### The Spread of the Velar Insert /g/ in Medieval Spanish Verbs

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<tbody>
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#### Abstract:

Several verbs in Modern Spanish display a stem-final /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive. The consonant is not part of the infinitive of these verbs and hence is said to be “inserted” in the conjugation. These verbs include asir, caer, oír, poner, salir, tener, traer, valer, and venir, as well as raer and roer which have /g/ optionally. While the velar element is attested from the earliest written records in tengo, vengo, and pongo, the adoption of /g/ in the remaining verbs occurred over an extended period of time. The phenomenon likewise affected other verbs, some currently obsolete and some that no longer contain /g/. This study contributes to our understanding of the velar insert by documenting its appearance in a corpus of 13th-, 14th-, and 15th-century Spanish texts and viewing its spread through the lens of the theory of lexical diffusion.

Varios verbos del español moderno contienen una /g/ al final de la raíz en la forma 1 del presente de indicativo y en todas las formas del presente de subjuntivo. La consonante no forma parte del infinitivo y por lo tanto se dice que es "insertada" en la conjugación. Estos verbos incluyen asir, caer, oír, poner, salir, tener, traer, valer y venir, además de raer and roer con /g/ opcional. Mientras que el elemento velar se documenta desde los primeros momentos en tengo, vengo y pongo, la adopción de /g/ en los verbos restantes ocurrió a lo largo de mucho tiempo. El fenómeno también afectó otros verbos, unos que han caído en desuso y unos que ya no contienen /g/. Este estudio contribuye a nuestro conocimiento de la inserción velar con su documentación en un corpus de textos españoles de los siglos XIII, XIV y XV y viendo su expansión a través de la perspectiva de la teoría de la difusión léxica.
The Spread of the Velar Insert /g/ in Medieval Spanish Verbs

1. Introduction

Many verbs in Modern Spanish display a stem-final /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive. Since the consonant is not present in the infinitive of these verbs, it is said to be inserted in the conjugation and hence has been termed the velar insert. These verbs include asir, caer, oír, poner, salir, tener, traer, valer, and venir, whose first-person indicative and subjunctive forms are thus asgo, asga; caigo, caiga; oigo, oiga; pongo, ponga; salgo, salga; tengo, tenga; traigo, traiga; valgo, valga; and vengo, venga. The insertion of /g/ is optional in the verbs raer and roer whose first-person indicative forms can therefore vary: rayo~raigo; roo~royo~roigo. In addition to these, other Modern Spanish verbs also exhibit a velar element that is absent from the infinitive but nonetheless present in the same paradigmatic forms, e.g. decir and hacer: digo, diga; hago, haga. To these two verbs one may add yacer which has no less than three conjugational patterns in the present paradigms: yazco~yazgo~yago, yazca~yazga~yaga (cf. Elson 1988). While the velar /g/ in digo, hago, and yago, which develop from Latin DĪCŌ, FAC(I)Ō, and IAC(E)Ō, is etymological, in the other group of verbs it is not.¹ Much discussion has gone into attempting to explain the origins of the non-etymological /g/ in verbs such as tengo, vengo, and pongo, however, the spread of the velar insert from these verbs to the other non-etymological forms mentioned above has not been thoroughly documented. This study will contribute to our understanding of the velar insert by

¹ Malkiel (1974: 309-310), on the other hand, believes that *faço and *yaço would have been the expected evolutions and that fago and yago are analogical. He proposes that the forms were remodelled through influence of digo~dizes because of speakers’ desire for a more stark contrast, the voiceless vs. voiced contrast of the affricate pair ç~z (e.g. *yaço~yazes) being insufficient.
documenting its appearance in a corpus of 13th-, 14th-, and 15th-century Spanish texts and viewing its spread through the lens of the theory of lexical diffusion.

1.1 Origins of analogical /g/

Before describing the methodology of the present study, it would be beneficial to look at the development of verbs with stem-final /g/ in Old Spanish to provide some background to the problem. Given the variable fate of the development of Latin velar consonants before front vs. back vowels, many -er and -ir verbs in Old Spanish displayed a velar /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and the entire present subjunctive and a non-velar element in the rest of the present paradigm. Thus we see that in decir, hacer, and yacer, which were mentioned above, and in others that displayed vowel + /k/ in Latin, e.g. COQ(U)Ō, ADDŬCŌ, the /k/ voiced before the /o/ of the first-person-singular indicative ending and the /a/ of the present subjunctive endings, thus producing digo, diga vs. dizes; fago, faga vs. fazes; yago, yaga vs. yazes; cuego, cuega vs. cuezes; adugo, aduga vs. aduzes. Likewise affected were -er and -ir verb forms with stem-final /rg/ and /ng/ such as those of esparzir and verbs from Latin -NGERE such as tañer, ceñir, and plañer~plañir. Regular development of Latin /g/ before /o/ and /a/ vs. /e/ produced the same paradigmatic alternation seen in the previous verbs: first-person-singular present indicative forms and all six present subjunctive forms displayed /g/ while the other present forms did not, thus: espargo, esparga vs. esparzes; tango, tanga vs. tañes. It is worthy to underscore the fact that this development only affected -er and -ir verbs in Old Spanish since paradigmatic levelling characterized the -ar present conjugations. Witness llegar whose present indicative and subjunctive forms all display /g/: llego, llegas…; llegue, llegues… (Penny 2002: 177-179).

In addition to these verbs, the velar insert is attested in the earliest texts in forms of tener, venir, and poner whose paradigms thus display the same consonantal alternation with regard to
the presence or absence of /g/: tengo, tenga vs. tienes; vengo, venga vs. vienes; pongo, ponga vs. pones. Tengo, vengo, and pongo do not evolve etymologically from Latin TENEÕ, VENIÕ, and PÔNÔ, but rather exhibit an analogical influence of some kind. While scholars agree that the /g/ in these forms is due to analogy, there are some disagreements in the explanation regarding the impetus and sources of the analogy, as well as on the forms posited prior to the analogical change. While most scholars depart from the premise that the base forms for tengo and vengo are *teño and *veño, there are some that posit *teno and *veno as the primitive forms, including Urrutia and Álvarez (1983), Alvar and Pottier (1983), Lenfest (1978, 1993), and Mondéjar (1995). The point of contention regarding the underlying forms revolves around the variable results of the development of flexional yod in Spanish verbs. Those who argue for *teno and *veno believe flexional yod was lost before palatalization which can be seen, for example, in the results of SALIAM > sala and VALEÔ > valo whose Old Spanish forms reveal the loss of the palatalized element (cf. Lenfest 1993: 635-636). On the other hand, those who support *teño and *veño believe flexional yod survived long enough to palatalize the stem-final consonant as is revealed in Portuguese tenho, venho, in Old Italian tegno, vegno, as well as in Old Provençal tenh, venh (Grandgent 1905: 126). Given the parallel results in other Romance languages and the

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2 Countless historical grammars have posited *teño, *veño for Spanish tengo, vengo beginning with Meyer-Lübke (1923) and continuing through Menéndez Pidal (1968) and Lloyd (1987). While in his earlier work Penny (1991: 151) expresses some reservations about the existence of *veño, he seems more convinced that flexional yod survived long enough to palatalize /n/ in the second edition of his historical grammar (2002: 175). Palatalized forms are also posited for Catalan *tîny, *vîny (Badía Margarit 1951: 302).
need to take them into consideration in the explanation of the velar insert, *teño and *veño appear to be the superior options.

The evidence from Portuguese just alluded to shows that the velar insert in tengo, vengo cannot be traced to a common source in Proto-Romance (Malkiel 1974: 321). It is striking, however, that the velar element appears in present-conjugation verb forms in an uninterrupted wave of dialects that stretches from Castilian in the west to Italian in the east, being absent from both the western and eastern flanks (Portuguese and Rumanian, respectively). This can be witnessed in present forms of tener and venir in the relevant languages: Castilian/Spanish (tengo, tenga; vengo, venga), Navarro-Aragonese (tiengo, tienga; viengo, vienga), Catalan (tinc, tingui; vinc, vingui), Occitan (teni, tinga; veni, venga), Italian (tengo, tenga; vengo, venga). These forms with /g/ contrast with those without /g/ found in Portuguese (tenho, tenha; venho, venha) and Rumanian (ţin, să ţin; vin, să vin).³

Returning to Spanish forms tengo, vengo, poner, there is some variation among scholarly attempts to explain the analogical velar, as previously stated. For some, the existence of many verbs with stems ending in /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive was enough to influence the adoption of /g/ in the same forms of tener, venir, and poner. Thus, Lloyd (1987: 164) speaks of mutual analogical influence between forms

³ Evidence for Navarro-Aragonese is extrapolated from Alvar (1953: 220), while for Catalan Moll (1952) and Badía Margarit (1951) are used. Verb forms for Occitan are taken from Internet sources including http://www.orbilat.com/Languages/Occitan/Grammar/Verbs/index.html and http://pagesperso-orange.fr/babel-site/occitan2.html; cf. Pérez Saldanya (1995) and Klausenburger (1984) who list alternate forms for Provençal. The latter lists alternate forms for Catalan as well. Rumanian forms are provided by a native informant.
of *tener and *venir, on the one hand, and forms of verbs that descended from Latin -NGERE, on the other. In other words, due to the phonetic similarity between *ña and *teño, combined with the alternation *ña ~ *tango, speakers would then begin alternating forms *teño ~ *tengo. He believes that it is really only necessary to assume that this alternation and the existence of stem-final /g/ in commonly used verbs such *digo, *fago, and *adugo produced ‘mental identification’ of the /g/ as characteristic of form 1 of the indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive for certain verbs. The similarity of structure of *poner and the leader verbs *tener and *venir resulted in its early adoption of the velar consonant (1987: 295-296). Penny (2002: 175, 177-179) follows a very similar line of reasoning.

For other scholars, however, the existence of verbs with /g/ in form 1 of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive does not provide sufficient explanation for the adoption of the velar consonant in *tener, *venir, and *poner. Malkiel (1974: 328) for example, rejects the influence of verbs like *ña~*tango, *cino~*cingo, *plana~*plango, as the source of the velar insert. He contends that this is problematic due to the fact that: 1) these were not high-frequency verbs, and 2) their development (*tango > *ña) goes from etymological to analogical, precisely the opposite of *teño > *tengo. Instead, the author believes that the palatalization of stem-final /-n/ of TENEÑ, VENIÑ produced a morphophonemic alternation /ñ/~/n/ in the paradigm (e.g. *teño~*tienes) which was weakly contrasted. Given speakers’ preference for ‘stark’ contrasts, the /ñ/~/n/ alternation was abandoned in favor of /ng/~/n/ in languages like

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4 Lenfest (1978, 1993) concurs with this point. He argues that speakers extended the /g/ to *tengo, *vengo not in imitation of *tango, etc., but rather to restore ‘phonic substance’ and paradigmatic balance; in other words, the CVCCV pattern of *tengo would match the phonic weight of the CVVCV(C) pattern of *tiene(s). For a critique of this theory, see Lloyd (1987: 295).
Spanish and Italian. This new alternation served to more distinctly mark first-person singular of
the present indicative. While Malkiel rejects the idea that analogical imitation was the impetus
for the change, he recognizes that verbs like tango provided a model for the adoption of /g/ (1974: 345). More recent studies that focus on the morphological implications of the insert /g/ have added to Malkiel’s principal argument of the desire to mark first person. Klausenburger (1984), for example, argues that through its adoption, /g/ becomes a morpheme of markedness, and Pérez Saldanya (1995) adds that the verbal augment /g/ has a clear morphosyntactic function that allows the formal delimitation of a verbal subclass. In the case of Spanish, the subset includes verbs of the second and third conjugations which, through the adoption of the -go ending in certain verbs, distance themselves from the first conjugation (Elvira 1998: 196; cf. Maiden 2001).

As can be seen by the above, the velar insert, particularly its genesis in tengo and vengo, has been discussed in some depth. Nevertheless, we are still lacking a thorough analysis of the spread of the velar insert in medieval Spanish. Malkiel (1974: 327), writing more than three decades ago, stated: ‘It might be rewarding to present an exhaustive picture of the rivalry, in medieval texts, of salga and sala, sueño and suelo, tuelga and tuello’. The fragmentary nature of

5 Malkiel’s idea of the adoption of /g/ as an alternative to palatalization has had a great deal of
resonance in subsequent studies, see Pérez Saldanya (1995), Elvira (1998: 194-195); cf. Maiden (2001: 46ff) who rejects phonological motivation for the origin of the velar insert. While depalatalization is a convincing argument for the genesis of tengo, vengo, and tuelgo, it cannot be applied to the case of verbs such as salgo and valgo, at least in Spanish, since the simplified results salo and valo are attested in the earliest texts. Klausenburger (1984: 135-136) and Kuryłowicz (1968: 74) seem to ignore this point.
what was known in this regard at the time of his statement still holds true today. This is reflected in the frequent general statements of relative chronology such as the fact that the adoption of /g/ was later in the verbs *caer*, *traer*, and *oír* than it was in *salir* and *valer* (cf. Elvira 1998: 195) or the overly conservative dating that depicts *valgo*, *caigo*, *traigo*, and *oigo* as Golden Age phenomena (cf. Penny 2002: 179). Even studies that do provide a more precise dating of the adoption of /g/ in the analogical forms only provide data for a small subset of verbs (cf. Ridruejo 1998). In short, documented evidence of the variation between etymological and analogical forms in medieval texts has yet to be provided, and therefore, further systematic inquiry into the problem is warranted.

2. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to present data taken from a substantial corpus of medieval texts in order to trace the spread of /g/, both in verbs in which the insert survives into the modern language and in those in which it is eventually lost. To this end, the following methodology was employed. First, a number of texts were selected that conformed to certain pre-established criteria: 1) the texts needed to be available in electronic format in order to facilitate the collection of data, and 2) the texts had to be edited using rigorous guidelines in order to ensure that the data were trustworthy. The texts chosen are among those published by the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS) available in CD-ROM format. Once the body of available texts was

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6 The fragmentary nature of the current knowledge on the subject is further underscored by the fact that some studies seem to ignore the existence of the forms *salo*, *sala* alongside *valo*, *vala* in medieval Spanish; see, for example, Elvira (1998: 195) and Maiden (2001: 49).

7 The texts are taken from the following sources: Corfis and O’Neill (1997); Herrera and González de Fauve (1997); Kasten, Nitti, and Jonxis-Henkemans (1997); Nitti and Kasten
pinpointed, specific texts representative of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries were selected, texts that also provided data pertinent to the linguistic change being analyzed. Faulhaber et al. (1984) \textit{(BOOST)} was used to find a reliable dating for each text, including both the original production date (OPDT), or date of the original, and the specific production date (SPDT), or date of the copy. For the 13th and 15th centuries, texts were chosen whose OPDT and SPDT fall within the same century, unless otherwise noted.\footnote{Also included are texts that are translations of earlier works which, accordingly, only have an SPDT in \textit{BOOST}.} Given the lower availability of works from the 14th century, selection criteria were somewhat less rigid, and texts with an ODPT and SPDT that fall within the 14th century were chosen as well as those that are 14th-century copies of earlier works. It is to be noted that each text is dated according to its SPDT in order to ensure a more conservative estimate of the dating of the phenomena found therein. This contrasts sharply with the methodology used in other corpora (see below). A total of 60 texts were selected with a roughly equal distribution in both number of texts and collective size for each century. The total corpus comprises 16 texts from the 13th century, 18 texts from the 14th century, and 26 texts from the 15th. The 13th-century body represents 16,213 KB of data, while the 14th- and 15th-century texts total 11,338 KB and 11,944 KB, respectively.\footnote{See Appendix A for the complete list of texts and Appendix B for the list of texts by century.}

The methodology chosen was preferred to the use of electronic corpora available on the Internet such as the Real Academia Española’s \textit{Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE)} and Davies’ \textit{Corpus del español (CdE)}. While these resources are undoubtedly useful tools, we found (1997); and O’Neill (1999). For a description of the editorial guidelines used in the transcription of HSMS texts, see Mackenzie (1997).
our method preferable for the present study because 1) the body of texts was transcribed using the same norms, 2) we were able to better control for the dating of the phenomena encountered. The results of a data search of forms of *traer* with /g/ can serve as an illustration of the latter. The search for *trayg* in *CORDE* reveals that many forms are apparently documented in the 13th century, the majority of which are found in the *Fuero de Úbeda* and in the *Fuero de Cuenca*, both included in the corpus as 13th-century texts. Since information regarding the manuscript copy used in the editions from which the data are taken is not provided on the website, one must consult the editions themselves. Regarding the *Fuero de Úbeda*, the manuscript copy used in the edition is believed to be from the 14th century (see Peset et al. 1979). For the *Fuero de Cuenca*, attestations of *trayg* are found in a 15th-century copy of the text (see Ureña y Smenjaud 1935). Naturally, in neither case should the data be considered as 13th-century evidence.

In *CdE* the dating of the search results is more easily arrived at as either the date or identification of the manuscript copy (library and number) is usually provided. However, the data are again grouped by the date of the original copy of the manuscript. For example, forms of *traer* with /g/ are found in the following texts originally composed in the 13th century but whose SPDT falls within the 14th, 15th, or even early 16th century: *Biblia latina* (14th-century copy), *General historia V* and *Poema de Fernán González* (15th-century copies), and *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (edition printed in 1503). The methodology employed in the present study provides obvious benefits for the accurate dating of the spread of the velar insert in medieval Spanish.

3. Results

This study has revealed new findings for several verbs, which will be presented in following groups: 1) documentation of the spread of the velar insert in *toller, salir, and valer*; 2) evidence regarding forms of *ferir, fallir*, and *prender* with /g/; 3) textual evidence of the spread
of /g/ to soler, doler, and asir; 4) documentation of the adoption of /g/ in traer, caer, oír, and huir. The pertinent data resulting from the textual searches for each verb are presented in the tables of Appendix C and will be referenced accordingly.

3.1 Spread of velar insert: toller, salir, valer

Evidence from our corpus of texts suggests that the verb toller < TOLLERE may have been one of the first verbs to adopt the velar insert after the leader forms tener, venir, and poner. The data presented in Table 3.1a shows that analogical forms with /g/ appear in 14 of the 16 13th-century texts of the corpus a total of 122 times. In contrast, etymological forms are only used twice. In other words, 98% of the occurrences that concern us here (form 1 of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive) are of the type tolg-~tuelg-. Forms of Old Spanish coller < COLLIGERE (later coger) with /g/, e.g. cuelgo, cuelga, were undoubtedly influential in the early adoption of /g/ in toller (Dworkin 1983: 167). Despite the relatively high incidence of toller in the 13th century, its usage drops off sharply in the 14th- and 15th-century texts of the corpus. Relevant forms are found in only eight texts of the 14th century for a total of 28 occurrences while the 15th century presents only three forms in one text.11

10 The spread of the velar insert is also attested in the verb retiñir < RETINNIRE as can be seen in the following occurrence: retingan (GE4:1). Given the lone attestation, this verb will not form part of the larger analysis. Likewise, although forms like remanga are found in the corpus, they are not commented upon as remanir, along with tener, venir, and poner, is one of the verbs in which the velar insert is attested in the first written texts.

11 For factors related to the demise of toller, its replacement by quitar, and its limited survival in the more advanced variant tullir ‘to cripple, maim, paralyze’, see Dworkin (1983).
Another verb that shows early adoption of the velar insert is *salir* < SALĪRE. Forms with /g/ appear in 15 of the 16 13th-century texts a total of 137 times while etymological forms such as SAL(I)Ō > *salo* and SAL(I)AM > *sala* appear in six texts a total of 13 times (see Table 3.1a). While only one text (EE1) makes exclusive use of etymological forms, 10 texts use forms with /g/ exclusively. Variation occurs in five texts, as in these two excerpts from GE4 presented in (1):

(1)

a. Pongamos’ l amiztad en uno. & tre & salamos a un campo & l firmemos la. (GE4 137v)

b. Tormenta l uos tomara. & dolores como a mugier que l esta departo. Nin salgades a labrar. nin an- l dedes carrera. Ca la espada del enemigo & el l so pauor; es en derredor dela cibdad. (GE4 79r).

For the 13th century overall, analogical forms predominate with a 91% rate of appearance. This percentage increases to 98% in the 14th century as forms such as *sala* appear in only two texts a total of two times vs. 82 occurrences of forms with /g/ in 17 texts. The two texts that make use of etymological forms are ALX and IJ8, which are 14th-century copies of earlier works. Thus, it is not certain if the forms are relics of the earlier rendition of the text or if they are indeed reflective of 14th-century practices. Nevertheless, Mondéjar (1995: 20) finds *sala* documented as late as 1313, which corroborates the data found here. By the 15th century, the

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12 In the citations taken from the texts of this corpus, transcription norms have been slightly modified; c’ and n~ appear here as ç and ň. Suppressed letters of abbreviations marked with <> in the transcribed text appear here in italicized form. Lines of text appear run-on here, but the original line separation is marked by the use of a vertical bar l.
adoption of /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive appears to be complete as etymological forms are not documented in that period.

Due to its phonetic similarity with the verb *salir, valer < VALÊRE* also acquires the velar insert, but it is a later phenomenon in *valer* as the data will show (see Table 3.1a). Only two texts in 13th century (FGN, FNV) show forms with analogical /g/ for a total of 13 occurrences. Forms without /g/, etymological forms, are attested for a total of 131 occurrences in 10 texts. Both 13th-century texts with analogical *valga* also display the etymological forms. The variation is exemplified in the following two citations from FGN:

(2)

a. SJ fidalgo pri’siere Ricomne. | ho mesnadero. o preso que | uala .Mil. moraudis de otro | Regno. (FGN 7v)

b. % Mandamos por | fuero que esta carta asi rayda ho | emendada en tales logares non | ualga. (FGN 26v)

The incidence of analogical forms does not become significant until the 15th century as only seven occurrences of forms such as *valga* are found in the 14th century. While analogical forms with /g/ only appear 9% of the time in the 13th-century texts of the corpus, this percentage increases to 38% in the 15th century Nevertheless, forms without /g/ still outweigh those with the insert (23 occurrences for *valga*, etc. vs. 38 occurrences of *vala*, etc.). The data regarding total occurrences is underscored by that of usage by text. Of the 19 texts of the 15th century in which relevant forms are attested, seven make exclusive use of etymological forms, six exclusively show analogical forms, while the remaining six show variation of the type *vala~valga*.

While it is true that the adoption of /g/ was slower to triumph in *valer* than it was in *salir*, it is imprecise to describe *valgo/valga* as Golden Age forms (cf. Penny 2002: 179) as they are
amply attested by the 15th century. In fact, in Nebrija’s (1492 [1980]: 248) description of verbs of the second and third conjugation that end in -go ‘[que] no siguen la proporción del infinitivo’, we find the following: ‘de valer valgo vales’. Correas (1625 [1954]: 295) likewise provides valgo as the first-person-singular present indicative form of valer. Etymological vala is able to persist through the 15th century, and even into the 16th, in large part because of its frequent use in legal texts and in other formulaic contexts such as in fossilized expressions such as ‘válame Dios’. Regarding the latter, it is highly significant that 23 of the 38 occurrences (61%) of etymological forms of valer in the 15th-century texts of the corpus are constructions of that type, those that appeal to God or other supernatural or superior beings. Nineteen of the 23 examples are of the type ‘así me vala Dios’ while the remaining four refer to Allah, Muhammad, or the devil. Some examples are provided in (3):

(3)

a. valala el dia- l blo (C01 34r)
b. Sy .alaha. me vala. (DAN 19v)
c. que dios te vala (ENC 115r)
d. Asy me vala maoma (MEL 112v)
e. assi dios me vala (OLI 35v)
f. si dios me vala (PRS 80v)

In addition to the analogical influence of tengo, vengo, and pongo in the formation of salgo and valgo, many scholars cite the influence of verbs like cuelgo and fuelgo which show the etymological sequence -lg-. Moreover, Alvar and Pottier (1983: 222) credit the lasting power of the lg/ in valgo and salgo as necessary to avoid confusion with balo and salo of the verbs balar and salar. Whatever role these factors may have played, the most important influence was
undoubtedly the /g/ that marked first-person singular of the present indicative and the present subjunctive paradigm of certain verbs, chief among them analogical \textit{tengo}, \textit{vengo}, \textit{pongo}, as well as those that displayed etymological /g/.

As mentioned in the introduction (see 1.1) there has been much debate about the possible analogical influence of verbs with etymological /g/ on the development of the velar insert. Malkiel (1974) was perhaps the first to call into question the traditional explanation of the influence of -NGERE verbs because of their lower relative frequency as well as their eventual abandonment of /g/ in the paradigmatic levelling that ensued, e.g. \textit{tango} > \textit{taño}. Lenfest (1978, 1993) shares Malkiel’s point of view. For his part, Mondéjar (1995: 17) rejects not only the influence of -NGERE verbs due to their limited documentation, but also that of verbs like \textit{decir}, \textit{cocer}, and \textit{aducir} because they were ‘escasos’ in the present subjunctive. Ridruejo (1998: 728) seconds Mondéjar’s opinion.

In an attempt to shed light on the question of the origin of the velar insert as it relates to these verbs, the texts of the corpus were analyzed in order to document the presence of etymological forms with /g/ in Old Spanish as well as the emergence of analogical forms without /g/. The data are presented in Tables 3.1b-3.1e. Here we will concentrate on 13th-century documentation. Regarding verbs in -NGERE, several are attested in the 13th-century texts of the present corpus. They include: \textit{ceñir} < CINGERE, \textit{constreñir} < CON + STRINGERE, \textit{tañer} < TANGERE, and \textit{teñir} < TINGERE.\footnote{Forms of \textit{enfeñir} < EN + FINGERE, \textit{llañer} < PLANGERE, and \textit{reñir} < RINGERE with /g/ are also attested in GE4 (\textit{enfingo}, \textit{llangamos}, \textit{llangan}) and MOA (\textit{rengan}). Given their low frequency in the 13th century, their documentation in the 14th and 15th centuries was not pursued. These data are not included in the tables of Appendix C.} All the 13th-century attestations display etymological /g/;
analogical forms with /ñ/ are not attested, and in fact are not found until the 15th century. Forms with /g/ are attested in 13 of the 16 13th-century texts for a total of 68 occurrences.

In addition to verbs that descend from Latin -NGERE, etymological /g/ is also found in DÍCÔ > digo, FAC(I)Ô > fago, IAC(E)Ô > yago, ADDÛCÔ > adugo, SPARGÔ > espargo, and COQ(U)Ô > cuego. In Old Spanish, all these verbs display /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and the entire present subjunctive. Digo and fago/hago are still conjugated in this way in Modern Spanish, while the other forms become: (yago)~yazco~yazgo; -duzco (as in conduzco); esparzo; and cuezo. Nevertheless, in the texts of the present corpus, yago persists, while indications of -dugo > -duzco~duzgo, espargo > esparzo, and cuego > cuezo~cuezgo do not become evident until the 15th century (see Table 3.1e). Concentrating on the 13th century data, forms of aducir, cocer, esparcir, and yacer with /g/ are found in 14 of the 16 13th-century texts for a total of 194 occurrences. If we add this to the 68 attestations of forms of -NGERE with /g/, the total of etymological forms with /g/ for the 13th century is 262. While it cannot be denied that these are by no means high frequency verbs, their paradigms, together with those of decir and hacer, undoubtedly aided in the identification of /g/ as characteristic of the first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive. It is thus plausible that both -NGERE verbs and verbs like decir, hacer, yacer, and aducir, etc. exerted an analogical influence on *teño, *veño, and *poño producing a third group, tengo, vengo, and pongo. It is most likely the analogical influence of all three groups, then, that extends the velar insert to other verbs like salir and valer in the manner of lexical diffusion (see section 4), an additional important factor in the spread of /g/ to these last verbs being the phonetic similarities shared by the nasals (of tengo, vengo, pongo) and the liquids (of salgo and valgo).

3.2 Velar /g/ in ferir, fallir, prender
In addition to its insertion after the liquid lateral /l/ of *salir* and *valer*, the velar consonant also makes itself felt after the liquid tap /ɾ/ of the verb *ferir* < FERĪRE. This phenomenon also appears to be early as forms with /g/ are found in some 13th-century texts of the corpus (AST, FGN, FNV, and MOA) as well as in two texts that are 14th-century copies (CID and IJ8). Forms with /g/ total 17 occurrences (see Table 3.2). However, after the 14th century, forms with analogical /g/ are not attested in the corpus. While *fierga* is frequently mentioned by scholars as one of the verbs affected by the velar insert, usually cited in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, no one has yet, to our knowledge, commented on the possible Navarro-Aragonese character of this form. It is significant that three of the six texts in which forms with /g/ appear in the present corpus are Navarro-Aragonese: FGN, FNV, and IJ8. In fact, these three texts account for 76% of the occurrences of *fierga* (13 of 17), with only four occurrences remaining, one each in the Alfonsine AST and MOA and two in CID. Aragonesisms are known to occur in other works of Alfonso, so the appearance of *firgades* in CID would be the only form that wants explanation. One of the occurrences of the verb is seen in the following passage:

(4)

Antes que ellos legen a lanno presentemos les las lanças | Por vno que *firgades* tres siellas yran vazias (CID 21r)

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14 For purposes of comparison, the alphabetical indices of several 13th-14th-century Aragonese sources published in Nitti and Kasten (1997) and O’Neill (1999) were examined. *Fierga* was found in FAR seven times and in PL1 once. (See Appendix A for abbreviations.) FAR has a 13th-century OPDT and a 14th-century SPDT. PL1 has a 14th-century OPDT and a 15th-century SPDT.
However, as is characteristic of other examples of early literature in Castilian, the *Poema de Mio Cid* shows a mixture of dialect features, among them features that can be considered non-Castilian (Pountain 2001: 58).

Another early indication of the spread of the velar insert is the form *falgades* from *fallir* < *FALLERE* found once in the Alfonsine text EE2 (see Table 3.2). After the 13th century, the verb *fallir* with /g/ is not attested in the texts of the corpus. However, it appears a number of times in 14th-century Aragonese texts. *Fallir* with /g/ it would seem, cannot be considered characteristic of Castilian. In EE2 it is probably an Aragonesism.

The use of velar /g/ in the verb *prender* < V.L. PRENDERE < C.L. PREHENDERE and its compounds is another use characteristic of Navarro-Aragonese that is found in early Spanish texts. Forms of *prender* and its compounds displaying /g/ are found 50 times in four texts of the present corpus with a 13th-century OPDT: IJ8, FGN, FNV, and NOV (see Table 3.2). All four texts are written in Navarro-Aragonese. Commenting on the appearance of *prencat* in the *Glosas Silenses*, Menéndez Pidal (1964: 358) describes the verb as ‘forma navarroaragonesa, extraña al castellano’. This is corroborated in the fact that forms of *prender* and its compounds with /g/ are not attested in any later texts of the corpus but appear in the following 14th-century Aragonese texts with a total of 51 occurrences: CQ1, CQ2, FAR, FYO, GC1, LAT, SEC, TUC, and TUY. (See Appendix A for abbreviations.)

The presence of the velar insert in Navarro-Aragonese, as attested in *falga*, *prenga*, and *fierga* ties in nicely with other morphological evolutions on the Iberian Peninsula. In the east, not

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15 Forms of *falga* appear a total of 12 times in the following texts: CQ2, FYO, GC1, LAT, PAL, SEC, and TUC. See Appendix A for abbreviations.
only is the /g/ present in a wider variety of verbs,¹⁶ but it is also present in other tenses due to normal phonological evolution, as is the case of Catalan vinguissen and Aragonese prenguessen. The velar insert is absent from Portuguese as attested in *venho, tenho,* and *ponho.* Castilian, it seems, finds itself in the middle of the two extremes.

### 3.3 Spread of the velar insert: *soler, doler, asir*

The verb *soler* < SOLÈRE also becomes involved in spread of the velar insert, if only temporarily. Although there is not abundant data, the few attested occurrences (three) show that analogical *suelgo, suelga* appears to be largely a 14th-century phenomenon (see Table 3.3).

*Suelgo* occurs once in ALX and once in IJ8. The form is also found in the 15th-century BAE, however, its use appears to respond to the needs of rhyming as attested in the following passage:

*(5)*

```
yo te lo rruego  | con tu fuego. maguer juego  | non ay tal. que non desates  | pues non
fuelgo. commo suelgo | rreçelando. (BAE 165v)
```

In addition to *salir* and *valer,* it would seem that the analogical influence of verbs like *cuelgo* and *fuelgo,* and *tuelgo* in the *-er* category, would be particularly appropriate for this verb as well as for *duelgo.* The spread of the velar insert to *doler* < DOLÈRE is perhaps somewhat later than for

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¹⁶ Cf. Catalan *bec* ‘bebo’, *crec* ‘creo’, *dec* ‘debo’, *encenc* ‘enciendo’, *entenc* ‘entiendo’, *escric* ‘escribo’, *moc* ‘muevo’, *molec* ‘muelo’, *prenc* ‘prendo’, *responc* ‘respondo’, *venc* ‘vendo’, among others (Badía Margarit 1951: 301-302, Moll 1952: 215-216). One of the reasons that the adoption of the velar is more intense in Catalan is that it often served to distinguish between first- and third-person present indicative verb forms which had become homonymic through regular phonetic development; these include forms of *creure, molre,* and *prendre* (Pérez Saldanya 1995: 418).
soler. Forms with /g/ occur twice in IJ8 but are attested six times in two 15th-century texts of the present corpus, G&G and IMI (see Table 3.3).

The last verb to be dealt with in this section is the verb asir. There is disagreement regarding the genesis of asir. Menéndez Pidal (1968: 293) credits Germanic influence and says that asir is ‘probablemente del germánico sazan’. Corominas and Pascual (1980: s.v.), on the other hand, state that asir is derived from asa in that asir originally meant ‘coger por el asa’. Corominas and Pascual’s explanation seems more plausible. Searches of the electronic text files reveal the incipience of the analogical change of asa > asga. One occurrence of forms with /g/ was found: asga in LBT (see 6a). The variation among different manuscript versions of the text, the Libro de buen amor, is very interesting. Witness these citations:

(6)

a. % tomola en su falda E leuola a su casa / puso la cabe el fuego cerca de buena brasa
   l rebujo la culebra ante que la el asga (LBT 17r)

b. tomola en la falda & leuola a su casa / pusola cerca del fuego & cerca de buena brasa
   l reboluje la cueluebra ante que la e(s)[1] asa (LBT 74r)

c. % Tomola en la falda & leuola a su casa / pus’ola cerca del fuego / cerca de buena
   blasa / abiuo la culebra / ante que la el as’a (LBT 81r)

Unfortunately, the dating of the copies is unable to provide more precise information on the emergence of asga. The form with analogical /g/ appears in LBT which has an OPDT of

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17 While the context of the citations appears to involve the verb asar rather than asir, the latter is understood to be the infinitive of asa given the fact that subjunctive is required after ante que. In all three manuscript copies, present or imperfect subjunctive forms are used after all instances of the temporal conjunction ante que (Modern Spanish antes (de) que).
1330 and an SPDT of 1300-1400. LBG has an OPDT of 1330 and an SPDT of 1389, while LBS has an OPDT of 1300-1400 and an SPDT of 1400-1450. Suffice it to say that the velar insert begins to spread to the verb *asir* in the 14th century, but variation continues in the 15th and 16th centuries. This information is at variance with Penny’s (2002: 179) indication that *asa > asga* is a Golden Age phenomenon. Although the variation may have regularized during this time, its origin dates to the 14th century.

Of the above mentioned verbs (3.1-3.3), the velar insert survives into Modern Spanish only in *salgo ... salga*, *valgo ... valga*, and *asgo ... asga*. In the verb *toller/tullir*, while the /g/ was adopted early in the present paradigms, the usage of the verb declined sharply in the 14th and 15th centuries. Now it is obsolete in its finite forms. The verb *fallir* was likewise lost, eventually succumbing to the spread of the inchoative infix and is now *fallecer* (see Kauffeld 2007). Besides which, although *falga* appeared in early Castilian texts, it was probably never really characteristic of that *variety*. Indeed, the same may be true for *fierga* from *ferir*, as seen in the high percentage of forms which can be attributed to Navarro-Aragonese. Both verbs are characteristic of eastern dialects, being attested frequently in Aragonese texts. The form *prenga* from *prender*, which is only documented in the texts of this corpus written in Navarro-Aragonese, is also characteristic of eastern peninsular varieties.

In the remaining verbs, *soler* and *doler*, the /g/ never became fully entrenched in their conjugations as it did in *salir* and *valer* despite the phonetic similarity shared by the four verbs. The relative frequency of the verbs most likely played a role. For *doler*, the fact that it is not a high-frequency verb probably contributed to its inability to sustain the anomalous /g/. *Soler*, on the other hand, generally occurs more frequently than *valer*. However, it has a very limited use in the present subjunctive, which undoubtedly contributed to its succumbing to paradigmatic
The fact that /g/ remains in asir, asgo, asga seems to be the exception, since asir is not a high-frequency verb either. The change asa > asga may be influenced by the spread of the inchoative pattern to verbs like (cueba >) cuesa > cuezga. Although the change may have begun earlier, in the texts of this corpus we find 15th-century documentation of forms of cuezga. Witness these passages from the 15th-century GOR that show variation cuega~cueza~cuezgan in a single text:

(7)

a. % Pero enel comienço pongan tan- | ta agua que abaste para todo el cozimiento & l
   cuega fasta que se aparten los huessos. (GOR 141v)

b. El físico | diligente & solicito tome algunas destas cosas: o l todas: & cueza las en
   vinagre: (GOR 22v)

c. sy las fojas se co- l mieren de mañana antes de comer o fueren tem- l pradas en vino
   blanco & que el vino sea beui- l do de mañana o que la cuezgan en vino & reci- l ba
   el fumo o que su çumo distilado colado & l tibio se distile enla oreja. (GOR 83r)

Another important factor in the adoption of /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive of asir would have been the desire to avoid homonymic clash with forms of asar. Witness, for example, the citations in 6a-6c above.

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18 Frequency information for these verbs is extrapolated from Juilliard and Chang-Rodríguez (1964: s.vv.).

19 Malkiel (1974: 332) points out that vacillation of the type conozco~conozgo, plazco~plazgo reaches its peak during the time of Cervantes. In these alternations we see the influence of the velar insert on the inchoative conjugation. In this corpus of texts, this influence is seen in the forms luzga(n) (CIS, IMI, PER), produzga (IMI), and rreduzga (CMN) from the 15th century.
3.4 Spread of velar insert: *traer, caer, oír, huir*

In this part of the paper, we would like to address the spread of the velar insert to verbs such as *traer, caer, oír*, and *huir* in which the /g/ was added after stem-final yod. But first, let us review the evolution of these verbs from Latin AUDĪRE, FUGĪRE, CADERE, TRAHERE to Old Spanish oír, fuir, caer, traer.

Flexional yod survived in the verbs oír and huir; AUDĪO > OSp. oyo and FUGĪO > OSp. fuyo. The verbs CADERE and TRAHERE did not have flexional yod but were remodelled on verbs like oyo and fuyo, CADŌ > OSp. cayo and TRAHŌ > OSp. trayo. The /j/ of oyo and huyo spread within their verbal paradigms to the other rhizotonic forms in order to provide a sharper syllabic division between the stem-final vowel and the vowel of the ending, thus avoiding hiatus of the type /óe/, /úe/, which was unprecedented (Penny 1991: 151, 2002: 175). Eventually, all these verbs succumb to the influence of the velar insert, and we find the alternation oigo, oyes, oiga; huigo, huyes, huiga; caigo, caes, caiga; traigo, traes, traiga. The spread of the velar insert to these verbs, it would seem, would most likely affect *caer* or *traer* first and only later oír and huir. This seems a logical supposition given the fact that the stem-final yod of cayo, caya and trayo, traya reflects the same alternation as stem-final /g/ in say, tengo, tenga. In other words, form 1 of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive of *caer* and *traer* contain /j/ while other forms of the present paradigms do not.

Evidence from Nebrija’s *Gramática* of 1492 regarding conjugations for *traer, oír, and huir* supports this notion. In Book 4, Chapter 3 (‘De la conjugación del verbo’), first-person
singular of the present indicative conjugations for the -ir verbs oír and huir are listed as oio and huio (1980: 248). Likewise, for the present subjunctive conjugation of oír we find the following: ‘Como oia, oias, oiamos, oian’ (1980: 241). In Chapter 6 (‘De la formación del indicativo’), Nebrija explains the conjugation of -er and -ir verbs that end in -go; the first example of the list is ‘como de traer, traigo, traes’ (1980: 248). While Nebrija provides no information regarding the conjugation of caer, the evidence uncovered supports the assumption that in this group, verbs with stem-final /a/ (e.g. traer) suffer the influence of the velar insert before those containing back vowels (oír and huir). Let us now look at the data from our corpus to see if they also support this hypothesis.

Of the four verbs considered here, traer is the first to appear with the velar insert /g/ (see Table 3.4a). The form traygan occurs once in the 13th-century FGN. While the total number of forms without /g/ are not tallied for the 13th century, in same text forms like traya occur seven times. The following passages from FGN show the variants trayan and trayga:

(8)

a. pues tan bien terne pyno et aqueillos que no an traydo poder que lo | trayan luego.
   (FGN 116v)

b. % Et si el arbol fu- | ere robre ho otro arbol que ninguna | fruyta non trayga puede el seyn- | erpo del arbol puede defender en- | tegrament. (FGN 100v)

In the 14th century, forms with /g/ occur more frequently, in eight texts for a total of 32 occurrences. However, forms without /g/ still dominate as they occur in 14 texts a total of 73 times. Of the 16 texts in which relevant forms are found, two show exclusive use of forms with /g/ (12.5%), eight show exclusive use of forms without /g/ (50%), while the remaining six show variation (37.5%). In the 15th century, forms with /g/ occur much more frequently as they appear
in 20 texts for 96 occurrences. Forms without /g/ have a higher total incidence, occurring in 13
texts 111 times. However, if we extract the data from GOR from the tally, \(^{21}\) forms with /g/
dominate 95:60. Regarding usage by text, of the 24 texts in which relevant forms are found, 11
texts use forms with /g/ exclusively (45.8%), four texts use forms without /g/ exclusively
(16.7%), while nine texts exhibit variation (37.5%). Note that although variation has not been
eliminated, the exclusive use of forms with /g/ is significantly higher in the 15th century than in
the 14th century. Likewise, the exclusive use of old forms has significantly declined from one
century to the next.

In explaining the origin of *traigo,* Malkiel (1974: 336) states, ‘the coexistence of *tragó*
and *trayo* in neighboring dialects was apt to lead to some such compromise form as *traigo*’.
Lloyd (1987: 297), taking his cue from Malkiel, clarifies this idea by saying that *trayo* and *tragó*
were competing standard forms in medieval Castilian. Based on these statements, the form *tragó*
and its variants were searched in the present corpus. A total of 11 forms were found in the 13th
and 14th centuries: four in FJZ, four in ALX, and three in LBT. These forms would apparently
evolve from a Vulgar Latin form *tragere* (Grandgent 1962: 175). Hanssen (1913: 102) and
Staaff (1907: 314) consider the verbs *tragó, bragó* to be Leonese forms. Indeed, Modern
Portuguese *tragó* from *trazer* (OPtg. *trager*) \(^{22}\) together with the opinions of Hanssen and Staaff
would seem to indicate that these verb forms are characteristically Western Iberian.

\(^{21}\) Forms without /g/ occur in GOR a total of 51 times, which perhaps skews the data.

\(^{22}\) Williams posits V.L. *tracere > trazer* and *traco > trago* for the Modern Portuguese forms.

In Old Portuguese, *trager* existed alongside *trazer.* While the former has disappeared, it was the
preferred form, *trazer* being perhaps the more popular variant (1968: 238).
Returning to our attested forms, the highest number of occurrences in a single text is four, found in both FJZ and ALX. The appearance of Leonese forms in the first text, *Fuero Juzgo*, would hardly be surprising given the fact that it was translated into the vernacular in the reign of Fernando III (Jonxis-Henkeman and Craddock 1992: i). The second text, *Libro de Alexandre*, is known to be rife with Leonesisms, particularly in Manuscript O, the same manuscript from which these data were obtained. *Trago* also appears in LBT three times. But rather than the alternation *trago~trayo* that Malkiel and Lloyd refer to, in this text *trago* alternates with *traygo* as we see in this excerpt presented in (9):

(9)  
% yo en mj espynazo les *trago* mucha leña | *traygo* les la faryna que comen de la açaña  

(LBT 21r)  

So, rather than the competing forms mentioned earlier, in Castilian all evidence points to the merely sporadic use of *trago*. As such, it cannot be considered influential in the analogical change *trayo > traigo*.

The next verb to be analyzed is *caer*. Forms of *caer* with the velar insert are not documented in the texts of this corpus until the 14th century (see Table 3.4a). This seems to indicate that the spread of */g/ to *caigo* is slightly later than for *traigo*. Nevertheless, Menéndez Pidal (1964: 358) finds *kaigamus* in the *Glosas Emilianenses*, which are believed to be from the 10th or 11th century. Although this form has been disputed, with many scholars believing that the orthographic *g* represents a palatal */j/ as it apparently does in the attestation of *segamus* in another gloss on the same text (cf. Ridruejo 1998: 729), this form may indeed be a valid attestation of the early insertion of the velar. Given the purported Riojan origin of the *Glosas,*
this information would also coincide with a dialectal trait that we have seen in several other eastern texts, the prevalent use of the velar insert.\textsuperscript{23}

Returning to the texts of this corpus, forms with /g/ are attested a total of seven times in IJ8. While the total number of forms without /g/ are not tallied for the entire 14th century, in this text itself they are attested and actually predominate as \textit{caya} and its variants appear 11 times. These two passages from IJ8 illustrate the variation:

(10)

\begin{enumerate}[(a)]
\item por nuestro grado perezcriemos et no l nos leuasse dios aesta \textit{tierra que} no \textit{cayam-} l os en cuchieillo/ et nuestras mugeres \& nuestros fijos sean leuados catiuos/. (IJ8 20r)
\item Guarda \textit{que} l no \textit{caygas} en maiamiento de gafedat \l mas \textit{que} fagas qua`nto mostraren los sacer- \l dotes del linage de leui/ segunt lo \textit{que} mande \l aeillos et cumple \l lo. (IJ8 46r)
\end{enumerate}

In the 15th century, forms with /g/ are much more prevalent. They appear in 11 texts for a total of 48 occurrences. Forms with /g/ predominate numerically as forms without /g/ are found a total of 32 times in 13 texts. Of the 17 texts in which relevant forms are attested, four use forms with /g/ exclusively (24%), six use forms without /g/ exclusively (35%), variation between \textit{caya} and \textit{cayga} is found in seven of them (41%). Contrasting these numbers for those of \textit{traer}, we see

\textsuperscript{23} Although this topic goes beyond the scope of the present study, it would be worthwhile to investigate possible eastern influence in the spread of the velar insert in Castilian through the analysis of pre-Alfonsine and pre-Heredian texts. In his study of the -\textit{ie} imperfect using these types of documents, Imhoff (2000) finds evidence that suggests a more bilateral dialect contact between the two geographic variants than what has been traditionally believed.
that forms of *caer* with /g/ occur more often as a percentage of total relevant forms attested as 60% of forms attested for *caer* have /g/ vs. 46% for forms of *traer* with /g/. However, exclusive use of forms like *traigo* by text in the 15th century is higher than exclusive use of *caigo*, 46% vs. 24%, respectively. Additionally, overall frequency of forms with /g/ is higher for *traer* than for *caer*, 96 vs. 48. In other words, forms like *traigo* occur twice as often as forms like *caigo*.

Likewise, since the usage of forms with /g/ appears later in *caer* than in *traer* in this corpus, overall the evidence suggests that *traer* is the leader form.

Forms of the verb *oír* with the velar insert also appear in the 14th century, in two texts for a total of 12 occurrences (see Table 3.4a). These two texts (AC5, IJ8) show variation with forms without /g/. In the 15th century, analogical forms with the velar insert /g/ appear much more frequently, being attested in 11 texts for a total of 36 occurrences. Etymological forms dominate overall, however, as they are attested a total of 51 times in 14 texts. Of the 21 texts in which relevant forms are found, seven use analogical forms exclusively (33%), 10 use etymological forms exclusively (48%), while the remaining four show variation (19%). The variation between forms with /g/ and those without /g/ can be appreciated in these two passages from CBO:

(11)

a. Agora lo que yo fablo a la tierra ruego que oyán | las palabras de mi boca. (CBO 79r)

b. E quien oreJas tyene oyga | E por obra yuen lo ponga que yo | mucho mas me Alargara (CBO 30r-30v)

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24 If data from GOR are extracted from the results for both verbs, the percentage of forms with /g/ is 69% for *caer* and 61% for *traer*.
The exclusive use of forms with /g/ in the verb *oír* in texts from the 15th century (33%) is higher than the 24% revealed for *caer* in the same century. However, attachment to old forms is stronger in *oír* than in *caer* as 48% of the 15th-century texts make exclusive use of forms like *oya* vs. 35% for forms like *caya*. Likewise, analogical forms with /g/ occur more frequently and with a higher percentage of total attested forms in *caer* vs. *oír*. Of the 80 total relevant forms attested for *caer*, 48 have /g/ (60%). Relevant forms of *oír* occur 87 times; 36 of those occurrences display /g/ (41%).

The last verb to be analyzed in this study is the verb *huir*, which appears seven times with analogical /g/ in the 14th century in the text IJ8 (see Table 3.4a). In this same text, five occurrences of etymological *fuya* are also attested. In the 15th century, *huir* appears with the velar insert in seven texts for a total of 10 occurrences. Of these seven texts, five show variation with etymological *huyo*, *huya*, which dominate overall. Note the variation in C01 presented in (12):

(12)

a. *Por dios que huygas* de ser traydo l en lenguas: que al muy deuoto llaman ypocrita:

   (C01 64v)

b. *Parmeno bien hablas. en mi coraçon estas. assi se haga. hu- | yamos la muerte que*

   *somos moços.* (C01 74r)

The high incidence of variation with *huya* in 15th-century texts which display *huiga*, in addition to the lower overall frequency of analogical forms, points to the unstable position the velar insert held in this verb. In fact, in Modern Spanish, forms with /g/ do not survive in the standard. Why is this so?
Well, we can be certain that the reason is not as Malkiel (1974: 339) suggests because ‘huigo appeared on the scene far too late to be rammed through a network of defenses available to conservative speakers and writers of the 17th century’. As shown in the data, huigo appears at roughly the same time as oigo. Moreover, as evidenced in Correas’ grammar, huigo was considered an acceptable variant of huyo as late as the first quarter of the 17th century (1625 [1954]: 299). A more appropriate explanation for the demise of huigo is that perhaps, as Lloyd (1987: 353) points out, oigo ‘I hear’ would have support from digo ‘I say’. Conversely, huyo (as opposed to huigo), would be supported by semi-learned verbs in -tribuyo, -stituyo and arguyo (Malkiel 1974: 338).

In addition to the information provided in the previously analyzed verbs, the analysis of this corpus of texts also provides glimpses of other verb forms in which /g/ is inserted after stem-final yod (see Table 3.4b). The influence of the /g/ on verbs like creer, leer, and reír and its compounds is seen in the attested forms leyga (IJ8) from the 14th century and sonrrygo (BAE) from the 15th. The influence of the velar insert on -uir verbs other than huir is seen in the form destruyga (IJ8) as early as the 14th century. The beginning of the extension of /g/ to raer,

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25 The form destruyga is also found in the 15th-century text TR2, which does not form part of the corpus. Evidence from this text sheds light on the question of the lack of triumph of the velar insert in learned verbs ending in -uyo. In TR2 numerous forms in hue- (standard fue-) are also found (e.g. huera, huesemos). In contrast, in TR1, the copy of the text selected to form part of the general corpus, the form of destruir appears as destruya (without /g/) and all perfect forms of ser/ir appear with fue- except in one instance. Since /f/ had become the standard urban pronunciation before /ue/ by the 15th century (Penny 2002: 92-93), this suggests that forms such
which is now accepted in the standard, is also witnessed as early as the 14th century in rayga
(IJ8) as well as in the 15th century in rraygas (CMN). No examples were found of the influence of the velar insert on royo, haya, or vaya, which may be later phenomena.

4. Model of lexical diffusion

The theory of lexical diffusion proposes that while sound change is abrupt, the diffusion of the change in the speaker’s vocabulary is gradual. In other words, a change arises in a small subset of morphemes and affects the relevant morphemes containing the sound in succession (McMahon 1994: 50, Wang 1969). Although the diffusionist theory was originally formulated to explain sound change, it can be applied to morphological change since the gradual view of linguistic change is not applicable to those of a non-phonetic nature, which can only proceed from X to Y with no intervening steps. The similarities between this model of sound change and other non-phonetic changes have been observed for some time; cf. Wang (1969: 17-18). Writing at the early part of the last century, Sturtevant, for example, observes: ‘[The] spread of a sound change from word to word closely resembles analogical change; the chief difference is that in analogical change the association groups are based upon meaning, while in this case the groups are based upon form’ (1961: 80).

Returning to the topic that concerns us here, we have seen that the adoption of the velar insert proceeded along the lines of lexical diffusion. The leader forms tengo, vengo, and pongo adopted the /g/ in preliterary times. The innovation then spread to other verbs that also belonged as destruiga were characteristic of more popular speech, and not of the standard language, thus supporting the maintenance of the -uyo ending in these learned verbs.

26 This contrasts with the Neogrammarian model that proposes that regular sound change is phonetically gradual and lexically abrupt. For more, see Wang (1969), McMahon (1994: 50-68).
to the second and third conjugations and shared other traits with the leader verbs. While *tengo*,
*vengo*, and *pongo* had a nasal in syllable-final position, the next major verb affected had a liquid
/l/ in that position (e.g. *salgo*), nasals and liquids occupying adjacent positions on the scale of
sonority in Spanish (Hualde 2005: 71-72). The change then spread to other verbs with a liquid in
syllable-final position (e.g. *fiergo*), and still later to others that also contained a continuant, e.g.
the glide /j/ as in *traigo* or /s/ as in *asgo*. In fact, if one consults a list of the 500 most frequent
words in the Spanish language and the -er and -ir verbs that occur among them, the velar insert
can be seen to have affected a large portion of verbs that exhibit this phonetic structure, i.e. a
stem-final continuant in form 1 of the present indicative and all forms of the present
subjunctive.27 While in some the velar has persisted (e.g. *tengo, vengo, pongo, salgo, valgo, traigo, caigo, oigo*), in others it was eventually lost or never became fully entrenched in the
paradigm in Castilian (e.g. *soler, suelgo, creer, creigo; leer leigo*). The only popular verbs of the
list that exhibit the same structure but which do not adopt the velar insert are *querer, morir*, and
*correr*. In all three instances, the forms with /g/ would have displayed an alveolar tap in stem-
final position. Given the eventual demise of *fiergo* in Castilian, this phonetic context may not
have been favorable to the adoption of /g/ in that variety. An additional factor in the case of

27 See Juilland and Chang-Rodríguez (1964: 385-396). Many of the most frequently used -er and
-ir verbs display some form of irregularity in first person, e.g. verbs with final /j/ (*soy, voy*),
verbs that follow the inchoative pattern (*parezco, conozco, produzco, ofrezco, nazco*), verbs with
an etymological /g/ that is not present in the infinitive, e.g. *hago, digo*, and verbs with the velar
insert. It is interesting to note that the only verbs in Modern Spanish containing the velar insert
that do not figure among the 500 most frequent words of the Spanish language are obsolescent
*asir* and variable *raer* and *roer*. 
correr and morir could have been their relatively infrequent use in the pertinent verb forms, i.e. first-person present indicative and present subjunctive (see Juillard and Chang-Rodríguez 1964: s.vv.). Alternatively, the change may simply have ceased to be operative before these verbs were affected.

To view the chronological progress of the lexical diffusion of the insertion of /g/ in the verbs treated in our analysis (3.1-3.4), we can see that in the 13th century, the following verb forms with /g/ were documented (conflated here for convenience in first-person-singular indicative form): tuelgo, salgo, falgo, and fiergo in Castilian texts (four verbs), as well as valgo, prengo, and traigo in those of Navarro-Aragonese. In the 14th century, the /g/ is attested in a greater number of verbs: tuelgo, salgo, valgo, fiergo, asgo, suelgo, traigo, and oigo in Castilian texts (eight verbs), as well as prengo, duelgo, caigo, and huigo in Navarro-Aragonese. In the 15th century, the velar insert is attested in a still greater number of verbs in Castilian (nine): tuelgo, salgo, valgo, suelgo, duelgo, traigo, caigo, oigo, huigo. This pattern follows what Wang (1969: 16) proposes to be true of lexical diffusion: ‘As the change continues to operate, an increasing portion of the relevant morphemes will become affected’. However, it is also true that the longer a change takes to run its course, the larger the likelihood that a competing change will be encountered (1969: 11).

Competing forces could plausibly include a decrease in the overall number of -er and -ir verbs with /g/. As discussed above (3.1), while verbs such as those that develop from Latin -NGERE as well as aducir, cocer, and esparcir persist with etymological /g/ until the 15th century, their frequency decreases from century to century (see Tables 3.1b-3.1d). Likewise, beginning in the 15th century, analogical forms without /g/ are attested in relatively large numbers (see Table 3.1e). As these verbs succumbed to pressure from their own paradigms to
eliminate the /g/ (or from other conjugational patterns in the case of verbs in -ucir), they provided one less model for analogical influence, or conversely, a model for /g/-dropping. Additionally, the eventual demise of toller had the effect of further reducing the number of verbs with -go, -ga. Thus, the velar insert was unable to triumph in certain verbs that it had affected (e.g. soler, doler) and lost steam before affecting other -er and -ir verbs with stem-final continuants. The decrease in the pattern stem-final consonant + /g/ in -er and -ir verbs is probably also the reason that the adoption of /g/ only remains productive after the 14th century in verbs whose stem does not end in a consonant (e.g. huigo, destruigo, raigo, haiga, vaiga in Castilian). The fact that the /g/ remains in digo, hago, and yago, coupled with the example of traigo, caigo, oigo, provided a continued model of analogy for this subgroup of verbs.

5. Conclusions

To summarize, the principal contribution of this study is that of dating the spread of the velar insert throughout the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. The verb salir shows variation salo~salgo already in the 13th century, with a preference for salgo. Valer, in imitation of salir, adopts the /g/ later with a high incidence of variation persisting even through the 15th century. The beginning of the spread of /g/ to asir is seen in the 14th century, much earlier than had previously been thought. Similarly, the spread of the velar insert to traer, caer, and oir can no longer be considered a principally post-medieval phenomenon as forms with /g/ are heavily

28 Another competing force against the spread of the velar insert would be the tendency toward paradigmatic balance in the verbs themselves. While on the one hand, morphological change favors forms that are more marked, the desire for uniformity of form and function, on the other hand, often suppresses allomorphic variation. For more on these two contrary forces, see Elvira (1998: 216-227).
attested in the 14th and 15th centuries with variation persisting longer and to a greater degree in
caer and oír than in traer, the leader form. In fact, it is no longer possible to say that the
generalization of /g/ is slower in traer than in valer as the adoption of the consonant occurs at
roughly the same time in the two verbs and variation persists in valer longer than in traer.
Throughout this analysis, we have witnessed a particularly high incidence of the early spread of
/g/ in eastern texts. While here we have concentrated on the lexical diffusion of the velar insert in
medieval Spanish, the possible geographic diffusion of the change from east to west needs to be
examined in order to more fully explain the relationship between this linguistic trait and the
development of the Castilian verb forms.
Appendix A: Electronic Sources

In Corfis and O’Neill (1997):


In Herrera and González de Fauve (1997):


SUM: Sumario de la medicina con un compendio sobre las pestíferas bubas, Madrid: Nacional I-1169.

In Kasten, Nitti, and Jonxis-Henkemans (1997):


ALB: Canones de Albateni, Paris: Arsenal 8322.

AST: Libros del saber de astronomía, Madrid: Universitaria 156.


GE1: General estoria I, Madrid: Nacional MS. 816.


JUZ: Judizios de las estrellas, Madrid: Nacional MS. 3065.


29 Texts whose abbreviation appears in italics did not form part of the principal corpus, but rather were used for purposes of comparison.
In Nitti and Kasten (1997):

CQ1: *Crónica de los conqueridores I*, Madrid: Nacional MS. 2211.

CQ2: *Crónica de los conqueridores II*, Madrid: Nacional MS. 10134 bis.


GC1: *Grant crónica de Espanya I*, Madrid: Nacional MS. 10133.


In O’Neill (1999):


AC5: *Fuero real; Leyes del estilo*, Madrid: Nacional MS. 5764.

ALX: *Libro de Alexandre*, Madrid: Nacional MS. Vit. 5-10.

BAE: *Cancionero de Baena* (Dutton PN1), Paris: Nationale Esp. 37.


CID: *Poema de Mío Cid*, Madrid: Nacional MS. Vit. 7-17.

CLV: Claros varones de Castilla, Madrid: Nacional I-1569.

CMN: Arte complida de cirugía (Cirugía menor), Madrid: Nacional MS. 2165.


DIV: Tratado de adivinar y de magia, Madrid: Nacional MS. 6401.

DON: Libro de las donas, Escorial: Monasterio h.III.20.

ENC: Cancionero de las obras de Juan del Encina (Dutton 96JE), Madrid: Academia Española I-8.


HER: Los doze trabajos de Hércules, Madrid: Nacional MS. 27.


LBS: Libro de buen amor-S, Salamanca: Universitaria 2497.

LBT: Libro de buen amor-T, Madrid: Nacional MS. Vit. 6-1.


MON: Libro de la montería, Escorial: Monasterio Y.II.19.

NOV: Fuero de la Novenera, Salamanca: Universitaria 2652.

PAL: Libro de Palladio, Madrid: Nacional MS. 10211.

PER: Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados (perplejos), Madrid: Nacional MS. 10239.

PN5: Cancionero castellano de París (Dutton PN5), Paris: Nationale Esp. 227.

PRS: Cancionero de París (Dutton PN12), Paris: Nationale Esp. 313.


SL3: Guerra de Jugurtha, Escorial: Monasterio g.III.11.


TR1: Triunfo de amor, Madrid: Nacional MS. 22019.

TR2: Triunfo de amor, Seville: Colombina 5-3-20.

TRS: Cuento de Tristán de Leonis, Rome: Vatican 6428.

ULT: Gran conquista de Ultramar, Madrid: Nacional MS. 1187.


Appendix B: Electronic Sources by Century

13th Century: ACE, ALB, AST, BUR, EE1, EE2, FGN, FJZ, FNV, GE1, GE4, JUZ, LAP, LEY, MOA, PIC

14th Century: AC1, AC5, ALX, CD1, CD2, CID, IJ8, LBG, LBS, LBT, LCB, LEO, MON, NOV, REY, SPC, TRS, ULI

14th-century Aragonese texts: CQ1, CQ2, FAR, FYO, GC1, LAT, PAL, SEC, TUC, TUY, PL1

15th Century: BAE, C01, CBO, CIR, CIS, CLV, CMN, CUZ, DAN, DIV, DON, ENC, G&G, GOR, HER, IMI, MEL, OLI, PER, PN5, PRS, SL3, SUM, TR1, TR2, VAS, Y89

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30 Although the SPDT of EE2 is not confirmed as definitely falling within the 13th century, evidence from this source is included with the 13th-century data given the fact that the text forms part of the Alfonsin corpus and as such is deemed more trustworthy as a linguistic source representative of the 13th century.

31 The SPDT of LBS is 1400-1450, however, it is included with the 14th-century texts due to its relationship with LBG and LBT. Relevant variations among the manuscript copies are noted in the analysis.

32 The terminus a quo for DON dates from the last decade of the 14th century.
The data presented in the tables of this appendix reflect first-person singular of the present indicative and present subjunctive forms of the verbs analyzed, as well as their compounds. All persons and orthographic variants have been conflated under the lemma reflecting the forms with /g/ and the forms without /g/. The data were obtained from the electronic files of the respective text, departing from the alphabetical index. As many verbs forms in Old Spanish shared a common spelling, e.g. *cayo* ‘I fall’ and *cayo* ‘he/she/it fell’, *traya* ‘I/he/she/it used to bring’ and *traya* ‘that I/he/she/it may bring’, and indeed many verb forms share(d) spellings with words of other lexical categories, e.g. *sala* ‘room’ and *sala* ‘that I/he/she/it may leave’, the texts themselves were analyzed in these cases for context cues indicating the correct interpretation of the form in order to present the most accurate data possible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>13th c.</th>
<th>14th c.</th>
<th>15th c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>valer</strong></td>
<td>FGN:8, FNV:5</td>
<td>CD1:3, IJ8:1, NOV:1, TRS:2</td>
<td>BAE:2, CLV:1, CMN:4, DON:2, ENC:2, G&amp;G:2, IMI:2, MEL:1, PN5:2, PRS:2, SUM:1, TR1:2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Etymological forms with /g/</th>
<th>Texts and occurrences: 13th-century</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-NGERE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceñir: cing-</td>
<td>EE1:2, EE2:1, FGN:2, FNV:2, GE1:1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-streñir: -string-</td>
<td>FGN:1, FJZ:18, LEY:2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tañer: tang-</td>
<td>ALB:1, AST:11, BUR:2, EE1:2, EE2:4, GE1:2, GE4:1, LAP:3, LEY:2, MOA:7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teñir: ting-</td>
<td>GE1:2, GE4:1, MOA:1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for –NGERE in 13th century</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aducir: adug-</td>
<td>ACE:1, AST:1, BUR:5, EE2:1, FGN:22, FNV:14, GE1:10, GE4:14, LEY:4</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocer: cog--cueg-</td>
<td>GE1:4, LAP:1, LEY:1, MOA:66</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esparcir: esparg-</td>
<td>EE1:1, MOA:1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for ‘Other’ in 13th century</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total occurrences of etymological forms with /g/: 13th century 262
## Table 3.1c

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Etymological forms with /g/</th>
<th>Texts and occurrences: 14th-century</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-NGERE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceñir: cing-</td>
<td>ALX:1, IJ8:1, SPC:1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-streñir: -string-</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teñir: ting-</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Total for –NGERE in 14th century**: 62

| **Other:**                 |                                     |        |
| aducir: adug-              | ALX:1, CID:4, LBG:1, LBS:1, LBT:1, NOV:1, SPC:12 | 21     |
| cocer: cog--cueg-          | IJ8:4, LCB:3, MON:2                  | 9      |
| esparcir: esparg-          | IJ8:1                                | 1      |

**Total for ‘Other’ in 14th century**: 78

**Total occurrences of etymological forms with /g/: 14th century**: 140

## Table 3.1d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Etymological forms with /g/</th>
<th>Texts and occurrences: 15th-century</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-NGERE:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceñir: cing-</td>
<td>BAE:1, ENC:2, GOR:2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-streñir: -string-</td>
<td>BAE:2, GOR:2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tañer: tang-</td>
<td>BAE:3, C01:1, CMN:18, GOR:2, PER:1, SL3:1, Y89:1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teñir: ting-</td>
<td>GOR:1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

**Total for –NGERE in 15th century**: 37

| **Other:**                 |                                     |        |
| -ducir: -dug-             | CIS:1, PN5:1                        | 2      |
| cocer: cog--cueg-         | CIR:1, CIS:1, ENC:2, GOR:25         | 29     |
| esparcir: esparg-         |                                     | 0      |
| yacer: yag-               | BAE:6, CMN:9                         | 15     |

**Total for ‘Other’ in 15th century**: 46

**Total occurrences of etymological forms with /g/: 15th century**: 83
Table 3.1e

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-etymological forms (formerly with /g/)</th>
<th>Texts and occurrences: 15th-century</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-NGERE:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ceñir: ciñ-</td>
<td>ENC:2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>-streñir: -striñ-</td>
<td>CLV:4, CMN:2, CUZ:1, GOR:4, MEL:1, SUM:1</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>tañer: tañ-</td>
<td>ENC:2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teñir: tiñ-</td>
<td>GOR:2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for -NGERE in 15th century</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(d)ucir: -(d)ucz--~-(d)uzg-</td>
<td>CIS:1, CMN:1, IMI:2, PER:1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>cocer: coz--~cuez-</td>
<td>ENC:2, GOR:25, SUM:2</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>esparcir: esparz-</td>
<td>CMN:2, CUZ:1, ENC:1</td>
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<td>yacer: yaz-</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total for ‘Other’ in 15th century</strong></td>
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<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total occurrences of non-etymological forms: 15th century</strong></td>
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<td>57</td>
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Table 3.2

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<th>Texts and occurrences</th>
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<td>fallg-</td>
<td>13th c.</td>
<td>EE2:1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14th c.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>15th c.</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ferir</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>fierg--firc-</td>
<td>13th c.</td>
<td>AST:1, FGN:7, FNV:2, MOA:1</td>
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<td>14th c.</td>
<td>CID:2, IJ8:4</td>
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<td>15th c.</td>
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<td><strong>prender</strong></td>
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<td>preng-</td>
<td>13th c.</td>
<td>FGN:24, FNV:3</td>
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<td>14th c.</td>
<td>IJ8:12, NOV:11</td>
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Table 3.3

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<th>Verb</th>
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<td>asg-</td>
<td>13\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
<td>LBT:1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>15\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>doler</td>
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<tr>
<td>dolg-</td>
<td>13\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
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<td>~duelg-</td>
<td>14\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
<td>IJ8:2</td>
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<td>15\textsuperscript{th} c.</td>
<td>G&amp;G:5, IMI:1</td>
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<td>~suelg-</td>
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Table 3.4a

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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Texts and occurrences</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tr>
<td>caer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15th c.</td>
<td>C01:3, CBO:3, CIR:2, CIS:2, CMN:15, CUZ:3, DON:9, GOR:1, IMI:8, PN5:1, SL3:1</td>
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<td>cay-</td>
<td>13th c.</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>15th c.</td>
<td>BAE:6, C01:1, CBO:1, CMN:2, DON:1, ENC:2, GOR:11, HER:1, IMI:1, MEL:1, PER:1, PN5:2, Y89:2</td>
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<td>huir</td>
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<td>IJ8:7</td>
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<td>FGN:1</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>15th c.</td>
<td>BAE:7, C01:2, CBO:1, CIR:1, CIS:1, ENC:20, GOR:51, HER:2, MEL:10, PN5:4, PRS:1, SUM:3, Y89:8</td>
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34 Etymological forms of *huir* presented are only those documented in texts which displayed analogical forms. Documentation of etymological forms was not pursued across the entire corpus.
Table 3.4b

<table>
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<td>leer</td>
<td>14th c.</td>
<td>IJ8:1</td>
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<td>15th c.</td>
<td>BAE:1</td>
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