Land itinerary, detailing events associated with Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Calvary and Galilee. There are also descriptions of the lives and martyrdoms of several of the apostles and where they were buried. The geographic nature of this material explains the 42 cases of /aʎi/ but not the extent of the use of <l>. A correlation with the four identified scribal hands in Table 5.3 provides no clear explanation for this pattern of use. However, it does show that none of the scribes favour the use of <l>. The use of <l> is absent from Hands C and D, and there is only one example in Hand B and two in Hand A. Although these four hands account for some 45% of the word count, they comprise only 6.4% of the use of <l>. It is clear that the use of <l>, or rather the non-use of <l>, correlates in some way with scribal intervention.

Table 5.3 Correlation of <l> and <ll> with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<l>	%	<ll>	%
Hand A	2	0.9	221	100
Hand B	1	0.5	199	100
Hand C	0	0.0	119	10
Hand D	0	0.0	54	100
Other	47	9.3	460	90.7

Chart 5.1 **Distribution of <l> variant**



5.3 **Use of <r> to represent /r/ intervocalically**

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 42) talks of the uncertainty in the representation of intervocalic /r/ and /r/ in the *Fazienda*. She goes on to state that ‘la vibrante simple se escribe <r> prácticamente siempre’, whereas /r/ can be represented by <rr> or <r>. Table 5.4 shows the use of <r> and <rr> to represent /r/ in the *Fazienda*.

Table 5.4 **Orthographic representation of /r/**

<r>	%	<rr>	%
172	29.2	418	70.8

There are 418 cases of <rr> (70.8%) representing /r/ and 172 cases of <r> (29.2%), confirming the comment by Martínez Álvarez on the frequency of this feature in the *Fazienda*. There is one example of a form that occurs only with <r>:

(5.10) Taia el arbol e taia sus ramas e sacodit ent la foia e deramo so
fructo

Fol. 66^{ra21-23}

The text corresponds to Daniel 4:11:

Vulg succidit arborem et praecidite ramos eius excutite folia eius et dispergite
fructum eius Dan 4: 11

The form *deramo* appears to be an error, probably for *derama* rather than *deramad*. The texts of E3, E4 and Arragel have *derramad*.

There are several lexical items that only use <rr>: *carro* + (3 cases), *accarrear*, *barragan* + (2 cases), *guerra* + (3 cases), *serrar*, *sierra* (3 cases), *soccarrado*, *arrincados* (probably an error for *arrinconados*), *parra* (2 cases). Table 5.5 contains all those lexical items which use <rr> or <r> to represent /r/. I have not included those items where the difference in graph represents a phonemic difference: *marrido* and *marido*; *querrie*, the syncopated conditional of *querer*, and *querie*, the imperfect tense. I do not include *morrien*, the syncopated conditional of *morir*, but I do include the future forms, as in:

(5.11^a) Ca asi cum omne muere, **moran** aquellos. Fol. 22^{vb32-33}

(5.11^b) el Criador le mostrara de qual muert **morra**. Fol. 44^{ra19-21}

I exclude *ferre* (2 cases), *ferras* (2 cases), *ferra* (2 cases) and *ferran*, the syncopated future forms of *ferir*, as possible confusion with future forms of *fer* would constrain the use of <r> in this instance. Similarly, I have not included *verran* and *uerra* (2 cases), the alternative syncopated future forms of *uenir*. The same constraint would apply in order to

prevent possible confusion with future forms of *uer*. The list does not contain the 12 cases of *soterrar* + which contains a diacritic after the <t>, as in:

(5.12) e alli los **so*t*'rarō**

Fol. 45^{rb5}

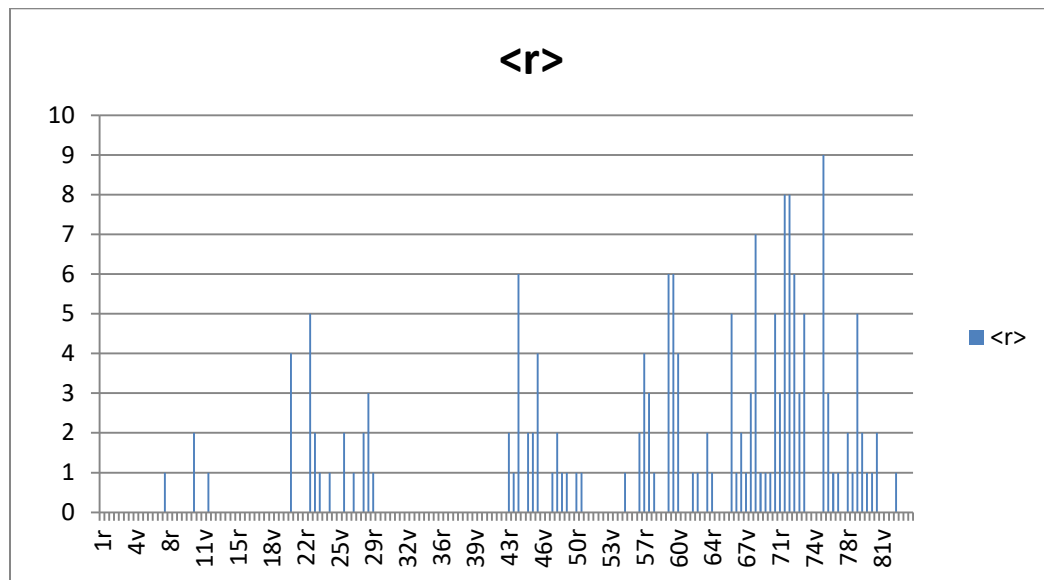
as it is impossible to be certain whether the diacritic is an abbreviation for the vowel *e*, as in ‘soteraron’ or for the combination *re*, as in ‘soterraron’. The abbreviation *třa* is used on 189 occasions and will be considered in section 5.4.

Table 5.5 Lexical items with <r> and <rr>

	<r>	<rr>
aborrecer +	9	9
algarra +	1	2
arrancar +	3	4
arredrar +	3	1
arribar +	1	1
barruntar +	4	5
carrera +	6	37
cerrar +	5	12
correr +	12	12
derredor +	5	11
errar +	10	9
esterrar +	1	5
fierro +	6	12
morr- +	3	16
soterrar +	21	45
tierra +	69	181
torre +	3	2
torrente +	1	12
uezerro +	3	12
---rronper +	5	3
Total	171	391
%	30.4	69.6

The overall percentage figure of 29.2% for the use of <r> for /r/ contrasts significantly with that of 4.5% for the use of <l> for /l/. However, as with the use of <l>, the use for <r> also shows an unusual pattern of distribution. This can be seen in Chart 5.2.

Chart 5.2 **Distribution of <r> variant**



A correlation with the four identified scribal hands in Table 5.6 presents a similar picture to that in Table 5.3. The use of <r> is absent from Hand C and there is one example in D. In Hand A there are four examples and in Hand B there are seven. In Table 5.3 the four hands contain 3 examples of the use of <l> (6.4%) and in Table 5.6 they contain 12 examples of the use of <r> (7.5%). This remarkable similarity would appear to indicate that the choice of the <l> variant and that of the <r> variant are somehow linked, and that both patterns reflect the influence of scribal intervention.

Table 5.6 Correlation of <r> and <rr> with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<r>	%	<rr>	%
Hand A	4	2.5	153	97.5
Hand B	7	21.9	25	78.1
Hand C	0	0.0	28	100
Hand D	1	4.8	20	95.2
Other	160	45.5	192	54.5

5.4 Variants for < Latin *tĕrram*

The product of Latin *tĕrram* is rendered in three different ways in the *Fazienda*, using *tiera*, *tierra* and *třa*, as shown in Table 5.7. The form *tiera* 69 times (15.7%), the form *tierra* occurs 181 times (41.2%) and the abbreviation *třa* on 189 occasions (43.1%).

Table 5.7 Variants for < Latin *tĕrram*

<i>tiera</i>	%	<i>tierra</i>	%	<i>třa</i>	%
69	15.7	181	41.2	189	43.1

Table 5.8 shows the information provided by CORDE for the use of *tiera* and *tierra* in two periods, 1100-99 and 1200-49. There are only 11 listed occurrences of *tiera(s)* prior to 1250, one of which is in the *Fazienda*. Four are in documents from the monastery of Santa María de Trianos, one in a document from the Monastery de las Huelgas⁴⁸, one in the *Fuero de Usagre* and four in the *Pesquisa de bienes que pertenecían a Santa María del Puerto*. This highlights two points: firstly, the scarcity of the form *tiera* in a 150-year period and, secondly, the affect that Lazar's flawed edition can have on linguistic data. CORDE correctly records the one occurrence of *tiera* in

⁴⁸ Doc. 177 in Menéndez Pidal (1919). The scribe is Lop.

Lazar's edition of the *Fazienda* (Lazar 134.15) but the other 68 occurrences of *tierra* in the manuscript go unrecorded.

Table 5.8 *tierra* and *tierra* in CORDE

	1100-99			1200-1249	
tierra	-			10 (5)	1 in <i>Fazienda</i>
tieras	-			1 (1)	<i>Trianos</i>
tierra	137 (12)	50 in <i>Soria-45 Poema</i>		1534 (145)	384 in <i>Fazienda</i>
tierras	48 (5)	43 in <i>Poema</i>		213 (84)	7 in <i>Fazienda</i>

CORDE does not use italics to show expansion of an abbreviation. Therefore, to provide a wider perspective on the use of *tierra*, *tierra* and the abbreviation *t̄ra* in the *Fazienda* I have examined the use of these three forms in the *Fuero de Soria*, the *Poema* and in E6, with particular reference to Matthew E6.

Fuero de Soria The form *tierra* does not occur in the *Fuero de Soria*. There are 37 cases of *tierra* (74%) and 13 of the abbreviation *t̄ra* (26%).

Poema There are no examples of *tierra* in the *Poema*. My figures for *tierra(s)* differ from those listed in CORDE, which uses Montaner's 1993 edition. My data is taken from Waltman (1938) and checked against Menéndez Pidal's palaeographic edition (1964). Menéndez Pidal expands the abbreviation *t̄ra* to *tierra*. I have checked all forms to determine the use of the abbreviation and the details are shown in Table 5.9. The abbreviation is clearly the preferred form accounting for 81.2% of all occurrences.

Table 5.9 *Poema data*

					Totals	%
<rr>	tierra	6	tierras	9	15	18.8
abbrev	třa	39	třas	26	65	81.2

E6 The concordance to Enrique-Arias (2010) provides the following information. There are 1560 occurrences of *tierra* and 93 of *tierras*. On quickly scanning the text it would appear that the abbreviation is little used. A detailed examination of Matthew E6 reveals that form *tierra(s)* is used on 63 occasions and there is no use of the abbreviation. In the concordance there are just two forms listed of the <r> variant: *tiera* in 2 Peter 3:5 and *tieras* in 2 Maccabees 9: 24. However, the second example is *třa^s* in the manuscript and has been expanded to *tieras*. All three texts eschew the <r> variant *tiera* but the use of the abbreviation varies dramatically.

- The *Fuero de Soria* prefers the full form *tierra*. **74%**
- The *Poema* prefers the abbreviation *třa*. **81.2%**
- E6 uses the full form *tierra* almost exclusively.

By comparison

- The *Fazienda* uses *tiera* 69 times. **15.7%**
- The *Fazienda* uses *tierra* 181 times. **41.2%**
- The *Fazienda* uses the abbreviation *třa* 189 times. **43.1%**

The widely different patterns of distribution for these three forms in the *Fazienda* are highlighted in Chart 5.3, Chart 5.4 and Chart 5.5.

Chart 5.3 Distribution pattern of *tierra*

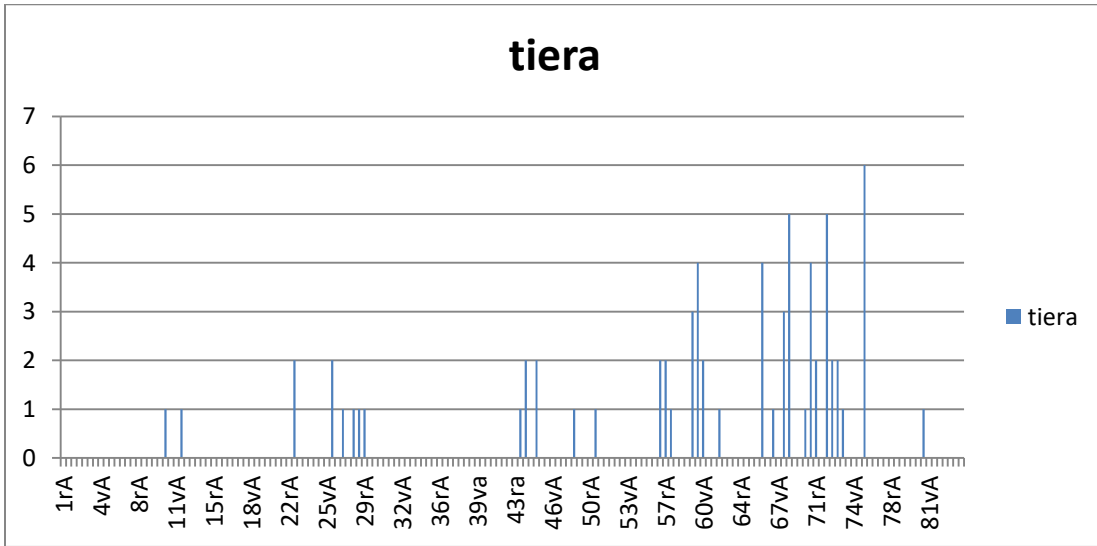


Chart 5.4 Distribution pattern of *tierra*

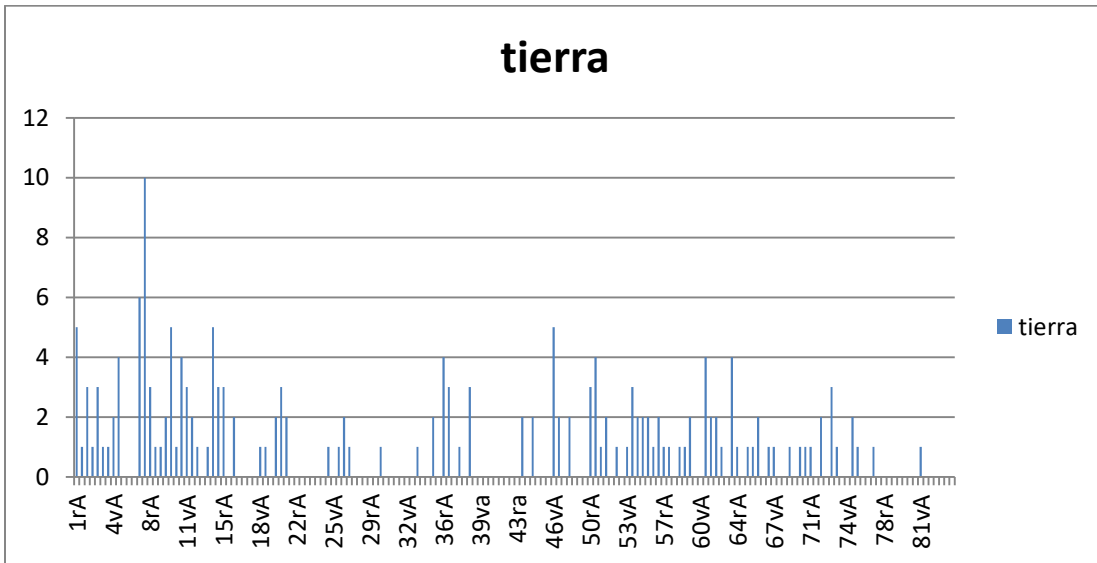


Chart 5.5 **Distribution pattern of *třa***

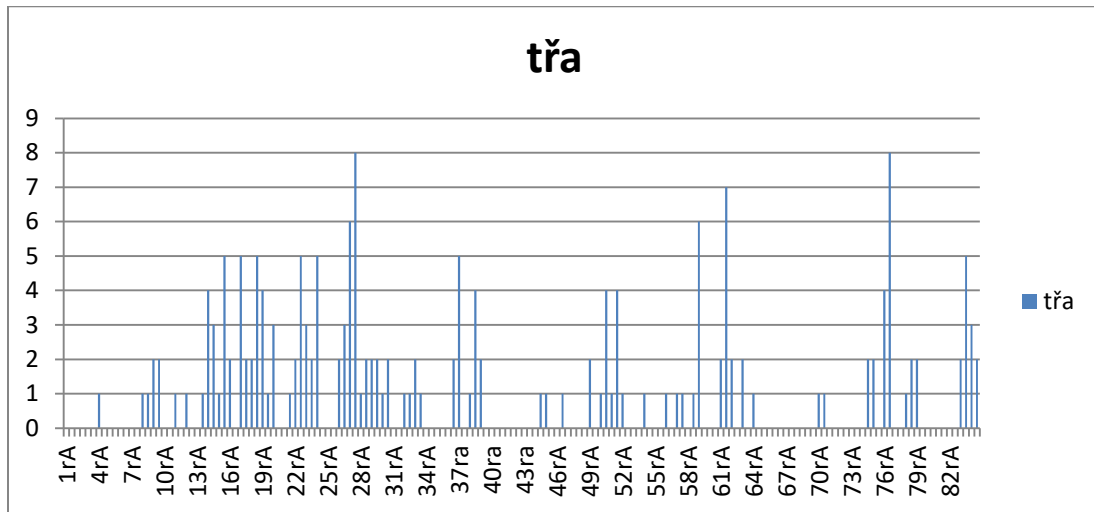


Table 5.10 shows the correlation of the three variants *tiera*, *tierra* and *třa* with the four identified scribal hands.

Hand A prefers *tierra* (61.4%) over *třa* (37%) and rarely uses *tiera* (1.6%).

Hand B prefers *třa* (74.4) over both *tierra* (16.3) and *tiera* (9.3%).

Hand C does not use *tiera* but uses both *tierra* (44%) and *třa* (56).

Hand D does not use *tiera* and uses *tierra* just once (7.7%). The use of *třa* predominates (92.3%).

However, the distinctiveness of these four scribal hands can best be appreciated if we compare them to the usage in other parts of the text. Elsewhere, usage is fairly evenly spread, *tiera* 63 (27.2%), *tierra* 84 (36.4%) and *třa* 84 (36.4%).

Table 5.10 Correlation of variants with scribal hands

Scribal hand	<i>tierra</i>	%	<i>tierra</i>	%	<i>třa</i>	%
Hand A	2	1.6	78	61.4	47	37
Hand B	4	9.3	7	16.3	32	74.4
Hand C	0	0.0	11	44.0	14	56.0
Hand D	0	0.0	1	7.7	12	92.3
Other	63	27.2	84	36.4	84	36.4

5.4.1 Summary

The data from CORDE for the form *tierra* highlights the singularity of the *Fazienda* in the use of this variant. Prior to 1250 CORDE lists only 10 examples of *tierra* that do not occur in the *Fazienda*. There are actually 69 examples of *tierra* in the *Fazienda*. If we discount the form *tierra*, Table 5.11 presents an interesting picture of the use of the abbreviation *třa* and *tierra* in the *Fuero de Soria*, the *Poema*, Matthew E6 and the *Fazienda*. Each text has its own individual, and very different, orthographic fingerprint and justifies the consideration of the abbreviation as a grapheme in its right.

Table 5.11 Use of *tierra* and *třa*

	<i>tierra</i>	%	<i>třa</i>	%
<i>Soria</i>	37	74	13	26
<i>Poema</i>	15	18.8	65	81.2
Matthew	63	100	0	0.0
<i>Fazienda</i>	181	48.9	189	51.1

5.5 Conclusion

The use of <l> to represent /ʎ/ is not unique to the *Fazienda*, as evidenced by the data from the *Poema*. However, there is a significant difference between the use of <l> to

represent /ʎ/ (4.5%) and the use of <r> to represent /r/ (29.2%), although the pattern of distribution for both of them is somewhat uneven and remarkably similar, as shown in Chart 5.1 and Chart 5.2, and Table 5.3 and Table 5.6. The lexical item itself can clearly play some part in the choice of variant. *Cauallo* + only uses <ll>, while *errar* + marginally prefers <r> to <rr>.

The data for the variable (< tērram) in Table 5.7 avoids any individual lexical bias and with 439 tokens gives a comprehensive picture of the use of the three orthographic representations *tiera*, *tierra* and *třa* in the *Fazienda*. The data from Table 5.10, along with that from Table 5.3 and that from Table 5.6, provide further evidence that the intervention of different scribal hands has some impact on the choice of variant.

Chapter 6

The variable (< quōmōdo)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the variable (< quōmōdo) which has the variants *como*, *cuemo*, *cumo*, *cum*, *com* and *con* in the *Fazienda*. Corominas (1970: 870-1) details the various outcomes of *quōmōdo* (Vulgar Latin contraction *quomo*, attested in the 2nd or 3rd century AD) in medieval Spanish. Alongside *como* and *commo* he lists the variant *cuemo*, which occurs as *quemo* in the *Glosas Emilianenses*⁴⁹ and which occurs up to the end of the 14th century. He also lists the form *cumo* which he describes as *mirandés*⁵⁰ and cites Leite de Vasconcellos who describes this form as ‘quasi sempre proclitica’ (1900: 231). Corominas also lists the form *cum* which he states ‘corresponde a un uso completamente átono’. These variants, as well as *com* and *con*, are all represented in the *Fazienda*. The forms *cuemo* and *como* are generally regarded as corresponding to the presence or absence of word stress. Macpherson (1975: 134) refers to Old Spanish *como* (unstressed) and states that in a stressed position the result was Old Spanish *cuemo*. García de Diego (1970: 197) observes that ‘en español había doble forma tónica y átona en ‘*ie e, cuemo como, huembre hombre, cuende conde*’.

Cornu (1884: 299) refers to the ‘plusieurs exemples’ of *cuemo* in the *Poema* and states that the use of *commo* or *cuemo* in the *Poema* ‘est déterminé par le sens’, although the comment that he adds focuses more on function than meaning. He observes that ‘la

⁴⁹ Glosa Emilianense 115: Uidebis claritatem Dei sicut facie ad faciem, non per speciem neque per uelamen [quemo enos pillu noke non quemo eno uello]

⁵⁰ Miranda do Douro, northeastern Portugal.

première de ces formes est sans accent’ and that its function is purely comparative, whereas ‘la seconde est fortement accentué’. He describes the use of *cuemo* as ‘interrogative, exclamative ou emphatique’. He also notes its use as a correlative with *assi* when it appears first, as in:

(6.1) **Cuemo** lo mando myo Çid, **affi** lo an todos ha far. *Poema* 322⁵¹

Corominas (1970: 870-1) cites these observations by Cornu to support the theory of a tonic form *cuemo* and an atonic form *como*. Menéndez Pidal (1964: I, 291) observes ‘la tendencia de considerar á *cuemo* preferentemente tónico’, whether interrogative as in:

(6.2) Lengua fin manos, **cuemo** ofas fablar? *Poema* 3328

or emphatic, as in:

(6.3) O **cuemo** faliera de Castiella Albarfanez con estas dueñas *Poema* 1512

He also notes the use of *cuemo* in combination with *assi* when the two adverbs are not used together, as in (6.1). Morreale (1983: 70) compares the distribution of *cuemo* and *como* in the *Poema*, which she describes as ‘claramente prosódica’, with their distribution in E6, which she regards as only ‘parcialmente prosódica (con *cuemo* tres veces de cada dos en posición tónica)’. She provides no details to support her description of their distribution in the *Poema* as ‘claramente prosódica’ but would appear to suggest that stress is the determining factor.

Menéndez Pidal (1964: I, 148) does point out that in the *Diplomas* of Alfonso X written by Alvar García de Frómista ‘abunda *cumo*’, whereas Juan Pérez de Cuenca

⁵¹ Citations from the *Poema* indicate the line number and are taken from Menéndez Pidal’s 1964 *Edición Paleográfica*.

prefers *como* and *cuemo*. He goes on to suggest that *cumo* could be a Leonese form, with the diphthong reduced to ‘u’. Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 435) notes that *cuemo* is a frequent form in E6, though far less so in Alphonsine codices. He adds that *cuemo* does not occur in the majority of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, written under Sancho IV, but is frequently used in the final folios, which he notes ‘indica cambio de mano’. Duncan (1950: 255-7) identifies two ways in which a copyist may influence the preference for *como* or *cuemo*. Firstly, he notes that of the 113 instances of *cuemo* in the fourth part of the *General Estoria*, where the form *como* predominates, 62 are divided between the end of one line and the beginning of the next. Another 13 instances fill the final space in a line thus helping to justify the right-hand margin. In comparison, although there are 4,494 cases of *como*, only 310 divide at the end of a line. He observes that ‘la desigualdad entre el 66% (*cuemo*) y el 7% (*como*) sugiere la posibilidad de que la posición en la línea sea un factor que influya en la preferencia de una forma u otra’. According to this theory, the copyist, although preferring *como*, chooses an appropriate form to fill the number of spaces left at the end of a line. Thus, faced with three spaces, the choice of *cue-* instead of *com-* avoids splitting a syllable and carrying over the *-o* to the start of the next line. Secondly, he notes that in *Astronomía*, with one exception, the change from one form to another only happens on different pages. He points out that it is logical to suppose that ‘el cambio y relevo de copistas se hacía siempre al iniciar una página nueva’.

It would appear that these variants *como*, *cuemo* and *cumo* can be associated either with internal linguistic features: stress, meaning or function, or with external factors: where the manuscript was compiled or copied and the number of scribes involved

and their origin. I propose to examine all the variants of the variable (< quōmōdo) in the *Fazienda* to see to what extent the variation can be ascribed to any of these factors.

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 63), in her discussion of the distribution of these variants in the *Fazienda*, establishes three categories according to function: *interrogativo*, *correlativo de tal o assí*, and *conjunción o adverbio relativo*. Although these forms are often referred to as either tonic or atonic, I propose to analyse them by category, referring solely to their function in order to assess the possible impact of function on form in the *Fazienda*. I propose to adopt her categories, slightly modified, as follows:

Category 1

Forms used as interrogatives, whether in direct or indirect speech, and forms used in exclamations.

- (6.4) Clamo Moysen a los uieios de *tierra* de *Israel* e dixo les **como** prisiessen el
carnero Fol.16^{ra1-4}

Category 2

Forms used in correlative constructions with *assi/asi*, *tal/atal* or *tanto*. Cornu (1884: 299) comments on the use of *cuemo* with *assi* in the *Poema*. He describes *cuemo* as ‘fortement accentuée’ when it is ‘corrélative de *assi* en tête des comparaisons’. Montgomery (1962: 196) also notes a preference for *cuemo* in correlative constructions when the two elements are separated. However, he describes this usage as ‘átono’. Cornu and Montgomery may use different labels but what is undeniable is their common function. Whether the two forms occur together or separated will be noted.

(6.5) **Cuomo** fecist a Seon, regem Amorreorum, **assi** faras a Hoc, regem Basan.

Fol. 24^{ra32-34}

Category 3

Any other use of these forms, whether as an adverb or conjunction.

(6.6) mas si guardaren tos fijos sue uia *por* andar delant mi **cum** tu andedists
delant mj Fol. 50^{ra17-20}

In order to provide a perspective on the use of these forms in the *Fazienda* and to illustrate their relative frequency in the 12th and 13th centuries, I provide data from CORDE in section 6.2. In section 6.3 I present and analyse the use of these forms in the *Poema de mio Cid* and assess the comments made by Cornu in this regard. In section 6.4 I present the use of these forms in E6 and analyse in detail their use in the Book of Matthew, using the edition of Montgomery (1962). The advantage of a translation based on the Vulgate is that it is possible to relate the use of a particular variant to the original Latin form and I include references to these original forms. It illustrates the extent to which *cuemo* and *como* correspond to either *quomodo* or *sicut*. In 6.5 I analyse the use of the variants of (< quōmōdo) in the *Fazienda* and show that there is no direct correlation between function and form in the use of these variants. In 6.6 I consider whether the variation in these forms may be explained by external factors and correlate their use with different scribal hands. In 6.7 I conclude that function does not impact on form in the *Fazienda* and suggest that scribal intervention may best explain the variation in form. I consider the use of these variants in the *Fazienda* in the light of the CORDE data and make a suggestion about the possible origin of the *Fazienda* manuscript.

6.2

Cuomo and *Cumo* in CORDE

The data from CORDE in Table 6.1 covers three periods: 1100-1199, 1200-1249 and 1250-1299. The number of occurrences of each variant is indicated for each period, followed in brackets and italicised by the number of documents in which that variant occurs. This provides an overview of the use, and change of use, of these variants across a two-hundred-year period. The period 1200-1249 covers the generally accepted date for the *Fazienda* manuscript. CORDE relies on published editions and any flaws in these are reflected in CORDE. I do not include data for *cum* and *com* in the table. The figures for these two variants are difficult to establish given the extent of the use of Latin *cum* in notarial documents and the fact that *com* frequently occurs written separately in words such as *com panna*. Although the data is not exhaustive CORDE does give a qualified picture of the relative frequency of these variants and helps to provide some perspective to the use of these forms in the *Fazienda*.

Table 6.1 CORDE (quōmōdo) variants

	1100-1199	%	1200-1249	%	1250-1299	%
como	176 (<i>17</i>)	53.2	1,968 (<i>178</i>)	88.3	25,176 (<i>1267</i>)	62.5
commo	146 (<i>3</i>)	44.1	25 (<i>16</i>)	1.1	10,297 (<i>435</i>)	25.6
cuemo	4 (<i>1</i>)	1.2	192 (<i>52</i>)	8.6	4729 (<i>299</i>)	11.7
cumo	5 (<i>2</i>)	1.5	45 (<i>23</i>)	2.0	58 (<i>25</i>)	0.1
Totals	331		2,230		40,260	

There is a limited data set for the 12th century. The figures for *como* (176) include 118 cases from just one document, the *Fuero de Soria* (1196). The figures for *commo* are made up almost entirely of 73 examples from the *Fuero de Soria* and 71 from the *Poema*. There are 4 cases of *cuemo* listed, all from the *Poema*. The form *cumo* occurs 4 times in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (1180) and once in a notarial document from Toledo (1191)⁵². Although the data is limited, the forms *cuemo* (1.2%) and *cumo* (1.5%) are clearly very marginal forms.

The figures for the period 1200-1249 include data from the *Fazienda*.⁵³ The form *como* clearly predominates, accounting for 88.2% of all occurrences of the variable (quōmōdo) in 178 documents. The form *commo* is very marginal with only 25 cases (1.1%). There are 193 cases (8.7%) of *cuemo* listed and 45 cases (2.0%) of *cumo*. The *Fazienda* accounts for 87 (45.1%) of the 193 occurrences of *cuemo* and for 10 (22.2%) of the 45 occurrences of *cumo*.

In the period 1250-1300 the form *commo* is used more frequently at 25.6%. This is mainly at the expense of *como* which sees its usage reduced to 62.5% from 88.2%. There is greater use of the form *cuemo* with 4,729 examples (11.7%) and *cumo* is an even more marginal form (0.1%).

I present in detail the occurrences of *cuemo* in 6.2.1 and *cumo* in 6.2.2 in the period 1200-1249. Corominas (1970: 870-1) has described *cumo* as Mirandese and Menéndez Pidal has noted the usage of *cumo* by Alvar García de Frómista and that of *como* by Juan Pérez de Cuenca in the *Diplomas* of Alfonso X. Sánchez-Prieto (2008:

⁵² Menéndez Pidal (1919: 352, doc. 261)

⁵³ CORDE figures for the *Fazienda* are taken from Lazar (1965). They differ slightly from my figures in Table 6.7.

435) highlights the use of ‘la grafía de la vocal cerrada *u*’ to represent the diphthong *ue* in early 13th century Castile and notes that ‘parece un poco más frecuente en los documentos palentinos que los burgaleses’. I have therefore detailed where possible the location associated with each document - often there is a reference to a monastery - in order to identify any diatopic basis for the choice of these forms and to see if the data can inform observations on the use of these forms in the *Fazienda*. I also indicate if they are identified with a particular scribe.

6.2.1 Cuemo in CORDE

There are 192 examples listed. Numbers 36-68 are all taken from Menéndez Pidal’s *Documentos Lingüísticos de España: Reino de Castilla* (1919) and are shown indicating Menéndez Pidal’s document number, the date of the document, the number of examples and the associated location. Other examples show the number of examples, the date of the document and the associated location.

Year	Variant	Documentary Source	Geographical Source	Scribe (if known)
1214-1248	cuemo (10) as(s)i cuemo (9)	Castán Lanaspá (1992)	Monasterio de Santa María de Trianos, Sahagún	
1226	cuemo (4) as(s)i cuemo (5)	Muñoz y Romero (1847)	Escalona, Toledo	
1242	cuemo (6) asi cuemo (1)	García López (1887)	Brihuega, Guadalajara	
1220	asi cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 5	Monasterio de Santa María de Rioseco, Burgos	Petrus Nauairensius
1223	cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 28	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campóo, Palencia	
1236	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 31	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campóo, Palencia	
1237	cuemo, assi cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 86	San Millán de la Cogolla	

Year	Variant	Documentary Source	Geographical Source	Scribe (if known)
1200	cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 155	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	Jacobus monachus
1209	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 161	Catedral de Burgos	Helias scripsit
1222	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 170	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Petrus Pelagij scriptor scripsjt
1226	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 176	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	
1227	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 179	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	Fr. Cristobal scripsit
1228	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 181	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1228, 1232	cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 182	Catedral de Burgos	
1231	assi cuemo (3)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 184	Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, Burgos	Petrus Pelagii scripsit ⁵⁴
1240	cuemo,	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 191	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	
1244	cuemo, asi...cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 193	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	
1217	assi cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 210	Monasterio de Santa María de la Vid, Burgos	
1220	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 212	Monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza, Burgos	
1223	assi cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 213	Monasterio de Santa María de la Vid, Burgos	
1226	cuemo, assi...cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 215	Monasterio de Santa María de la Vid, Burgos	
1233	assi cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 218	Monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza, Burgos	
1243	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 227	Monasterio de San Pelayo de Cerrato, Burgos	
1221	cuemo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 274	Catedral de Toledo	
1235	cuemo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 227	Catedral de Toledo	
1237	cuemo (3) assi cuemo (2)	Alvaro (1950)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1229	cuemo	Alvaro (1950)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1228	cuemo	Alvaro (1950)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1231	assi cuemo (3)	Férotin (1897)	Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos	

⁵⁴ Menendez Pidal (1966: 237) notes 'el escriba pudiera ser el Petrus Pelagii de Arauzo (pueblo al Sur de Silos)'.

Year	Variant	Documentary Source	Geographical Source	Scribe (if known)
1224	cuemo	Serrano (1925)	Monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza, Burgos	
1223	cuemo (2)	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Santa Ovidia	
1206	assi cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Revilla del Campo, Burgos	
1233	cuemo, assi cuemo (3)	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Bobadilla, Burgos	
1239	cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Hospital de Sant Fagunt, Sahagún	
1236	assi cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Villada, Sahagún	
1228	assi cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Val de san Román, León	
1242	cuemo (3), assi cuemo (4)	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Palencia	
1213	cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Palencia	
1237	cuemo (3), assi cuemo (2)	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1229	cuemo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
c1200	cuemo (79), assi/assy cuemo (7), assi....cuemo	Lazar (1965)		
c1240-1272	cuemo, assi cuemo	Littlefield (1985)		

6.2.1.1

Summary

Leaving aside the *Fazienda*, the vast majority of these documents, with the exception of the *Fueros de Escalona* and the *Fuero de Brihuega*, can be associated with a band of territory in Northern Castile, stretching from Logroño in the East to León in the West and have links with a number of monasteries clustered around Sahagún, Palencia and Burgos. The data demonstrates that the use of *cuemo* occurs mainly in documents that can clearly be associated with northern Castile and raises the possibility that the *Fazienda* may have been compiled in one of the monasteries in this area or perhaps copied there.

6.2.2

Cumo in CORDE

There are 45 examples listed. Numbers 1-29 are all taken from Menéndez Pidal's *Documentos Lingüísticos de España: Reino de Castilla* (1919) and are shown indicating Menéndez Pidal's document number, the date of the document, the number of examples and the associated location. Other examples show the number of examples, the date of the document and the associated location.

Year	Variant	Documentary Source	Geographical Source	Scribe (if known)
1201	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 19	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia	
1220	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 19	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia	
1220	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 26	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia	
1214	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 44	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia	
1244	assi cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 58	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1220	cumo (5)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 167	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1220	cumo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 168	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1220	cumo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 169	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1224	cumo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 172	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio

Year	Variant	Documentary Source	Geographical Source	Scribe (if known)
1224	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 173	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1225	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 174	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1226	cumo, assi cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 175	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1227	cumo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 177	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	Lop escriuio
1229	cumo (2), assi cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 183	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	
1234	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 187	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Villamayor de los Montes, Burgos	
1235	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 188	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Villamayor de los Montes, Burgos	
1234	cumo, assi cumo (2)	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 226	Monasterio de San Pelayo de Cerrato, Cervico Navero, Palencia	
1239	cumo	Menéndez Pidal (1919), doc. 279	Calatrava	
1244	assi cumo	Alamo (1950)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
1218-30	cumo (2)	Casado Lobato (1983)	Monasterio de Santa María de Carrizo, Carrizo de la Ribera, León	
1214	cumo	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia	
1244	assi cumo (2)	Sánchez-Prieto (1999)	Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	
c1200	cumo (10)	Lazar (1965)		

6.2.2.1

Summary

All of these documents containing *cumo* are associated with same area of northern Castile as those using *cuemo* in 6.2.1 and this lends weight to the suggestion made in 6.2.1.1 that the manuscript of the *Fazienda* originated in this area. Menéndez Pidal's reference to the abundant use of *cumo* in the diplomas of Alfonso X written by Alvar García de Frómista makes sense when we observe that Frómista is a small town just north of Palencia. The documents show a clear preference for *cuemo* or *cumo* although these forms do not appear to be used interchangeably. An analysis of the monasteries linked to these documents shows that, with a few exceptions, the scribe associated with a particular monastery exhibits a preference for one form or another. The scribe associated with 8 of the 9 documents from Santa María la Real de las Huelgas is identified as Lop and all these documents use the form *cumo*. The vast majority of the forms *cuemo* and *cumo* cited by CORDE for the period 1200-1249 appear in documents from a very specific region in northern Spain, a band running from Logroño to León following the route of the *camino francés* to Santiago. Map 6.1 (p. 230) illustrates this concentration. The numbers on the map correspond to the specific monasteries named in the documents listed in Table 6.2 and run from East to West. Other locations mentioned in the documents are also marked on the map. Given the relative scarcity of these variant forms in the period 1200-1249, as highlighted in the CORDE data, the extensive use of *cuemo*, together with that of *cumo* and *cum*, in the *Fazienda* indicates a clear link to this region. Table 6.2 also indicates the number of occurrences of *cuemo* and *cumo* which can be associated with each monastery.

Table 6.2 **List of monasteries in northern Castile**

	Monastery	
1	Santa María la Real de Bugedo de Juarros, Burgos	cuemo (7)
2	Santo Domingo de Silos, Burgos	cuemo (6)
3	San Pedro de Arlanza, Burgos	cuemo (4)
4	San Salvador de Oña, Burgos	cuemo (13), cumo (4)
5	Santa María de la Vid, Burgos	cuemo (4)
6	Santa María la Real, Villamayor de los Montes, Burgos	cumo (2)
7	Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos	cumo (19)
8	Santa María de Rioseco, Burgos	cuemo (2)
9	San Pelayo de Cerrato, Cervico Navero, Palencia	cuemo (3), cumo (3)
10	Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campóo, Palencia	cuemo (3), cumo (5)
11	Santa María la Real de Trianos, Sahagún	cuemo (19)
12	Santa María de Carrizo, Carrizo de la Ribera, Leon	cumo (2)

There is perhaps another feature of the *Fazienda* which can support an association with this area and to one of these monasteries in particular. It concerns the lexical item *consieglo* which occurs 14 times in the *Fazienda* to indicate ‘evermore, eternity’, and is used in the expression *por consieglo* ‘for ever’. Corominas does not record this form, not even under *siglo*. CORDE does not list *consieglo* but includes 4 occurrences under *sieglo*. There are in fact only two such occurrences in the one document. CORDE actually lists the same document twice, once citing Menéndez-Pidal (1919: 46, doc. 23) and once citing Gifford and Hodcroft (1966: 114, doc. 56). The document is from Aguilar de Campóo, dated 25 October 1219, and concerns the sale of a mill to the monastery of Santa María de Aguilar by Oro Sol and her son Zac. It was first published by Fita (1900) as one of two Hebrew documents and was also included by Huidobro and Cantera (1954) in their article on ‘los judíos en Aguilar de Campóo’. Fita (1900: 341) describes these documents as:

escrituras muy preciosas, que atañen á los hebreos, moradores en Aguilar en 1219 y 1220, las cuales no solamente encierran interés por su fondo histórico, sino por el habla hebreo-castellana de su redacción.

This document is also referred to by Soifer Irish (2016: 62n47), who observes that ‘both documents appear to have been composed or dictated by Jews, since they are dated according to the Jewish calendar’. The Hebrew connection echoes many of the comments of Lazar regarding the Hebrew content of the *Fazienda* in his introduction (1965: 20-27). However, not only are the only other listed instances of *consieglo* in this one document, they both occur in the singular expression *por consieglo*.

(6.7) uendida conplida affirmad & afirmada, tajada & trastaiada, non apor
tornar en ella por consieglo⁵⁵

(6.8) & enfuercen enna uendida esta forzamiento conplido a por con sieglo.

The extreme rarity of the form *consieglo* is evidenced by the fact that Gifford and Hodcroft appear uncertain as to its meaning and in their Glossary list it as: *consieglo*, ¿*consejo*? The expression *por consieglo* occurs on 12 occasions in the *Fazienda*, the expression *troa por consieglo* once and *troa consieglo* on one other occasion. They can all be correlated with a Biblical text. The expression corresponds to *in aeternum*, as in:

(6.9^a) E es mio nonbre **por consjeglo** Fol. 12^{va10-11}

(6.9^b) Hoc nomen mihi est **in aeternum** Exod 3:15

and also in 65^{ra22}, 65^{ra25-26}, 66^{va17}, 68^{ra11-12}, 71^{rb27}, 72^{vb28}.

⁵⁵ These examples are taken from Gifford and Hodcroft (1966: 114, doc. 56)

6.3

Poema de mio Cid

Table 6.3 shows the distribution of *commo/como*, *cuemo/cuemmo* and *cum* by category in the *Poema*. A% figures show distribution of each individual variant within the same category. In Category 1 *commo* accounts for 26 occurrences (89.7%) whereas *cuemo* accounts for 3 (10.3%). B% figures show the distribution of each variant across the three categories. Two of the three examples of *cum* occur in Category 2.

Table 6.3 Form and Function in the *Poema*

Category	1	A%	B%	2	A%	B%	3	A%	B%	Total	%
commo/como	26	89.7	26	25	83.3	25	49	92.5	49.0	100	89.3
cuemo/cuemmo	3	10.3	33.3	3	10.0	33.3	3	5.6	33.3	9	8.0
cum	0	0	0.0	2	6.7	66.7	1	1.9	33.3	3	2.7
Total	29		25.9	30		26.8	53		48.2	112	

6.3.1

Category 1

Commo

There are 26 examples, as in:

(6.13) Afarto veran por los oios **commo** fe gana el pan *Poema* 1643

(6.14) ¡Dios, **commo** fue alegre todo aquel fonffado, *Poema* 926

Cuemo

There are 3 examples, as in:

(6.15) O **cuemo** fáliera de Castiella Albarfanez con eftas dueñas *Poema* 1512

6.3.2

Category 2

Commo

Commo is used with both elements written together on 19 occasions, as in:

- (6.16) **Affi commo** lo dixo, fuyo era el cuydado: *Poema 2975*
- (6.17) Pues que cafares mys fijas, **afi commo** auos plaz, *Poema 2132*
- (6.18) Mas atal cauallo cum eft pora **tal commo** vos, *Poema 3518*

It may have a temporal rather than a comparative meaning, as in:

- (6.19) **Affi commo** entraron, al Çid befaron le las manos *Poema 153*
- (6.20) **Afi commo** lego ala puerta, falola bien çerrada, *Poema 32*

The two elements occur separately on 7 occasions, as in:

- (6.21) Prenden fo conffeio **affi** parientes **commo** fon, *Poema 2988*
- (6.22) **Afis** parten vnos dotros **commo** la vña dela carne. *Poema 375*
- (6.23) **Tal** tienda **commo** efta, que de Maruecos ef paffada, *Poema 1789*

Cuemo

There are 3 examples and the two elements are written separately in all of them, as in:

- (6.24) *Que* **cuemo** ef dicho **affi** fea, omeior. *Poema 3426*

Cum

There are two examples in this category.

(6.25) Con **tal cum** efto fe vençen moros del campo. *Poema 1753*

(6.26) Mas **atal** cauallo **cum** eft pora tal *commo* vos, *Poema 3518*

6.3.3 Category 3

Commo

There are 50 examples, as in:

(6.27) **Commo** ellos tenien, creçer les ya la ganaçia, *Poema 1977*

(6.28) Por efto uos befa laf manos, **commo** vaffallo a feñor *Poema 2948*

There is just one occurrence of the form *como*:

(6.29) Da *qui* uos los acomiendo **como** a Rey τ a feñor *Poema 3488*

Cuemo/cuemmo

There are two examples of *cuemo*:

(6.30) **Cuemo** la vña dela carne ellos partidos fon; *Poema 2642*

(6.31) **Cuemo** yo fo fu vaffallo, τ el ef myo feñor, *Poema 2905*

and one example of *cuemmo*, written as *cuemo* with a diacritic over the ‘m’:

(6.32) **Cuemmo** de buen fefo a Molina fe torno *Poema 2688*

Cum

There is just one example:

(6.33) Con el dos caualleros *quel* aguardan **cum** alfeñor. *Poema* 2930

6.3.4 Summary

In their discussions of the distribution of *como* and *cuemo* Cornu (1884: 299), Corominas (1970: 870-1), Morreale (1983: 70) and Sanchis Calvo (1991: 62) cite the tonic nature of *cuemo* in the *Poema*. However, *cuemo* is a marginal form in the *Poema*, occurring just 9 times (8.0%), only 3 of which are Category 1 forms and may be considered tonic. It is used 3 times in a correlative construction separated from the other element and precedes it on 2 occasions. In the *Poema* *commo* is by far the preferred form across all three categories with 100 occurrences (89.3%) and is used 26 times in Category 1 accounting for 89.7% of all occurrences in this category. In correlative constructions 18 of the 25 occurrences of *commo* have both elements written together, whereas for all 3 occurrences of *cuemo* the elements are written separately, which Cornu also describes as ‘fortement accentuée’ although he does note the use of *commo* in

(6.34) **Commo** ala mi alma yo **tanto** uos *queria*. *Poema* 279

However, the data for the use of *cuemo* and *commo* in the *Poema* presented in Table 6.2 does not support the simple description of *cuemo* as tonic and *commo* as atonic as suggested by Cornu.

6.4

E6

The overall figures for the distribution of forms in E6 are shown in Table 6.4. While the figures in Table 6.1 show an increased use of *cuemo* in the second half of the 13th century at 11.6%, the figure of 46% for E6 is significantly higher, which probably reflects a greater than average use of speech.

Table 6.4 Overall figures for (*quōmōdo*) in E6

Variant	como	%	com	%	cuemo	%	cumo	%	Total
	1316	53.3	16	0.6	1135	46.0	1	0.04	2468

Matthew E6 contains a significant amount of speech, both direct and indirect, which is more open to the interrogative and exclamative forms of Category 1. The Vulgate makes a clear-cut distinction between the interrogative/exclamative *quomodo* (Category 1) and the comparative *sicut* (Categories 2 and 3). Montgomery (1962: 196), describing the distribution of *cuemo* and *como* in Matthew, notes that ‘ambas formas se admiten en cualquier lugar’. The 14 instances of *quomodo* in Matthew all occur in a direct/indirect speech context and are translated by *cuemo* on 12 occasions and by *como* on just 2 occasions. Although *como* is used in Category 1 there is a definite preference for *cuemo*. The form *sicut* is used to make comparisons on 55 occasions and is translated in Matthew E6 as follows: using *como*, as in *assi como* (33), *assi.... como* (1), *tanto como* (1), *como* (5); using *cuemo*, as in *assi cuemo* (2), *atales cuemo* (2), *assi.... cuemo* (1), *tan.... cuemo* (1), *cuemo* (6); and also *en logar* (1), *quanto* (1) and *ca* (1). It would appear that *sicut* is regularly rendered by a correlative construction although a simple *como* or *cuemo* is also used without any apparent difference in meaning or emphasis. Montgomery

observes that *cuemo* is preferred in correlative constructions where the elements are separated and likens this to the usage in the *Poema*. This observation is not supported by the data. In order to assess the influence of function on form in Matthew I present a detailed analysis of the data in Table 6.5.

In Matthew *como* represents 64.9% of occurrences as against 53.3% in E6 as a whole and *cuemo* 34.7% as against 46%. In Table 6.5 A% figures show the distribution of the three forms *como*, *cuemo* and *com* within each category. The 13 occurrences of *cuemo* represents 81.2% of all Category 1 occurrences. B% figures show the distribution of each individual variant across the categories. There are 39 occurrences of *como* in Category 2 (81.3%) and 3 in Category 1 (6.3%)

Table 6.5 Form and Function in Matthew (E6)

Category	1	A%	B%	2	A%	B%	3	A%	B%	Total	%
como	3	18.8	6.3	39	83.0	81.3	6	50.0	12.5	48	64
cuemo	13	81.2	50	7	14.9	26.9	6	50.0	23.1	26	34.7
com	0	0.0	0.0	1	2.1	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	1	1.3
Total	16		21.3	47		62.7	12		16	75	

6.4.1 Category 1

Como

There are three examples in this category. On two occasions *como* is used to translate the Latin *quomodo*, as in:

(6.35) E uos, sierpes, linnage de biuoras, ¿**como** fudredes del iuizio del infierno?

Matt 23:33

Vulg serpentes genimina viperarum **quomodo** fugietis a iudicio gehennae

and on the other occasion *unde*, as in:

(6.36) Los ombres del sennor de la companna dixieron a el: Sennor, ¿e no
sembreste tu bona semiente en tu campo, o **como** a hy ballico?

Matt 13:27⁵⁶

Vulg servi patris familias dixerunt ei domine nonne bonum semen seminasti in
agro tuo **unde** ergo habet zizania

Cuemo

There are 13 examples. *Cuemo* is used to translate *quomodo* on 12 occasions, as
in:

(6.37) E si Sathanas saca al otro Sathanas, departido es entre si; pues ¿**cuemo**
durara so regno? Matt 12:26

Vulg et si Satanas Satanan eicit adversus se divisus est **quomodo** ergo stabit
regnum eius

and *numquid* once, as in:

(6.38) Dixo les Ihesu: ¿**Cuemo** pueden llorar los fiios del esposo, estando con
ellos el esposo? Matt 9:15

⁵⁶ Citations, together with chapter and verse, are from Montgomery (1962).

Vulg et ait illis Iesus **numquid** possunt filii sponsi lugere quamdiu cum illis est
sponsus

6.4.2 Category 2

Como

There are 39 examples in this category. The combination *assi como* is written together on 35 occasions and corresponds to the use of *sicut* in the Vulgate on 33 of these, as in:

(6.39) Quando se leuanto Ioseph del suenno, fizo **assi comol** mando el angel de
Dios, e recibio su mugier. Matt 1:24

Vulg Exurgens autem Ioseph a somno fecit **sicut** praecepit ei angelus Domini
et accepit coniugem suam

The two elements are written separately on 2 occasions, as in:

(6.40) Ca **assi** es **como** un ombre *ques* yua de su tierra e llamo sos ombres e dio
les sus riquezas. Matt 25:14

Vulg **Sicut** enim homo proficiscens vocavit servos tuos

Cuomo

There are 7 examples in this category. The combination *assi cuomo* occurs together on 3 occasions, as in:

(6.41) E por miedo del espantaron se las guardas, e cayeron **assi cuemo** muertos.

Matt 28:4

Vulg Prae timore autem eius exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt **velut** mortui

And separately, as in:

(6.42) Venga el to regno. Sea tu uoluntat, **assi** en tierra **cuemo** es en el cielo.

Matt 6:10

Vulg veniat regnum tuum fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra

And *cuemo* also occurs together with *atal* and *atales*.

Com

There is just one example in this category, which is a slight re-working of Matthew 26:73.

(6.43) E a poca de hora dixieron a Pedro los que estauan hy: En uerdat tu

daquellos eres, ca **assi** fablas **com** ellos.

Matt 26:73

Vulg et post pusillum accesserunt qui stabant et dixerunt Petro vere et tu ex illis

es nam et loquella tua manifestum te facit

6.4.3

Category 3

Como

Como occurs on 6 occasions. It translates *sicut* in the Vulgate on 5 occasions, as in:

(6.44) Quando uio las *compannas*, ouo piedat dellos, ca eran maltrechos, e iazien
como oueias sin pastor. Matt 9:36

Vulg Videns autem turbas misertus est eis quia erant vexati et iacentes **sicut**
oves non habentes pastorem

The exception is (6.45), which is a causal/temporal use and corresponds to *cum*.

(6.45) El linnage de *Christo* assi era: **Como** fuesse desposada Maria, la madre de
Ihesu, con Ioseph, ante que conuiniessen, fue ella prennada de *Spiritu*
Sancto. Matt1:18

Vulg Christi autem generatio sic erat **cum** esset desponsata mater eius Mari
Ioseph antequam convenirent inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto

Cuemo

There are 6 examples, all of which translate the Vulgate *sicut*, as in:

(6.46) E dixo les Pilatus: Si auedes guardas, it e guardat le **cuemo** sabetes.
Matt 27:65

Vulg ait illis Pilatus habetis custodiam ite custodite **sicut** scitis

6.4.4

Summary

Although Montgomery (1962: 196) observes that *como* and *cuemo* can occur anywhere, the data from Matthew provides a very clear picture of the constraints that function can place on the choice of form. Montgomery's comment that *cuemo* is preferred 'para las locuciones adverbiales cuyos elementos se hallan separados' needs to be put into context. Although *como* is used almost exclusively when both elements appear together (*assi como, tanto como*), there are two exceptions (Matthew 20:14 and Matthew 27:8). Only two of the 7 instances of *cuemo* in Category 2 occur when the elements are separated (Matt 6:10, Matt 8:13). There is just one example of *com*, where the two elements are separated. Unlike the data from the *Poema* where there is no clear correlation between form and function the evidence from Matthew shows that in Category 1 and Category 2 function is a major determining factor in the choice of form.

Category 1	<i>Cuemo</i> is the preferred form.	13 examples	81.25%
Category 2	<i>Como</i> is the preferred form.	39 examples	83%
Category 3	Both forms are used equally.	6 examples	50%

6.5

Fazienda

In Table 6.6 Sanchis Calvo (1991: 63) presents her data from the *Fazienda* according to the three categories that she has established. It shows that *cuemo* with 89 occurrences (43.6%) is preferred overall to *como* with 64 occurrences (31.3%).

Table 6.6 Sanchis Calvo data

	Interrogativo	Correlativo de tal o así	Conjunción o adv. relativo	Total	%
como	8	6	50	64	31.3
com	1	6	22	29	14.2
cuemo	9	10	70	89	43.6
cumo	2	1	6	9	4.4
cum	2	5	6	13	6.3
Total	22	28	154	204	

My data in Table 6.7 differs somewhat from that of Sanchis Calvo, which does not accurately reflect the frequency of these forms. There are actually 90 instances of *como* not 64, 32 of *com* not 29, 95 of *cuemo* not 89, 12 of *cumo* not 9 and 21 of *cum* not 13. In addition to the five variants identified by Sanchis Calvo I also include 3 occurrences of the form *con*. A% figures show distribution of each individual variant within the same category. *Como* accounts for 46.4% of the forms in Category 1. B% figures show the distribution of each variant across the three categories. *Cuemo* occurs 9 times in Category 1 which accounts for 9.5% of its total occurrences. The total figures show that *cuemo* with 95 occurrences (37.5%) is marginally preferred to *como* with 90 occurrences (35.6%). In Sections 6.5.1, 6.5.2 and 6.5.3 the data for each category is presented and analysed. Examples are taken from my transcription and edited version of the *Fazienda* and indicate folio and line number. Unlike E6 the Biblical content of the *Fazienda* is not necessarily a direct translation of the Biblical text and often reflects a loose rendering or summary of the Biblical content. However, I do indicate where possible the corresponding Biblical book, chapter and verse, although a comparison is not as informative as with Matthew in section 6.4.

Table 6.7 Form and Function in the *Fazienda*

A% figures show the distribution of the three forms in each category. B% figures show distribution of each individual form in each category.

Category	1	A%	B%	2	A%	B%	3	A%	B%	Total	%
como	13	46.4	14.4	13	28.3	14.4	64	35.8	71.1	90	35.6
com	2	7.1	6.3	10	21.7	31.3	20	11.2	62.5	32	12.6
con	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	3	1.7	100	3	1.2
cuemo	9	32.1	9.5	15	32.6	15.8	71	39.7	74.7	95	37.5
cumo	2	7.1	25	1	2.2	8.3	9	5.0	66.7	12	4.7
cum	2	7.1	9.5	7	15.2	33.3	12	6.7	57.1	21	8.3
Total	28		11.1	46		18.2	179		70.8	253	

6.5.1 Category 1

There are 28 examples in this category.

Como

Como accounts for nearly half of these, occurring 13 times (46.4%), as in:

(6.47) escriuyo todo lo *que* fyzo Dios a Moysen & a Israel so pueblo, e **comol**
saco de Egypto. Fol. 17^{vb3-7} Exod 18:1

(6.48) Dixo Manuel: Agora conplir se an tus palabras. ¿**Como** faremos del
mancebo? Fol. 81^{va6-9} Judg 13:12

Cuemo

Cuemo occurs 9 times (32.1%), as in:

(6.49) Agora ue e di a mi pueblo **cuemo** fable. Mio angel andara delante ti.
Fol. 20^{vb4-8} Exod 32:34

Como is the preferred tonic form (46.4%) although *cuemo* accounts for a third of all occurrences (32.1%). The apocopated forms *com* and *cum*, although generally regarded as atonic, are also used in this category. There appears to be no unequivocal association of form with function.

6.5.2 Category 2

There are 46 examples in this category.

Como

Como occurs 13 times in this category, 10 with *assi* and 3 with *(a)tal*. The two elements are written together on 6 occasions, as in:

(6.57) Fyzieron **assi como** comendo so padre e leuaron lo a tierra de Canaan.

Fol. 11^{rb19-21} Gen 50:12

(6.58) si non, enbiare mortalidat en so pueblo e sabian *que non* a **atal como** yo.

Fol. 14^{va32-34} Exod 9:14

and separately on 7 occasions, as in:

(6.59) Esto sera cras. Dixo: **Assi** sea **como** tu dizes.

Fol. 14^{ra26-28} Exod 8:10

Cuomo

Cuomo occurs 15 times. The two elements are written together on 8 occasions, as in:

- (6.60) **Assi cuemo** ella ouo merced de fijos dIzrael, assi ouieron merced fijos de Israel della Fol. 28^{ra32-35} Josh 2

The two elements are separate on 7 occasions, as in:

- (6.61) **Cuomo** fecist a Seon, regem Amorreorum, **assi** faras a Hoc, regem Basan. Fol. 24^{ra32-34} Num 21:34

Cumo

There is just one example.

- (6.62) E partios del leproso, **tan** blanco **cumo** la nief. Fol. 44^{ra5-6} 2 Kgs 5:27

Com

There are 10 examples. The elements are written together 6 times, as in:

- (6.63) fablo *con* ellos Eleazar **assi com** le auie dicho el *señor* Abraam Fol. 3^{rb21-22} Gen 24: 33-49

The elements are separated 4 times, as in:

(6.64) Fyzieron lo **assy** Moysen & Aaron **com** les comendo *Nuestro Sennor*

Fol. 13^{vb28-30} Exod 7:20

Cum

There are 7 examples, with 2 written together, as in:

(6.65) Ca **asi cum** omne muere, moran *aquellos*. Fol. 22^{vb32-33} Num 18:29

And there are 5 examples, with the elements written separately, as in:

(6.66) **Assi** uos coteçra **cum** a *aquel* que sufre la *canna* crebantada

Fol. 53^{vb28-30} 2 Kgs 18:21

6.5.3 Category 3

There are 179 examples in this category.

Como

There are 64 examples, as in:

(6.67) & abraço lo e dixo: Olor de mio fijo **como** olor de *campo* pleno bendixo el

Criador. Fol. 3^{vb22-25} Gen. 27:27

(6.68) & fizieron **como** mando Moysen & Aaron Fol. 16^{ra20-21} Exod 12:35

Cuomo

There are 71 examples, as in:

(6.69) e estidieron **cuemo** monton, por ço las aguas si eran crecidas & exidas de
riba. Fol. 28^{rb34-35} Josh 4:7-8

(6.70) E fizieron fijos de Leui **cuemo** mando Moysen.
Fol. 20^{va21-22} Exod 32:28

Cumo

There are 9 examples, as in:

(6.71) e fizo les fiestas al mes de octubre a .xv. dias del mes, **cumo** la fiesta *que*
fazian en Iherusalem. Fol. 55^{rb1-2} 1 Kgs 12:32

Com

There are 20 examples, as in:

(6.72) expandirtas **com** agua. Fol. 10^{rb35} Gen 49:4

Con

There are 3 examples, as in:

(6.73) De pueblo *com* leon se leuantara e **con** leona se alcara;
Fol. 25^{ra33-35} Num 23:24

Cum

There are 12 examples, as in:

(6.74) e uerna **cum** pluuia a nos e cumo el rucio tenprno a la tiera.

Fol. 70^{va33-35} Hos 6:3

6.5.4 Summary

Both *como* and *cuemo* are used to a similar extent overall, 90 times (35.6%) and 95 times (37.5%) respectively. If we consider their use across the 3 categories there is also a remarkably similar pattern for both forms.

Category 1	como	13 (14.5%)	cuemo	9 (9.5%)
Category 2	como	13 (14.4%)	cuemo	15 (15.8%)
Category 3	como	64 (71.1%)	cuemo	71 (74.7%)

Table 6.7 shows that the *Fazienda* has a preference for *como* in Category 1 (46.4%) and a slight preference for *cuemo* in Category 2 (32.6%) and Category 3 (39.7%). This contrasts dramatically with the data for the *Poema* in Table 6.2 which shows that *commo* predominates across all three categories (1 - 89.7%, 2 - 82.8%, 3 - 92.6%). Apart from the spelling of *commo* this pattern is very much in accord in with the CORDE data for the period 1200-49 in Table 6.1, where *cuemo* is a marginal form (8.7%). Table 6.5 shows that, in Matthew E6, *cuemo* predominates in Category 1 (80%), whereas *commo* predominates in Category 2 (81.3%) and they are both used equally in Category 3 (50%/50%). Table 6.7 shows that the *Fazienda* presents much greater variation of forms. In addition to *como* (35.6%) and *cuemo* (37.5%), we find *com*

(12.6%), *cum* (8.3%), *cumo* (4.7%) and very marginally *con* (1.2%). There would appear to be no direct correlation between function and form in the *Fazienda* and the data from this text does not support the observations of MacPherson and García de Diego that *cuemo* is a tonic form and *como* atonic.

It is worth putting the use of *cuemo* in the *Fazienda* into a wider context. There are 95 instances of *cuemo* in the *Fazienda*, whereas in the *Poema* there are only 9 instances. CORDE lists 193 instances of *cuemo* in the period 1200-1249 and assigns 87 of them to the *Fazienda*. The other 106 instances are distributed among 51 other documents, mostly from northern Castile. The extensive use of *cuemo* in the *Fazienda* is clearly not typical of pre-1250 Castilian. The documents cited in CORDE are mostly notarial in nature with no direct speech and little indirect use of interrogative and there is practically no Category 1 use of *cuemo*. The evidence of the *Fazienda*, supported by CORDE, suggests that, at least prior to 1250, there is no case for considering *cuemo* to be associated primarily with Category 1 tonic usage.

6.6 External factors

Chart 6.1 shows the distribution of the variants *como* and *cuemo* throughout the *Fazienda*. The uneven pattern of distribution, illustrated in Chart 6.1, would appear to show that the choice of *como* or *cuemo* is not random and that the forms cannot be said to be in free variation. In 6.5 the data shows that in the *Fazienda* there is no direct correlation between function and form and that an explanation for the variation must lie in factors external to the linguistic system. Duncan's observation (1950: 255-7) that, in the fourth part of the *General Estoria*, the scribe appears to use the choice of *como* or *cuemo* to help justify the right-hand margin is not echoed in the *Fazienda*. Sanchis Calvo

(1991: 63-4), addressing the pattern of distribution of these variants in the *Fazienda*, observes that the pattern of distribution of *cumo* and *cum* is similar to that of *cuemo* and the pattern of distribution of *com/con* is similar to that of *como*. The apocopated forms *cum* and *com/con* can clearly be associated with *cumo* and *como* respectively although there does not appear to be an obvious linguistic reason for their apocope. The form *cum* is followed a vowel on 12 occasions and by a consonant on 9 occasions. In Category 2 there is a clear preference for *cum* before a vowel but this not evident in Category 1 and Category 3. The form *com* appears equally before a vowel or consonant on 16 occasions and *con* before a vowel once and a consonant twice. There is perhaps a case for considering *cuemo* and *cumo* together. Menéndez Pidal's suggestion (1964: 1: 148) that *cumo* could be a form of *cuemo* with the diphthong reduced to 'u' is supported by Sánchez-Prieto's observation (2008: 435) of the use of 'la grafía de la vocal cerrada u' to represent the diphthong *ue*. There are a few other examples of this practice in the *Fazienda*: *bunos* for *buenos* 61rb (although marked for omission by scribe); *publo* for *pueblo* 49vb, 50vb, 52vb; *mubdas* for *muebdas* 21va (in rubric); *prub* for *prueb* 16vb, 62rb; *puda* for *pueda* (65va); *pudo* for *puedo* 60rb; *griu* for *grief* 60rb, 72vb; *sinistro* for *siniestro* 62va; *siruiron* for *siruieron* 58va. Menéndez Pidal notes that *cumo* might be a Leonese form and Sánchez-Prieto states that the use of the 'vocal cerrada' seems more frequent in documents from Palencia than Burgos. The evidence from CORDE in section 6.2 does not support Sánchez-Prieto's comment as regards *cumo*. The data show that *cumo*, alongside *cuemo*, appears in documents from Miranda de Ebro in the East to León in the West, taking in both Palencia and Burgos.

A comparison of Chart 6.2, which groups together forms in ‘o’ (*como, com, con*) and forms in ‘u’ (*cuemo, cumo, cum*), with Chart 6.1 shows that the distribution pattern is very similar in both Charts. It suggests that any observations that are made about the relative use of *como* and *cuemo* can be extended to include *com/con* and *cumo/cum* respectively. Table 6.8 correlates the use of *como* and *cuemo*, detailed in Chart 6.1, with the identified scribal hands alongside the use of ‘o’ and ‘u’ forms, detailed in Chart 6.2. The results are practically identical.

Table 6.8 Correlation of data with scribal hands

Scribal hand	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
como	39	95.1	9	37.5	2	50	9	100
‘o’ forms	52	96.3	10	40	2	50	20	100
cuemo	2	4.9	15	62.5	2	50	0	0
‘u’ forms	2	3.7	15	60	2	50	0	0

Hand A Almost exclusive use of *como* (95.1%) and ‘o’ forms (96.3%)

Hand B Marginal preference for *cuemo* (62.5%) and ‘u’ forms (60%)

Hand C Small data set but equal use of *como* and *cuemo*

Hand D Exclusive use of *como* (100%) and ‘o’ forms (100%)

However, even within these figures there is some variation within the forms used by Hand A and Hand D. Hand A prefers *como* (39) to *com* (13), whereas Hand D shows a slight preference for *com* (11) over *como* (9).

Chart 6.1

Distribution pattern for *como* and *cuemo* by folio

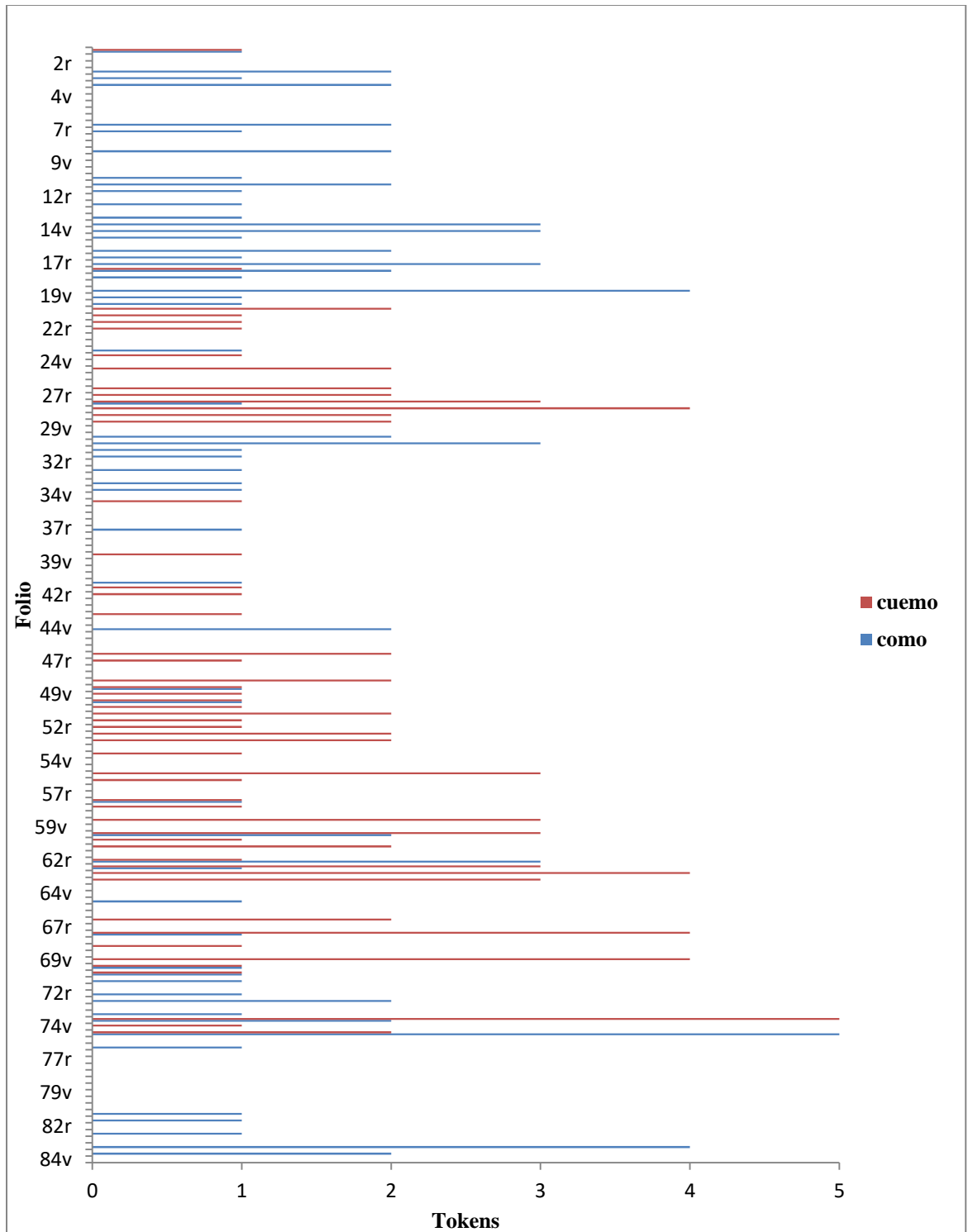
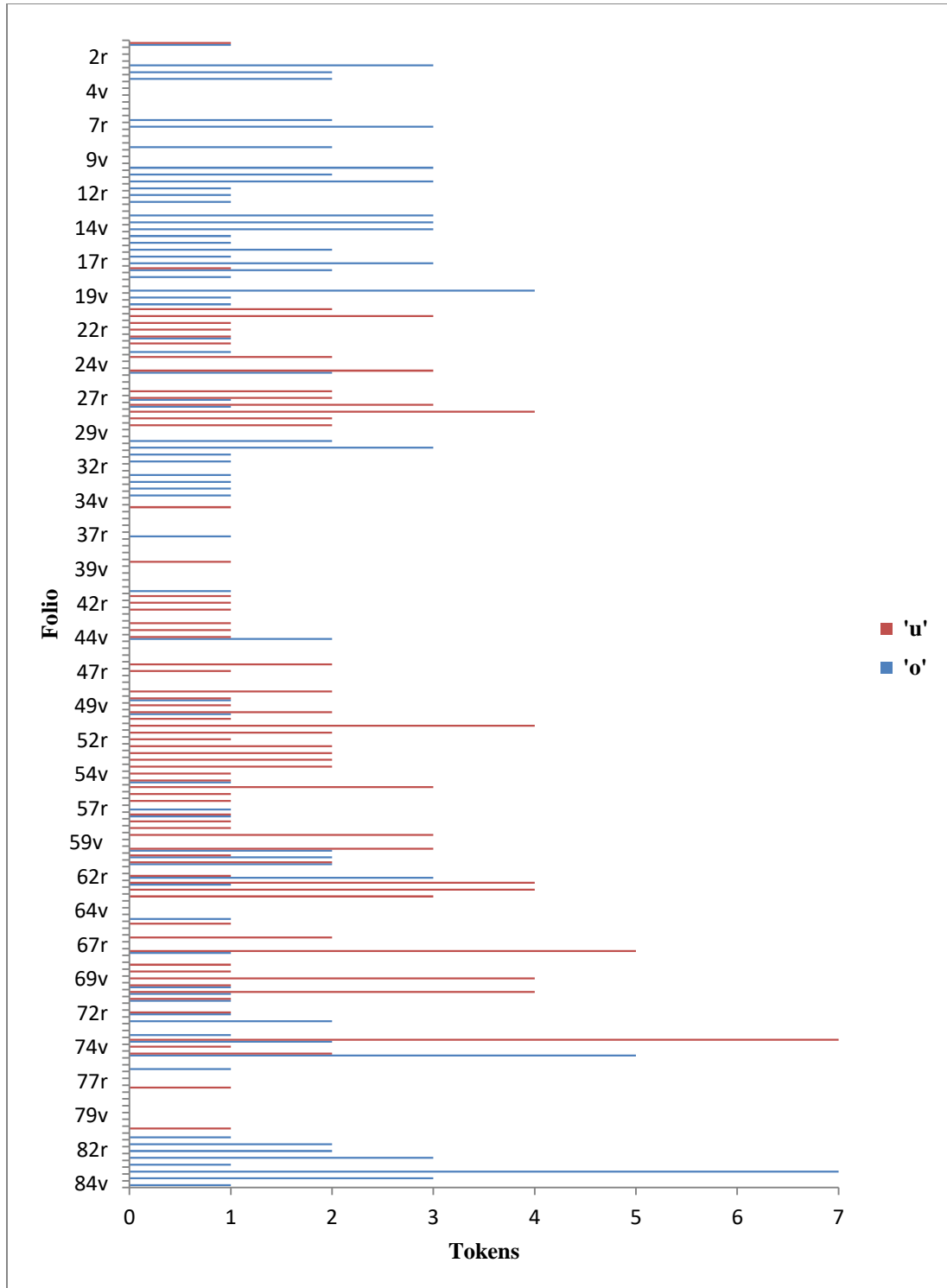


Chart 6.2

Distribution pattern for 'u' and 'o' forms by folio



6.7

Conclusion

An analysis of the data from the *Fazienda* presented in section 6.5 finds no evidence that the choice of form is affected by any linguistic considerations. Despite the generally accepted description of *cuemo* as tonic and *como* as atonic Table 6.9 shows a very similar pattern of usage for both forms across the three categories in the *Fazienda*.

Table 6.9 Comparison of *como* and *cuemo* by category

Category	1	%	2	%	3	%
como	13	14.4	13	14.4	64	71.1
cuemo	9	9.5	15	15.8	71	74.7

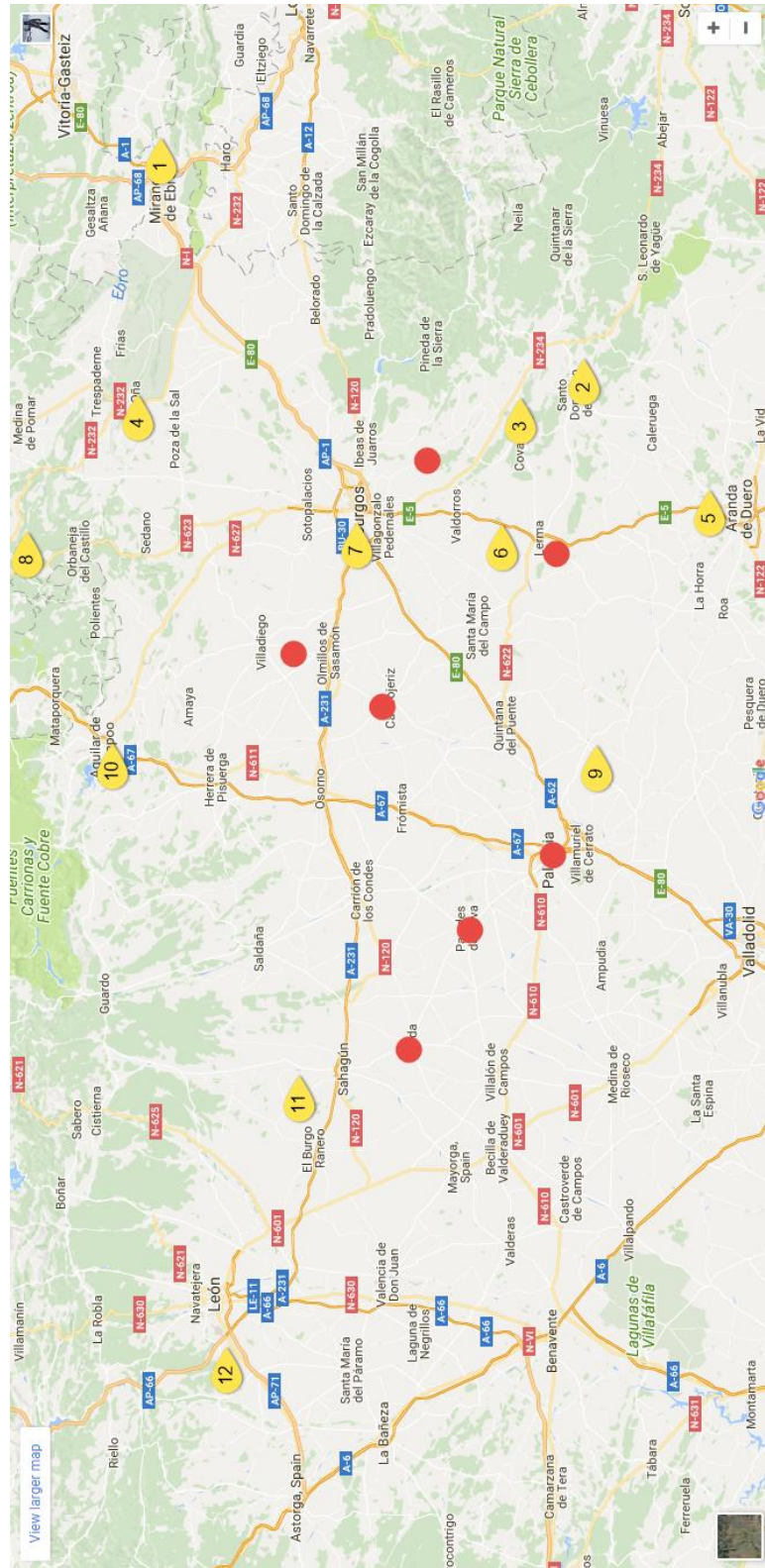
CORDE data for the period 1200-1249 illustrates an overwhelming preference for the use of *como/commo* (89.3%). This contrasts strongly with the *Fazienda* where there are 95 cases of *cuemo* (37.5%) and 90 of *como* (35.6%). If we compare the use of *como*, *com* and *con* (49.4%) with that of *cuemo*, *cumo* and *cum* (50.6%), the figures for the *Fazienda* are practically identical. Given that a consideration of the function of the variants cannot account for the variation in the *Fazienda*, Table 6.8 would appear to show that the intervention of different scribal hands could best explain not only the pattern of variation but also the range of variants.

The *Fazienda* manuscript contains no indication of where it was copied or where the original was written. However, given the extensive use of *cuemo* and *cumo* in the *Fazienda* the evidence from CORDE in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 strongly links the manuscript to documents from monasteries in Northern Castile. In addition, the discovery of the use of the expression *por consieglo*, which is otherwise only found in the *Fazienda*, used with

exactly the same meaning in a document from the monastery of Santa María de Aguilar raises the possibility that the *Fazienda* was either compiled there or copied there. The reluctance of Hand A and Hand D to use *cuemo*, *cumo* or *cum* might suggest that these scribes do not originate from the same area of Northern Castile as Hands B and C.

Map 6.1

Monasteries in northern Castile



Chapter 7

Variation of *-ie* and *-ia* in Imperfect and Conditional Tenses

7.1 Introduction

The various discussions on the origin of the *-ie* form and its accentuation, from the early phonetic explanations to more recent analogical ones, have been comprehensively reviewed by Malkiel (1959) and Imhoff (1996) and fall outside the scope of this chapter. Hanssen (1893-4: 656), drawing on data from the works of Berceo, highlighted the imperfect paradigm and this stimulated a continuing discussion. He observed that exceptions to this model were very rare in his data.

Sing. 1 tenía	Plur. 1 teníamos
2 teníés	2 teniédes
3 tenié	3 tenién

The unusual nature of this paradigm has been variously remarked upon. Imhoff (2000: 381) describes the *-ie* form as the non-etymological imperfect tense variant. Malkiel (1959: 435-6) remarks that, without the evidence of medieval Spanish texts, it would have been difficult to reconstruct Hanssen's model 'since five out of the six forms involved happen not to represent the expected intermediate stage between the Latin prototype and its final outcome'. Imhoff (1996: 2) points out that this development is uniquely Hispanic and does not occur in other Romance languages. The *-ie* form is characterised by both Malkiel (1959: 436) and Imhoff (1996: 1) as an anomaly. However, for almost a century, this paradigm practically ousted the etymological forms. Menéndez

Pidal (1968: 306-7) observes that forms in *-ie* ‘dominaron en el siglo XIII’ and notes that ‘el imperfecto en *-ie* puede decirse característico del siglo XIII’ (1964: 274). Sanchis Calvo (1991: 305) also refers to ‘la preponderancia de *-ie* durante el siglo XIII, que supera el 80%’, while Penny (2002: 199) describes the imperfect with *-ie* as the dominant form in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 7.8 I examine to what extent this dominance of *-ie* is exhibited in the *Fazienda*. In 7.2, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 I address certain assumptions and hypotheses that have been associated with the discussion of the *-ie* imperfect and consider what light the variation of *-ia* and *-ie* forms in the *Fazienda* can throw on the issue. They are:

- 1) Function does not affect choice of form. Imhoff (1996: 3-4) observes that there is no functional differentiation and subsumes the *-ie* conditional under the ‘primary category of the OSp *-ie* imperfect’.
- 2) In *-ir* verbs there is a tendency to raise the level of the root vowel when followed by an *-ié* ending. Penny (2000: 199), discussing root vowels in Old Spanish *-ir* verbs, remarks on the variation between /e/ and /i/, and /o/ and /u/, and notes that the high root vowel was especially preferred when the ending was *-ié*.
- 3) There are diatopic differences. Imhoff (1996 and 2000) assembles data from Menéndez Pidal’s *Documentos Lingüísticos* (1919) into three geographic areas for his analysis.
- 4) The person of the verb can affect the choice of form. Differentiation has been identified as a feature of the first person singular. Sanchis Calvo (1995: 305-6) considers the use of the two forms *-ía* and *-ie* in the *Fazienda* according to the person of the verb.

- b) plus a noun or pronoun
- (7.4^a) El uaron **auje** nonbre Elimeleth Fol. 76^{vb8-9}
- (7.4^b) & **auya** nonbre la mugier Dadila. Fol. 82^{rb32-33}
- c) with a preposition and an infinitive,
- (7.5^a) *que* les **auie** a contir por ello. Fol. 72^{vb4-5}
- (7.5^b) vn cabrito *quel* **auya** a dar por sos pennos. Fol. 6^{rb7-8}
- d) as an auxiliary with a past participle.
- (7.6^a) dixo les quel diessen⁵⁷ lo *que* **auie sonado**. Fol. 64^{va24-25}
- (7.6^b) manifesto *que* **auia furtado** .i. palio uermeio Fol. 29^{rb1-3}

The verb *auer* accounts for 161 (32.3%) of the 499 forms in the imperfect, and conditional, and 142 of these are third person singular forms. There are 68 instances of *auia* (47.9%) and 74 instances of *auie* (52.1%). Table 7.2 shows the use of these forms in four different constructions. The *-ia* form appears to be slightly preferred in the pluperfect (58.6%) and the impersonal constructions (59.1%) whereas the *-ie* form is preferred before a noun or pronoun (60.7%). There are just seven examples of *auer + a + infinitive* and *auia* occurs in five (71.4%). The evidence appears to show that, although there are some slight preferences, there is no clear association of form with function.

⁵⁷ Probable error for *dixiessen*, cf. Daniel 2: 2.

Table 7.2 *auer constructions*

Constructions	auia	A%	B%	auie	A%	B%	Total
Pluperfect	17	25	58.6	12	16.2	41.4	29
Impersonal	13	19.1	59.1	9	12.2	40.9	22
+ noun/pronoun	33	48.5	39.3	51	68.9	60.7	84
+ a + infin	5	7.4	71.4	2	2.7	28.6	7
Total	68		47.9	74		52.1	142

7.3 Raising of stem vowel in *-ir* verbs

Penny's observation (2000:199) that in Old Spanish *-ir* verbs the high root vowel was preferred when the ending was *-ié*, is exemplified in the paradigm of the verb *seruir*:

Sing. 1 seruía	Plur. 1 teniámos
2 siruíés	2 siruíédes
3 siruíé	3 siruíén

This raising of the root vowel is reflected in the *Fazienda*, but not the converse, i.e. that /e/ and /o/ are preferred when preceding an ending in *-ía*. The verb *uenir* (35 examples) provides 26 instances of the root vowel /i/ followed by the *-ie* ending, as in:

(7.7^a) **uinie** de casa de Leban Fol. 45^{va6-7}

(7.7^b) e **vinien** los leones e matauan los. Fol. 44^{vb18-19}

and there are 9 cases of the root vowel /i/ followed by the *-ia* ending, as in:

(7.8^a) Del agua e **vinian** .vij. vacas gruessas Fol. 6^{vb34-35}

(7.8^b) Qvando yo **vinya** de Mesopotamya Fol. 10^{ra6-7}

- a) Western, comprising documents from Campóo (docs. 12-31) and Valladolid (docs. 222-7), bordering the Leonese dialect.
- b) Central, comprising documents from Montaña (1-7), Castile⁵⁸ (docs. 36-58), Burgos (docs. 147-94), Segovia (docs. 236-7), Toledo (docs. 259-81) and Andalusia (docs. 335-9).
- c) Eastern, that borders the Aragonese region, comprising documents from Rioja Alta (docs. 71-98), Rioja Baja (docs. 109-121), Osma (docs. 208-220), Sigüenza (docs. 249-56) and Cuenca (docs. 305-22).

Tables 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 present his findings from these three areas. He notes that the heaviest use of the *-ie* imperfect is in the Central and Eastern regions as against the Western region, where there is a preference for *-ia* forms (1996: 52).

Table 7.3 Documents from Campóo and Valladolid

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total %
-ia			56%				56
-ie				13%		31%	44

Table 7.4 Documents from Montaña, Castile, Burgos, Segovia, Toledo and Andalusia

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total %
-ia		< 1%	4%			4%	< 9
-ie		4%	57%	2%	2%	27%	92

⁵⁸ As all the documents are from the Reino de Castilla, I have assumed that Imhoff is referring here to the documents from Castilla del Norte.

Table 7.5 Documents from Rioja, Osma, Sigüenza and Cuenca

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total %
-ia				< 2%			2
-ie			39%	9%	< 2%	50%	<100

Imhoff does point out that his dialectal groupings are arbitrary ‘with respect to the number of regions per group and the number of documents per region’. There are 26 documents in the Western region compared to 107 in the Central region and 88 in the Eastern region. An analysis of Menéndez Pidal’s *Documentos Lingüísticos* provides the following data for the Western region:

Doc. 23	1219	Aguilar de Campóo	<i>aujemos</i> (11 ⁵⁹)
Doc. 28	1223	Aguilar de Campóo	<i>tenia</i> (8), <i>tenia</i> (16), <i>iazia</i> (49), <i>tenia</i> (53), <i>abria</i> (71), <i>abria</i> (73), <i>podria</i> (76)
Doc. 29	1223	Aguilar de Campóo	<i>dizia</i> (6)
Doc. 223	1223	Villamayor de los Montes	<i>podriemos</i> (14)
Doc. 224	1223	Villamayor de los Montes	<i>podrien</i> (18)
Doc. 226	1234	San Pelayo de Cerrato	<i>deuja</i> (12) 1 st sg form
Doc. 227	1243	San Pelayo de Cerrato	<i>aiien</i> (7), <i>dizien</i> (8), <i>dizien</i> (9)

⁵⁹ I refer to the document number in Menéndez Pidal (1919). The number in brackets alongside the examples indicates the line number in the document.

In his Appendix (1996: 161) Imhoff has wrongly classified the form *ioguiemos* as an imperfect, when it is a preterite.

Doc. 28 E **ioguiemos** hi tref mefes, deziembre τ enero τ febrero (40)

In addition he has not recognised that *deuja* in Doc. 226 is a first person singular form.

(7.12) affi cumo yo lo eredaua τ eredar **deuja**

I have amended Table 7.3 to reflect this data in Table 7.3a. Table 7.3b indicates the raw data.

Table 7.3a Documents from Campóo and Valladolid

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total %
-ia	6.7		53.3%				60
-ie				13.3		26.7%	40

Table 7.3b Documents from Campóo and Valladolid (raw data)

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total
-ia	1		8				9
-ie				2		4	6

There are 15 examples altogether from the archives of three monasteries, and 7 of these (all *-ia* forms) occur in one document from Aguilar de Campóo. I suggest that this provides insufficient data to draw any meaningful conclusions regarding dialectal preferences. Imhoff (2000: 386) identifies 17 *-ia* forms in the *Documentos Lingüísticos*. The Western region accounts for 9 of these 17 forms in three documents and 7 of these occur in one document from the monastery of Santa María de Aguilar de Campóo.

Although the percentage figures from Tables 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 support the observation made by Imhoff (1996: 52), a closer look at the documents and their origin provides a more nuanced picture. The evidence of the data from these documents suggests that the language of the documents may not necessarily represent a Western dialect, but may reflect more the scribal culture of the two monasteries - Santa María de Aguilar de Campóo and San Pelayo de Cerrato.

7.5 The person of the verb

Sanchis Calvo (1995: 305-6) considers the use of the two forms *-ia* and *-ie* according the person of the verb. She gives precise figures but qualifies this somewhat by explaining that she has not made a comprehensive count of all of the occurrences of the imperfect in the text but has collected at least one example of the different forms. I consider imperfect forms in 7.5.1 and conditional forms in 7.5.2

7.5.1 Imperfect

Table 7.6 provides the data for all imperfect forms in the *Fazienda*. I include pluperfect data in these figures. Appendix 7.1 (p. 255-6) contains a list of all 499 examples of verbs occurring in the imperfect, together with the number of occurrences per verb.

Table 7.6 Imperfect forms in *Fazienda*

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total		%
-ie	4	5	195	6	3	57	270		54.1
-ia	14	1	151	0	1	62	229		45.9

1stsg

Sanchis Calvo indicates which verbs use only the *-ia* form or the *-ie* form and those which use both. She notes Menéndez Pidal's observation (1968: 306) that 'sólo en la persona Yo, se mantuvo generalmente *-ia*'. She identifies 6 verbs which occur in the 1stsg:

2 verbs have only *-ía* forms:

entendía	Lazar 182.3
----------	-------------

premía	Lazar 53.6
--------	------------

2 have only *-ie* forms:

apparecie	Lazar 122.10
-----------	--------------

sabie ⁶⁰	Lazar 119.27
---------------------	--------------

ver uses both *-ía* and *-ie*:

vedía	Lazar 53.4
-------	------------

veya	Lazar 177.17
------	--------------

veye	Lazar 177.21
------	--------------

There are 14 occurrences of *-ia* forms in the 1stsg. As it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between first and third person forms, I provide the Biblical reference for confirmation that these are first person forms.

⁶⁰ This is a mistranscription by Lazar (1965). The text reads *sabia*, see (7.9).

(7.13)	E yo <i>que</i> entendia en el	Fol. 68 ^{va18-19}	Dan 8:5
(7.14)	iazia yo tendudo en tierra	Fol. 69 ^{ra2-3}	Dan 8:18
(7.15)	Tenya el baso de Pharaon en my mano	Fol. 6 ^{va35}	Gen 40:11
(7.16)	e premia las vuas en el baso	Fol. 6 ^{vb1-2}	Gen 40:11
(7.17)	Bien sabia <i>que</i> tu eres podient	Fol. 38 ^{ra6-7}	Jonah 4:2
(7.18)	& yo no lo sabia .	Fol. 47 ^{ra4-5}	Gen 28: 16
(7.19)	Qvando yo vinya de Mesopotamya	Fol. 10 ^{ra6-7}	Gen 48:7
(7.20)	Apres desto ueya otra bestia	Fol. 67 ^{va12-13}	Dan 7:6
(7.21)	E ueya troa <i>que</i> delant si era echado	Fol. 67 ^{va33}	Dan 7:9
(7.22)	E ueya estonz de las uezes de las palabras grandes	Fol. 67 ^{vb12-13}	Dan 7:11
(7.23)	Veya en la uision de la noch	Fol. 67 ^{rb29-30}	Dan 7:2
(7.24)	veya fasta <i>que</i> era matada la bestia	Fol. 67 ^{vb14-15}	Dan. 7:11
(7.25)	Veya en la uision de la noch	Fol. 67 ^{vb21-22}	Dan 7:13
(7.26)	Sonaua <i>que</i> uedia vna vid delante my	Fol. 6 ^{va31-32}	Gen 40:9

We could possibly include (7:19) where *uaya* is clearly an error *ueya*.

(7.27)	Uaya en la uision de la noch	Fol. 66 ^{ra9-10}	Dan 4:7
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There are 4 occurrences of *-ie* forms:

- (7.28) E **ueye** en la uision un angel *sancto* Fol. 66^{ra19-21} Dan 4:10
- (7.29) **ueye** *que* mesauan sus alas Fol. 67^{va3} Dan 7:4
- (7.30) *Apres* desto **ueye** en la uision de la noch Fol. 67^{va17-18} Dan 7:7
- (7.31) *delant qui* me **apparecie**. Fol. 39ra 1 Kgs 18:15

(7.31) is a slightly confused rendering of 1 Kings 18:15. The full text reads:

- (7.32) Dixo Helyas: Uiuo es el *Nuestro Sennor* de los *fonsados* *delant qui* me **apparecie**.

and may be in error for a future tense form, as in:

- Vulg dixit Helias vivit Dominus exercituum ante cuius vultum sto quia hodie
apparebo ei 1 Kgs 18:15

2ndsg

Sanchis Calvo notes ‘un solo ejemplo’:

- veyes Lazar 175:17

The verb *uer* actually supplies 5 examples of *-ie* forms, as in:

- (7.33) Tu, rey, **ueyes** una *ymagen* muy grant Fol.64^{vb29-30}
- (7.34) E **ueyes** *ques* taiaua una piedra Fol. 84^{va18-19}

There is one example of an *-ia* imperfect:

- (7.35) Los .iiij. sarmyentos *que* **ueyas** .iiij. dias son. Fol. 6^{vb4-5}

3rdsg

Sanchis Calvo identifies 25 verbs which only use *-ie*, 19 verbs which only use *-ia*, and 9 verbs which use both forms. However, as most of these verbs only occur once or twice this information is of limited significance. There are 72 verbs, all listed in Appendix 7.1, that have third person singular forms. The *-ie* form occurs 195 times, as in:

- (7.36) Iusticia **manie** en ella Fol. 55^{va15-16}
- (7.37) o la uera *cruz* **solie** estar Fol. 78^{vb7-8}
- (7.38) **seye** seca el flum Rordan a so pasaie Fol. 28^{va10-11}

The *-ia* form occurs 151 times, as in:

- (7.39) E **beuia** con ellos el rey Fol. 66^{rb33-34}
- (7.40) Loth **sedia** a la puerta de la cibdat Fol. 2^{va5}
- (7.41) la *sanna que* **tenya** a los dAmalech. Fol. 32^{vb16-17}

1stpl

Sanchis Calvo lists just three forms:

- diziemos Lazar 71.10
- torciemus Lazar 147.17
- seyemos Lazar 72.16

However, the context suggests that *torciemus* is a preterite tense form:

- (7.42) Peccamos e **torciemus** e fiziemos mal. Fol. 50^{vb13-14}

We have sinned, we have gone astray and we have done evil.

Vulg peccavimus inique egimus impie gessimus 1 Kgs 8:47

In fact, Sanchis Calvo (1995: 309) also cites the same *torciemus* as a preterite.

There are 6 first person plural forms, all in *-ie*, as in:

(7.43) ¿*Que* part **auiemus** en Daudid Fol. 54^{vb27-28}

(7.44) & **comyemos** pan a fartura. Fol. 17^{ra9-10}

2nd pl

Although Sanchis Calvo lists no forms, there are three forms in *ie*:

(7.45) ¿*non* **sabiedes** *que non* adeuinava omne como yo? Fol. 8^{vb27-28}

(7.46) ¿Por que **dixiedes** al sennor *que* otro ermano **auiedes**? Fol. 8^{rb17-19}

The form *dixiedes* is unusual. Does it represent an imperfect ending on a preterite stem or is it merely a scribal error, perhaps influenced by the following *auiedes*? CORDE records just one other example of this form in *Leyes Nuevas* (1255-c1280).

There is also one example in *-ia*:

(7.47) foyredes cuemo **fuyades** de la tenpestat Fol. 75^{rb35}

3rd pl

Sanchis Calvo identifies 13 verbs which only use *-ie*, 12 verbs which only use *-ia*, and 9 verbs which use both forms. There are 55 occurrences of *-ie*, as in:

(7.48) en el **seyen** todas las aues del cielo. Fol.66^{ra17-18}

(7.49) e **salien** de la *grant* mar, Fol. 67^{rb31-32}

There 63 instances of *-ia*, as in:

(7.50) e **beuian** es alegrauan. Fol. 46^{rb20-21}

(7.51) Non y **podyan** los sacerdotes estar Fol. 49^{va33-34}

7.5.2 Conditional

Table 7.7 provides the data for all conditional forms in the *Fazienda*. Appendix 7.2 (p. 257-8) contains a list of all 121 examples of verbs occurring in the conditional, together with the number of occurrences for each verb. Sanchis Calvo (1995: 307) observes that the use of *-ie* and *-ia* forms in the conditional is analogous to that in the imperfect, with the difference being that only *-ia* forms occur in the first person singular.

Table 7.7 Conditional forms in *Fazienda*

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total		%
-ie	1	2	48	9	1	10	71		58.7
-ia	15	0	26	0	0	9	50		41.3

1stsg

There are 15 forms in *-ia*, as in:

(7.52) yo dent te **faria** decender Fol. 72^{rb22}

(7.53) Si touies espada en mi mano, **matar te ya** Fol. 24^{va29-31}

There is one form in *-ie*:

(7.54) **afirmarie** sie de to regno sobre *Israel* por todos tiempos Fol. 51^{va7-9}

The text corresponds to 1 Kings 9:5 and is clearly a first person form. However, it may be in error for a future form.

Vulg **ponam** thronum regni tui super *Israhel* in sempiternum 1 Kgs 9:5

2ndsg

There are just 2 *-ie* forms:

(7.55) Not **podries** della a diestro ni a siniestro Fol. 27^{va31-32}

This is a confused text as there would appear to be an infinitive omitted after *podries*, as in:

Vulg ne declines ab ea ad dextram vel ad sinistram Josh 1:7

(7.56) Ouyera myedo *que* me **toldries** tus fijas Fol. 4^{vb14-15}

3rdsg

There are 48 forms in *-ie*, as in:

(7.57) Dixo *que* **ronperie** so regno Fol. 52^{rb28-29}

(7.58) e **alçarie** so mano al Criador Fol. 43^{va30-31}

There are 26 forms in *-ia*, as in:

(7.59) e **dalo ya** a so sieruo. Fol. 52^{rb29-30}

(7.60) non **prophetizaria** sobre ti bien Fol. 42^{ra29}

1st pl

There are no *-ia* forms but there are 9 *-ie* forms, as in:

(7.61) **Conuidartiemos** sit ploguiesse. Fol. 81^{va15-16}

(7.62) non **ystriemos** de la preson. Fol. 8^{ra23-24}

2nd pl

There is just one *-ie* form:

(7.63) non **soltariedes** mi adeuinançiella. Fol. 82^{rb3-4}

3rd pl

There are 10 *-ie* forms, as in:

(7.64) e **serien** esclauos en palacios Fol. 56^{va11}

(7.65) y **morrien** en fambre e en espada Fol. 61^{vb32-33}

And there are 9 forms in *-ia*, as in:

(7.66) non los **obedeçrian** Fol. 22^{vb6}

(7.67) ellos *que* **beurian** con las manos Fol. 33^{vb15-16}

7.5.3 Summary

The first person singular forms of both the imperfect and the conditional show a strong preference for *-ia*, especially the conditional where only one of the sixteen

examples uses *-ie*. Table 7.8 shows a preference for *-ie* in the singular in both the imperfect (195 to 151) and the conditional (48 to 26). However, in the plural there is no clear preference. The *-ia* form is slightly preferred in the imperfect (62 to 57), whereas in the conditional both forms are used almost equally. Table 7.9 shows the pattern of usage of *-ie* and *-ia* in the second person singular and the first and second person plural in both imperfect and conditional sentences. The *-ie* form is strongly preferred with 26 examples compared to 2 instances of the *-ia* form.

Table 7.8 3rdsg and 3rdpl in Imperfect and Conditional

	Imp. -ie	Cond. -ie	Imp. -ia	Cond. -ia
3rdsg	195	48	151	26
3rdpl	57	10	62	9

Table 7.9 2ndsg 1stpl 2ndpl in Imperfect and Conditional

	Imp. -ie	Cond. -ie	Imp. -ia	Cond. -ia
2ndsg	5	2	1	0
1stpl	6	9	0	0
2ndpl	3	1	1	0

7.6 Lexis

Sanchis Calvo (1955: 304-6) differentiates the usage of *-ie* and *-ia* forms by different verbs. Appendix 7.1 and Appendix 7.2 contain all examples with the number of occurrences for the verb and for each person of the verb. However, as most verbs only occur a few times and many just once, it is difficult to make any significant observations. Table 7.10 shows the pattern of usage in the imperfect for those verbs that have at least 10 examples. Table 7.10 reveals a variation in the preferred form of some verbs and suggests that the lexical item itself may also affect the choice of variant. While the

figures for *auer* and *ueer*, among others, are fairly evenly balanced, *dezir* (23/5) and *fazer* (15/6) show a preference for *-ie* and *tener* (21/5) and *saber* (8/2) a preference for *-ia*.

Table 7.10 Preferences of verbs in the imperfect

Verb	-ie	-ia
Auer	82	79
Comer	7	5
Dezir	23	5
Fazer	15	6
Poder	7	10
Querer	6	5
Saber	2	8
Seer	9	5
Soler	8	2
Tener	5	21
Ueer	10	11
Uenir	26	9

7.7 Scribal Intervention

Chart 7.1 illustrates the pattern of occurrence of *-ie* and *-ia* forms throughout the *Fazienda*. Although there are some peaks and troughs it is evident that these two forms interweave their way throughout the text. To test the hypothesis that some of this variation may be due to scribal intervention, I correlate the use of these forms with the four identified scribal hands in Table 7.11. This reveals some variation between the hands. Hand B, with 53.1% *-ie* forms, is closest to the overall average in the *Fazienda* of 55%. Hand D shows a stronger preference for *-ie* forms with 63%. Hand A, with 58.2%, and Hand C, with 57.8%, show a preference for *-ia* forms.

Chart 7.1

Distribution of *-ie* and *-ia* forms

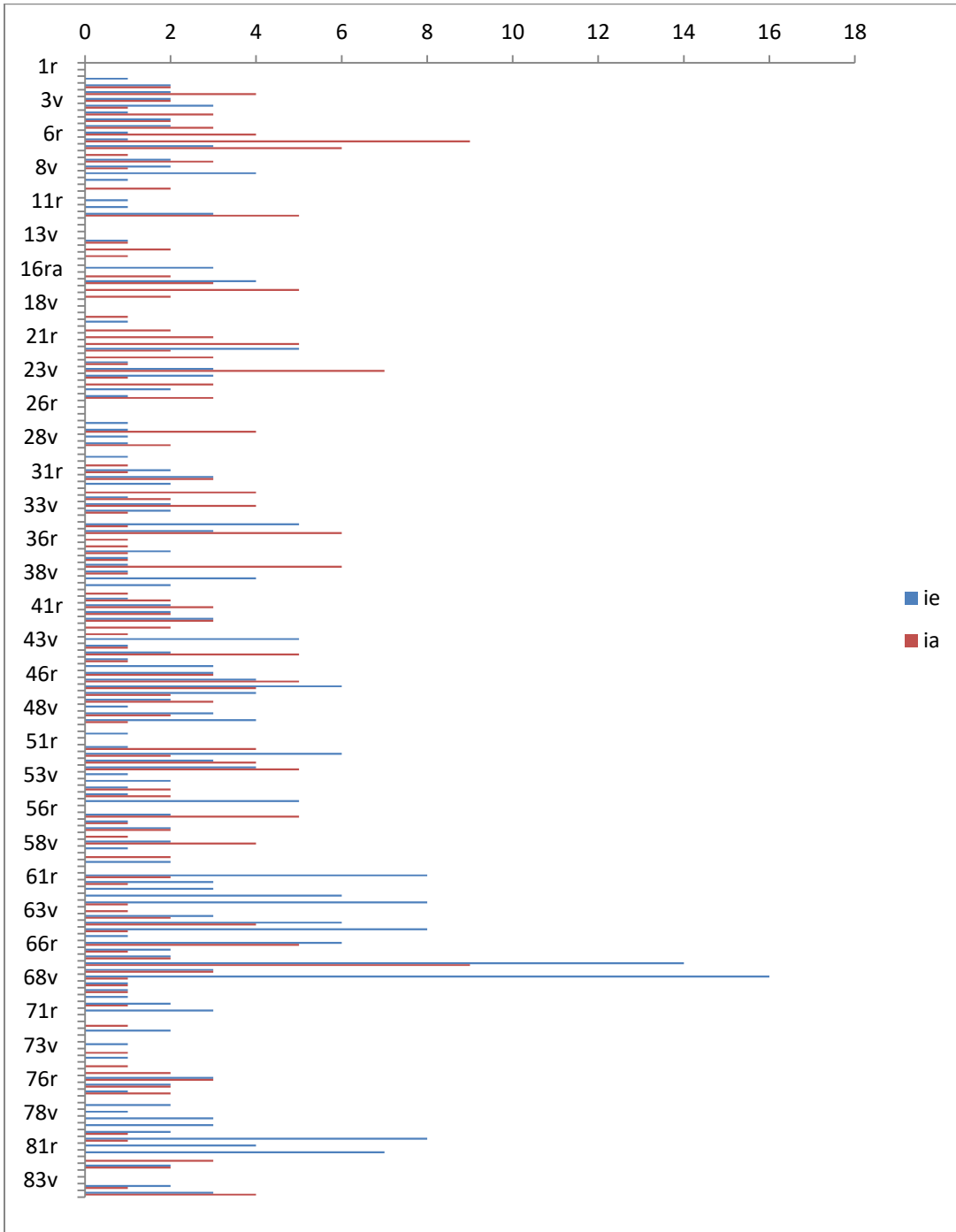


Table 7.11 Correlation with scribal hands

Scribal hand		Imperfect	Conditional	Pluperfect		Totals	%
Hand A	-ie	35	10	1		46	41.8
	-ia	55	7	2		64	58.2
Hand B	-ie	9	6	2		17	53.1
	-ia	1	10	4		15	46.9
Hand C	-ie	13	5	1		19	42.2
	-ia	14	6	6		26	57.8
Hand D	-ie	9	7	1		17	63
	-ia	9	1	0		10	37

7.8 Dominance of -ie

Altogether in the *Fazienda* there are 341 forms in *-ie* (55%) and 279 forms in *-ia* (45%). These percentages contrast markedly with the dominance of *-ie* cited by Menéndez Pidal and Penny. The data from the *Documentos Lingüísticos* produced by Imhoff shows that only in the Western region is there any significant use of *-ia*. In fact it is the preferred form. However, the raw data is very limited and comes from just seven notarial documents spanning a twenty-four-year period. A comparison with the *Poema* highlights the unusual nature of the distribution of these forms in the *Fazienda*.

According to Imhoff (1996: 56) the *Poema* ‘is replete with *-ie* forms’. He notes 224 *-ie* imperfect forms (94.5%) and 13 *-ia* forms (5.5%), although he omits first person forms from his calculations. Indeed the 13 *-ia* forms can probably be reduced to 12 as he includes the form *valia* (*Poema* 2509), which Menéndez Pidal (1964: 883) regards as a feminine noun, meaning ‘*precio, coste*’. The glossary of E6 reveals that *auie(n)* occurs 620 times whereas *auia* occurs 11 times; there 115 instances of *tenie(n)* and none of

tenia. What is striking about these two texts is that there is no uncertainty at all about which form to use.

However, not only do both these forms have a significant presence in the *Fazienda* they occur alongside one another. To demonstrate the extent of this compatibility I reproduce a section of text from my edition corresponding to Daniel 7:1-22. There are 11 *-ia* forms (in blue) and 19 *-ie* forms (in red) in this short piece of text.

Text from folio 67^{rb24} to folio 68^{rb1}

DAN. 7:1 En anno a Balta, rey de Babilonia, Daniel un suenno uio *en uiso* de su cabeça sobre su lecho; estonz el suenno escriuio, la suma de las palabras. Dixo: ²*Veya* en la uision de la noch, he .iiij. uientos de los cielos lidiauan e *salien* de la *grant* mar, ³e .iiij. bestias *grandes* se alcauan de la mar, desemeiables el una del otra. ⁴La *primera* semeiaua leon e *auie* alas de aguila; *ueye* que mesauan sus alas e *cayen* a tierra e sobre sos pieses, como omne, se leuantaua e coraçon de omne le era dado. ⁵E depues uio otra bestia que semeiaua osso, e una part se leuantaua e *auie* .iiij. ordenes de dientes en su boca, e assi dizen a ella: Lieuat e com carne mucha. ⁶Apres desto *ueya* otra bestia que semeiaua leopart e *auia* .iiij. alas daf fobre so cuerpo, e *auie* .iiij. cabeças esta bestia e *auia* *grant* senoria. ⁷Apres desto *ueye* en la uision de la noch, e bestia .iiij. espantable mucho e temorable e fuert sobeio, e *auie* dientes *grandes* de fierro; *comie* e menuzaua el remanient con sos pieses e pisaua. Esta era desemeiable de todas las otras bestias que y eran delant ella, e *auie* .x. cuernos. ⁸E *tendia* los cuernos, he otro cuerno *pequeno* que se leuantaua entre ellos e .iiij. cuernos, los *primeros* cuernos, se *arancauan* delant el, e *auie* oios este cuerno cum oios de uars e boca que fablaua orgul. ⁹E *ueya* troa que delant si era echado,

e antigo de dias. E estaua so uestido cuemo nief blanca, el cabello de su cabeza cuemo lana monda e de yuso cuemo centellas de fuego e su rueda cuemo fuego flameant. ¹⁰Rryo de fuego **corie** e **yxie** delant el; e iudizios **seye**, en libros **leye**; mil millarias le **siruian** e .x. uezes .c. milia se leuantauan delant el. ¹¹E **ueya** estonz de las uezes de las palabras grandes que el cuerpo fablaua, **veya** fasta *que* era matada la bestia e era perdudo so cuerpo e era encendedero de fuego. ¹²Ella remasia de las bestias, era taiada su podestadia e alongança de uida era dada a ellas fata tiempo e tiempo. ¹³**Veya** en la uision de la noch e he en las nuues del cielo fijo de omne uiene, troal antigo de dias **uinie** e delan el lo aplegaua. ¹⁴E eral dado sennoria e honor e regno, e e todos los pueblos e tribos e lenguas a el siruan; o podestad es del pueblo e del siglo *que non* se toldra e su regno que non se afollara. ¹⁵Taios (**68rA**) mj spiritu de mj, Daniel, entre mi entranna e uision de mi cabeça me trobaron. ¹⁶Alleguem al uno de los *que* estauan e dix: ¿On la uerdad de tod esto? E dixom la soltura e la palabra fizo saber: ¹⁷Estas bestias grandes, *qui* son .iiij. reyes, se []euantaran de la tierra. ¹⁸E reciben el regno e *sanctos* de altisfimo, enforteçran en el regno por consieglo e por iamas. ¹⁹Estonz la uedat por conplir la, e la bestia .iiij.^a era demudada mas *que* todas las otras e temorable sobeio, e **auia** dientes de fiera e sos unnas de azero, **comie** e menuzaua, el remanecient con sos pies pisaua. ²⁰E sobre sos .x. cuernos *que* eran entre su cabeça, e otro *que* alçaua entrellos e **cayen** delant el .iiij. cuernos, e el cuerno guarnido *que* **auia** oios e boca e fablaua autezas, en su uista mas grant de sos *conpanneros*. ²¹E ui a un cuerno guarnido *que* lidiaua con las bestias e **podia** con ellas ²²fasta *que* **uinie** el antigo de dias, e iudizios daua e *sancto* del altissimo; a tiempo plegaua e regno **enfortecien** *sanctos*.

The evidence of the *Fazienda* data supports the distinctiveness of the first person singular in preferring *-ia* with 29 cases (85.3%). It also shows that the *-ie* form is preferred in the second person singular and the first and second person plural forms.

There is no evidence to support the putative imperfect paradigm for *-ir* verbs referred to by Penny (2002: 199) in which the verb maintains the root vowel /e/ or /o/ before an *-ia* ending. The only *-ir* verbs that occur with any frequency are *uenir* and *dezir* and the presence of /i/ in the strong preterite stem of these two verbs is probably a contributory factor.

There is some evidence that scribal intervention may be a factor although it is not entirely convincing. Similarly, there is evidence that some lexical items prefer one form over the other. What is absolutely clear is that the degree of variation found in the *Fazienda*, 55% *-ie* and 45% *-ia*, contrasts strongly with the relative lack of variation in other early 13th century texts. What are the implications of this variation? The evidence of the extract from Daniel 7 demonstrates that scribes were quite happy to use bisyllabic *-ía* and the diphthong *-ié* almost interchangeably in the same text without any misgivings. It would appear that, in the *Fazienda*, *-ía* and *-ié* were regarded less as competing forms and more as just alternatives. It suggests that, wherever the *Fazienda* was written, these two forms were in regular use and were readily accepted as alternatives without prejudice.

Appendix 7.1

Verbs in the Imperfect

	Total	1sg		2sg		3sg		1pl		2pl		3pl	
		ie	ia	ies	ias	ie	ia	iemos	iamos	iedes	iades	ien	ian
acoger	2						2						
aduzir	3					1							2
aguarir	1					1							
apertenecer	1					1							
apparecer	2	1					1						
arder	1						1						
auer	161					74	68	3		1		4	11
beuer	5					1	2						2
bullir	1					1							
caber	1					1							
caer	2											2	
cennir	1						1						
cobrir	6					2	1					3	
coger	3						1					1	1
comer	12					4		1				2	5
conbater	1												1
connocer	4						1					1	2
conplir	1											1	
contender	1												1
conuenir	1					1							
correr	4					1						3	
crecer	5					3	1					1	
creer	1					1							
descender	1												1
desleirse	1					1							
dezir	28					15	2	1		1		6	3
enfortecer	3					1	1					1	
entender	4		1			1	2						
escarnir	1											1	
escreuir	1					1							
esparzer	1												1
exir	6					4						2	
fazer	21					9	4					6	2
fedecer	1						1						
ferir	5					4	1						
foyr	1										1		

guarir	1						1							
iazer	8		1			1	5							1
implir	2					2								
leer	1					1								
luzir	2						1							1
manir	1					1								
mentir	1					1								
morder	3						1							2
mouer	7					3	2						2	
pacer	1													1
partir	1					1								
plouer	1					1								
poder	17					5	5						2	5
premer	1		1											
prouecer	1					1								
querer	11					5	3						1	2
responder	1						1							
romper	1					1								
saber	10		2			1	2				1			4
salir	5					2	1						2	
seer	14					7	3	1					1	2
seruir	3												2	1
subir	2					1								1
soler	10					6	1						2	1
sostener	1													1
tannir	2					1							1	
temer	5					1	3							1
tender	1						1							
tener	26		1			4	17						1	3
toller	2						2							
traer	2						2							
ualer	2						2							
ueer	21	3	7	5	1		2						2	1
uenir	35		1			19	5						7	3
uestir	2					2								
vençer	1						1							
Totals	499	4	14	5	1	195	151	6	0	3	1	57	62	

Appendix 7.2

Verbs in the Conditional

	Total	1sg		2sg		3sg		1pl		2pl		3pl	
		ie	ia	ies	ias	ie	ia	iemos	iamos	iedes	iades	ien	ian
abastar	1					1							
adobar	1							1					
aduzir	1					1							
afirmar	1	1											
aiudar	1					1							
alçar	1					1							
apedrear	1											1	
asegurar	1						1						
auer	5					3	1	1					
beuer	4		1				1					1	1
biuir	1					1							
catar	1		1										
clamar	1					1							
comer	4		1			1		1				1	
conuidar	1							1					
dar	9		2			2	3	1				1	
demudar	1											1	
desar	1					1							
desbaratar	1												1
dezir	3		1			1	1						
engendrar	1						1						
fablar	1		1										
fazer	8		2			2	3						1
exir	1							1					
ir	8		1			3	2					1	1
leuar	1					1							
leuantar	1												1
maldezir	1					1							
matar	2		1			1							
meter	1						1						
morir	1											1	
obedecer	1												1
onorar	1					1							
pasar	6		1			3	1						1
partir	2						1					1	

pendrar	1						1						
perdonar	1					1							
pesar	1					1							
piadar	1					1							
poder	4		1	1			1	1					
prender	1					1							
prophetizar	1						1						
quemar	1					1							
querer	3		1				1	1					
regnar	1						1						
remanecer	1												1
ronper	3					3							
saber	1							1					
sacar	1						1						
salir	1					1							
sanar	3					3							
ser	9					5	2					2	
soltar	1									1			
sorber	1					1							
taiar	1						1						
toller	1			1									
trobar	1						1						
uer	2		1			1							
uenir	4					3							1
Totals	121	1	15	2		48	26	9		1		10	9

Chapter 8

Variation in apocope of weak object pronouns

8.1

Introduction

In this chapter I present data on clitic apocope in the *Fazienda* and examine the patterns of variation. I refer to the loss of the vowel in certain circumstances, reducing the weak object pronouns *me* to *m'*, *te* to *t'*, *le* to *l'*, *se* to *s'* and, additionally, *lo* to *l'*, according to Lapesa (1968), Romani and González Pérez (2005), Sanchis Calvo (1991), Echenique (1981), and Gessner (1898). Although apocope is a sporadic phenomenon I identify some conditioning factors which may help promote apocope.

Weak object pronoun apocope in the *Fazienda* has attracted interest from a range of scholars. Echenique (1981: 126) explains that her interest in apocopated forms is to see if it can throw light on the issue of 'leísmo personal'. She cites multiple examples from the *Fazienda*, which she regards as a 'texto clave' (1981: 154). Montgomery references enclitic pronoun apocope in the *Fazienda* in his general study of apocope in Old Spanish, although he points out that his figures 'se basa[n] en las primeras 80 páginas'⁶¹ (1975: 351). Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119-39) devotes 21 pages of her study of the language of the *Fazienda* to this linguistic feature. Romani and González Pérez (2005) draw exclusively on the *Fazienda* for examples in their study of personal pronoun apocope in medieval Castilian.

⁶¹ Reference is to Lazar 1965.

Montgomery (1975: 355) makes several general observations about enclitic pronouns that I examine in more detail in 8.4.5. He states that, in the *Fazienda*, apocope is almost a regular occurrence after verb forms and after *no*. I present figures to support this observation. He points out that where the pronoun can carry secondary stress – *dixome* for example – the full form may sometimes occur. I will clarify what ‘sometimes’ means in this instance with precise figures and percentages from the *Fazienda*. Echenique (1981: 125-131) tackles the issue of whether apocopated *l'*, when employed as a direct object, is the product of *le* or *lo*. I examine her contribution in 8.2 and offer my own hypothesis that in the *Fazienda* the apocopated form *l'* derives solely from the pronoun *le*.

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119-20) explains that she has studied the distribution of apocopated and full forms taking into account three factors:

- 1) la clase morfológica de la palabra anterior
- 2) si la caída de la /-e/ deja en posición final una consonante admitida en tal posición en castellano moderno o no
- 3) si la apócope se produce ante pausa, ante vocal, ante consonante diferente de la final del pronombre o ante consonante igual a ella.

In 8.4 I present my analysis of apocope along similar lines to Sanchis Calvo examining the linguistic environment that precedes and follows the pronoun and assessing the impact these factors have on whether the pronoun apocopes or not. It is unclear what the relevance of factor 2 is to clitic apocope in medieval Spanish. The final

consonants left after the deletion of the vowel of the pronoun are ‘m’, ‘t’, ‘s’ and ‘l’. They are all attested as word-final consonants in the *Fazienda*.

‘m’	flum, com, cum, abraam, adam
‘t’	ont, grant, delant, cibdat, mercet, conplit
‘s’	pues, antes, dias, sierus, dexastes, sopiestes
‘l’	sennal, tal, mal, sol, angel

In the *Fazienda*, clitic pronouns, i.e. unstressed personal pronouns, comprise the following forms:

1 st person singular	<i>me</i>	1 st person plural	<i>nos</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>te</i>	2 nd person plural	<i>uos, os</i>
3 rd person singular	<i>lo, la, le, se</i>	3 rd person plural	<i>los, las, les, se</i>

I examine the variation in patterns of apocope in clitic pronouns in the *Fazienda*, where the final vowel of the pronoun is lost. Apocope, therefore, potentially affects only the singular forms *me, te, lo, la* and *le* and the reflexive *se*. I will seek to establish the contextual factors, both morphological and phonetic, which may influence and affect these patterns of apocope.

Romani and González Pérez (2008: 247) and Sanchis Calvo (1991: 139-9) distinguish two types of vowel deletion – one where the asyllabic consonant of the pronoun attaches itself to a preceding host vowel (examples 8.1^{a&b}, 8.3^{a&b}, 8.5^{a&b} and 8.7^{a&b}) and one where the consonant of the pronoun attaches itself to a following host

vowel (examples 8.2, 8.4, 8.6 and 8.8). In order to focus on the different linguistic contexts in which these two processes occur and to distinguish between them I shall refer only to the former type as ‘apocope’ and for the latter type I shall use the term ‘elision’.

In my examples I embolden the syllabic clitic pronoun and to indicate the relationship of the clitic with its host vowel I use a full stop to mark apocope (8.1^{a&b}, 8.3^{a&b}, 8.5^{a&b} and 8.7^{a&b}) and an apostrophe to mark elision (8.2, 8.4, 8.6 and 8.8).

(8.1 ^a)	E dixo a so escudero: Saca tu espada e mata. m con ella	Fol. 32 ^{vb29-30}
(8.1 ^b)	Bendixo. m & dixo. m assi:	Fol. 9 ^{vb30}
(8.2)	& soterrar m 'edes con myos parientes	Fol. 11 ^{ra3-4}
(8.3 ^a)	¿Que. t fizo este pueblo por adozir sobrel peccado grant?	Fol. 20 ^{rb30-31}
(8.3 ^b)	Torna. t a tu tierra o nacist	Fol. 5 ^{ra15-16}
(8.4)	dixo: Qviçab adorart'emos jo & tu madre & tos ermanos	Fol. 5 ^{va19-21}
(8.5 ^a)	Do albergo fallo el angel del Sennor & quiso. l matar.	Fol. 13 ^{rb1-2}
(8.5 ^b)	quito. l todo lo que. l auia preso	Fol. 41 ^{va3-4}
(8.6)	Ire tras el & pedir l 'e alguna cosa	Fol. 43 ^{vb21-22}
(8.7 ^a)	e cerro. s la tierra con ellos e fueron perdudos	Fol. 23 ^{ra7-8}
(8.7 ^b)	omillo. s a la tierra	Fol. 5 ^{ra32}
(8.8)	Leuantars'a est pueblo	Fol. 26 ^{va30}

All of the examples of elision (8.2, 8.4, 8.6 and 8.8) involve mesoclis, the interpolation of the pronoun between the infinitive stem and a form of the auxiliary verb *auer*, in either an analytic future or conditional. The pronoun is preceded by an infinitive form with the final consonant <r> and is followed by a form of the verb *auer* beginning with a vowel or <h> plus a vowel. These may be written together as one word in the manuscript, as in (8.4) and (8.8) or as two words where the asyllabic pronoun is written together with the auxiliary but separate from the infinitive stem, as in (8.2) and (8.6). This is a very specific linguistic environment and I examine separately this pattern of vowel deletion (elision) in section 8.3, comparing my findings with those of Romani and González Pérez (2008) and Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119-39). The other instances of vowel deletion (apocope) in examples (8.1^{a&b}), (8.3^{a&b}), (8.5^{a&b}) and (8.7^{a&b}) involve a preceding vowel and may precede either a consonant or a vowel. The asyllabic pronoun attaches itself to and is written together with the preceding vowel. The use of the nasal diacritic in (8.1^b) to represent /m/ illustrates this clearly. This pattern will be considered in section 8.4, where I compare my findings again with those of Romani and González Pérez and Sanchis Calvo and comment on the observations made by Montgomery.

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119), in her discussion of weak personal pronoun apocope, notes the existence of *leísmo* in the text – ‘como en el texto existe leísmo’ and highlights the difficulty that this presents for the asyllabic 3rd person form *l’*, as it is not possible to determine whether the apocopated form *l’* is a product of *lo* or *le*. Romani and González Pérez (2008: 246) also acknowledge the fact that the apocopated *l’* variant presents the problem of how to interpret it. In section 8.2 I discuss the various positions on this issue and the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda*. I assess the evidence from the *Fazienda* and

whether it can inform the debate. Based on this evidence I seek to support my hypothesis that in the *Fazienda* the apocopated form *l'* derives solely from the pronoun *le*.

8.2 The source of apocopated *l'* and the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda*

It is apposite at this juncture to clarify how I propose to use the term *leísmo* in relation to the *Fazienda*. Fernández-Ordóñez (1993: 1) establishes the broad definition of *leísmo* as ‘el uso de la forma *le* en lugar de *lo* (o excepcionalmente, *la*) como pronombre para el complemento directo’. She goes on to distinguish different types of *leísmo*:

- 1) The use of *le* as a masculine direct object. Within this category she further distinguishes between a personal use, which is the most frequent and widespread, and a non-personal use (*de cosa*), which is much less frequent.
- 2) The use of *les* as a masculine direct object form, which is less frequent than in the singular.
- 3) The use of *le* or *les* as a feminine direct object.

For my working definition for this chapter I adopt the broad one stated above, namely the use of the indirect object pronouns *le* or *les* as direct object forms to replace the direct object forms *lo*, *la*, *los* or *las*, whether personal, animate or inanimate.

There is little evidence of the use of *les* as a direct object form, whether masculine or feminine, in the *Fazienda*. I have found just 5 examples, as in:

- (8.9^a) & non **les** odio, como fablo Nuestro Sennor. Fol. 14^{ra33-34}
- (8.9^b) E fizo **les** estar delant si. Fol. 64^{va16}

In (8.9^a) the *le* refers to Moses and Aaron, and the text corresponds to Exodus 8:15. The reference in (8.9^b) is to Daniel, Ananias, Misael and Azarias, and corresponds to Daniel 1:18-19.

There is one example of *le* as a feminine direct object form:

(8.10) E leuantauasse my faz e adorauan **le** todos los *uuestr*os. Fol. 5^{va13-14}

Leísmo in the *Fazienda* is primarily associated with the use of *le* as a masculine direct object, whether personal, as in:

(8.11^a) Murio *Dauid* e soterraron **le** en su cudad, en Syon, Fol.49^{ra1-2}

(8.11^b) Andat & matemos **le**. Fol. 5^{va32}

The reference in (8.11^b) is to Joseph, Genesis 37:20. The vast majority of the examples of *le* as a direct object fall into this category. It is also used with a non-personal animate referend:

(8.12) Dixo el angel: *Non* temas; pren **le** e tray **le** fuera. Fol. 35^{vb4-5}

The reference is to *pez* (Tobias 6:4-5))

and also with an inanimate referend:

(8.13) como el poluo de la tierra *que* **le** lieua el uient Fol. 65^{ra5-6}

What these examples have in common is that *le* is used instead of *lo* as a direct object form. The focus of this chapter is on pronoun apocope and I will deal only with use of the singular form *le* as a direct object, whatever the category of *leísmo* involved.

Positions on the source of apocopated *l'* and the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda* are interlinked. Echenique (1981: 126) explains that her interest in apocopated *l'* forms ‘reside en la relación que tienen con el leísmo personal’. However, it is necessary to clarify the issue. The difficulty highlighted by Sanchis Calvo (1991: 119) relates solely to the use of the apocopated *l'* as a direct object and does not arise when referring to an indirect object. The indirect object use is exemplified in:

(8.14) e dio. **l** pan & vino *que* a nos enfigura de *Christus* Fol. 2^{ra}8-10

and he gave him bread and wine which for us symbolises Christ⁶²

The reference is to Abraham who receives the bread and wine from Melchisedech (Genesis 14:18). Here *l'* clearly derives from the indirect object form *le*.

However, when it is a direct object, as in (8.15), where the reference is to Joseph (Genesis 37:27), there is no clear indication whether this represents an apocope of the masculine direct object pronoun *lo* or of the pronoun *le* used as a direct object.

(8.15) Qve pro sera sy. **l** mataremos e celaremos su sangre Fol. 5^{vb}20-21

Lapesa (1968: 524) states that ‘la primera cuestión que se presenta al tratar de la génesis de estos fenómenos es si los ejemplos de pronombre apocopado *-l'* en función de objeto se deben clasificar o no como muestras del leísmo’.

8.2.1 Romani and González Pérez

According to Romani and González Pérez (2008: 253) the *Fazienda* is ‘un texto básicamente no leísta’. Although they do not explain exactly what they mean by this statement or provide any data, they do point out that the *Fazienda* does contain some *leísta* examples and they cite the following:

⁶² My translation.

apocope. These will be discussed in detail and compared with my data in sections 8.3 and 8.4.

8.2.2 Sanchis Calvo

In her analysis of weak object pronoun apocope in the *Fazienda* (1991: 119-39) Sanchis Calvo distinguishes between those apocopated indirect object forms which clearly derive from *le* and direct object forms which may derive from either *le* or *lo*. She notes the virtual absence of the use of *le* for *lo* after a vowel (1991: 133) and observes that *le* and *lo* alternate after a consonant. Based on these two points she raises the possibility that, in the *Fazienda*, the majority of cases of the apocopated form *l'* derive from *le*, although she does not discount the possibility that ‘en *l'* se confluyan la totalidad de los casos de *le* y algunos de *lo*. She draws her data from pages 43-99 in Lazar’s edition (fols.1-28)⁶³ and lists examples of *l'* and *lo* as direct objects ‘en condiciones en que es posible la apócope’ (1991: 134-37). In her examples of *l'* she does not indicate whether the apocopated form is a product of *le* or *lo* and does not provide any clear basis to distinguish between an underlying *le* or *lo*.

Example (8.23) relates to Exodus 4:4. Moses throws his rod on the ground and it becomes a snake. Then the Lord tells him to stretch out a hand and pick it up.

(8.23) Tendio su mano & priso.l & fizos uerga en su mano. Fol. 12^{vb15-16}

Example (8.24) is from Exodus 4:27 and describes Aaron going to meet and greet Moses.

⁶³ As Sanchis Calvo does not provide any reason for this selection it would appear to be more a matter of expediency than a considered choice.

(8.24) & encontrol & saludo.l Fol. 13^{rb6-7}

Example (8.25) is from Exodus 32:20 and describes how Moses came down from the mountain, destroyed and ground up the calf and spread it on the water.

(8.25) esparziol sobre las aguas Fol. 20^{rb27-28}

Sanchis Calvo's examples demonstrate that apocopated *l'* can have personal, animate or inanimate antecedents but they provide no indication as to whether the apocopated form was originally *le* or *lo*.

8.2.3 Echenique

Echenique (1981: 125) discusses the different interpretations of the nature of the deleted vowel in the apocopated pronoun *l'*. She cites Gessner (1893: 9) who suggests *l'* could be the product of either *lo* or *le*. Gessner writes 'Anlehnung an ein vorhergehendes vokalisches auslautendes Wort mit Abwerfung von *e*, *o* findet altspan bei den Pronominalien *me*, *te*, *se*, *le*, *lo* statt'. He provides illustrative examples from the *Poema: quem* (157), *nom* (1763) *metistet* (3333), *estot* (3344), *asis* (375), *cogios* (588), *quisol* (265), *cozinal* (1017). However, although he refers to *le* and *lo* as possible sources for *l'*, both the examples of apocopated *l'* are indirect object forms and so are the product of *le*, as in:

(8.26) Loraua de los oios, *quisol* besar las manos *Poema* 265

(8.27) A myo Çid don Rodrigo grant *cozinal* adobauan *Poema* 1017

Echenique also cites Cuervo as assuming that *l'* could not be the product of *lo*, a view supported by Staaff (1906) and Menéndez Pidal (1964, 1968). Cuervo (1895: 234-5)

mentions that among the texts he has studied he has found examples of *l'* as indirect object (both masculine and feminine) and examples as masculine direct object but he emphasises that in his examples ‘no hay ejemplo alguno en que *l'* esté por *lo* neutro’. He also points out that in texts where the use of the full form *le* as a masculine direct object is rare or non-existent, we do find *l'* as a direct object. Menéndez Pidal (1968: 254) states that ‘el leísmo domina en Castilla, atribuyendo a *le* funciones del masculino *lo*’. He then goes on to say that all these enclitic pronouns ‘podían perder en las antiguas lenguas romances su *-ē* final del singular, cuando la palabra en que se apoyaban terminaba en vocal’. This clearly refers to *me*, *te*, *se*, and *le*. There is no mention of *lo*. Similarly, Menéndez Pidal (1964: 251) does not so much discount *lo* as a source for *l'*, but rather ignores it entirely, when he notes that:

Todos los pronombres átonos pueden perder su vocal *-e* final en el singular, como enclíticos de una palabra terminada en vocal, ora la palabra siguiente empiece por vocal ó por consonante.

Echenique (1981: 126) is convinced by the arguments adduced by Lapesa to support his view regarding the apocopated form *l'*. Lapesa (1968: 524) asserts that ‘no hay razón para descartar que en función de acusativo proceda de *lo*’. He notes that the final /o/ in *lo* could be lost when intertonic just as it is in other words such as: *San* <*santo*, *tot* <*todo*, *cum* <*cumo*, *quand* <*quando* etc. For Lapesa the fact that apocope only occurs in the masculine form *lo* but not in the neuter form *lo* is not an obstacle to this, as ‘bien conocidos son otros fenómenos ligados a ciertas categorías gramaticales’. He cites the examples of the verb form *mido* < *mēitio* and the noun *vezo* < *vītio* to illustrate the point that different morphological categories can create different outcomes.

He goes on to state:

En la forma apocopada -l' confluyeron, pues, el *l(o)* del acusativo masculino y el *l(e)* de dativos como “*no! diessen posada*”, “*quisol besar las manos*”.⁶⁴ (1968: 525)

Lapesa (1968: 527) mentions that there is only one example of ‘*le* acusativo de cosa’ in the *Poema*, whereas there are 21 examples of ‘acusativo de persona’ and 5 ‘para animales’. This sub-dividing of *leísmo* into various categories can create problems when comparing data across different texts as it can sometimes be difficult to ensure that one is comparing the same things. In the *Fazienda* there are examples of various different categories of *leísmo* but I make no distinction in this study as they do not impinge on whether the pronoun apocopates or not.

Echenique provides us with the following data from the *Fazienda*:

Apócope de objeto directo masculino personal (1981: 126)

<i>l'</i>	103 cases	29.2%
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Formas plenas de objeto directo masculino singular (1981: 132)

<i>lo</i>	168 cases	47.6%
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<i>le</i>	82 cases	23.2%
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It is not clear whether the adjective *personal* also applies to the second set of figures. As Echenique goes on to talk about *leísmo de cosa* and gives some examples from the *Fazienda*, it is difficult to be sure whether both these categories are included in

⁶⁴ *Poema*, lines 25 and 265 respectively. The second example is also cited by Gessner above.

here is slightly different. Does the *le* here correspond to the literal meaning of tree or is the reference to Nabucodonor? In the discourse it is the tree but to what extent, if any, does the wider connotation affect the choice of pronoun? A similar dilemma arises with:

(8.30) E leuantauasse my faz e adorauan **le** todos los *uue*stros. Fol. 5^{va}13-14

The reference is to Genesis 37.7 where Joseph is recounting his dream to his brothers. Example (8.31) shows that they clearly understand that the reference is not merely to their sheaves of corn bowing down before his, but is foretelling their future relationship with their brother. To what extent does the connotation of *faz* in this context favour a ‘personal’ interpretation of the use of the pronoun?

(8.31) Dyxieron los ermanos: Quiçab aun regnaras sobre nos. Fol. 5^{va}15-16

An additional feature of example (8.30) is that the pronoun *le* refers back to the feminine noun *faz*. In order to avoid these types of complication in the analysis of my data I classify all forms of *lo* as either direct object or neuter and all forms of *le* as either direct object or dative.

This is not the only problem that can arise when comparing data on apocope. Echenique’s figures for the *Fazienda* are shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Echenique’s figures (1981: 126 &132)

		%
<i>l'</i>	103	29.2
<i>lo</i>	168	47.6
<i>le</i>	82	23.2
Total	353	

The context for *l'* is clear, as it occurs only after a preceding vowel, but there is no indication regarding the preceding environment for *lo* and *le*. My figures for the *Fazienda* are shown in Table 8.2, in which I indicate whether the forms *lo* and *le* are preceded by a consonant or by a vowel. The occurrences of *lo* and those of *le* and *l'* are direct object references. It is thus possible to compare the relative frequency of the three forms in the same environments. My figures for *lo* and *l'* following a vowel are broadly similar to those of Echenique but there is a wide discrepancy between our figures for *le*. The 82 cases in Echenique's figures contrast dramatically with the 5 occurrences in my figures. Echenique's figures for *lo* and *l'* represent occurrences when preceded by a vowel. However, her figure of 82 appears to represent the occurrences of *le* when preceded by either a consonant or a vowel, as there are only five instances of direct object *le* when preceded by a vowel. Given that this discrepancy actually distorts the percentages because it disregards the use of *lo* after a consonant, it is difficult to make a direct comparison between Echenique's figures and my own. Table 8.2 presents my figures and percentages for *lo*, *le* and *l'* after both a consonant and a vowel.

Table 8.2 Direct object *lo*, *le* and *l'* after consonant and vowel

	<i>lo</i>	%	<i>le</i>	%	<i>l'</i>	%	Total
Consonant	85	49.4	87	50.6	-	-	172
Vowel	155	54.6	5	1.8	124	43.7	284
Total	240	52.6	92	20.2	124	27.2	456

A comparison of the pattern of occurrence of *lo* and *le* presented in Table 8.2 shows that, when preceded by a consonant, the figures are almost identical in occurrences

(85/87). The apocopated form *l'* does not occur after a consonant. When preceded by a vowel there are 155 occurrences of *lo* (54.6%) and 124 of *l'* (43.7%) and there are five occurrences of *le*, just 1.8%. The 5 instances of *le* after a vowel provide a slightly misleading picture. Menéndez Pidal observes (1964:255) that in the *Poema* ‘Cuando se agrupan dos enclíticos, el segundo no puede apocoparse’ and notes its rarity in other texts. In the *Fazienda* the form *le* occurs following another clitic on 4 occasions and does not apocopate in this context, as in:

(8.32) finco ge**le** por la tienpla Fol. 33^{va21-22}

The remaining instance is:

(8.33) como el poluo de la tierra **que le** lieua el uient e estiu Fol. 65^{ra5-6}

where the presence of the following *l* of *lieua* possibly acts as a constraint on apocope.

The data would appear to show that *le* and *l'* are practically in complementary distribution, with *le* (50.6%) occurring after a consonant and *l'* (43.7%) after a vowel.

In order to assess the possible impact of the apocope of *lo* on the occurrence of the full form *lo*, in Table 8.3 I present the figures for the occurrences of neuter *lo* and direct object *lo* after both a consonant and a vowel. I use the term ‘neuter *lo*’ to refer to the pronoun *lo* when it does not have a specific noun antecedent but instead refers to a noun phrase or a proposition, as in:

(8.34) La primera noch echos la mayor *con* el assi **que** el padre no **lo** sopo al
echar ni al leuantar. Fol. 2^{vb10}

8.2, and the fact that *le* is practically absent following a vowel, appear to support this hypothesis. The almost identical percentage of neuter and direct object *lo* forms after both a consonant and a vowel in Table 8.3 further supports the hypothesis.

Echenique (1981: 133) describes the *Fazienda* as ‘el primer texto que rompe, violentamente, la ausencia de *le* para objeto directo masculino de persona’. She views the 23.2% *leísmo* as representing ‘un cambio brusco en la utilización de *le* y de *lo*’. If my hypothesis is valid and direct object *l’* is the product of direct object *le*, Echenique significantly underestimates the presence of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda*. Rather than her figure of 23.2% we should perhaps combine her figures of 23.2% for *le* with her 29.2% for *l’*. On her data this would produce a significantly higher figure of 52.4% for *leísmo* in the *Fazienda*. Using my data from Table 8.2 this produces a slightly more modest figure of 45.4% for *leísmo* in the *Fazienda*.

This analysis has much wider implications for an assessment of *leísmo* in medieval Spanish. It may be necessary to revisit the figures that Echenique (1981: 126-7, 132) presents from a variety of medieval texts and re-analyse them in a similar way. The extent of *leísmo* in medieval Spanish may prove to be much higher than previously thought.

8.3 Clitic elision

The separation of infinitive stem and inflection in the so-called analytic future and conditional constructions is only possible with mesoclitic pronouns. In these analytic constructions the pronouns occur in a very restricted environment with limited contextual features to affect elision. Romani and González (2008: 250) correctly point out ‘la elisión

está condicionada por el contexto fonológico que sigue al clítico’. I present data for all apocopated and full forms for each of these clitics separately detailing the ‘contexto fonológico que sigue’. I focus on the pronouns *me*, *te*, *se* and *le* and seek to establish an explanation for their varying patterns of apocope in this construction. Notwithstanding my hypothesis that, in the *Fazienda*, apocopated *l’* is solely the product of the pronoun *le*, I also include data for *lo* for purposes of comparison.

It is my contention that this form of apocope, where the vowel of the clitic elides with a following vowel, occurs only with analytic futures and conditionals in the *Fazienda*. Romani and González Pérez (2008: 250) suggest that ‘la elisión puede ocurrir también en otros contextos’ and cite the following example:

(8.35) E Ruth vino a Noemi, su suegra, e contol todo lo que el avie contido con
Booz e la onor que fizo. Lazar 200.8-9 Fol. 77^{ra18-21}

They explain that ‘el clítico *l(e)* se apoya en el pronombre personal tónico *él* que termina en consonante, y antecede a la forma del auxiliar *avie* que inicia con una vocal’. The example seems to run counter to their statement (2008: 250):

la elisión está condicionada por el contexto fonológico que sigue al clítico, que debe iniciar con una vocal, mientras que parece ser indiferente a la terminación de la palabra que antecede.

The text relates the story of Ruth returning from the fields and telling Naomi how she had been treated by Booz, i.e. what had happened to her with Booz. It is a paraphrase of Ruth 2:18-19. The explanation offered by Romani and González Pérez cannot be justified either contextually or syntactically. The original sentence that they posit prior to apocope,

Notwithstanding these points, the fact remains that in the *Fazienda* there are 58 examples of *se* following a consonant and preceding a vowel and there is not a single case of apocope. Yet, following a vowel and preceding a consonant, there are 173 cases of *se* apocopating and finding a host in the preceding vowel. The evidence would seem to suggest that the default host for an asyllabic clitic precedes it. With very few exceptions the word separation in the manuscript reflects this understanding. I contend that this is also the case when the clitic is both preceded and followed by a vowel, as in example (8.36^b).

For her second example Sanchis Calvo suggests that the pronoun *le* elides with the following verb beginning with a vowel, as in:

(8.41) Yo l'oy Lazar 159.16

The palaeographic transcription reads:

ploro e rompio fos uestidos. yo / loy. el uerna abuena fin. e aco/

Fol. 58^{vb21-22}

I suggest that this example should best be read as: *Yo.l oy*.

Neither Sanchis Calvo nor Lazar, whose edition she cites from, explain what is significantly different about these two examples that they should elide. The negative form *no* precedes *se* on 22 occasions and the pronoun apocopates 21 times. This is the only case where Lazar edits in this way. On every other occasion he represents the apocopated pronoun as attaching itself to the preceding negative, even when preceding a vowel, as in:

(8.42) No.s echara fasta *que* coma rabadura Fol. 25^{ra35}

(8.43) No.**s** ent patio a diestro nu a siniestro. Fol. 58^{va33}

The weight of evidence from the use of *no* with *se*, and with other clitics, supports my suggested reading. Example (8.41) would present a unique situation for the *Fazienda* in which a clitic elides with a following verb form, other than in an analytic construction. There is perhaps some justification for this reading by Lazar given the palaeographic transcription. However, the scribe's regard for word boundaries can be somewhat inconsistent, particularly at line breaks. The form *yo* occurs a further four times in the *Fazienda*. On all these occasions the scribe presents the tonic *yo* and the atonic *l'* as one unit, even when preceding a vowel, as in:

(8.44) Yo.**l** engennare. Fol. 42^{rb4}

This scribal practice is endorsed by usage with other pronouns, as in:

(8.45) Jo.**m** acoio a mios pueblos. Fol. 1^{1ra2}

(8.46) Jo.**t** fare entender *que* sera en postremo de los dias Fol. 69^{ra5}

The use of the nasal diacritic in (8.45) to represent /m/ also strongly suggests that the tonic pronoun acts as host to the apocopated atonic form. The pattern of usage of the tonic pronoun *yo* with atonic pronouns throughout the *Fazienda* again supports my suggested reading. Despite the suggestions of Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez to the contrary, the evidence of the data indicates that elision of weak object pronouns in the *Fazienda* is to be found only in analytic future and conditional constructions. These examples, counterintuitively, would appear to suggest that, when the

weak object pronoun precedes the verb, it cliticises not with the verb but with a preceding element. The data from the *Fazienda* presented in 8.4 will support this observation.

8.3.1 Elision of *me*

Table 8.4 shows the data for the use of *me* and the apocopated *m'* in analytic futures as presented by Sanchis Calvo (1991: 138-9) and Romani and González Pérez (2008: 248). Sanchis Calvo takes her data from the first 28 folios (Lazar 1965, pp. 43-99) and lists examples of full and apocopated forms according to whether they precede the vowel 'e' or 'a'. Her figures are not entirely accurate. The first 28 folios contain 5 examples of *m'* and not 3, 13 examples of *me* and not 9. In her figures and percentages Sanchis Calvo counts 8 examples of *me* but actually lists 9 examples. I have corrected this in Table 8.4. Romani and González Pérez (2008: 248) present total figures of syllabic and asyllabic forms but do not list examples. I also include my own figures. The examples reflect exactly how the scribe presents the three elements - stem, pronoun and auxiliary - in the manuscript. Sometimes the infinitive stem is separate, as in (8.47) and (8.51). Sometimes all the elements are written together, as in (8.48) and (8.53). Sometimes all three elements are written separately, as in (8.50) and (8.52).

Table 8.4 Data for *m'* and *me*

	<i>m'</i>	%	<i>me</i>	%
Sanchis Calvo	3	25	9	75
Romani & González Pérez	8	25.8	23	74.2
McDougall	8	26.7	22	78.3

There are 8 examples of elision, as in:

(8.47) e razonar **m**'e con ellos Fol. 71^{rb16-17}

(8.48) Encontrar**m**'e yo con mio Sennor Fol. 24^{vb23-24}

Elision only occurs when *me* directly precedes the vowel *e*. The presence of an *h* precludes elision. Sánchez-Prieto (2008: 432) describes this as 'el uso de *h* para aumentar el contorno gráfico de las palabras' and is exemplified in:

(8.49) uengar**me** he de mios enemigos. Fol. 55^{va26}

There 22 examples of the full form *me*. It occurs before the vowel /e/ on just 3 occasions, as in:

(8.50) E ondrar **me** e en Pharaon Fol.16^{rb19-20}

(8.51) e yo conseiar **mee** Fol. 54^{vb11}

It occurs before the vowel /a/ on 18 occasions, as in:

(8.52) e soterrar **me** as en el sepulcro Fol. 9^{vb18-19}

(8.53) e matar**mean** Fol. 32^{vb32}

Table 8.5 indicates the importance that the following context (+ e, + a, + h) has for the elision of *me*. The overall percentage of elision is 26.7%. However, immediately before the vowel /e/, where the figure is 72.7%, there is a clear preference for elision.

Table 8.5 *m' and me + e, + a, + h-*

Vowel	+ e	%	+ a	%	+ h-	%	Total	%
<i>m'</i>	8	72.7	0	0.0	0	0	8	26.7
<i>me</i>	3	27.3	18	100	1	100	22	78.3
Total	11		19				30	

8.3.2 Elision of *te*

Table 8.6 shows the data for the use of *te* and the apocopated *t'* in the *Fazienda* as presented by Sanchis Calvo (1991: 138-9) and Romani and González Pérez (2008: 248), alongside my own figures. I have again been unable to reproduce Sanchis Calvo's figures in Table 8.6. In the first 28 folios there are 14 examples of the apocopated form and 8 of the full form. There is a slight discrepancy between my figures and those of Romani and González Pérez. All sets of figures show a significantly high percentage of elision: 61.1%, 50% and 56.1%, a higher percentage than those for *me*. This can be explained by the interaction in dialogue of 1st and 2nd person forms and, as a result, the pronoun *te* will frequently interact with the 1st person forms of the auxiliary, *e* or *emos*, and is thus more likely to elide.

Table 8.6 *Data for t' and te*

	<i>t'</i>	%	<i>te</i>	%
Sanchis Calvo	11	61.1	7	38.9
Romani & González Pérez	22	50	22	50
McDougall	23	56.1	18	48.9

There are 23 cases of elision, 18 of which occur directly before the vowel /e/, as in:

(8.54) Fabla tu *con* nos & oyr **t'**emos. Fol. 18^{vb10}

(8.55) Fert'emos bien Fol. 61^{va14}

There are 5 instances of elision before the vowel /a/, as in:

(8.56) acogert'as a to pueblos Fol. ^{vb19-20}

There are 18 full forms. There is one instance preceding the vowel /e/.

(8.57) darte e por *conpannas* de pueblos Fol. 9^{vb32-33}

There are 12 forms preceding the vowel /a/, as in:

(8.58) & enpreñar **te** as Fol. 81^{rb8}

(8.59) sacar **te** a Pharaon de la carcel Fol. 6^{vb5-6}

There are 4 instance of *te* preceding <h>, as in:

(8.60) tornar **te** he a esta *tierra* Fol. 46^{vb35}

There is one instance of an analytic conditional in which the full form is used:

(8.61) Si touies espada en mi mano, matar **te** ya. Fol. 24^{va30-31}

Table 8.7 contains the figures for *t* and *te* indicating whether they directly precede the vowel /e/ or not. When *te* directly precedes the vowel /e/, it elides on 18 (94.7%) of

the 19 occasions. There are 23 cases of elision and 18 (78.3%) precede the vowel /e/. The data confirms the preference for elision when the pronoun directly precedes the vowel /e/.

Table 8.7 *t'* and *te* + e, + a, +y, + h-

vowel	+ e	%	+a	%	+ y	%	+ h-	%	Total
Te	1	5.6	12	66.7	1	5.6	4	22.2	18
t'	18	78.3	5	21.7	0	0	0	0	23
Total	19	46.3		41.5	1	2.4	4	9.8	41

8.3.3 Elision of *se*

Table 8.8 contains my figures together with those of Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez. I am again unable to replicate Sanchis Calvo's figures (1991: 138-9). She finds only 11 cases of the full form *se* in the first 28 folios but there are 29 examples. There is very little elision of *se*, just 3 examples (5.3%).

Table 8.8 Data for *s'* and *se*

	<i>s'</i>	%	<i>se</i>	%
Sanchis Calvo	2	15.4	11	84.6
Romani & González Pérez	2	8.6	54	96.6
McDougall	3	5.3	54	94.7

There are two cases of elision before the vowel /a/:

(8.62) Leuantars'a est pueblo Fol. 26^{va30}

(8.63) Sacar s'a el cabo del Carmel Fol. 71^{va6}

There is one case of elision in an analytic conditional:

(8.64) e partir s'ia el flum Jordan asuso e ayuso Fol. 28_{rb23-24}

There are 54 instances of the full form *se*, all preceding the vowel /a/, as in:

(8.65) Quicab reppendir **se** a el pueblo Fol. 16^{ra35}

(8.66) despartir **se** an las oueias Fol. 75^{rb3-4}

In the absence of a following vowel /e/, there is minimal apocope with just 3 cases (5.3%). Although elision can be considered a sporadic phenomenon there are certain conditioning factors which appear to encourage this process, namely if the pronoun directly precedes the vowel /e/. The reflexive pronoun *se* necessarily interacts primarily with the 3rd person future forms *a* and *an* of the auxiliary *auer*. Table 8.9 confirms that this context does not favour elision.

Table 8.9 s' and *se* + a, +y

vowel	a	%	y	%	Total
<i>se</i>	54	100	0	0	54
s'	2	66.7	1	33.3	3
Total	56	98.2	1	1.8	57

8.3.4 Elision of *le*

I present my data Table 8.10 in accordance with my hypothesis that apocopated *l'* is solely the product of *le*. I make no distinction between indirect object and direct object forms. There are 7 cases of elision (38.9%) and 11 cases of the full form *le* (61.1%).

The elided form *l'* precedes the vowel /e/ on 5 occasions, as in:

(8.67) E dar **l'**e coração que cognoscan Fol. 61^{rb13-14}

(8.68) e adorar**l'**e y Fol. 43^{vb16-17}

The form *l'* precedes the vowel /a/ on 2 occasions, as in:

(8.69) e desbaratar**l'**as Fol. 41^{rb3}

The full form occurs before the vowel /e/ on 3 occasions, as in:

(8.70) depues dar **le** emos salto Fol. 82^{rb24-25}

There are 7 instances of *le* before the vowel /a/, as in:

(8.71) fallara un leon e matar **lea** Fol. 53^{ra27}

(8.72) e fer **le** an sus armas Fol. 31^{va14}

As Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez include the masculine pronoun *lo* in their considerations I do not include their figures here as any direct comparison would be difficult. Table 8.10 illustrates once again the significance of the following vowel.

Table 8.10 *l'* and *le* + e, + a, + y

Vowel	+ e	%	+ a	%	+ y	%	Total
<i>l'</i>	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0	7
<i>le</i>	3	27.3	7	63.6	1	9.1	11
Total	8		9		1		18

8.3.5

Postscript on *lo*

Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez include the pronoun *lo* in their consideration of the apocopated form *l'*.

Sanchis Calvo (1991: 139) identifies the following forms used as *objeto directo masculino* in her corpus in analytic futures.

One case of *l'*

(8.73) Adozirme l'edes Lazar 55.39 Fol. 8^{rb20}

One case of *le*

(8.74) Dartele é Lazar 52.6 Fol. 6^{ra29}

8 cases of *lo*

(8.75) Plorar**lo** hé Lazar 55.33 Fol. 8^{rb5}

(8.76) Desfer**lo** é Lazar 81.8 Fol. 20^{vb3-4}

(8.77) Comendar**lo** é Lazar 94.13 Fol. 26^{va23}

(8.78) Guardar**lo** an Lazar 69.27 Fol. 15^{vb4-5}

(8.79) Degollar**lo** an Lazar 69.28 Fol. 15^{vb6}

(8.80) Ver**lo**⁶⁶ ha Lazar 88.14 Fol. 23^{vb34-35}

(8.81) Alcançar**lo** an Lazar 94.19 Fol. 26^{ra24-25}

(8.82) Odir**lo** an Lazar 99.13 Fol. 29^{ra14-15}

⁶⁶ MS reads *ueer lo*

There is one analytic conditional example.

(8.83) Passar**lo** yan Lazar 97.32 Fol. 28^{rb25}

Sanchis Calvo does not distinguish between personal and non-personal direct object forms or even animate and non-animate. In (8.75) the reference is to Benjamin (Genesis 42:38) whereas (8.79) refers to the paschal lamb (Exodus 12:6) and in (8.80) the reference is to a brazen serpent (Numbers 21:8).

Example (8.82) would appear to be a neuter form. The pronoun *lo* refers to the fact that the Israelites turned their backs on their enemies. The full text reads:

El mio Sennor, ¿*que* dizre agora, pues *que* Israel torno las cuestras a sos
enemigos? Odir **lo** an los de Chanaan e todos los *que* son en toda la tierra e cercar
nos an e taiar se a *nuestro* nombre de la *tierra*. Fol. 29^{ra12-18}

My Lord, what shall I say now, since Israel turned their backs on their enemies?
The Chanaanites, and all those who are in all the land will hear of **it**, and they will
surround us and our name will be cut off from the earth. Josh 7:8-9

Romani and González Pérez (2008: 248) list 3 apocopated forms as the product of *lo* (masc.) and 3 as the product of *le* (indirect object) but do not provide examples. They do not distinguish between personal and non-personal occurrences of *lo*. They list 9 occurrences of *le*. As they do not indicate to the contrary one has to assume that they regard these as indirect object forms, although (8.84) and (8.85) are direct object forms.

(8.84) darte **lee** Fol. 6^{ra29}

The full text reads:

Dyxo Iuda a Tamar su nuera: Sey bybda en casa de to padre troa *que* crecido sea
myo fiyo e dar te **le** e. Fol. 6^{ra26-29}

Judah said to Tamar his daughter-in-law: Remain a widow in your father's house
until my son (Sela) is grown and I will give him to you. Gen 38:11

and corresponds to Genesis 38.11. The pronoun *le* is a direct object referring to Sela, son
of Judah.

(8.85) fallara un leon e matar **lea** Fol. 53^{ra27}

This relates the killing of the anonymous man of God by a lion, described in
I Kings 13:24 and the *le* is a direct object.

Table 8.11 Romani and González Pérez's figures

	variante silábica	variante asilábica	Total
<i>le</i>	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	12
<i>lo (masc.)</i>	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)	24

The direct object pronoun *lo* occurs 22 times in analytic constructions in the
Fazienda. It occurs 9 times directly preceding the vowel /e/, as in:

(8.86) Yr **loe** veer antes *que* muera. Fol. 9^{rb32}

(8.87) e lidiemos e prender **loemos**. Fol. 41^{vb20-21}

It is followed by the vowel /a/ on 9 occasions, as in:

(8.88) & *connocer lo* as. Fol. 4^{vb27}

(8.89) e *uerloan* por *remenbrança*, Fol. 37^{rb34}

There are two examples of an analytic conditional, as in:

(8.90) *passar loyan* seco Fol. 28^{rb25}

There are also two examples preceding <h>, as in:

(8.91) e *plorar lo* he y Fol. 8^{rb7}

However, this data provides no reason to revise my hypothesis. Of the 22 examples of direct object *lo* in analytic constructions there are 9 (40.9%) which precede the vowel /e/, a context which has been shown to be extremely supportive of elision. This reluctance of *lo* to apococate even in the most favourable of circumstances lends weight to my hypothesis that, in the *Fazienda*, apocopated *l'* is solely the product of *le*.

8.3.6 Summary

Table 8.12 shows the total number of occurrences of the pronouns *me*, *te*, *se* and *le* in analytic and future constructions. It highlights the pattern of variation between elided and full forms for each pronoun and for all the pronouns together.

Table 8.12 All elided and full forms

	Elision	%	Full	%	Total
<i>me</i>	8	26.7	22	78.3	30
<i>te</i>	23	56.1	18	43.9	41
<i>se</i>	3	5.3	54	94.7	57
<i>le</i>	7	38.9	11	61.1	18
Total	41	28.1	105	71.9	146

The overall figure of 28.1% for elision conceals the wide discrepancy in variation of the four pronouns. The 56.1% for *te* contrasts dramatically with the 5.3% for *se*. However, this discrepancy can be explained. The syntactical context dictates the phonological context in which these pronouns occur and the nature of the following vowel. The 1st person singular and the 1st person plural present tense forms *e* and *emos* of the auxiliary verb *auer* begin with the vowel /e/ and these forms frequently interact with the pronoun *te* in speech. It is impossible to find these forms used in conjunction with the reflexive pronoun *se*. Although elision is a sporadic and unpredictable phenomenon, it is the presence of the following vowel that is the major factor determining as to whether the pronoun is likely to elide or not. However, this factor is nullified by the presence of the graph <h> before the /e/, as in:

(8.92) e guardar **te** he por o andidieres. Fol. 46^{vb34-35}

Sanchis Calvo's data is drawn solely from the first 28 folios. She provides examples and indicates what vowel they precede. However, she makes no comment on this detail and her figures appear somewhat unreliable. Romani and González Pérez provide overall figures but few examples and give no indication of the nature of the

following vowel. Although the elision of weak object pronouns in analytic futures and conditionals is optional, it is clear from the data that in the *Fazienda* the nature of the following vowel, conditioned by the syntactic context, plays a significant role in the exercise of this option. Table 8.13 shows the total figures of elided forms and Table 8.14 those of full forms for all four pronouns, indicating whether they directly precede the vowel ‘e’ or not.

- Of the 41 examples of elision 31 directly precede the vowel /e/. **75.6%**
- Of the 105 examples of the full form only 7 precede the vowel /e/. **6.6%**
- On the 38 occasions when these pronouns precede the vowel /e/, they elide 31 times. **81.6%**
- On the 108 occasions when they do not precede the vowel /e/, elision takes place only 10 times. **9.3%**
- ME elides predominantly with verbs used reflexively. **87.5%**
- TE is more prone to elide due to its collocation with 1st person verb forms. **56.1%**
- SE elides infrequently given its collocation with 3rd person verb forms. **5.3%**

Table 8.13 Clitic Elision

Vowel	+ e	%	+ other	%	Total
<i>m'</i>	8	100	0	0	8
<i>t'</i>	18	78.3	5	21.7	23
<i>s'</i>	0	0	3	100	3
<i>l'</i>	5	71.4	2	28.6	7
Total	31	75.6	10	24.4	41

Table 8.14 **Full form of clitics**

Vowel	+ e	%	+ other	%	Total
<i>me</i>	3	18.6	19	86.4	22
<i>te</i>	1	5.6	17	94.4	19
<i>se</i>	0	0	54	100	54
<i>le</i>	3	27.3	8	72.7	11
Total full	7	6.7	98	98.3	105

8.4 **Clitic Apocope**

In respect of weak object pronouns the term ‘apocope’ is used here when the vowel of the pronoun is lost and the consonant attaches itself to a preceding word ending in a vowel. Romani and González Pérez (2008: 249) state that ‘Nunca se presenta la apócope del pronombre si este enclitiza en una palabra que termina en consonante’. However, there are two examples in the *Fazienda* where the pronoun *te* apocopates and the resultant consonant attaches itself to a preceding consonant.

(8.93^a) reman aqui e ninguno non.**t** fara pesar Fol. 61^{va15-17}

(8.93^b) E sab que tos dios non.**t** seruimos Fol. 65^{va19-20}

This is an extremely rare phenomenon in medieval Spanish despite the wide acceptance of the consonant cluster *-nt* in word final position. (8.93^a) is the only example of this form listed in CORDE.

In my analysis of the data I have taken into account only two of the factors identified by Sanchis Calvo (1191: 119): firstly, the nature of the preceding word and,

secondly, the nature of the following context. I present the data in a series of tables showing both the apocopated and the full form in their linguistic context according to these two factors. I deal with each pronoun separately and offer a summary in 8.4.6.

8.4.1 Apocopated and full forms of *me*

As word-final *-m/-n* is frequently indicated in the text by a nasal diacritic there is inevitably a measure of interpretation in representing the nasal diacritic as the apocopated form of *me*. Of the 130 examples of apocopated *me* 26 are represented by the nasal abbreviation. In most cases it is clear that this represents an apocopated *me*, as in:

(8.94^a) *Bendixo.m* & *dixo.m* assi: Yot acrecre e te muchiguare. Fol. 9^{vb30-31}

he blessed **me** and said to **me** thus: I will increase you and multiply you

Vulg benedixitque **mihi** et ait ego te augebo et multiplicabo Gen 48:3-4

(8.94^b) e *dexo.m* e andido tras las ydolas. Fol. 53^{tb28-29}

And he forsook **me** and followed his idols 1 Kgs 14:8-9

This a summary of I Kings 14:8-9. The reference is to Jeroboam.

(8.94^c) E quando partiero.*m* daqui, prenda *spiritu* del Criador Fol. 38^{vb29-31}

And when I leave here, let the spirit of the Lord take you

Vulg Cumque recessero a te spiritus Domini asportabit te I Kgs 18:12

Examples (8.97^{a-h}) present a different problem. They correspond to a repeated phrase from Amos 1 and 2.

(8.97 ^a)	sobrel quarto mon tornare	Fol. 71 ^{va8-9}	Amos 1.3
(8.97 ^b)	sobrel quarto no. m tornare,	Fol. 71 ^{va20-21}	Amos 1.6
(8.97 ^c)	sobrel .iiij. no. m tornare	Fol. 71 ^{va31}	Amos 1.9
(8.97 ^d)	sobrel quarto no. n tornare	Fol. 71 ^{vb 3-4}	Amos 1.11
(8.97 ^e)	sobrel quarto no. m tornare	Fol. 71 ^{vb12-13}	Amos 1.13
(8.97 ^f)	sobre .iiij. ^o no. m tornare	Fol. 71 ^{vb24}	Amos 2.1
(8.97 ^g)	sobrel .iiij. no. n tornare,	Fol. 71 ^{vb34}	Amos 1.4
(8.97 ^h)	Sobrel .iiij. no. m tornare,	Fol. 72 ^{ra7-8}	Amos 2.6

The Vulgate repeats *non convertam eum* and the other medieval Bibles also show repetition of the same phrase.

E6	nol convertire (used 8 times)
GE	non convertire (used 7 times), nol convertire
E3	non lo(s) tornare (used 8 times)
E5, E4	non lo(s) perdonare (used 8 times)
Arragel	non lo(s)/le tornare (used 6 times), non me tornare a ellos, non me convertire a ellos

I suggest that all eight examples can be read as *no.m tornare* with the nasal abbreviation representing the apocopated pronoun *me*. The transposition of the consonants *n* and *m* by the scribe in (8.97^a) would seem to support this reading of *nom tornare*. Although the verb *tornar* is used both intransitively and reflexively in the *Fazienda*, the reflexive form is twice as frequent. In examples (8.97^d) I suggest that the final <n> of *non*, which is spelled out in full by the scribe, represents apocopated *me*. Sanchis Calvo (1991: 122) highlights ‘la representación de –*m* por –*n*’ and gives one example affecting the pronoun *me*, citing Lazar’s edited version ‘Fraguam aquí VII altares’ but pointing out that ‘el manuscrito tiene fraguan’. Sanchis Calvo accepts Lazar’s reading of ‘*fraguan*’ (1965: 90, n. 396), although the manuscript clearly shows *fraguā* with a nasal abbreviation (Fol. 24^{vb19}). There are four examples, however, in the *Fazienda* where a final <n> clearly represents an apocopated *me*.

(8.98^a) Clamo & dixo: Rey, salua.**n**. Fol. 40^{vb9}

She cried out and said: O king, save **me**.

Vulg mulier exclamavit ad eum dicens salva **me** domine mi rex
2 Kgs 6:26

(8.98^b) Amostro.**n** el myo Sennor que tu eras⁶⁷ rey Siria. Fol. 44^{ra29-31}

My Lord showed **me** that you will be king of Syria.

Vulg et ait Heliseus ostendit **mihi** Dominus te regem Syriae fore 2 Kgs 8:13

(8.98^c) e quando uino, espante.**n** e eche.**n** sobre mis fazes Fol. 68^{vb33-34}

⁶⁷ Error for *seras*.

And when he came, I was frightened and I fell on my face

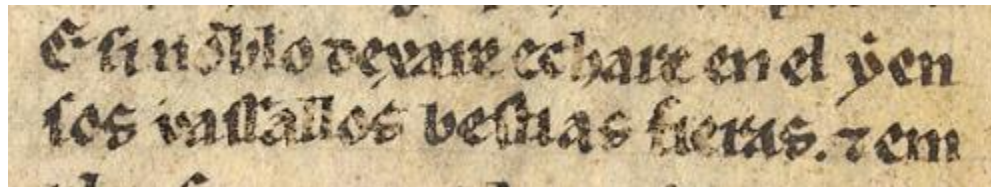
Vulg cumque venisset pavens corruí in faciem meam Dan 8:17

There is one unusual case of apocope in the *Fazienda*. In (8.99) the first person apocopated pronoun *me*, represented by the nasal abbreviation, precedes a third person pronoun *lo* and is separated by the epenthetic consonant .

(8.99) E, si **nom**blo dexare, echare en el y en sos vassallos bestias fieras

Fol. 14^{rb14-15}

Fig. 8.1 **Folio 14^{rb14-15}**



Lazar simply reads *si non lo dexare*. This would appear to be a unique form not found elsewhere, although Menéndez Pidal (1964: 203) attests *nimbla*⁶⁸ (*ni me la*) in the *Poema*:

(8.100) **Nim**bla meffo fijo de moro nin de *christiana* *Poema* 3286

Table 8.15 presents the occurrences of the apocopated form and the full form of *me*, indicating both the preceding and following context. A % figures show the relative occurrence of a particular form, either apocopated or full, in different contexts.

- **62.3%** of the examples of apocopated *me* occur after a verb form.

⁶⁸ Lapesa (1968: 150) also cites this form.

- **50%** of the examples of the full form *me* occur after *que, qui*
- There no instances of apocope preceding a word beginning with *m*.

B % figures show the relative occurrence of apocopated and full forms in the same context.

- Following a verb the apocopated form occurs **96.4%** of the time.
- Following *no* the apocopated form occurs **95.5%** of the time.
- There is one example of the full form after *no*.
- Before a pause only the apocopated form occurs, on 27 occasions.
- Before the same consonant only the full form occurs, on 5 occasions.

Table 8.15 *.m* and *me* in context

	<i>.m</i>	A %	B %	<i>me</i>	A %	B %	Total
Preceded by							
Verb	81	62.3	96.4	3	5.6	8.6	84
Que, qui	14	10.8	34.1	27	50.0	65.9	41
No	21	16.2	95.5	1	1.8	4.5	22
Adverb	9	6.9	60.0	6	11.1	40.0	14
Conjunction	4	8.1	25.0	12	22.2	75.0	17
Pronoun	1	0.8	16.7	5	9.3	88.3	6
Other	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0
Total	130		70.7	54		29.3	184
Followed by							
Pause	27	22.8	100	0	0.0	0.0	27
Vowel	40	30.8	75.5	13	24.1	24.5	53
DiffCon	63	48.5	68.6	36	66.6	36.4	99
SameCon	0	0.0	0.0	5	9.3	100	5
Total	130		70.7	54		29.3	184

Table 8.16 shows the figures of Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez alongside my own figures. Sanchis Calvo (1991: 121) draws her data only from the first 28 folios (pages 43-99 of Lazar’s edition). I have to question the reliability of her figures which I have been unable to replicate from my own data. I count 35 apocopated forms rather than 24, and 26 full forms rather than 21, in the first 28 folios. There is some discrepancy between my figure and those of Romani and González Pérez. They find only 117 instances of apocope whereas I count 130. This can possibly be explained by a different interpretation on the role of the nasal abbreviation to represent apocopated *me*. Table 8.17 shows my figures for apocopated and full forms of *me* when preceded by a consonant and when preceded by a vowel. The reason for the discrepancy between my figures for the full form *me* and those of Romani and González Pérez becomes clear. Her figure of 126 full forms relates to occurrences of *me* after both a vowel and a consonant. I argue that it is more appropriate to assess the impact of apocope only where it is a realistic option, namely after a vowel. There are only 54 instances of the full form *me* occurring after a vowel. Therefore, my figure of 70.7% is a more accurate reflection of the apocope of *me* in the *Fazienda* than the 48.1% of Romani and González Pérez.

Table 8.16 Comparison of figures and percentages

	Apocopated	%	Full	%
Romani and González Pérez	117	48.1	126	51.9
Sanchis Calvo	24	52.1	21	47.9⁶⁹
McDougall	130	70.7	54	29.3

⁶⁹ These are the numbers and percentages that Sanchis Calvo provides (1991: 121). However, based on these figures the percentages are 53.3% and 46.7%.

Table 8.17 Consonant and vowel + .m and me

	Apocopated	%	Full	%
Consonant +	0	0.0	69	100.0
Vowel +	130	70.7	54	29.3
Total	130	51.4	123	48.6

8.4.2 Apocopated and full forms of *te*

There are 81 examples of the apocope of *te* in the *Fazienda*. On five occasions this apocopated form is represented by the letter <d>, as in:

- (8.101^a) Lieua.**d**, padre, e com del uenado del to fijo Fol. 4^{ra2}
- (8.101^b) E dixo el vno: ¿Qui.**d** nos dio por alcalde? Fol. 12^{ra23}
- (8.101^c) E afuerça.**d** e sey firme, *que* tu faras heredar este pueblo Fol. 27^{va23-24}
- (8.101^d) El desprecio.**d** por non seer rey. Fol.32^{rb28}
- (8.101^e) Priego.**d**, Sennor, *quet* miembro agora cum ande delante ti con uerdad
Fol. 54^{va26-27}

Example (8.101^b) contains the unusual situation of the direct object pronoun preceding the indirect pronoun. The reference is to Exodus 2:14. We find a similar collocation of pronouns in the *General Estoria*:

- (8.102) quien **ti** nos dio por princep o adelantado o por alcalde. Exod 2:14

On one occasion apocopated *te* is represented by the digraph <th>:

(8.103) Si no.**th** crouieren & non te oyeren a la uoz de la sennal primera

Fol. 12^{vb23-25}

Table 8.18 presents the occurrences of the apocopated form and the full form of *te*, indicating both the preceding and following context. A % figures show the relative occurrence of a particular form, either apocopated or full, in different contexts.

- **42%** of the examples of apocopated *te* occur after a verb form.
- **30.9%** of the examples of apocopated *te* occur after *que, qui*.
- **39.7%** of the examples of the full form *te* occur after *que, qui*.
- **63%** of the examples of apocopated *te* precede a different consonant.
- **8.7%** of the examples of apocopated *te* precede the same consonant.
- **32.8%** of the examples of the full form *te* precede the same consonant.

B % figures show the relative occurrence of apocopated and full forms in the same context.

- Following a verb the apocopated form occurs **89.5%** of the time.
- Following *no* the apocopated form occurs **87.5%** of the time.
- Before the same consonant the full form occurs **86.4%** of the time.
- Before a vowel both the apocopated and the full form occur equally **50%**.
- The ‘other’ category comprises nouns and adjectives. The apocopated form does not occur in this context, whereas the full form occurs 10 times.

Table 8.18 *.t* and *te* in context

	<i>.t</i>	A %	B %	<i>te</i>	A %	B %	
Preceded by							
Verb	34	42.0	89.5	4	6.9	10.5	38
Que, qui	25	30.9	52.1	23	39.7	47.9	48
No	7	8.6	87.5	1	1.7	12.5	8
Adverb	0	0.0	0.0	2	8.4	100.0	2
Conjunction	7	8.6	48.8	9	15.5	56.3	16
Pronoun	8	9.9	47.1	9	15.5	52.9	17
Other	0	0.0	0.0	10	17.2	100.0	10
Total	81		58.3	58		41.7	139
Followed by							
Pause	13	16.0	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	13
Vowel	14	17.3	50.0	14	24.1	50.0	28
DiffCon	51	63.0	67.1	25	43.1	32.9	76
SameCon	3	8.7	18.6	19	32.8	86.4	22
Total	81		58.3	58		41.7	139

Table 8.19 shows the figures of Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez alongside my own figures. In the first 28 folios there are 37 apocopated forms and 23 full forms, whereas Sanchis Calvo finds 34 and 22 respectively. Table 8.20 shows my figures for the apocopated and full forms, when preceded by a consonant and when preceded by a vowel. Once again I consider that my figure of 58.3% is more representative of apocope in the *Fazienda* than the 37.8% of Romani and González Pérez, which does not distinguish between *te* following a consonant and *te* following a vowel.

Table 8.19 Comparison of figures and percentages

	<i>.t</i>	%	<i>te</i>	%
Romani & González Pérez	71	37.8	117	62.2
Sanchis Calvo	34	60.8	22	39.2
McDougall	81	58.3	58	41.7

Table 8.20 Consonant and vowel + .t and te

	<i>.t</i>	%	<i>te</i>	%
Consonant +	2	3.3	59	96.7
Vowel +	83	58.9	58	41.1
Total	85	42.1	117	57.9

8.4.3 Apocopated and full forms of *se*

The full form *se* occurs following a vowel on 62 occasions. The apocopated form occurs 330 times. There are two examples of the graph *ss* and these are included in my figures. (8.104^a) is an example of the full form and (8.104^b) an example of the apocopated form.

(8.104^a) e tornos asso logar, e Balaam fo.sse su uia. Fol. 25^{va24-26}

(8.104^b) Fve.ss ent Samuel a su casa a Ramata Fol. 32^{va10-11}

Table 8.21 presents the occurrences of the apocopated form and the full form of *se*, indicating both the preceding and following context. A % figures show the relative occurrence of a particular form, either apocopated or full, in different contexts.

- **76.1%** of the examples of apocopated *se* occur after a verb form.
- **38.7%** of the examples of the full form *se* occur after *que, qui*.
- **24.2%** of the examples of the full form *se* occur after a noun or adjective.

B % figures show the relative occurrence of apocopated and full forms in the same context.

- Following a verb the apocopated form occurs **96.5%** of the time.
- Following *no* the apocopated form occurs **95.5%** of the time
- Before the same consonant the apocopated form occurs **78.3%** of the time.
- The ‘other’ category comprises nouns and adjectives. The apocopated form does not occur in this context, whereas the full form occurs 15 times.

Table 8.21 **.s and *se* in context**

	<i>.s</i>	A %	B %	<i>se</i>	A %	B %
Preceded by						
Verb	251	76.1	96.5	9	14.5	8.5
Que, qui	39	11.8	61.9	24	38.7	38.1
Negative	21	6.4	95.5	1	1.6	4.5
Adverb	11	8.3	52.4	10	16.1	47.6
Conjunction	7	2.1	70.0	3	4.8	30.0
Pronoun	1	0.3	100.0	0	0.0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	0.0	15	24.2	100.0
Total	330		84.2	62		15.8

Followed by						
Pause	17	5.2	94.4	1	1.6	5.6
Vowel	122	37.0	84.7	22	35.5	15.3
DiffCon	173	52.4	88.6	34	54.8	16.4
SameCon	18	5.5	78.3	5	8.1	21.7
Total	330		84.2	62		15.8

Table 8.22 shows the figures of Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez alongside my own. Table 8.23 shows my figures for the apocopated and full forms of *se* when preceded by a consonant and when preceded by a vowel. Again I am unable to replicate Sanchis Calvo’s figures. In the first 28 folios there are 142 cases of apocopated *se* and not 90, and there are 20 cases of the full form and not 10. A comparison of Romani and González Pérez’s figures with the figures in Table 8.23 makes it quite clear that they incorporate full forms preceded by a consonant in their figures. Again I consider that my figure of 84.2% is more representative of apocope of *se* in the *Fazienda* than the 56.2% of Romani and González Pérez.

Table 8.22 Comparison of figures and percentages

	<i>.s</i>	%	<i>se</i>	%
Romani & González Pérez	323	56.2	252	48.8
Sanchis Calvo	90	90	10	10
McDougall	330	84.2	62	15.8

Table 8.23 Consonant and vowel + .s and se

	.s	%	se	%
Consonant	0	0	200	100
Vowel	330	84.2	62	15.8
Total	330	55.7	262	44.3

8.4.4 Apocopated and full forms of *le*

There are 410 examples of what I take to be apocopated *le*. There are five occasions (8.105^{a-c}) when the full form *le* occurs following another atonic pronoun, where apocope is extremely rare, according to Menéndez Pidal (1964: 255). Other than in analytic constructions there is no case of the second pronoun apocoping in the *Fazienda*. Given this fact I do not include examples (8.105^{a-c}) in my figures.

(8.105 ^a)	Adozit me le aca <i>que</i> lo uea	Fol. 9 ^{ra8-9}
(8.105 ^b)	& fincogele por la tienpla	Fol. 33 ^{va21-22}
(8.105 ^c)	& comendogele sobre su fe	Fol. 35 ^{va20-21}
(8.105 ^d)	<i>que</i> ge le leuasse fiel myentre a la cibdad de Rages	Fol. 35 ^{va21-22}
(8.105 ^e)	e prisieron se le los cabellos a una rama	Fol. 48 ^{rb18-19}

Table 8.24 presents the occurrences of the apocopated form and the full form of *le*, indicating both the preceding and following context. In these figures I make no

distinction between indirect object and direct object forms. A % figures show the relative occurrence of a particular form, either apocopated or full, in different contexts.

- **68%** of the examples of apocopated *le* occur after a verb form.
- **17.3%** of the examples of apocopated *le* occur after *que, qui*.

It is worth noting that there is one case of apocope after a preceding noun (8.106^a). This is the only example in the *Fazienda* of an apocopated pronoun occurring after a preceding noun.

(8.106^a) e ueremos que pro.l aura so suenno Fol. 5^{va33-34}

We find a similar construction, without apocope, in the *General Estoria*:

(8.106^b) & estonces uera que pro le tienen sus suennos Gen 37:20

B % figures show the relative occurrence of apocopated and full forms in the same context. There are so few occurrences of the full form *le* that any direct comparison is rather meaningless although it should be noted that 3 of the 6 cases of the full form occur when followed by a word beginning *l*, as in:

(8.107) e crebanto **le** los .ij. cuernos Fol. 68^{va29-30}

Table 8.24 *.l* and *le* in context

	<i>.l</i>	A %	B %	<i>le</i>	A %	B %	Total
Preceded by							
Verb	279	68.0	98.9	3	50.0	1.1	282
Que, qui	71	17.3	98.6	1	16.7	1.4	72
Negation	21	5.1	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	21
Adverb	20	4.9	95.2	1	16.7	4.8	21
Conjunction	9	2.2	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	9
Pronoun	9	2.2	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	9
Other	1	0.2	50.0	1	16.7	50.0	2
Total	410		98.6	6		1.4	416
Followed by							
Pause	97	28.7	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	97
Vowel	81	19.8	97.6	2	38.3	2.4	83
DiffCon	228	55.6	99.6	1	16.7	0.4	229
SameCon	4	1.0	57.1	3	50.0	42.9	7
Total	410		98.6	6		1.4	416

The overall figure for apocope is 98.6%. This is far higher than the figures offered by both Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez who include *lo* in their figures and percentages. In Table 8.25 I compare their figures with my figures for *le* alone and for *le* and *lo* combined when preceded by a vowel to provide some comparison. In Tables 8.26 I provide my figures for both *le* and *lo*, when preceded by a consonant and when preceded by a vowel.

The 45 full forms that Sanchis Calvo includes are all examples of *lo* preceded by a vowel. She states that in her sample ‘lo más significativo es la ausencia de *le* en las condiciones en que es posible la apócope’ (1991: 133). It is apparent from a comparison of Table 8.25 with Table 8.26 that Romani and González Pérez’s figure of 444 includes

all *le* and *lo* forms, whether following a vowel or a consonant. Sanchis Calvo's percentage of 74.9% apocope is similar to my 71.8% when combining my figures for *le* and *lo*.

Table 8.25 Comparison of figures and percentages

	Apocopated	%	Full	%
Romani & González Pérez le/lo	404	47.6	444	52.4
Sanchis Calvo le/lo	134	74.9	45	25.1
McDougall le alone	410	98.6	6	1.4
McDougall le/lo	410	71.8	161	28.2

Table 8.26 Consonant and vowel + .l and le

	<i>.l</i>	%	<i>le</i>	%
Consonant	0		187	100
Vowel	410	98.6	6	1.4
	lo		lo	
Consonant	0		66	
Vowel	0		155	
Total	410	49.8	414	50.2

8.4.5 Summary

Table 8.27 presents an overview of the apocopated forms and their relative frequency in different contexts.

- The majority of apocope occurs following a verb although it is difficult to explain why apocopated *te* should occur far less frequently after a verb (**42%**) and far more frequently after *que, qui* (**30.9%**).
- There is only one case of pronoun apocope after a noun or adjective.
- **31.3%** of all apocopated forms precede the verb, cliticising with the preceding element rather than the verb itself.

Table 8.27 All apocopated forms in context

	<i>.m</i>	%	<i>.t</i>	%	<i>.s</i>	%	<i>.l</i>	%
Preceded by								
Verb	81	62.3	34	42.0	251	76.1	279	68.7
Que, qui	14	10.8	25	30.9	39	11.8	71	16.7
No	21	16.1	7	8.6	21	6.4	21	5.2
Adverb	9	6.9	0	0.0	11	8.3	20	4.7
Conjunction	4	8.1	7	8.6	7	2.1	9	2.5
Pronoun	1	0.8	8	9.9	1	0.3	9	2.2
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	130		81		330		410	
Followed by								
Pause	27	22.8	13	16.0	17	5.2	97	28.7
Vowel	40	30.8	14	17.3	122	37.0	81	19.8
DiffCon	63	48.5	51	68.0	173	52.4	228	55.6
SameCon	0	0.0	3	8.7	18	5.5	4	1.0
Total	130		81		330		410	

Table 8.28 presents an overview of the full forms and their relative frequency in different contexts. Significantly the full form of *le*, which shares responsibility for direct object reference with *lo*, barely makes an appearance with only 6 examples and 5 of these are dative references.

Table 8.28 All full forms in context

	<i>me</i>	%	<i>te</i>	%	<i>se</i>	%	<i>le</i>	%
Preceded by								
Verb	3	5.6	4	6.9	9	14.5	3	50.0
Que, qui	27	50	23	39.7	24	38.7	1	16.7
No	1	1.8	1	1.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
Adverb	6	11.1	2	8.4	10	16.1	1	16.7
Conjunction	12	22.2	9	15.5	3	4.8	0	0.0
Pronoun	5	9.3	9	15.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	10	17.2	15	24.2	1	16.7
Total	54		58		62		6	
Followed by								
Pause	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
Vowel	13	24.1	12	24.1	22	35.5	2	38.3
DiffCon	36	66.6	19	48.1	34	54.8	1	16.7
SameCon	5	9.3	17	32.8	5	8.1	3	50.0
Total	54		58		62		6	

Table 8.29 shows the total relative frequency of all apocopated and full forms in context. A % figures show the relative occurrence of a particular form, either apocopated or full, in different contexts. B % figures show the relative occurrence of apocopated and full forms in the same context.

Montgomery (1975: 355) describes apocopated forms in the *Fazienda* as ‘casi regulares después de las formas verbales y *no*’⁷⁰. Table 8.29 allows us to quantify that regularity.

- It is **97.1%** when preceded by a verb and **95.9%** when preceded by *no*.
- 645 (**67.8%**) of all examples of apocope occur after a verb.
- There are only 3 examples of the full form following *no*.

Montgomery (1975: 353) observes that apocope is especially frequent after the –ó of the preterite. He points out that, in the four texts⁷¹ he has studied, the full form *le* never occurs more than 3% of the time and that the majority of these forms maintain the vowel ‘e’ in order to prevent the coming together of identical consonants. This pattern is not reflected in the *Fazienda*. There are only 3 examples of the full form *le*, as in:

(8.108) e crebantole los .ij. cuernos, Fol. 68^{va29-30}

However, there are 9 examples of apocopated *le*, as in:

(8.109) e tentol las plagas Fol. 79^{vb11}

He observes that where the pronoun can carry a secondary accent the full form may sometimes occur and cites *dixome*. This is very rarely the case in the *Fazienda* as there are 21 cases of the apocopated form (*ben*)*dixom* and just one of *dixo me*:

(8.110) Mas dixome: Enprenar te as Fol. 81^{rb21-22}

⁷⁰ Montgomery (1975: 351n2) bases his statistics on the first 80 pages of Lazar’s edition.

⁷¹ The four texts are: *La Fazienda*, the gospels of Matthew and Mark from E6, the *Poema* and the initial chapters of the *Primera Crónica General*.

- Although *que* and *qui* accept apocope, 75 (49%) of all full form occurrences are found after *que* or *qui*.
- After *que* or *qui* the full form *le* is an exception with just one occurrence.

There is just one occurrence of the full form of a pronoun occurring before a pause:

(8.111) ^{v13}Dixo el angel a Manuel: Todo lo *que* dix a la mugier gardese. ^{v14}*Que*
non beua sizra nin uino ny nulla suziedat non coma Fol. 81^{va10-13}

Lazar (1965: 208.10-11) reads and punctuates differently:

Dixo el angel a Manue(l): “todo lo que dix a la mugier; gardese que non beva
 sizra nin vino ny nulla suziedat non coma”

My punctuation of the text is based on Judges 13.13-14 and can be compared to other medieval Bibles and the Vulgate.

E3, AJ ^{v13}& dixole el angel del sennor a manoah de todo lo que dix a la muger se
 garde

E19, E7 ^{v13}E dixo el angel del señor a manoa de todo lo que mande ala muger sea
 guardada

Arragel ^{v13}dixo el angel de dios a manue de quanto yo dix a la muger guardar se
 deue ella

E8 ^{v13}& dixo el angel de dios amanue, Retenga se tu muger de todas las cosas
 que yo li mande

Vulg ^{v13}dixitque angelus Domini ad Manue ab omnibus quae locutus sum
 uxori tuae abstineat se Judg 18:13

Whether the pronoun is followed by a vowel or a different consonant does not appear to affect the level of apocope. 257 (88.4%) of pronouns preceding a vowel apocopate while 525 (84.3%) of pronouns preceding a different consonant apocopate.

The fact that the pronoun is followed by the same consonant does not seem to inhibit unduly the apocope of the pronoun as 25 (43.9%) of pronouns apocopate whereas 32 (56.1%) retain the full form. This is put into perspective if we look at all apocopated forms where only 2.6% are followed by the same consonant compared to 17.8% of all full forms. Clearly it does have some inhibiting affect. However, Table 8.29 does not tell the whole story, as 18 of those 25 apocopated forms are accounted for by the pronoun *se* which is considerably less inhibited in this context. *Me* has no examples of apocope in this context. There are 22 examples for *te* but only 3 apocopate. *Le* has 4 apocopated forms and 3 full forms. (8.112^a) and (8.112^b) are examples of the arbitrariness of apocope.

(8.112^a) e taiol la cabeça Fol. 47^{rb29}

(8.112^b) tajole la cabeça Fol. 35^{ra11}

- Overall there are 1131 occasions where apocope is viable for weak object pronouns. The pronoun apocopates on 951 occasions (84.1%), although the level of apocope can vary for each pronoun.

Table 8.29 Apocopated and full forms in context

	Apocope	A %	B %		Full	A %	B %	Total
Preceded by				Preceded by				
Verb	645	67.8	97.1	Verb	19	10.6	2.9	664
Que, qui	149	15.7	66.5	Que, qui	75	41.7	38.5	224
No	70	7.4	95.9	No	3	1.7	4.1	73
Adverb	40	4.2	67.8	Adv	19	10.6	32.2	59
Conjunction	27	2.8	52.9	Conj	24	18.3	47.1	51
Pronoun	19	2.0	57.6	Pron	14	7.8	42.4	33
Other	1	0.1	8.7	Other	14.4	14.4	96.3	27
Total	951		84.1	Total	180		15.9	1131
Followed by				Followed by				
Pause	154	16.2	99.4	Pause	1	0.6	0.6	155
Vowel	257	27.0	88.4	Vowel	51	28.3	16.6	308
DiffCon	515	54.2	84.3	DiffCon	96	58.3	15.7	611
SameCon	25	2.6	48.9	SameCon	32	17.8	56.1	57
Total	951		84.1	Total	180		15.9	1131

8.4.6 Postscript on *lo*

Table 8.30 presents the occurrences of direct object *lo* and neuter *lo* indicating both the preceding and following context. Table 8.29 has identified the two optimal contexts for apocope:

- a) when preceded by a verb **97.1%**

The 1131 examples of *me*, *te*, *se* and *le* together provide only 19 instances of the full form following a verb.

Of the 155 cases of direct object *lo* a total of 111 (**71.6%**) follow a verb form.

b) when followed by a pause **99.4%.**

Among all the examples of *me*, *te*, *se* and *le* there is only one instance of the full form preceding a pause. **0.6%**

There are 29 cases of direct object *lo* preceding a pause. **18.7%**

These figures belie the proposition of Echenique, Sanchis Calvo and Romani and González Pérez that *lo* is subject to apocope. It is extremely unlikely that *lo* would show such a strong reluctance to apocope in the two most optimal of circumstances. This lends yet more weight to the hypothesis that in the *Fazienda* the apocopated form *l'* derives solely from the pronoun *le*.

Table 8.30

	Neuter <i>lo</i>	%	Direct Object <i>lo</i>	%
Preceded by				
Verb	42	46.7	111	71.6
Que, qui	9	10.0	17	11.0
No	8	8.9	4	2.6
Adverb	17	18.9	9	5.8
Conjunction	1	1.1	6	8.9
Pronoun	1	1.1	2	1.3
Other	12	18.3	6	8.9
Total	90		155	

Followed by				
Pause	3	8.3	29	18.7
Vowel	33	36.7	49	31.6
DiffCon	54	60	77	49.7
SameCon	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	90		155	

8.5 Conclusion

Table 8.31 shows the relative patterns of elision and apocope for all pronouns. It highlights the different nature of the two phenomena. Elision is much less common affecting just 28.1% of examples and is conditioned purely by the nature of the following vowel. As a result there is a wide difference between the 5.3% elision of *se* and the 56.1% of *te*. Apocope is much more prevalent affecting 84.1% of examples and the factors influencing the choice of apocope are many and varied. Montgomery (1975) highlights both the prevalence of apocope after verb forms and the inhibiting influence of preceding a similar consonant, although these pressures can be in conflict, as the different outcomes in examples (8.113^a) and (8.113^b) illustrate. There is a notable difference in the rate of elision and apocope for all pronouns except for *te*. This discrepancy reflects the different factors affecting each process. The 5.3% rate of elision for *se* contrasts dramatically with the 84.2% rate of apocope. The lesser rates of apocope for *me* and *te* as against *se* and *le* may perhaps be explained by an increasing reluctance to accept the two consonants *m* and *t* in word-final position.

Table 8.31 Elision and apocope

	Elision	%	Apocope	%
<i>me</i>	8	26.7	130	70.7
<i>te</i>	23	56.1	81	58.3
<i>se</i>	3	5.3	330	84.2
<i>le</i>	7	38.9	410	98.6
Total	41	28.1	951	84.1

Romani and González Pérez (2008: 258) characterize the incidence of apocope in the *Fazienda* as considerable at 49.5%. As has been demonstrated they seriously underestimate the extent of apocope as they appear to include in their figures examples of pronouns following a consonant, even though apocope is not a viable option in this context.

Elision and apocope are sporadic phenomena affecting weak object pronouns in the *Fazienda*. There is a significant degree of variation in the incidence of elision and apocope in different contexts for different pronouns but most of this variation can be explained by reference to internal morphological or phonetic factors. Occasionally these factors can be in conflict and it is impossible to predict which factor will prevail. Given the sporadic nature of apocope, examples such as (8.113^a) and (8.113^b) will continue to defy explanation. In (8.113^a) the following consonant /s/ acts as an inhibitor on the apocope of *se*. In (8.113^b) the power of the post-verbal position wins out and *se* apocopates.

(8.113^a) e echo.se sobre su espada & murio. Fol. 37^{va34-35}

(8.113^b) & echo.s sobre su espada e murio. Fol. 33^{ra2-3}

Echenique (1981) highlights the relationship of a discussion of *leísmo* with a consideration of the source of apocopated *l'*. The evidence presented in this chapter supports the view that, in the *Fazienda*, *l'* is the apocopated product of *le*. It also suggests that the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda* is much greater than previously thought and raises questions concerning the extent of *leísmo* in other medieval texts.

Chapter 9

Summary of conclusions

9.1 Introduction

The fact that there is linguistic variation in thirteenth-century Castilian is undeniable. Sánchez Prieto (2008: 425) observes that a study of the graphs used in thirteenth-century texts encounters ‘la dificultad fundamental de clasificar e interpretar soluciones muy dispares’. There are competing forms vying for acceptability, such as *cuemo* and *como*, or *-ie* and *-ia* imperfect tense forms. However, comments and observations on this variation can often be somewhat general, drawing on collections of documents, as remarked on by Sánchez Prieto (1998: 289). As these collections cover a range of documents from a wide geographical area and from different time periods, it may sometimes be difficult to distinguish between geographical variation and chronological change. On occasion the observations can be almost too specific, relating to a particular lexical item. For example, as pointed out in Chapter 5, Sánchez Prieto’s observation on the preference for *colazo* over *collazo* in the *Fuero de Alcalá* does not necessarily inform about the use of <l> for /k/ in the *Fuero* as a whole (2008: 439). Similarly, Martínez Álvarez’s observation that the use of <r> for /r / is very frequent in the *Fazienda* is informative but it would help to know exactly what she means by ‘muy frecuente’ (1998: 921). In this study I have focussed on six selected variables from one text and applied a scientific rigour to their examination. I have established a palaeographic transcription of the manuscript in order to provide a reliable database and, where appropriate, I have considered the variants in a wider context. Analysis and

comment has been based on verifiable examples which can either be replicated or challenged by other scholars. This study comprises a unique, detailed examination of linguistic variation in one thirteenth-century text. I present a summary of my findings below.

9.2 The extent of variation in the *Fazienda*

The second orthographic variable, the representation of /i/ in interconsonantal and word-final position, illustrates the unique nature of variation in the *Fazienda*. Penny (1988: 341-2) remarks on the extreme rarity of the interconsonantal <y> variant (0.04%) in his corpus (Table 4.7). CORDE data for the pre-1250 period (Table 4.28) lists 16,501 tokens using <i> (98.5%) and 255 using <y> (1.5%). The *Fazienda* accounts for 175 (68.6%) of the 255 uses of <y>. The extreme rarity of this feature in other texts contrasts dramatically with its use overall in the *Fazienda* at 10.3% (6.4% Table 4.14 and 17.4% Table 4.27).

The use of <l> for /k/ in the *Fazienda* at 4.5% (Table 5.1) does not appear out of line with similar usage in the *Poema*. Menéndez Pidal (1964: 229) documents examples, which he describes as anomalies, such as *falar* and *vassalo*. However, the use of <r> to represent /r/ does appear significantly high at 29.2%. The lexical item *tierra* + occurs 439 times in the *Fazienda* (Table 5.7), with the form *tiera* being used on 69 occasions (15.7%). A check on the usage of *tiera* in the *Poema* and in CORDE indicates just how unusual this form is. It does not appear at all in the *Poema* and CORDE lists 11 examples prior to 1250, one of which is from the *Fazienda* according to Lazar's edition (1965). Menéndez Pidal's collection of documents from the *Reino de Castilla* (1919) contains

just one example prior just 1250, in document 177 dated 1227 from the Monastery of Santa María de las Huelgas. Menéndez Pidal even highlights the unusual nature of this form in a note to the text: Línea 8, *tiera*, sic (1919: 229).

It is not surprising that this orthographic variation exists in the *Fazienda*. What is surprising is the extent of the variation and the fact that it appears not be replicated in other early thirteenth-century texts and documents. In addition to the variables covered in this study we can add the *ladinismos* identified by Sephiha (1978a, 1989) and others, and the Eastern lexical items identified by Sanchis Calvo (1996) and others. It is interesting to speculate on the reason for this variety and for the lack of homogeneity in the *Fazienda*. The passage from the *Fazienda* cited on pages 249-50 reveals an acceptance of the alternate forms *-ie* and *-ia* appearing alongside each other and this might reflect a more general degree of tolerance to a variety of language and expression. If the *Fazienda* manuscript does originate, as suggested in section 6.2.2.1, from the area of northern Spain where there are established Jewish communities alongside the *camino francés*, which brings pilgrims, with their various dialectal preferences, from the rest of Spain and from France on their way to Santiago, then this variety in language and its acceptance becomes easier to understand.

9.3 Clitic Apocope

I examine two different aspects of vowel deletion in clitics - elision and apocope. For elision, which occurs only in mesoclysis, I establish that the determining factor in elision is the nature of the following vowel. The overall figure for clitic elision is 28.1%, although there is a wide difference in the percentage figures for different pronouns in

Table 8.12. On the basis of the data it is possible to make the following probabilistic statement: When the clitic precedes /e/, it is more likely to apocopate.

For apocope, which may only occur when following a vowel, there are many determining factors. These are set out in full in Table 8.27. I contend that the figure of 49.5% for clitic apocope proposed by Romani and González Pérez (2008: 252) is misleading, as they include in their figures all weak object pronouns, whether they follow a vowel and can apocopate, or a consonant and cannot. Their calculation does not meet the principle I set out in section 2.3, namely that ‘to calculate the relative frequency of any variant we need to know not only how many times that variant occurs but also how many times it could occur and does not’. Sanchis Calvo (1991: 121-39) takes her figures, which are not always accurate, from just the first 28 folios and are not necessarily a reflection of the *Fazienda* as a whole. Based on the data detailed in Chapter 8 the figure for apocope in the *Fazienda* at 84.1% (Table 8.29) is significantly higher than that proposed by Romani and González Pérez and far more reliable than the figures produced by Sanchis Calvo.

9.4 *Leísmo*

While it is impossible to know for certain whether the underlying pronoun is *le* or *lo*, the premise underpinning my analysis of the apocopated form *l'* is that the pronoun is *le* and not *lo*. This is supported by the evidence of the data in the *Fazienda*.

Firstly, Table 8.2 shows that after a vowel, which is the required environment for apocope, the full form *le* (as a direct object) occurs only 5 times. In 4 of those cases *le* follows another clitic and this environment is a very strong inhibitor to apocope

(Menéndez Pidal, 1964: 255). In contrast, the direct object pronoun *lo* occurs 155 times after a vowel. However, the figures for *lo* (85) and for *le* (87) when they occur after a consonant are practically identical. I argue that the 124 cases of apocopated *l'* represent the 'missing' examples of *le*.

Secondly, Table 8.3 presents the figures for neuter *lo* and for direct object *lo* when they occur after a consonant and after a vowel. The percentages for neuter *lo* after a consonant are 36.6% and after a vowel 68.4%. The percentages for direct object *lo* after a consonant are 36.7% and after a vowel 68.3%. If apocopated *l'* were the product of direct object *lo*, it is simply not credible that this would not be significantly reflected in these figures.

Thirdly, Table 8.29 establishes that the prime environments for apocope are: following a verb (97.1%), and preceding a pause (99.4%). Table 8.30 shows that there are 155 examples of *lo* following a vowel and, therefore, susceptible to apocope. However, we find 111 examples of *lo* following a verb (71.6%) and 29 cases preceding a pause (18.7%). The occurrence of the full form *lo* in the two most favourable environments for apocope add further support to the premise underpinning my analysis of the apocopated form *l'*.

The evidence strongly suggests that direct object *l'* in the *Fazienda* represents the apocope of direct object *le*. Based on this evidence I maintain that the extent of *leísmo* in the *Fazienda* is actually 45.4% and far greater than the 23.2% that Echenique claims (1981: 133). It is certainly not 'un texto básicamente no leísta' as Romani and González

Pérez maintain (2008: 253). I would also argue that these figures suggest that a similar analysis of other medieval texts is required to re-evaluate the extent of *leísmo* in them.

9.5 Scribal intervention

Given the general acceptance of the participation of a number of different scribes in the production of the *Fazienda*, it is somewhat surprising that previous studies have paid little attention to the affect that this multiplicity of scribal hands might have had on the text. In considering the selected variables I have tested the hypothesis that some of the variation may be attributed to different scribal hands. In addition to examining the various linguistic factors that may explain the variation I have correlated the variants with the four hands identified in Chapter 2.

Although the identification of scribal hands is limited and awaits a fuller palaeographic study, there is sufficient evidence to validate the hypothesis. For example, for the representation of intervocalic and word-final /i/ there are a total 305 occurrences of the <y> variant. This represents 10.4% of the total number of variants for /i/. Table 4.30 illustrates the impact of scribal intervention on the choice of variant. Hand A and Hand B account for 33% of the text but contain nearly 90% of the occurrences of <y>. There is a wide discrepancy in the use of <l> to represent /ʎ/ (4.5%) and <r> to represent /r/ (29.2%). However, the pattern of their distribution is remarkably similar (Chart 5.1, and Chart 5.2). The four identified hands together account for 46% of the text, yet are responsible for 3 cases of <l> - 6% (Table 5.3) and 12 cases of <r> - 7.5% (Table 5.6). These two examples provide *prima facie* evidence that there is a correlation between the choice of variant and the scribal hand.

By abstracting information from the various ‘correlations’ it is possible to build a picture of the signature features of an individual scribe, as in Table 9.1:

Table 9.1 Signature features of Hand A

Variants	<m>	%	<n>	%	<v>	%
	27	10.3	65	24.9	169	64.8
Variants	<i>tiera</i>	%	<i>tierra</i>	%	<i>třa</i>	%
	2	1.6	78	61.4	47	37

Variants	<i>	%	<y>	%
	611	73.3	223	26.7
Variants	<l>	%	<ll>	%
	2	0.9	221	100
Variants	<r>	%	<rr>	%
	4	2.5	153	97.5
Variants	<i>como</i>	%	<i>cuemo</i>	%
	39	95.1	2	4.9
Variants	<i>-ie</i>	%	<i>-ia</i>	%
	46	41.8	64	58.2

9.6 *Cuemo* and *Cumo* and a clue as to where the *Fazienda* was copied

The accepted classification of *cuemo* as tonic and *como* as atonic (Cornu, 1884; Menéndez Pidal, 1964; Corominas, 1970; García de Diego, 1970; Macpherson, 1975) is not supported by the data from the *Fazienda*. Table 6.9 provides clear evidence that the choice of variant in the *Fazienda* is not dependent on function. There are 95 occurrences of *cuemo* and most are used in comparisons (Table 6.7). The *Poema* is often cited to support the classification of *cuemo* as tonic but the evidence of Table 6.3 shows that, even in the *Poema*, *commo/como* with 26 occurrences (89.7%) is the main form used as an interrogative or in exclamations. The variant *cuemo* occurs 9 times in the *Poema* and is overshadowed by the 100 occurrences of *commo/como*. Data from Matthew E6 in

Table 6.5 would appear to show that by 1250 *como* was less frequently associated with stress but this is not the case in the *Fazienda*, as evident in Table 6.9.

CORDE provides interesting information on the form *cuemo* (6.2.1) and also the form *cumo*, which occurs 12 times in the *Fazienda* (6.2.2). In the period 1200-1249 both are marginal forms with 193 cases of *cuemo* (8.7%) and 45 of *cumo* (2%), compared to 37.5% and 4.7% respectively in the *Fazienda*. An analysis of the data provided by CORDE reveals that, excluding those examples from the *Fazienda*, nearly all the instances of *cuemo* and *cumo* occur in documents that are associated with monasteries in northern Castile. Details are provided in Table 6.2 and the monasteries involved are shown on Map 6.1. The almost exclusive use of the variants *cuemo* and *cumo* in documents from northern Castile and the extensive use of these forms in the *Fazienda* suggests that the manuscript was copied in this area, and not as proposed by Sanchis Calvo (1991: 41), who observes that ‘Fue copiado probablemente en Toledo’. Another clue to the origin of the manuscript is provided by document 23 in Menéndez Pidal (1919) and lies in its use of the phrase *por consieglo*, as discussed in Chapter 6. The word *consieglo* is unattested in Corominas (1970) and is not recognised as such by CORDE which does, however, list it under *sieglo*. It is used twice in the phrase *por consieglo* (for evermore) in the document of 1219 from the Cartulario de Santa María de Aguilar de Campoó. Other than the 12 examples of this same phrase with same meaning in the *Fazienda* the only other occurrences are the two examples in this manuscript. It seems inconceivable that there is no link, whether geographic or scribal, between this document and the *Fazienda*. Given the Hebrew credentials of the *Fazienda* the fact that the document is dated according to the Jewish calendar (Soifer Irish, 2016: 62n47) and was

considered by Fita (1900: 341) to be an example of ‘el habla hebreo-castellana’ lends further weight to this association.

9.7 An overview

Although it is over 50 years since the appearance of Lazar’s edition and numerous articles have been written about the *Fazienda* or have drawn on it, there are many areas still to be explored. There is a need for a comprehensive palaeographic study to identify the intervention of other scribal hands. There is scope to consider other variables, as in the use of long <s> in word-final position and the use of the possessive forms *mie*, *tue*, *sue*, and even examine the lexical variation of forms such as *flum/flumen* and *rio*, and the variant forms of the late Latin *aeramine(m)* - *arambre* and *aramne*. Although Sanchis Calvo, Torrens and Lapesa refer to the ‘extreme’ apocope in the *Fazienda* and cite individual items, there is a need for a detailed study of apocope in general, similar to the coverage of clitic apocope in this study.

Bishop Tavira, in his entry in the Palace Library catalogue, described the manuscript of the *Fazienda* as ‘acaso de lo primero que se escribio en Castellano’. Although this remains, probably, its principal asset, it is also the first substantial example of prose literature in Castilian - a fact which has been largely ignored. In addition, although Lazar convincingly established the Hebrew credentials of the *Fazienda*, he largely ignored the contribution of the Vulgate. It is perhaps time to redress the balance and analyse in depth the contribution of the Vulgate to the Biblical material in the *Fazienda*.

Santiago Lacuesta (1993: 551) highlighted ‘la necesidad objetiva de disponer de una nueva edición de la *Fazienda de Ultra Mar*’. This study has laid the foundations to meet this need nearly a quarter of a century later.

Abbreviations and Sources

- BibMed Biblia Medieval <<http://corpus.bibliamedieval.es/>> [last accessed July 2017].
Medieval Romance Bible citations are taken from BibMed, with the exception of citations from Matthew E6.
- CORDE *Corpus diacrónico del español*, <<http://www.rae.es>> [last accessed July 2017].
- Doc *Documentos Lingüísticos de España: Reino de Castilla* (Menéndez Pidal. 1919).
- DRh Douay Rheims Bible <<http://drbo.org/>> [last accessed July 2017].
- Fazienda* *Fazienda de Ultramar*. Citations are from my own edition unless otherwise indicated.
- Gen, Exod Abbreviations of Biblical book titles are from:
<<https://bible.org/list-abbreviations-net-bible-footnotes>> [last accessed July 2017].
- Hebrew Transliterations of the Hebrew text are taken from
<http://www.scripture4all.org/OnlineInterlinear/Hebrew_Index.htm> [last accessed July 2017].
- ir* + The + sign after a form is used to indicate that the number of occurrences includes variants of that form.
- Lazar Reference is to Lazar's 1965 edition of the *Fazienda*.
- Matthew E6 *El evangelio de San Mateo según el manuscrito escurialense I. I. 6*,
Montgomery. 1962.
- OSp Old Spanish.

Poema *Poema de mio Cid*. Citations are taken from Menéndez Pidal's palaeographic edition (1964).

Medieval Romance Bible references:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Ajuda | Biblia de Ajuda, 1420-30. |
| Arragel | <i>Biblia de Arragel</i> , also known as the Alba Bible, 1430. |
| E3 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.3 |
| E4 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.4 |
| E5 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.5 |
| E6 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.6 |
| E7 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.7 |
| E8 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.8 |
| E19 | Escorial: Monasterio I.i.19 |
| GE | General Estoria |
- Soria *Fuero de Soria* (Galo Sánchez. 1919).
- Vulg Vulgate, citations are from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem / adiuuantibus* B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H.F.D. Sparks and W. Thiele, 5th ed. Roger Gryson, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2005).
- 9 Abbreviation, for *-us*, *-os*, as in *trib9*, *pl9* or *con-*, *com-*, as in *9plido*, *9pāna*.

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