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CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTIFICAS

Planetary

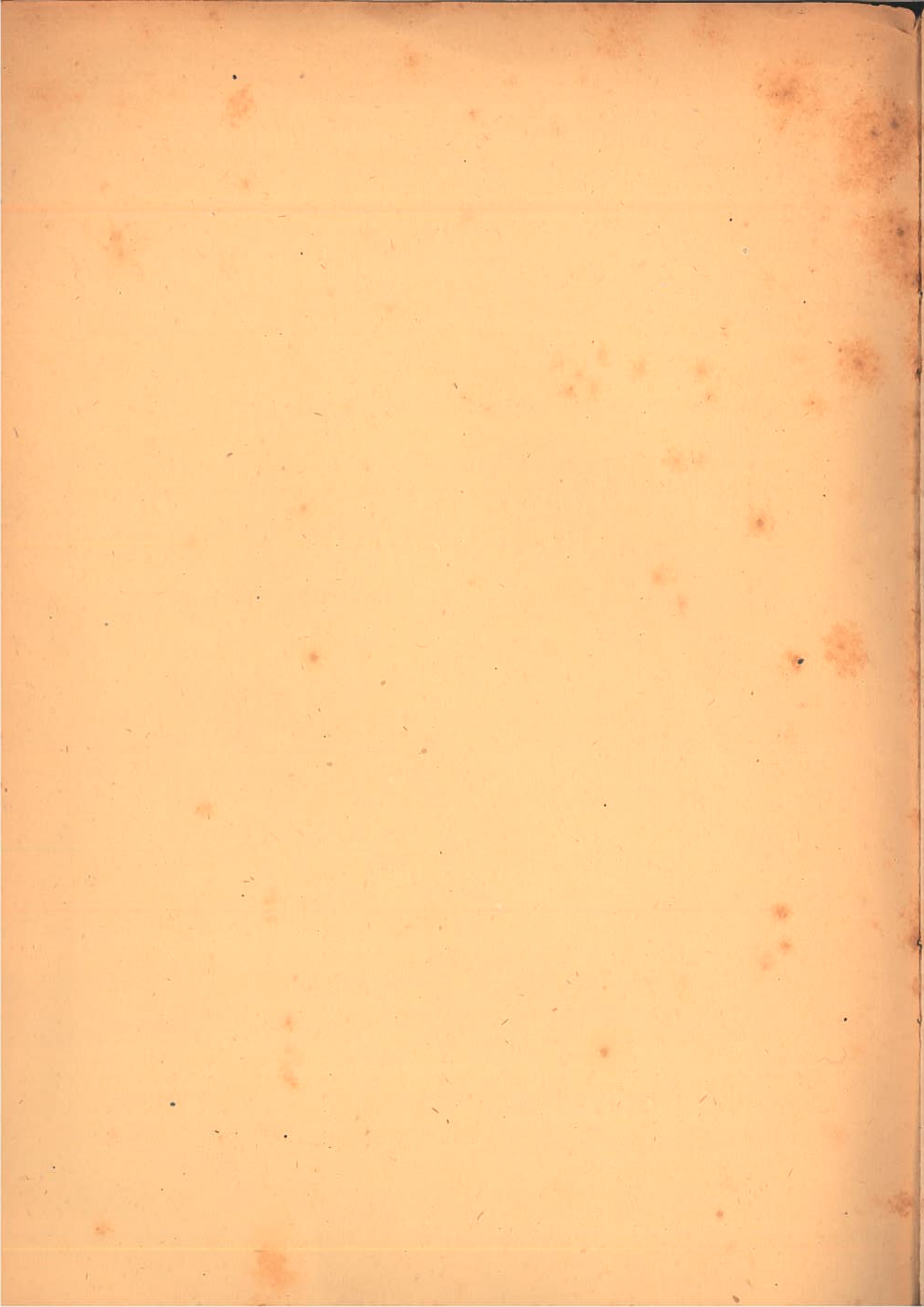
W. D. ELCOCK

THE EVOLUTION OF -LL- IN THE
ARAGONESE DIALECT



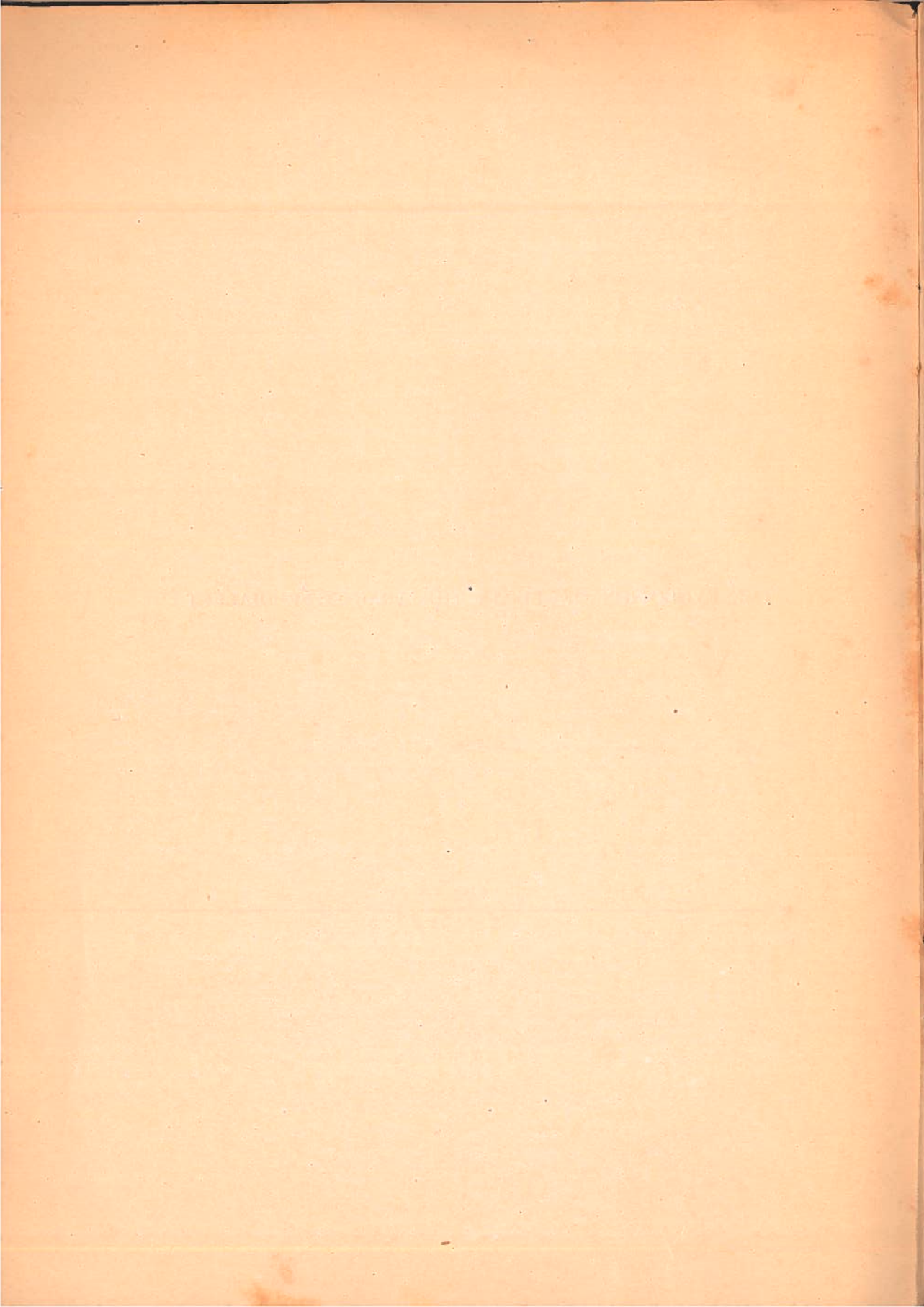
PRIMER CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE PIRENEISTAS
DEL INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS PIRENAICOS

Zaragoza, 1950



THE EVOLUTION OF -LL- IN THE ARAGONESE DIALECT





Elcock h 7 ⁴ biceleala fideri = un
apela come?

Cotam de Cotamero, conilla. Mui - hidi-
reia = prime a puf? Passages.

h. 12 ~~Box MAL, no KALE~~

- BAR: un Company RLR 1977?

velen topy - i: faloria

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in fideri. Et Alena!?

$d = ?$ Et d. de la Archie?

Solubi - flon ruyre, huf huf huf

Archie flonche a realisations

multiple

CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTIFICAS

W. D. ELCOCK

THE EVOLUTION OF -LL- IN THE
ARAGONESE DIALECT



PRIMER CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE PIRENEISTAS
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De este trabajo, que constituye la comunicación que presenta el autor al Primer Congreso Internacional de Pireneístas, se han editado 500 ejemplares en separata y otros 500 en el volumen correspondiente de las «ACTAS DEL PRIMER CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE PIRENEÍSTAS». San Sebastián, septiembre de 1950.

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Research into Aragonese place-names, established for the first time on a collective basis with the publication of the *Actas de la Primera Reunión de Toponimia Pirenaica*, already promises to throw much further light on dialectal development in this region. Place-names serve in many ways to compensate us for the somewhat fragmentary character of the present-day idiom. Manuel ALVAR, in his excellent *Habla del Campo de Jaca*, complains of their poverty: they may indeed be less numerous in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, but in the upper valleys of Aragon they abound. His further complaint —*con una frecuencia abrumadora se repiten los mismos términos* (op. cit. p. 137)—, is quite understandable, but it is precisely this fact of repetition that makes them so useful for comparative purposes.

It is my intention in this present communication to examine more closely than has hitherto been attempted the evolution in the Pyrenean area of the geminated -LL- of Latin; to define, by means of place-names, those areas in which it formerly developed to č, and those in which it became the dental plosive; finally, to explore the evidence of any other divergent developments.

As is well-known, similar complications in the evolution of -LL- are to be met with in the Asturias: a more ambitious study would take into account the whole of the Cantabro-Pyrenean range: but detailed examination of the parts must precede any attempt at final synthesis. Nevertheless, the most intense concentration upon Aragonese can scarcely permit us to ignore the corresponding developments which have taken place on the northern side of the Pyrenean chain; I hope to show that, in this respect, the affinity between the

speeches of the two Pyrenean slopes is still closer than has previously been suggested. The material employed is drawn from the list of toponymics published in the above-mentioned *Actas*, together with such as is to be found in the work of Alwin KUHN (*Der Hocharagonesische Dialekt*).

In the first place, we may briefly recall such few relics of the evolution in question as have been discovered in the current idiom. With their Latin roots, they are as follows:

VITELLUM:	<i>betyéto</i> at Torla and Buesa; <i>betyéčo</i> at Bielsa.
BETULLUM:	<i>abetoč</i> at Hecho.
VERTIBELLUM:	<i>bertubyéto</i> at Torla.
CALLEM:	<i>katéta</i> at Gésera, Asieso, Espuëndolas, Sardas; <i>katyéta</i> at Aragüés; <i>kačeriŋa</i> at Tella.
GRYLLUM:	<i>gričās, gričónes</i> at Panticosa; <i>gričóns</i> at Lanuza.
COLLUM:	<i>eskotolárse</i> at Biescas, Yésero and Linás de Broto.
-ELLA:	<i>mandyáta</i> at Torla; <i>panityéča</i> at Bielsa; <i>gořutyáta</i> at Buesa.

With the possible exception of *eskotolárse*, the derivation of *t* and *č* from -LL- in the above examples leaves little room for doubt. The distribution of *t*- and *č*- forms in the various localities will become more apparent from the study of place-names which follows.

By one of those coincidences in which philologists may see a special blessing, it happens that certain of the commonest topographical features in mountainous areas are designated by words in which the group -LL- occurs. Of these, the most obvious is VALLEM. The authenticity of derivation from VALLEM of certain toponymics which I have quoted on a previous occasion has been queried (by F. LÁZARO CARRETER in *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, II, p. 231). In the case of *batán*, as in *balelas del batán* at Borau and *los batánes* at Biescas, the query is probably justified: there is no evidence of any corresponding forms **batán* or **bačán*, the gender is wrong for a derivative of VALLEM, and *batánes* occurs in the centre of an area in which the normal result of -LL- is *č*; the origin of *batán* thus remains doubtful. In other cases, however, the frequency in

toponymics of *a bâte* and corresponding derivatives with *t*, considered in conjunction with the *bat* and *bač* of Gascon dialect, leaves us persuaded that many Aragonese examples of *bat* and *bač* do in fact derive from VALLEM. Only a topographical survey of the locality connected with each example might produce evidence to the contrary.

In the valley of Hecho, we have *bate státa*, at Aragüés, and *bate grwésa*, at Embún. At Panticosa, we find *bacimána*, possibly from VALLE MAGNA, cf. cast. *tamaño*. At Gistáin there is *bače mála*, which suggests comparison with the *Serra de Valle Mala* discovered by Antonio BADÍA MARGARIT in a document of Cerdaña of the year 1002 A. D. (*Actas*, p. 57); KUHN also mentions a *faja de batimála* at Hecho. As far south as Bierge, a locality situated to the west of Barbastro which shows an interesting outcrop of *č*- forms, there is *bači barguála*. The simple form *la báče* is to be found at Tella, together with an apparent derivative *bačáko*, and not far away, at Espierba, is *el bačón*. With *baléias del batán* may be compared: *ezbačéias*, at Panticosa, *a batéia*, at Torla, *fuenta de la bačiéia* at Morcat, and *batyáta*, noted by KUHN at Lanuza.

A further Latin word with -LL- which leaves numerous derivatives in Aragonese place-names is COLLUM, with the sense of mountainpass'. The word *kuéto* itself frequently appears: thus *kuéto* and *kuéto bárkas* at Burgasé, *kuéto a péra* at Yeba, *traskuéto* at Serveto, and *trasukuéto* at Basarán. If then we find *kuéčo* at Sobás, *kapána kuéčo* at Yésero, and *kampo kéčo* at Bierge, is it not probable that these forms derive from the same source? MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (*Orígenes*, p. 431) shows how COLLUM has become confused, semantically as well as phonetically, with COLLEM. He also quotes numerous examples from the Asturian area, appearing both in medieval manuscripts and in local toponymics, of a form *kueto*, to which he assigns as origin a hypothetical *CÖTTU (op. cit. p. 425). But in view of the confirmed existence in the Asturias of the evolution -LL- > *t* or *č*, and the presence in Aragon of forms with *č*, there seems to be adequate justification for the suggestion that the *CÖTTU which he postulates is none other than the Latin COLLUM.

The form CÖTEM, with a closed *o*, is however a well-attested

Latin word, with the sense of 'stone', and it has left in the Romance idioms many derivatives, mostly with intervocalic *d* (see REW. 2275 and 2281). Since in Aragon the intervocalic *t* is preserved, there is obviously here a possibility of clash between those derivatives of COLLUM and COTEM in which the *o* has become protonic. Thus, any further attempt to separate such derivatives must again depend primarily upon a local examination of the topographical features which the names designate. The forms which invite comparison are as follows:—

a. forms with *t*:

la kołáda, Agüero; *kołáda o fúrko*, *kołáda kaskabéls*, Buesa; *fuelle la kołáda*, Plan; *a kołáta*, Lasieso; *kołáta plána*, *frente kołáta*, Burgasé; *as kołátas*, Yeba; *kołáta fóna*, Fanlo.

b. forms with *t*:

kołáta fóna, Buesa; *las kołátas*, *kotatuéro*, Torla; *kołéla*, Yésero; *řibereta de kotiéla*, Plan; *kote fáblo*, Linás.

c. forms with *č*:

eskočátas, Panticosa; *kočáta ruáta*, Yésero.

The correspondence between *kołáta*, *kołáta*, and *kočáta* at least seems to afford convincing proof that all these forms derive from an original COLLATA. That COLLATA means a depression in the ground rather than an elevation is implied by its linking with the adjectives *plana* and *fóna*. If derivatives of COTEM are present the most likely example is found in the *kotatuéro* of Torla, the name of an imposing face of sheer rock; *kote fáblo*, and the *kotiéla* of Plan, on account of its linking with *řibereta*, may also suggest this origin.

Another toponymic of common occurrence appears to derive from STALL. Let us first select from our list of place-names the relevant forms:—

a. forms with *ɨ*:

estálo, Yeba; *estátos*, Bergua; *ostálo*, Fanlo.

b. forms with *t*:

el estatón, *estatón de a nukéra*, Torla; *estatjéčo*, Yésero.

c. forms with *č*:

lano stáčo, *estáčo lanúða*, Sallent; *ostáčo*, Basarán and Laspuña; *lomo estáčo*, Biescas.

d. form with *l*:

estaliéto, Buesa.

A. KUHN suggests that these words may be related to Cast. *estajo*, thereby implying a connection with TALIARE. This seems at first sight not impossible, since *ɨ* is the normal Aragonese result of L plus yod; but in no other example showing parallel evolutions with *t* or *č* is there any likelihood of derivation from this combination: as we shall later have further cause to remark, the two Latin groups LL and L plus yod, —contrary to what happens in the Asturias—, appear to have maintained separate identity in the local phonology of the Pyrenean area. For this reason, I prefer to see in the above forms that same Germanic root which recurs so frequently in the toponymy of the Alps, and which accounts for the Old French and Provençal *estal*, Port. *estala*, and Old Cast. *estalla* (REW. 8219). It is thus, in all probability, one of the many different terms which have been used in the Pyrenees to designate a building.

To this same semantic category belong the Aragonese representatives of CASTELLUM:— *kastyél mayór*, Bailo; *treskastyélo*, Sardas; *kastyéčo*, Espierba; *kastyéto*, Torla (*Der Hocharagonesische Dialekt*, p. 78).

In my thesis I commented on the absence at Espierba of any trace of 'castle'. For subsequent knowledge of the real meaning of the word I am indebted to that most informative article *Los Despo-*

blados de la Zona Pirenaica Aragonesa, by Ricardo DEL ARCO (*Pirineos, Año II, Núm. 3, 1946*), in which the author writes: «las hoy pardinas, en otro caso *castillos* o casas de labor, son sitios donde en otro tiempo hubo viviendas y población». This semantic evolution in the Pyrenees of the Latin CASTELLUM to a sense which is exactly equivalent to that of the Swiss *chalet* makes one wonder whether the Swiss word may not also bear a close relation to the Latin.

But that is by the way. My debt to Ricardo DEL ARCO goes further. Reading his article I came with a shock of surprise upon the following sentence: «En 1135, Ramiro II donó a los monasterios de San Juan de la Peña y Santa María de Iguácel tres villas en el valle Cepollera (hoy Carcipollera, o Barcipollera), llamadas Villanova, Bescós y Ossé.» Note this well: *El valle Cepollera, hoy Garcipollera, o Barcipollera*. This small valley, indicated on my map of the Province of Huesca as Garcipollera, branches off from the valley of Canfranc a little to the north of Jaca. My first reaction was to recall a somewhat barbarous place-name which occurs in the list of toponymics for Biescas: *barθipučéra*. Here again, thanks to that 'frecuencia abrumadora' with which place-names are repeated, we have a certain example of the identity between *t* and *č*. But clearly, there is more to it than that: the phrase in question indicates a co-relation between 'valle' and the ubiquitous *bar-* of Aragonese toponymy. The whole inquest upon VALLEM must be re-opened.

There may of course be a simple and rather unsatisfying explanation. It may be that the scribe of the twelfth-century document was animated by that same philological zeal which has brought us together in this reunion, that the name of the valley even in the twelfth century was *Barcipollera*, and that identification with the onion-plot was the product of his own etymologizing fancy; as it may be that the *Valle Mala* of the eleventh century discovered by Sr. Badía Margarit was a fanciful rendering of *bačimála*. But even if this were so, —and there is no particular reason for supposing that it is—, the intuition would still be worthy of our closer attention.

Investigation should perhaps begin with the remark that, preoccupied with the passage of -LL- to *t* and *č*, I previously omitted to mention that there are numerous instances, particularly in the foothills of the Pyrenees, of the form *bal*, as in Catalan. Thus:—

bal d espetál, Hecho; *bal perika*, Osia; *bál*, *bal de sotíls*,
bal de katá, Estadilla; *bal pálmás*, *bal de badía*, Bierge;
bal járta, Angüés; *bal de biñano*, Agüéro; *bal der aguéro*,
bal d espartéra, *bal de trapéta*, Ayerbe.

If we now find a corresponding number of forms with *bar*, are we not justified in assuming that they are of the same origin? From the phonetic stand-point, the alternance between *l* and *r* as third phoneme in a pro-tonic syllable is frequently found e. g. *silbiáča* and *sirbiáta*. From the point of view of word-formation, we have in *bal d espartéra* the counterpart of *Barcipollera*.

Perusal of our list of place-names reveals the following comparable forms:—

baraθáns, Tella (cf. *balaθán*, Torla); *bardobléra*, Espierba; *barluénga*, Embún; *langobár*, Yeba; *fúente de bari-biéto*, Laspuña; *barbiéta*, *bardanés*, Ayerbe; *bači barguála*, Bierge.

My map of the Province of Huesca, although of small dimensions, reveals several other such names. Thus to the south of the town of Huesca is *Barbués* (cf. *Buesa*, of which the local name is *guéso*) To the north of Huesca is another *Barluenga*. In the Monegros, at the confluence of the rivers Flumen and Cinca, is *Ballobar*. In the valley of Tena is *Barbenuta*. On Manuel ALVAR's map of the Campo de Jaca, I find *Baraguás*, in close neighbourhood with *Banaguás*, *Badaguás* and *Araguás*: In the last of these names the initial *Ar-* is, I would suggest, not the Basque *ara* meaning 'plain', which has been proposed as the etymon of that similar name *Aragüés*, but the pre-Indoeuropean *Ar*, meaning 'water', which we find in the rivers *Aragón* and *Ara*, in the *Val d'Aran*, and in countless other river-names all over Europe (see A. DAUZAT, *La Toponymie Française*, p. 134); as for *bar*, *ban* and *bad*, is it not probable that they are all the same original word, with the parallel sense of 'valley'? All three elements are united in *bataraguá*, at Osia.

The identity of *Garcipollera* with *Barcipollera* confirms that, once *bar* had lost contact with *valle* the syllable was liable to be altered

in many different ways. If, as the names in the Jaca region seem to show, *ban* and *bad* may both be variations upon *bar*, then it may well be the self-same root that we find in *labanéra*, at Ayerbe, in *abanéra*, at Angüés, and in *badiéto*, the name of Ayerbe's river. A simple metathesis would explain *bradanár* at Espierba, which thus appears as synonymous with *fondanár*, at Sallent. There is also a series of forms with *bak-* which may be attributable to the same origin:— *bakiéta* and *bakituálas* at Berroy, *bakiéta* at Sobás, and again *las bakiélas* at Bergua.

A common confusion in the initial consonant is that of *b* with *m*, as for instance in *búega* and *múga*. My informant at Gésera, when giving me the name *moskéra*, added the spontaneous comment: *hay mucho bosque*. It therefore seems probable that *moskéra* is in fact *bosquera*. This being so, is it not equally probable that *malón d eráu*, a *matáta*, *matatónes*, *maçilyéngo*, in the same locality of Gésera, all derive from VALLEM? Is not *maçilyéngo* synonymous with *barlyenga* and *langobár*? The words *maláta* and *malatón* also recall, it is true, the Aragonese equivalent of Cast. *majada* (< MACULATA); from notes once made at Bielsa I find, moreover, that *matáta* was there given to me as a word in current usage with the sense: *desprendimiento de piedras de una montaña*, a sense which immediately recalls the pre-Romance root *Mal-* discussed in the article of Sr. BADÍA MARGARIT; but all these possibilities of homonymic clash do not invalidate the suggestion that the words quoted for Gésera derive from VALLEM, or at least are of hybrid origin. As further examples we may note *matéba* at Espierba, and at Bierge *matjáča*, recalling the *baléta*, *batéta*, *bačéta* etc. previously mentioned. One may also wonder whether the 'barranco *mal perilé*' at Yeba is a perfect specimen of pre-Romance *Mal-*, meaning 'rock', or merely another *bal* turned *mal*.

The more one ponders over toponymics, the more one becomes convinced that behind their apparently baffling complexity lies that poverty of invention upon which Manuel ALVAR so aptly remarks. A few elementary notions, such as 'mountain', 'rock', 'valley' and 'water' have given birth to an endless variety of words, one synonym crowding upon another as the original meaning of the older word becomes obscured. Thus when we find *Ballobar* and *bači barguála*,

it seems not unlikely that such words conform to a familiar repetitive type: that *bar* is a synonym of both *bači* and *ball*, a synonym of which the sense had been forgotten at the time when *bači* and *ball* were added.

The implication of all that I have thus far said is that *bar* is a secondary derivation from *bal*. In some cases, as for instance *fuenta de baribiéto*, there are indications of the passage of LL to *r* while still in the intervocalic position: this, of course, would not be surprising, in view of the well-known development of the article ILLUM, ILLA, to *ero* and *era*, modern *ro* and *ra*, in the Aragonese territory of Sobrarbe. Thus, on purely phonological grounds, there can be no serious objection to the derivation of Aragonese *bar* from VALLEM. Yet, it may well be asked, can this account for all the examples of *bar*? What of the names of such ancient townships as Barbastro and Benabarre? Are we not rather confronted here with some pre-Romance element? It may well be so. But with this concession, I still venture to advance the claim that, in Aragonese toponymy, any such pre-Romance root has become inextricably entangled with the Latin word. The equivalence:- 1135 A. D. Valle Cepollera, 1950 A. D. Barcipollera, Garcipollera, ... *barθipučéra*, - seems to require this explanation we can but hope that our medievalists will bring to light more examples of the same kind.

From this somewhat breath-taking excursion, it is with relief that we return to our original objective: the delimitation in Aragon of those areas in which -LL- has passed to *t* or *č*. There remained for consideration the derivatives of the suffix -ELLUM, -ELLA. All over the region this suffix abounds: one is indeed tempted to hazard the suggestion that, if the inhabitants of Aragon are characterized nowadays by a preference for diminutives in -*iko*, it is because in their past history -ELLUM and -ELLA have been so over-worked.

Since this suffix involves no difficulty of etymology or interpretation, we may perhaps on this occasion so vary our method as to bring out more clearly the geographical distribution of the areas of *t* and *č*. Most of the forms which we quote will be easily recognized as derivatives of such common Latin words as PLANA, PORTUM, SALTUM, SILVA, CASA, PUTEUM, PINUM, FURCA, VETATUM, or of

such more specifically local words as *nába*, *ibón*, *artika*, *turón*. The presence of the diphthong serves as a means of identification, and any possible representatives of -ETUM or -ITTUM have been excluded.

Proceeding from west to east, and keeping roughly to the north of a line drawn from Jaca to Boltaña, -examples also occur to the south of this line, but more sporadically, - we find an area of *t* in the valley of Hecho and its immediate neighbourhood. Thus:-

Hecho: *kasiéto*, *kotatiéto*, *forθiéto*, *betatiéto*.

Jasa: *lonθiéto*.

Aragüés: *saltiéto*.

The valley of Canfranc, leading from Jaca via the Somport to the French *Vallée d'Aspe*, represents in modern times a wedge of Castilian speech; for this reason it has been somewhat neglected by dialectologists, and its toponymy remains unexplored. Next we come upon the valley of Tena, and here we reap a rich harvest of forms with *č*, extending from Sallent to Panticosa, comprising also the side-valleys to the west, with Acumuer and Asún, and to the east, with Yésero. Thus:—

Sallent: *espelunθiéča*, *kasiéčas*, *saldiéčo*, *ibonθiéčo*,
poθiéčo, *troniéčo*, *θařatiéčo*.

Lanuzá: *stibiéčo*, *kotatiéčas*, *portiéča*, *kalθiéčo*.

Escarilla: *portjáča*, *silbiáča*.

Panticosa: *lakuniáčas*, *piniéčo*, *ardikiaca*, *fuenta luniáča*.

Acumuer: *traskondiéčo*.

Asún: *sařatiéčo*.

Yésero: *nabariéčo*, *estatiéčo*, *leturiéča*, *planiéčo*, *fuenta funθiáča*.

Crossing the ancient boundary into Sobrarbe, we now come upon another small area of *t*. Thus:—

Linás de Broto: *solaniéto*, *tořoθiáta*, *korθiátas*, *la tubiáta*,
furkiéto.

Torla: *kabiéto*, *kařiáta*, *turiéto*, *pubiéto*.

Buesa: *solaniáta*.

Continuing our journey eastwards we reach that difficult region to the north of Boltaña, in the central knot of the Pyrenees, where the rivers run in deep gorges, and the villages are situated on high plateaux. This is the territory which we have previously indicated as one of the most conservative, linguistically, in the whole of Aragon. It is therefore at first sight surprising that we find there not a single example of the passage of -LL- to *t* or *č*; instead, both here and in neighbouring localities to the south, examples show almost uniformly -*ιάta*. In confirmation of this statement, we may quote the following forms:—

- Fanlo: *forkiέto, forniέto, fuente a komiάta.*
 Yeba: *periάta, krusiάta, koroniάtas, gradiέto, kondiάta, arniάtas, forkiάta, čiratiάta.*
 Burgasé: *pardiniάta, komiέto, planiέto, tořoθiάta, fuente espurθiάta.*
 Ascaso: *ermiάtas, fuente a kasiάta.*
 Cámpol: *aspurkiάta.*
 Berroy: *řeturiάtas, forkiέto, kondiάta, bakiέta.*
 Bergua: *badiέto, bakiέtas, kaθiάtas, trongiέtos, promakiέto, fuente de la sirbiάta.*

Other words have shown that in the region of Bielsa there exists a second zone of *č*; this is confirmed by *fuente kostaniέčas* at Bielsa itself; at Laspuña we find *pabiέčo*. Other wise -ELLUM is represented generally by -*iέto*, thus: *kotiέla, artigatiέto* at Plan; *čiradiέto* at Gistain; *portiέto, fuente de baribiέto*, at Laspuña.

Comparison of these results of our investigation of the derivatives of -ELLUM, -ELLA, with those which were previously obtained from the study of other words containing an original group -LL- will show that the areas of -LL- > *č* and of -LL- > *t* are quite clearly defined¹. Thus, by means of place-names, we have reconstructed

¹ The only exceptions to this distribution which I have noted are two words recorded by КУНН: *abetóč* at Hecho and *batyáta* at Lanuza. The only discrepancy in the linking of Spanish with French valleys is as between the Valley of Bielsa and the *Vallée d'Aure*: while the former is a *č*-area, the latter is still in the *t*-zone, *č*-forms reappearing only in the next valley to the east.

It should be noted that КУНН's map indicating the distribution of the phenom-

phonetic zones as they must have existed at some past time in the history of Aragonese speech. Moreover, the alternance which these zones reveal is reproduced almost exactly on the northern slope of the Pyrenees: the French valley of *Barétous* has forms with *t*; the valleys of *Aspe* and *Ossau* have *č*; the valleys of *Azun* and *Aure* have *t*, and then, from Luchon eastwards, we find another zone of *č* (cf. G. ROHLFS, *Le Gascon*, p. 101). This is one of the most remarkable instances of similarity in consonantal evolution (as opposed to vocalic evolution, which is very different) between the speeches of the two slopes.

Before concluding, we should perhaps note that on the Aragonese side there is evidence of another and simpler evolution, namely, the reduction of LL in the intervocalic position (as well as where it becomes final, as in *bal*) to an unlengthened *l*. KUHN quotes for the region of Hecho the forms *estréla*, Cast. *estrella*, and *čilá*, Cast. *chillar*. The example of *estaliéto* at Buesa has already been mentioned. My informant at Embún gave as the name of a house *kasa kabaléro*; in answer to my query he replied emphatically: «*no es kabaléro*». As far away from this as Bielsa, I noted again, as a house-name: *el kabalér*.

Thus Aragon shows at least five quite divergent results of the evolution of the Latin -LL-: *t*, *l*, *t*, *č*, and *r*; the last four of these it has in common with Gascony. The problem which these facts present is one which has already attracted the attention of linguists, and certain theories have been advanced. With regard to the phenomenon in Gascon, G. ROHLFS produces an involved table of suggested phonological processes, based on the assumption that palatalization of LL *t t̃* was the first stage of development in the whole Gascon and Bearnese area (*Festchrift Wechssler*, p. 392). Kuhn has another and fundamentally quite different idea: he supposes that in some areas LL was reduced to a simple *l*, while in others it underwent palatalization in varying degrees; thus for him, the modern *t*-forms

enon in the Pyrenees (*Hocharagonesische*, map No. 5) is somewhat defective; this is due in part to a limited range of material, but it is rather strange that he should link both Hecho and Torla to French valleys, including them in *č*-areas, while all the examples for the two localities which he quotes in the text (with the solitary exception of *abetóč*) show the *t*-form.

correspond to an earlier *l*, the *ty*-forms to a lightly palatalized *l'*, and the *č*-forms to a *ʃ* with more heavily pronounced palatalization. This is perhaps more ingenious, but both theories suffer, in my opinion, from the same weakness: neither takes into account the fact that in Béarn there is nothing to suggest a possible confusion between the results of LL and of L plus yod. The passage of L plus yod to *ʃ* must have been a very early Romance development, and any *ʃ* proceeding from LL could scarcely have failed to become identical with the earlier *ʃ*. In Castilian, where there is likewise no confusion, it is generally assumed that the evolution of the *ʃ* deriving from L plus yod towards the modern *jota* must have preceded the palatalization of LL to *ʃ*. In Bearnese, as is well-known, the *ʃ* proceeding from L plus yod still remains e. g. *ouelh* (< OCULUM), *hilh* (< FILIUM), *bielh* (< VECLUM). Nowhere, to my knowledge, does one find such subsequent developments as **ouét* or **ouéč*, **hit* or **hič*, **biét* or **biéč*. The modern resultants of the two Latin groups are kept clearly apart.

This fact seems to invalidate the theories of ROHLFS and KUHN alike, and induces me to lend my support to a theory suggesting that in the evolution of the group LL in Gascony there never has been an original stage *ʃ*, that the first stage was simply a loss of length, with the result that, as in France beyond the Garonne, as in Galicia and Portugal, LL first became *l*. All other developments would then be subsequent variations upon this most inconstant of phonemes. The passage of *l* to *r* is a very common phenomenon. Its passage to dental is exactly paralleled in the southern Italian evolution of LL to *dd*. The forms *ty* and *č* might very well be local variations upon *t*, and not, as the theory of ROHLFS supposes, the source from which the pure dental *t* derives. Finally, is not improbable that this same explanation also holds good for Aragon, where the native result of L plus yod is still *ʃ* as in Béarn, and that the Aragonese examples of *ʃ* from LL are due to the influence of Castilian. This would be in entire conformity with our mental picture of Aragonese, as a speech which during medieval times evolved in close affinity with the speeches to the north, but which has since been subjected to some centuries of Castilian penetration.

