OLD SPANISH \textit{ASSECHAR} AND ITS VARIANTS

I. The Problem

THE reduction, by Captain John Stevens\textsuperscript{1} (followed, to some extent, by Pedro Pineda\textsuperscript{2}) and later, perhaps independently, by Cabrera,\textsuperscript{3} of Sp. \textit{acechar} “to peep curiously from a hidden place” to Lat. \textit{assectāri} “to follow tacitly” and its identification, by Diez\textsuperscript{4} and Cuervo,\textsuperscript{5} with OSp. \textit{assechar} and OPtg. \textit{asseitar} have been accepted by numerous earlier philologists, including Monlau,\textsuperscript{6} the

\textsuperscript{1} Captain John Stevens, \textit{A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish}, London, 1726: \textit{acechar} “to watch, to pry, to peep into others’ actions. From the Latin \textit{sector} ‘to follow.’ ”

\textsuperscript{2} In his Spanish-English dictionary (London, 1740), Pineda developed \textit{acechar} from \textit{seguor}.


\textsuperscript{4} F. Diez, \textit{Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen}, Bonn, 1853, p. 450; 5th ed., Bonn, 1887, p. 413 (there are no addenda by A. Scheler in the appended supplement).

\textsuperscript{5} R. J. Cuervo, \textit{Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana}, 2 vols., Paris, 1886–1893, I, 100–101: “\textit{Acechar} y \textit{asechar} son formas divergentes de un solo tipo latino \textit{assectāri} ‘seguir constantemente,’ el cual se tomaba ya en mala parte en la decadencia; de aquí mismo el port. \textit{asseitar}. La conexión en el sentido es obvia: de ‘seguir,’ ‘perseguir,’ se viene a \textit{asechar}; y de aquí a ‘mirar con curiosidad desde paraje oculto,’ como que ésta es una de las circunstancias que acompañan la asechanza. La distinción de las dos aplicaciones mediante formas diferentes no data de los primeros tiempos de la lengua; úsanse indistintamente las dos ortografías para una y otra acepción.”

Marquis de Valmar, Pagés, Isaza, Alemany Bolufer, Förster, and Múgica. This theory has been supported with varying enthusiasm: hesitatingly by Körtig, implicitly by Ford, and emphatically by Meyer-Lübke; it has lately been adhered to by Richardson and Corominas. Reinhardstettner and Cornu limited themselves to endorsing the derivation of *assetarum from *assetāri; Nunes linked OGal. asseitar on one occasion to *assetāre and on another occasion to *sectāre. A few outstanding specialists seem to have evaded the issue; others, including Menéndez Pidal,

8 A. de Pagés, Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana, 5 vols., I, 60a.
10 J. Alemany Bolufer, Diccionario de la lengua española, Barcelona, 1917, pp. 20, 108; no information was found in the same writer's Estudio elemental de gramática histórica de la lengua española, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1911, p. 48.
12 P. de Múgica, Gramática del castellano antiguo, Berlin, 1891, p. 49.
13 G. Körtig, Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch, Paderborn, 1891, No. 824. In the subsequent editions, the sympathy of the scholar seems to have shifted to Baist's hypothesis; see note 26.
14 J. D. M. Ford, "The Old Spanish Sibilants," [Harvard] Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, VII, 40, 104, 106, with references to assechanças as found in the 15th century lapidary edited by Vollmoller and in El laberinto amoroso; the glossary to Old Spanish Readings, Boston, 1911, failed to give Ford an opportunity to pronounce on the question again.
15 Perhaps for the first time, in an editorial note in Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, II, p. 848: *assetāri > acechar; the fascicle appeared ca. 1901. In the Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1935, No. 719: *assetāre "mit den Augen verfolgen." There is, of course, no need to assume with Meyer-Lübke that the shift of meaning occurred in the Vulgar Latin period.
16 H. B. Richardson, An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor of Juan Ruiz, New Haven, 1930, p. 27; J. M. Aguado, Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, poeta castellano del siglo XIV, Madrid, 1929, p. 219, erroneously connects *sectāri with secó, sectus.
21 Idem, Crestomatia Arcaica, 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1921, pp. 418, 553, with reference to one of Alfonso the Learned's Cantigas.
22 There is no mention of the word here studied in the indexes to the two editions of F. Hanssen's grammar. Surprising is the absence of acechar, acechar rom the lists of doublets in C. Michaëlis [de Vasconcelos], Romanische Wort-
hesitated for a while to state their opinions until they thought they were able to account for the shift -ss- > -ç-. The Academy’s *Diccionario histórico* (1933) is willing to concede the connection of *asexchar* with *asectári*, yet withholds comment on the etymology of *acechar*; in this it shows greater restraint than the twelfth edition of the Academy’s *Standard Dictionary* (1884), which virtually identified the bases of *as(s)echar* and *acechar*. Not unlike the compilers of the *Diccionario histórico*, Baist, years ago, was inclined to dissociate *asexchar* from *acechar*; on one occasion, Baist ventured to propose *ad-circulare* as a base for *acechar*; although he himself did not attach undue importance to this conjecture, he found a strong supporter in Körtig and a more cautious one in *schöpfung*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 233–234, 279–280, the more so as differentiation of meaning has made the two descendants of *asectári* genuine “Scheidewörter.” No reference to them was discovered in the lexical studies of that author which appeared in the *Revista Lusitana*.

Menéndez Pidal was silent on the word in the earlier editions of his grammar; he is outspoken in the edition of 1941, in which he classes the substitution of -ce- for -sse- as an Andalusian trait (p. 198). For criticism of this interpretation, see the last chapters of the present essay.

A. Alonso, “Trueques de sibilantes en antiguo español,” *NRFH*, I, 2, correctly observes the weakness of Menéndez Pidal’s hypothesis (the appearance of *acechar* antedates Andalusian *ceceo*), but supplies an explanation which is even less tenable: “Como para mescolanza, frente a aechar y mezclar, creo en una disimulación con la z del sujeto.” The relationship *acechar*: *asechanza*, implicitly basic to that author’s assumption, was not peculiar to Old Spanish. There are several comparable inaccuracies of dating and derivation in Alonso’s note which will be discussed elsewhere.


In a short note in *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, 580, Baist admitted that *asechar* and *acechar* had been confused by some writers, but declared them of different origin. Med. Lat. *circulare* “quærere” (instead of classical *circulári*) was cited from Du Cange. In sharp contrast to Menéndez Pidal’s recently stated opinion, Baist declared: “Übertragung aus einem der Dialekte, die ç und s vermengen, ist nicht anzunehmen.” Basic to Baist’s theory was the assumption that the shift *sarculu* > *sacho* was phonologically regular; *cercha* and *cicercha* were dismissed as importations from France and Italy, respectively (similarly in Gröber’s *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., I, 903). This argument is no longer tenable; see P. E. Guarnerio, *Fonologia romanza*, Milan, 1918, p. 465. Meyer-Lübke, in *REW*, I No. 719, rightly rejected Baist’s hypothesis; yet his remark: “Adcirculäre scheitert an der ptg. Form” evinces careless reading of Baist’s note.

In the second and the third editions of the *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, Paderborn, 1901 and 1907, Körtig continued to mention Diez’s etymon, but concomitantly made a flattering reference to Baist’s note: “Die Ableitung ist scharfsinnig und durchaus annehmbar.”
Tallgren-Tuulio. The explanations of Covarrubias, who suggested *echar* or an Arabic formation as alternative etyma, and of the compilers of the *Diccionario de autoridades* who, impressed by a parallel incidentally drawn by Covarrubias, posited *insidiae, -ārum* "ambush" as the source of *as(s)enchantas*, are no longer debatable. The etymological analysis by Barcia, Echegaray,


28 See S. de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1673–1674, vol. I, fol. 68r: *ascechar* vel *asechar* "Lat. capto, insidior. El que azecha, va cosido con la tierra y echado por no ser visto, y esta misma etimología tienen las insidias, ab insedendo; por estar sentados y escondidos los de las tales ascehanças. Pero dizien ser Arábigo, del verbo haze, que vale espírar." There was no mention of the word in J. de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*, to judge by J. F. Montesinos’ index to his edition of that text. *Ascechar, acechar* were absent from the lists of Arabisms prepared by B. Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1674, fols. 87r–88r, and by Fr. López Tamariz and Alonzo del Castillo (incorporated by G. Mayán y Siscar in his *Orígenes de la lengua española*, Madrid, 1737, II, 235–256); Mayán y Siscar himself failed to class *acechar* under the heading *s > c* (I, 149).

The occasional spelling with *-ze-* in preference to *-ce-* seems to indicate fanciful association with words of Arabic ancestry; *-ce-* and *-ze-* began to be confused toward the end of the 16th century and the fashion of generalizing the graph *-ze-* reached its peak in the early seventeenth century; see R. J. Cuervo, *Disquisiciones filológicas*, 2 vols., Bogotá, 1939, I, 173–183, and J. Saroñhandy, "Remarques sur la phonétique du ç et du z en ancien espagnol," *BH* i, IV, 200.

29 *Diccionario de autoridades*, I, p. 439b, s. v. *ascehanza*: "El origen de esta palabra viene del lat. *insidiae*, y así se debe escribir con dos ss, y no con c o con z, como se halla en algunos autores; y aunque Covarr[ubias']* la trae en una parte con c, diéndole *acehanzas*, después en la voz *ascechar* la escribe con dos ss, diéndole *ascehanzas*, respecto de que no sale del verbo *acechar*, que vale *atisbar* y *mirar con particular cuidado*, sino de *ascechar*, que es *poner celadas."


31 R. Barcia, *Primer diccionario general etimológico de la lengua española*, I, 94, divided, with Covarrubias, *acechar* into *ad* and *echar*.

32 E. de Echegaray, *Diccionario general etimológico de la lengua española*, Madrid, 1887–1889, I, 50, mentioned Barcia’s and Cuervo’s explanations, stating his inability to understand the shift *assectārī* > *acechar*, apparently on the phonological side.
and Martínez Abellán is wholly inadequate. García de Diego has lately been in doubt whether the twin word families should be retraced to *assectārī or to *assedīāre; the latter equation testifies to his special interest in the sporadic development [di] > [č]. This doubt was shared by Espinosa Jr. The discovery of the variant asseitar in Old Portuguese, in Old Galician (beside enxeitar), and in Old Aragonese rules out *assedīāre even as a marginally acceptable base. It is a matter of interest that two close synonyms are.

33 P. Martínez Abellán, Diccionario general de ortografía, homología y régimen, Madrid, n. d., first connected acechar with Arab. azeč “vitriol” (I, 49), later with assectārī (II, 25); he persisted in regarding asechar as a compound of ad and echar. Sp. aceche “vitriol,” produced by the Dicc. hist. from the Libro de la montería and the Libro de la caça de aves, goes back to Arab. az-zāq; see A. Steiger, Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano, Madrid, 1932, pp. 194, 332; the etymology was known as early as Rosal, whose manuscript dictionary was consulted by L. de Egullaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental, Granada, 1886, p. 17. Acechar was explained as a cross of asechar with an Arabic word by E. H. Tuttle, MLR, XVII, 79–80.

34 V. García de Diego, Contribución al diccionario hispánico etimológico, Madrid, 1923, p. 56. The possibility of a merger of assectārī and *assedīāre was envisaged; it is known that contamination is one of the favorite assumptions of that writer. Previously, García de Diego, in a not very carefully worded statement in Elementos de gramática histórica gallega, Burgos, [1909], pp. 39, 167, had traced Gal. ajejo to [*] assediou and enjejar to [*] insediare; why not to insediārī, a genuine Latin formation? The derivation from *assedīāre, incidentally, was first proposed by Ayala Manrique, Tesoro de la lengua castellana (MS of the year 1693) on the basis of the spelling of assechānas then prevalent; see S. Gili Gaya, Tesoro lexicográfico, vol. I (Madrid, 1947), s. v.

35 See Contribución, s. v. radius.


37 The existence of enxeitar was first pointed out by Baist. According to L. Carré Alvarellos, Diccionario galego-castelán, 2 vols., La Coruña, 1928, I, 190, aseitar and aseitamento are obsolete.

38 See Biblia medieval romanceada, edd. A. Castro, A. Millares Carlo, and A. J. Battistessa, Buenos Aires, 1927, Numeri, xxxv, 20: “Si por malquerencia empuxare ombre a alguno o echara sobrel alguna cosa aseytandolo.” In Castro’s introduction, MS Esc. I-8 is characterized as belonging to the 15th century and reproducing a 13th century original, the oldest Bible translation extant according to S. Berger and identified by Solalinde as a source of the General estoria; the Aragonese features are attributed to the scribe (pp. xvi–xvii).

39 The history of Sp. asediār remains to be written; none of the texts from which aedieio and aedieiar are quoted by the Diccionario histórico can be regarded as reflecting medieval usage.
of *assechar, namely *atishbar and *husmear, have also been subjects of considerable speculation among etymologists.

The purpose of the present essay is to demonstrate that the derivation of assechar and acechar from *assectāri is beyond suspicion and, in the course of the argument, to settle several side issues some of which appear no less significant than the problem of the word origin. The areas occupied by the word family in successive periods must be delimited; there is need for a collection of cognates, close and remote; the range of meanings of *assectāri and its relation to sectēri require clarification; the existence of homophones in Hispano-Latin (sectēri "to follow" beside *sectēre "to cut") and in Ibero-Romance (the Luso-Galician products of assectāri and of acceptāre) claims special attention, in the light of researches of Jud, Aebischer, Steiger,

40 Meyer-Lübke, REW², No. 756, quotes Diez's Basque etymology, adding laconically that the Basque word in question is non-existent; he fails to mention the theory of H. Schuchardt (based on material supplied by Cuervo) that *atishbar is a word absorbed from cant and due to the distortion of avistar "to descry, to make out," still widely used in Portuguese; see "Ital. visto, vispo, visco 'munter, leibaft, hurtig,'" ZRPḥ., XL, 608. Schuchardt's theory was rejected by J. Brich, "Etymologien," ZRPḥ., XLI, 585. Steiger offers no comment.

The earliest texts cited by the Diccionario histórico, I, 950, are Lazarillo de Tormes and Ángeles; *atishbar has been wholly omitted by Cuervo in his Diccionario de construcción y régimen. Col. atisba 'atisbo' is quoted by L. Tascón.


V. García de Diego's explanation of aciquatar 'atishbar' as a cross of acechar and *aguatar (from ONav. aquaitar) is visibly unsatisfactory (RFE, XVIII, 1). L. Spitzer, RFE, XVIII, 235–236, was justified in warning against the abuse of the assumption of blends, but his own derivation of aciquatar from *ad-seculare is infelicitous, especially since he bases his argument on *ad-sectare (sic) > Sp. acechar. Aside from the superfluous use of a hypothetical base, there is little wisdom in basing one hazardous identification on another case left unexplained. Assectāri > acechar is a word-history conditioned into a formula; it cannot serve as evidence of a phonological correspondence. The product of *seculare in Old Spanish, incidentally, was seguardar; see HR, XIV, 130–137.

42 J. Jud, "'S'éveiller dans les langues romanes," RLİR, II, 163–207, discusses the conflict between experīri "to experience" and *experīre "to wake up," based on experīscor, experitus.

43 P. Aebischer, "La forme dissimilée *cercus < quercus dans le latin d'Espagne et d'Italie," RFE, XXI, 337–360; the disappearance of the word in large portions of Spain is attributed to the conflict with circus.

44 A. Steiger, "Contribución al vocabulario del Corbacho," BRAE, X, 171, 177. The interesting attempt is made to account for otherwise inexplicable retention of initial f- through the assumption of differentiating tendencies, as in the
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Sachs, D. Alonso, Oliver Asín, as well as older scholars; the fission of one semantic nucleus ("to follow steadily and tacitly") into two separate elements ("to ambush, to trap" alongside of "to peep through a hole") deserves careful analysis. Above all, the shift assechar > açechar has long awaited circumstantial inquiry, the more so as, under the given circumstances, substitution of -ç- for -ss- appears, if not unique of its kind, at least quite abnormal. Another point of interest is the fact that individual derivatives should have met with varying success in the twin word families: does the prevalence of assechanga over açechanga (in contrast to the preference given to acechar over assechar) become understandable against the background of the propagation of the suffix -ança, or is the phenomenon involved purely phonological in nature? The questions so far posed suffice to make an inquiry into the history of assectáři on Spanish soil a rewarding task. Last but not least, the spread of what were originally technical terms of hunting holds a peculiar fascination for many students of language.

cases of fel > hiel beside fidele > fiel; filiu > hijo beside fixu > fijo; a different type of segregation appears in falsu > falso (with abnormal retention of -ls-) beside fossu > foso. Finally, agnus "lamb" is shown to have been discarded precisely in the area where phonological drift would have occasioned a conflict with annus "year." The idea of attributing the introduction of learned word forms to the avoidance of homonymy goes back to Gilliéron.

45 G. Sachs, El libro de los caballos: tratado de alheitería del siglo XIII, Madrid, 1936, pp. 123, 131, 134; *cojo < coleu (cf. cojudo) was evicted by cojo < cóxus [these two words were not perfect homophones because of the contrast between ș and ș]; feedat was eliminated because of the danger of collision with edad [the rise of fealdad has been discussed by the present writer in UCPL, I, 189–213]; fazer < facere put an obstacle in the way of a not entirely transparent homophone, conceivably related to fasciāre; lado < látu "broad, wide" was replaced by ancho due to pressure exercised by lado "side."

46 The conflict between *rotulāre and *repullāre in Astur-Galician toponymy is described by Alonso in "Representantes no sincopados de *rotulāre," RFE, XXVII, 176.

47 The opinion expressed by J. Oliver Asín, Historia de la lengua española, 4th ed., Madrid, 1940, p. 198, that opus > huebos perished, succumbing to the pressure of òwum > huevo, has been criticized in Language, XXI, 119–120.


49 Aside from the well-known substitution of the hunting term afflāre fro invenēre, notice the extension of meaning experienced by explōrāre and indāgāre;
II. The Word Families of Old Spanish *assechar* and *acechar*

Cursory description of the twin word families as used in older Castilian and Portuguese literature as well as in dialects bids fair to produce the material required for historical reconstruction. So far as Spanish is concerned, formations clustering around the *acech*- stem have lately tended to signify "spying, prying, looking furtively," 50 while those centering around the *as(s)*ech- stem have assumed the meaning of "setting traps, laying snares," with *as(s)*echanza, essentially a literary word, standing for "guile, wile, perfidy, trick." 51 Additional complications resulting from the coincidence, in regional parlance, of [s] and [θ] will be left out of the reckoning. 52 Altogether, the following formations have circulated in the literary idiom:

a) *as(s)*echar, *as(s)*echador, *as(s)*echamien(to), *as(s)*echança, *as(s)*echo, and *as(s)*echoso.

b) *acechar*, *acechadora*, *acechadero*, *acechador*, *acechamiento*, *acechante*, *acecho*, and *acechón*.

see Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 692. More on this subject will be said in my article on barruntar.

50 P.* J. Mir y Noguera, *Frases de los autores clásicos españoles*, Madrid, 1899, p. 10, illustrates the use of some of its synonyms; equivalents used in cant are offered by L. Besses, *Diccionario de argot español*, Barcelona, n. d., pp. 177–178. The passage in El Fuero Viejo, III, i, 7, qualified by Cuervo as presumably corrupt, has been excluded from further consideration.

51 In numerous normative treatises, especially those composed in Spanish America, this difference in meaning has been pointed out and debated at length. See R. Uribe U., *Diccionario abreviado de galicismos, provincialismos y correcciones de lenguaje*, Medellín, 1887, p. 4; F. Ramos y Duarte, *Tratado de lenguaje castellano*, México, 1896, p. 213; M. A. Román, *Diccionario de chilenismos*, 5 vols., Santiago, 1901–1918, I, p. 12; M. de Toro y Gisbert, *Tesoros de la lengua española*, Paris, 1911, p. 367. A similar task has been performed for achechanza and acechanza by J. de Arjona [P. Paz Soldán], *Diccionario de peruanismos*, Lima, 1882, pp. 4–5; while others have gone to the extreme of denying the existence of acechanza, including A. Sundheim, *Vocabulario costeño o lexicografía de la región septentrional de la República de Colombia*, Paris, 1922, p. 5.

52 This coincidence seems to have given rise to various independent (and contradictory) attempts at simplification of spelling. Thus, L. Segovia, *Diccionario de argentinizmos, neologismos, barbarismos*, Buenos Aires, 1911, pp. 29, 106, claims that there exists merely one verb, properly spelled *asechar*, with a primary and a secondary meaning. In contrast, G. M. Vergara Martín, *Diccionario hispanoamericano de voces sinónimas y análogos*, Madrid, 1930, p. 5, can afford listing *achechanza* and *acechar* to the exclusion of the *acech*- stem. M. de Toro y Gisbert, *Los nuevos derrotos del idioma*, Paris, 1918, pp. 147, 337, dismisses the spelling *achechanza* as a barbarism.
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Of these fourteen words, acechar alone figures in word counts of the present day language in virtue of its range and frequency; also, it interests the student of phraseology.

If attention is focused on the manuscript tradition rather than on the known or putative dates of the original texts (this is the only sound procedure, since scribes and, later, printers were wont to substitute one graph for another at their discretion), assechar appears to have preceded acechar by a considerable margin. Assechar is recorded in C. C. Marden's so-called Castilianized version of Berceo, available in a 14th century transcript; in the Libro de Apolonio; in the archaic MS O of the Libro de Alexandre (Leonese, 13th century); in the Historia troyana of the late 13th century; in Juan Ruiz; in the Escorial MS I-j-8 of the reportedly oldest Christian Spanish Bible translation; in the Cancionero de Baena, and indeed in the vast majority of texts up to 1550; after that time, it began to fall into desuetude. It is listed in most Renaissance dictionaries; the Diccionario de autoridades labels it as obsolescent, pointing out the difference in meaning between assechar and acechar. The rise and the propagation of the later variant acechar are accessible to observation. It occurs in editions of Berceo and


64 The figure of speech acechar la ocasión is recorded by R. Caballero, Diccionario de modismos, Madrid, 1905, p. 30. An example of this phrase has been culled by Cuervo from Martínez de la Rosa; the following sentence has been used by M. J. Larra in his essay “La Sociedad” (1835): “Están siempre acechando la ocasión de encontrar cómplice.”

65 The material assembled to document the history of assechar and acechar in literary Spanish is offered in the appendix.


67 See Diccionario de autoridades, I, 439b: assechar “disponer artificiosamente, con malicia y engaño encubierto, alguna trama para hacer daño a otro, ahora sea de obra u de palabra, ocultando de industria el artificio y la intención dañada. Este verbo tiene poco uso, porque comúnmente se dice poner o armas assechanzas. Algunos le confunden con el verbo acechar; pero . . . los significados de estos dos verbos son mui diversos.”
Alphonsine texts based on late and faulty copies; in MS P of the
Libro de Alexandre (Aragonese copyist, 15th century); in MS A of
Kalila et Digna (ca. 1400, in the opinion of the editor C. G. Allen);
it predominates clearly in the Confisción del amante of the middle of
the 15th century and is strongly represented throughout classical
literature, although lexicographers, conservative by tradition, list
it slightly less frequently than they do its counterpart. 58

Assechar and acechar, interchangeable for a long while, cumu-
lrated a wealth of meanings. 59 Assechar preéminently signified
“ambushing an enemy, stalking a victim”; subject and object were
either animal or man (occasionally a spirit, especially the devil,
acted as the subject). Infrequently, assechar referred to the mole-
station of women. In some passages, it is doubtful whether the
connotation was “to lurk” or “to look askance (with the intent of
discovering a vulnerable spot).” The meaning “to peep through a
hole” appears late (in J. de Sigüenza). Acechar, commonly used in
speaking of the cat, 60 shared most significations of the older variant,
but developed more quickly the shading of “peeping, prying” (15th
century). Possibly assechar, as the more literary form, was, in a
measure, slowed down in its growth. Rather exceptionally (for
instance, in a passage of La Araucana), acechar applied to auditory
rather than to visual perception.

There existed two exceedingly infrequent variant forms: assetar,
clearly an adaptation of Western asseitar, found in a text known
since K. Pietsch as full of Western traits; and assenchar, of distinctly
later coinage, understandable on the assumption that there was in
existence also a derivative in -ança from the assenchar stem, with the

58 A. de Nebrija: “per rimas aut cancellos curiose inspicere”; P. de Alcalá:
“maztâhaz”; Percivale-Minshew: acechar or assechar “to eye, marke, peere or
peepe, to lie in wait or ambush”; Covarrubias (no special comment); Oudin refers
the reader to assechar; Franciosini: “spiare, star guardando di nascosto quello che
uno fa”; Sobrino: “gueter, épier”; Dicc. autor.: “mirar con particular cuidado y
cautelosa atención desde alguna parte oculta; observar sin ser visto alguna cosa.”

60 Curiously enough, the two verbs are not nearly so frequently found in the
medieval treatises of hunting as one might be led to expect by the etymology.
The reason seems to be that the only legitimate forms of hunting as an aristoc-
ocratic sport in the late Middle Ages were falconry and hunting big game (stags,
boars, bears) with hounds; the points of repair used in the latter variety of the
sport were called armadas; for a detailed description, see Alfonso the Eleventh’s
Libro de la montería, first part.

60 See R. Monner Sans, “Refranero gatuno,” Estudios eruditos in memoriam de
a alguno como el gato al ratón.”
-n- creeping in before the affricate ć in anticipation of its use before the sibilant ç.

The history of the three verbal abstractions assecho, assechamiento, assechança (paralleled by acecho, acechamiento, acechança) is of great help in understanding the transformation of as(s)echar into acechar. Assechamiento, at no moment a word of frequent use, is recorded in Alphonsine prose; early dictionaries failed to take cognizance of its existence. Acechamiento is found in the unsatisfactory edition of Castigos e documentos by P. de Gayangos; just what the spelling of the oldest manuscripts was, is anybody’s guess at this juncture. Subsequently, the word left sporadic traces in at least two dictionaries (L. Franciosini; John Stevens).

Assechança, ordinarily used in the plural (cf. Lat. insidiae), is amply documented in dictionaries, beginning with the medieval glossary of Toledo; 61 it can be illustrated with excerpts from literature: medieval, classical, and modern. As is aptly stated in the first Academy Dictionary, it has outlived the underlying verb. Insufficient stress has been laid on its belated appearance; no text antedating the end of the fourteenth century seems to contain it, a fact which causes surprise even though -ança is known as a largely imported formative destined to rise to prominence in Spain at a relatively late date. 62 The genesis of acechança coincides chronologically with the splitting off of the acechar branch from the assechar family; the possibility of a causal relation between the two

61 A. Castro, Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media, Madrid, 1936, T 771 “insidia[e]”; T 942 “seubie [i.e. excubiae]; A. de Nebrija: assechanças “insidiae,” poner las assechanças “insidias alicui parare, comparare, opponere, instruere, moliri, machinari, poner, tendere, collocare, insidiis aliquem petere, oppetere; insidia, -aris”; cosa de assechanças “insidious”; P. de Alcalá: “irticáb”; C. de las Casas: “aguato, appostamento, insidia”; A. Sánchez de la Ballesta: assechanças como de expilas “insidiae”; C. Oudin: “aguet, embusche, espionnement”; S. de Covarrubias (no special definition); Percival-Minshew: “an ambush, a lying inwait, a plot to intrap folke”; G. Vittori: “aguet, embusche, espionnement; aguato, spiatione, imboscata,” with special mention of armar assechanças “dresser des embuscades, faire des embuscades, ordinaire delle imboscate”; A. de La Porte: “laghe, liste, embuschade,” armar assechanças “laghen legghen”; J. Stevens: “a snare, a wile or contrivance to entrap another; spying, watching, or observing”; Dicc. autor.: “engaño y artificio para hacer algún daño a otro.”

events deserves painstaking scrutiny. Shortly after the emergence of assechança, the variant açechança began to circulate, without attaining any degree of importance in the subsequent centuries; sporadically, it reappeared as late as the dawn of Romanticism. Both variants meant “ambush, trap, snare”; notice that açechança failed to develop any affinity with the secondary meanings of açechar (‘‘to peep, to lurk’’). There crystallized various set phrases involving the derivative in -ança.

Assecho, apparently the oldest of the three abstracts on record, occurs twice in Berceo and was current as late as the fifteenth century. In classical literature, it yielded to acecho; the change of form did not entail any modification of the original meaning (‘‘trap, ambush’’). Acecho is scantily documented in ancient dictionaries, yet it succeeded in holding its own; at present, it enters into a number of set phrases.

Chronological coincidence of events usually yields an unexpected clue in historical linguistics; notice how the first vestiges of the sonorization of surds (about 200 A.D.) are correlated to the edict of Caracalla (212 A.D.) by W. von Wartburg, Die Entstehung der romanischen Völker, Halle a. S., 1939, pp. 60–61.

Only a few of the older dictionaries register this variant. Franciosini translates it by “inside, aguatti” and singles out the idioms poner açechanças “porre insidie o inganni o aggualti” and estar en açechanças “stare in aggualti, cioè imboscato e nascondo.” Sobrino (1721) renders it by “embusche, aguet” and lists the set phrases armar açechanças “dresser des embusches” and estar en açechança “être aux aguets.” J. Stevens offers as equivalents “watching, prying, peeping, also a snare laid to entrap one.”

The quotation from Fr. Martínez de la Rosa is perhaps not conclusive, since a printer’s error or another accident may be involved.

Aparejar, armar, echar, poner assechanças “to set traps”; por assechanças de “through the treachery of”; sobre assechanças “treacherously.”

Some Chilean lexicographers assert that asecho continues to be in use in their native dialect; one may wonder whether confusion with acecho, pronounced [a-‘se-cho], is not involved. See A. Echeverría y Reyes, Voces usadas en Chile, Santiago, 1900, p. 130, and M. A. Román, Diccionario de chilenismos, I, 103. Substitution of -se- for -ce- in print throughout Cuba is discussed by J. M. Dihigo, El habla popular a través de la literatura cubana, Habana, 1916, pp. 23–24.

Among the lexicons accessible to me, only L. Franciosini’s (1636; princeps: 1620) lists it separately; Oudin has a special entry, with a reference to synonymous assechança.

Among the designations of the agent, *ascechador* stands out as the most important and, presumably, the oldest; a future etymological dictionary more rigorously organized than Meyer-Lübke's will no doubt list it under a separate entry (s. v. *assectátor*, -óris) as a formation bequeathed by Latin. *Ascechador* can be traced from the 13th to the 16th century on the evidence of texts and dictionaries;\(^70\) it was later succeeded by *acechador*.\(^71\) The two formations in -ador were occasionally employed as modifiers and were, in that capacity, rivaled by vernacular *ascechoso*, distinctly literary and apparently late *acechante*,\(^72\) and other derivatives of minor importance. *Acechón*, attested in literature at a late date, is unmistakably redolent of popular parlance and applies mostly to women, hence the phrase *andar haciendo la acechona* with the variants *hacer la acechona* and *andar acechona*, still in living use.\(^73\)

The place of the ambush (or stand) is designated by *acecho* and, particularly in ancient sources, by *acechadera* and *acechadero*, which may have been preceded by formations in -sse-.

Spanish Extremadura (Mérida), I can quote *casa al aguardo* from M. J. de Lana "La caza" (1835).

The increased importance of *acecho* seems to be due not to an internal linguistic process, but to the changing fashions and techniques of hunting, especially to the virtual elimination of falconry, to the use of the rifle, and to the growing interest in small game.

\(^70\) A. E. de Nebrija: "insidiator"; P. de Alcala: "raqqiba, rukkāb"; C. de las Casas: "appostatore, insidiatore"; Percivale-Minsheu: "one that lieth in wait; a skout that goeth upon discovery," with a separate entry for *ascechadora cosa* "a deceitful matter, a matter fetched about by a wife"; Oudin: "espie, espion, guetteur, espionner"; S. de Covarrubias (no special definition); G. Vittori: same as Oudin and "spia, spione, investigatore"; A. de La Porte: "spie, bespieder"; J. Stevens: "one that watches, observes or spies"; *Diccionario de autoridades*: "el que pone ascechanzas y con artificioso engaño maliciosamente procura el daño a otro; trahen esta voz Nebrixa y Covarrubias."

\(^71\) P. de Alcalá: "muçtâhiç"; Percivale-Minsheu: "one that lieth watching or spying, one that lieth in ambush to entrap" (acechador and ascechador are given as alternative graphs); L. Franciosini: "colui che spia di nascosto quello che un[e] fa"; Sobrino: "espion, guetteur, celui qui guete"; J. Stevens: "one that is always watching and prying or observing or peeping"; *Diccionario de autoridades*: "la persona que mira y observa con cuidado, recato y cautela alguna cosa."

\(^72\) There is no mention of it in the list of anciently used participles in -ante compiled by A. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum*, Halle a. S., 1897, p. 86.

\(^73\) The derivation of *acechón* is analyzed by W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen: Formenlehre*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 496. The *Diccionario de autoridades* is perhaps the first dictionary which provides a definition of this formation: "se dice del que anda atisbando y mirando con cuidado, y aun de la muger." The same source provides the following commentary to the quotation from Quevedo's poem: "que anda tapada con el manto sin descubrir el rostro, haciendo la des[h]echa y observando lo que ve y oye."
III. (As)seitar and aceitar in Old Portuguese

The reflexes of assectārī found in Old Portuguese are reminiscent of those known from Old Spanish. The word family does not seem to have fared nearly so well in the west as in the center. Toward the close of the Middle Ages, aceitar < acceptāre and asseitar < assectārī were well on their way toward becoming homophones; conversely, in Old Spanish açetar "to accept" at no time interfered with the development of assechar, açechar. The details of the

74 Utter confusion between -ç- and -ss- prevails in the anonymous Livro de Citaria, which, according to Rodrigues Lapa, may go back to a fifteenth century original. Here are some characteristic graphs: cossar (l. 850) beside coçar (l. 867); comessar (l. 105, 185, 192–193, 257) beside começar (l. 190); sorte (l. 154); diçe (l. 608, 771); espasso (l. 798) beside espaço (l. 822); manço (l. 195); sear (l. 270); serto (l. 250); seuse (l. 242); sevar (l. 300); sínquo (l. 768). In fourteenth century texts, confusion on such a scale is unknown; thus, in Vida e Feitos de Júlio César, ed. Rodrigues Lapa, one finds começar (fols. 1vo, 3vo), espaço (fol. 27vo), and the like.

The type açetar, known from late Old Spanish literature (e.g., Rimado de palacio, P, 25b; notice the absence of the word from most older texts including the Cantar de Mio Cid, Berceo, and Juan Ruiz), reappears in present day dialects; for Central Asturias, see A. de Rato y Hervía, Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables, Madrid, 1891, p. 3; for the hinterland of Murcia, see P. Lemus y Rubio, Aportaciones para la formación del vocabulario panoche, Murcia, 1933, p. 10; for Colombia, see L. Tascón, Diccionario de provincialismos y barbarismos del valle del Cauca, Bogotá, n. d., p. 13; for the Rio de la Plata area, see C. Martínez Vigil, Arcaísmos españoles usados en América, Montevideo, 1933, p. 105, where a passage from gaucho literature is quoted. In some fourteenth century texts the spelling aceitar prevails; cf. El Corbacho, ed. L. B. Simpson, fol. 95ro, and, with striking consistency, Confisión del amante, edd. Knust and Birch-Hirschfeld, fols. 21vo, 75vo, 92vo, 219vo, 352ro; but acepitar in Palencía, Dos tratados, I, p. 47; acceptar in Torres Naharro, ed. Gillet, II, p. 246. Should the b in the sequence -ebt- be regarded as mute or as an uncouth representation of [u]? The following spellings would militate in favor of the latter assumption: abdiciencia (Rimado de palacio, N, 618as); absente (ibid., N, 1202a, 1484d, 1519e); abtoridad (ibid., N, 1342c); abto "act" (El Corbacho, fol. 8ro) beside aucto (ibid., fols. 2vo, 3ro, 14ro, 15ro, 25ro, 58ro, 64vo), a distortion doubtless suggested by association with auctor (ibid., fols. 2ro, 19vo, 14vo, 33ro, 64vo) and auctoridad (ibid., fols. 5ro, 14vo, 105ro); cabsa (El Corbacho, fol. 5vo) beside causa (ibid., fol. 11vo); cabteso (Rimado de palacio, E, 1549b). The former assumption may be based on such graphs, in El Corbacho, as sobjebta beside sojesto (fol. 19vo); secreto (fols. 56vo, 57ro) beside secreto (fols. 49ro, 56vo); yndiscretio (fol. 55vo), showing abuse of learned medial clusters.

In the dialects of Mexico and Central America, P. Henríquez Ureña has noted a variety of reflexes of the Latin nexus -pte-, some due to vocalization, others to hypercorrection: asetar, asecutar, asectar, aseptar; see El español en México, los Estados Unidos y la América Central, Buenos Aires, 1938, pp. 14, 126, 145, 301, 337, 356. As a curiosity, one may cite asectable "acceptable," recorded by Gustavo
development of the Latin medial -pt- cluster in the individual Hispanic dialects cannot be discussed at present; the three possible products, [it], [ut],76 [t],77 and [t],78 were not equally strongly represented in the major dialect areas; subsequent conquests and colonization added to the confusion through dialect mixture.79 Be that as

Lemus R., Barbarismos fonéticos del Ecuador, Guayaquil, 1922, p. 56. Confusion of -ct- and -pt- in spoken Latin is evidenced in Rumanian by shifts like octo > opt, lacte > lapt. Perhaps the erratic development [kt] > [ut] presupposes [pt] as intermediary stage; defectu > defeuto is mentioned by F. Krüger, Studien zur Laufgeschichte westspanischer Mundarten, Hamburg, 1914, p. 107; North Peruvian perfefuto, práctica, Chilean conceuto, preceto, defeuto, Montañés efeito, conceito, and Salamanca carduter beside cardíter are listed by A. Malaret, Semántica americana, p. 120. See also H. Keniston, “Ant. esp. *auto 'apto,' autesa 'apeteza,'” RFH, IV, 67–70 [the current graphs were abteza, acteza, alteza]; the excellent chapter by A. M. Espinosa, A. Alonso, and A. Rosenblat in BDHA, I, pp. 223–226 (with documentation of dialectal aseuto and aseto; preseutor; conceutio and conseito; Giuto “Égypt”; auto, pauto, carduter, aspeto, and the like); and R. de Sá Nogueira, “Subsídios para o estudo da assimilação,” BF, III, 97.

76 This type has always peculiar to the west; in addition to acceptāre > aecitar, cf. praeceptu > prcecutuo (Vida de Maria Egípcia, fol. 64vo); septimu > setimū (P. Menino, Livro de Falcaria, MS B, fol. 52ro), in contrast to septuātinā > sateutā (F. Lopes, Crónica de D. João Primeiro, p. 269). Notice that Lat. [kt] also yields [it] in Portuguese on a larger scale than it yields [x] in Castilian; cf. Ptg. respeito ~ Sp. respeto(c)to; Ptg. perfeito ~ Sp. perfecto; OPtg. fruto ~ OSP. fruto, rarely frucho, and the like; comparable contrasts are Ptg. ença ~ Sp. encia; Ptg. converter, interromper ~ Sp. convertir, interrumpir; Ptg. avissaras ~ Sp. albíscias, Ptg. degredo, segredo ~ Sp. decreto, secreto. The cultismo is much more strongly represented (or else much less effectively disguised) in Castilian than in Portuguese.

77 Characteristic examples include: aptu > auto (D. Duarte, Leal Conselheiro, fol. 66vo; but actu > auto: Vida de Maria Egípcia, fol. 56ro; Leal Conselheiro, fol. 64ro); baptismu > OPtg. bautismo (Leal Conselheiro, fol. 37ro; Crónica de D. João Primeiro, p. 168 [twice], beside baptismo: Vida de Maria Egípcia, fol. 56vo), OSP. bautismo (Juan Ruiz, 1586a; Rimado de palacio, N, 225a), also bautismo (Rimado de palacio, N, 820d); baptista > OPtg. bautista (Leal Conselheiro, fol. 42ro), OSP. bautista (Juan Ruiz, 1562a); baptizāre > OPtg. bautizar (Vida de Eufrósina, fol. 42vo; Vida de Maria Egípcia, fol. 56vo), OSP. bautizar (Juan Ruiz, 776d); captivāre > Sp. cautivar, cf. Mir. cautibo, cútibo.

78 This refers to the primary cluster: adoptivu > adotivo (Comedia de Calisto y Melibea [1499], ed. Fouche-Delbos, p. 82a; captivu > OPtg. cativo (Vida do Cativo Monge Concesso, li. 1, 83, 118, 130, 144; Vida e Feitos do Júlio César, fols. 14vo, 23ro; Crónica de D. João Primeiro, pp. 175, 269); captivitāte > OPtg. catividade (Vida do Cativo Monge, l. 127; Vida e Feitos do Júlio César, fol. 7vo). In the case of reputāre > OSP. rep(p)tar, OPtg. retar (Vida e Feitos de Júlio César, fol. 6ro), it is also true of the secondary cluster; cf. *recapitāre > OSP. recabdar > recudar beside recad “message.”

79 The vocalization of the first element of -pt- and -ct- seems to be especially frequent in American Spanish dialects, which in many cases reflect western, rather than central peninsular usage, as has been recently confirmed by Corominas.
it may, the conflict in Portuguese between *aceitar* and *asseitar* entered into a critical stage at the moment when, in most of the Portuguese territory, the sounds expressed by -ç- and -ss- coincided; ⁵⁰ Leite de Vasconcelos assigns this event to the sixteenth century. ⁸¹ As a result, *asseitar*, being the less generally useful word, was discarded. The ultimate abandonment of the less resistant out of the two rivals was, as usual, preceded by a period of ambiguity which extended to some derivatives; Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo records *aceitoso* "agreeable" (Francisco Manuel de Melo), based on *acceptáre*, beside *aceitosamente* "insidiously," which ultimately reflects *assectári*. The date of the disappearance of *asseitar* can be deduced from its omission from the first volume of R. Bluteau’s *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino* (Coimbra, 1712).

All evidence seems to indicate that *asseitar* was native to the west; the view of some older lexicographers that it was a (subsequently adapted) borrowing of OSp. *assechar* is untenable. ⁸² *Asseitar* is recorded in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* which includes poems composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. ⁸³ It is questionable whether emendation of a conceivably faulty passage in the *Libro de Alexandre* permits us to assume the use of *asseitar* in Astorga at the dawn of the thirteenth century. ⁸⁴ The use of the

⁵⁰ Some northern dialects (particularly those spoken along the frontier of Entre Douro e Minho, Trás-os-Montes, and Beira) continue to distinguish between these two phonemes; native speakers of Transmontano like the well-known grammarian João de Morais Madureira Feijó have insisted on the rigorous maintenance of this distinction in the standard; cf. R. de Sá Nogueira, "Subsídios para o estudo da assimilação en portugués," *BF*, II, 268–269.


⁸² Fr. Domingos Vieira, *Tesouro da Lângua Portuguesa*, I, 612c, quotes Morais as holding this view and retraces *asseitância* to Sp. *aschanzia*.

⁸³ The Dictionary of the Galician Academy (La Coruña, 1913–), p. 245a, quotes Pero Amigo, *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, No. 1193: "Por min que o fuy asseytar / per un tellado e non vi dar"; this attestation of the derivative meaning "to pry, to spy" is one of the earliest on record.

⁸⁴ In the Aragonese MS P, 708c, the context suggests *assechar* rather than *desechar* ("quando yazie apres ovol a desechar"), as has been recognized by J. Keller, *Contribución al vocabulario del Poema de Alíxandre*, Madrid, 1932, p. 71. The corresponding quatrain 680 in the older Leonese MS O reads as follows: "Asmo que non podrie outra guisa matar / si non por ventura por aquel lugar / quando yazia a prieses ovol a sestar / tirol una saeta onde ovo a finar." The long *s* clearly appearing in R. S. Willis Jr.'s palaeographic edition is shaped very much like *j*. The safest guess is that the original reading was *a(ABB)sestar* and that in successive copies the passage was distorted with increasing violence, perhaps thus: *aseitar* > *assechar* (in the process of an attempted Castilianization of a
verb in Portugal by subsequent generations of writers is illustrated in the 18th century fragment of the Lisbon Academy Dictionary.\textsuperscript{85} The derivatives in Old Galician-Portuguese include: \textit{asseita}, used in Alfonso the Learned’s \textit{Cantigas}; \textsuperscript{86} \textit{asseitamento}, recorded in texts of the fourteenth (\textit{Vida de Eufrosina}) \textsuperscript{87} and of the fifteenth century (\textit{Vita Christi}); \textsuperscript{88} and \textit{asseitança}, preserved in the translation (printed in 1539) of Clemente Sánchez de Vercial’s \textit{Sacramento} (II, lxxii); \textsuperscript{89} the original was composed in the city of León around the year 1424.\textsuperscript{90} Whether Ptg. \textit{asseitação} is an organic outgrowth of Lat. \textit{sectātiō} or a late derivative, cannot easily be determined. To the aforementioned adverb \textit{aceitosamente} add the noun \textit{ac-}

western text) > \textit{desechar}. This quatrainshould be given especial consideration in any future reconstruction of the transmission of the poem. OSp. \textit{sestar} has been retraced to Lat. \textit{sessitāre} in a well documented note by J. Cornu (“Mélanges espagnols: \textit{siesto, siesta, sestar, asestar, ensestar},” \textit{Romania}, XIII, 305–306; \textit{ensestar} must be canceled, since the word in question, occurring in the \textit{Libro de Apolonio}, has been identified as \textit{enfestar} by C. Carroll Marden); Meyer-Lübke was wrong in starring the etymon (\textit{REW}, No. 7888), preserved in the lexicen of Cicero. G. Baist has offered an equally plausible derivation from \textit{sextus} (see \textit{ZRPf.}, VII, 122; \textit{RF}, III, 516); Cuervo, \textit{Diccionario de construcción y régimen}, I, 692–693, and Gassner, \textit{Das altspanische Verbum}, p. 10, waveberen the two explanations; Meyer-Lübke sides with Baist and makes the hazardous statement that Sp. \textit{asestar} is an Italianism, an instance of neogrammatical analysis at its worst. The new study of Juan Terlingen, \textit{Los italianismos en español} (Amsterdam, 1943), is not concerned with \textit{asestar}.

\textsuperscript{85} The reproduction of this material (unfortunately, without the names of the authors quoted) is not the least service performed by L. Freire’s \textit{Grande e Novíssimo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa}: “E sempre jamais o \textit{asseita} para lhe roubar todo o fruto da alma”; “eu sei bem que fora de ti são os arruidos, alvantam-se as tempestades, \textit{asseitam} os ladrões, assanha-se o dragão.” The meaning, “to peep,” seems to have been infrequent in Portuguese; it is not mentioned by Fr. J. de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Fr. Domingos Vieira, L. Freire.

\textsuperscript{86} See the Academy edition, vol. II, p. 631.

\textsuperscript{87} See the edition by J. Cornu (\textit{Romania}, vol. IX), fol. 49vo: “Aquell que me guardou das ensejas e dos asseytamentos do immigo.”

\textsuperscript{88} Fr. Domingos Vieira, \textit{op. cit.}, interprets the word as meaning “ambush” and quotes from \textit{Vita Christi}, part I, chap. xiii: “E por tal que aprindamos de ser apparehados e prestes des o começo da vida às tentações e asseytamentos que nos vierem”; part II, chapter xv: “Mas ante engenhavão de asseitar e commetter por asseytamentos o ensinador da verdade.” Freire quotes from the Lisbon Academy Dictionary: “Não curara dos asseytamentos dos maus.”

\textsuperscript{89} Reproduced by Vieira and Freire from the Lisbon Academy Dictionary: “E devemos haver fortaleza para resistir às \textit{asseitantas} do diabo.”

ceitamento [sic], found in late legal texts; these two scattered formations interest as evidence that the shift -sse- > -ce-, of far-reaching consequences in Castilian, was not wholly unknown to the west. Sporadic aphaeresis is evidenced by (now obsolete) seitosamente, extracted from legal texts.

IV. Dialectal Variants of (as)sechar, (a)cechar

In the dialects, types unknown to the Spanish and Portuguese literary idioms are found side by side with formations recorded in the standard, yet exhibiting regional departures of meaning. An extension of meaning of acechar has taken place in part of the Mexican territory, possibly first in the speech of bilinguals of Mayan ancestry; there, the word has come to signify "to visit." Through aphaeresis, cecha "lurking" has sprung up in the Salamanca area; in the Cáceres-Salamanca zone, the type acechar, locally pronounced [a-ðe-içal], is in living use. Recechar, as a

91 See Elucidário, I, 29b, and Fr. Domingos Vieira, Tesouro, I, 86a: "Se determina que nenhum não seja preso por querellas, nem denunçasões, nem informações que delles fossem dadas, posto que em ellas disseram que o fezem sobre vinditas e revinditas e aceitamentos e segurança britada, salvo se se ouvessê hi ferida laida ou membro tolheito." The passage has been taken from Cod. Alfons., IV, lviii, 3; the translation suggested is "repto, duelo, desafio"; Old Jud.-Sp. revenda "grudge" is documented by O. H. Hauptmann, HR, X, 45.

92 The Old Portuguese evidence excludes the assumption that the shift may represent partial assimilation to subsequent [ç] and weakens the theory that the focal point of the change was Andalusia.

93 Fr. J. de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Elucidário, 2nd ed., I, 31a, s. v. acintemente, and Fr. Domingos Vieira, Tesouro, I, p. 86a, quote the following passage from Orden. Philip., I, lxv, 26-27: "Quem seguro alguém e o injuria, avolta, deshonra, fere, vindo elle sobre seguro promettido. Vendita, ou revenda, ou seitosamente, ou de proposto, ou sobre segurança." Notice that the set phrase sobre segurança seems to have been the model of O.Sp. sobre assequança "treacherously."


96 On aphaeresis in Ibero-Romanic, see the notes, with a working bibliography, by A. Alonso and A. Rosenblat, in BDHA, I, 250-253. A. Malaret, Semántica americana, Cataño, P. R., 1943, p. 111, mentions Arag. cercarse ~ Sp. acercarse; Arag. cequía ~ Sp. acequia, comparable to (a)cechar. See also E. de Chasca, HR, XIV, 331-332.

97 J. de Lamano y Beneite, El dialecto vulgar salmantino, Salamanca, 1915, p. 330: "El gato está amonado, en ceca del ratón." Notice that in the same zone, Lat. saeláceu lingers on as sedazo, in contrast to Sp. cedazo (ibid., p. 628). A. M.
term of hunting, has been identified in present day Andalusian; the prefix change may have been occasioned by the co-existence, in the older language, of words like recudir and acudir. Resechar is quite infrequent; D. Sánchez de Badajoz used it at least twice. Usually, in such pairs of formations, the one introduced by re- is the older, but the prevailing uncertainty allowed for occasional shifts in the reverse direction, and recechar seems to be a case in point. Its occurrence in the Diálogos de la montería points to its early genesis; Rodríguez Marín, in ascribing the authorship of that work to L. Barahona de Soto (ca. 1490–1560), based his adjudication chiefly on the frequency of Andalusian traits in style and lexicon. In the same work, the derivative cechero, used at least twice, has not escaped the attention of the compilers of the Diccionario Histórico; notice also rececho.

Instances of aphaeresis comparable to OAnd. cechero and Sal. cecha have not been observed within the older assechar branch; secha “bucket” reflects Lat. situla, and so does conceivably Centr. Espinosa, hijo, Arcaísmos dialectales, p. 32, gives only forms with [θ] and quotes ceacillu from the unpublished glossary of F. de Onís; [a-θe-θal] is listed ibid., p. 17. See also note 151.

98 A. Alcalá Venecslada, Vocabulario andaluz, Andújar, 1933, p. 335: recechar “cazar de acecho; pero en especiales condiciones. Con la luna, todos los animales venatorios y en ambos crepúsculos conejos y liebres. ‘En las noches de luna recechábamos al pie de un alcornoque, después de haber averado las bellotas.’” No further material on Andalusian was found in M. de Toro y Gisbert, “Voces andaluzas o usadas por autores andaluces,” RHf, XLIX, 313–647.


101 F. Rodríguez Marín, Luis Barahona de Soto, Madrid, 1903, pp. 392–395; the identification there proposed has been accepted by most literary historians. Barahona de Soto was long established in Granada.

102 Captain John Stevens was one of the first who recorded the word; he was wrong in assuming that it was a borrowing from Italian. Secha should be added to REW³, No. 7962 (situla), under which entry merely Ptg. seha is recorded. The French cognate seille is reputed to have been originally in use all over France, and it has lingered on in the West, including Bretagne and Gascogne, and in Lorraine; later, it receded in some areas (Poitou, Vendée, Basses Pyrénées) before seu < sitellu (REW³, No. 7959), a type radiating from Île de France, to avoid conflicts with its homophones among the descendants of sècle “rye”; see W. Hebeisen, Die Bezeichnungen für “Geschirr,” “Eimer,” “Krug” im Französischen, Oberitalienischen und Rätoromanischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Alpengebietes, Thesis, University of Bern, 1921, pp. 28–41, 60–61. The secondary forms cecho, cechón are quoted from Medrano and from Eguiluz by the Dicc. Hist., II, 927.
Ast. secha "sty" (Rato y Hevia). Lat. secta "sect" cast off a genuinely vernacular formation solely in Galician-Portuguese (seita), leaving learned and semi-learned reflexes in Leonese and Castilian (secta, setta, seta).\textsuperscript{103} Here again, the tendency to avoid homonymy was operative: situla and secta, normally developed, would both have yielded secha in the central dialects. Notice, incidentally, that preservation of Lat. secta in Portugal in a vernacular form (as seita) coincides with contraction of vowels in sagitta > saeta > seeta > seta "arrow,"\textsuperscript{104} whereas in Old Castilian seta "sect" contrasts with saeta "arrow";\textsuperscript{105} whatever the sequence of events may have been, homonymy of the products of the two Latin words has been carefully avoided.

In Valencian and Catalan, formations like aceig, acejar; aseig, asejar, all of them obvious Castilianisms, are listed in dictionaries;\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{103} See V. Fernández Llera, Gramática y vocabulario del Fuero Jusgo, Madrid, 1929, p. 263; cf. secta in Santa Catalina, ed. Knust, fol. 17vo, as against seta in Libro de la vida de Barlan e del Rrey Josapha, ed. Moldenhauer, fols. 151vo, 158ro; Confisión del amante, fols. 25vo, 195vo, 305vo. Secha as a term of agriculture in Asturias is recorded by M. J. Canellada.

\textsuperscript{104} Seeta is recorded in Nunes, Crestomática Arcaica, 2nd ed., pp. 61, 176, 596.

\textsuperscript{105} Here are some examples of saeta: Vida de Santo Domingo, quatrains 761d; Estoria de Sant Millán, quatrains 444b; Libro de buen amor, quatrains 27a, 597a, 685b, 653d, 1111b, 1598b; Estoria del Rey Guillelme, ed. Knust, fols. 39ro, 39vo; Cuento del Emperador Ottas, ed. Knust, chapters xi, xxiv, xxvi, xxxvi, lvi, lvii; Vida de Barlan e del Rrey Josapha, fol. 106ro; Confisión del amante, fol. 106vo; Calisto y Melibea (1499), p. 778. Derivatives include saetada (Confisión del amante, fol. 106vo), saetra "ventanilla o agujero que se hacen en los palomares" (López de Úbeda), saetía "ventanilla que hacían en las torres y murallas para disparar las saetas" (V. Espinell); the latter formations are documented by C. Fontecha, Glosario de voces comentadas en ediciones de textos clásicos, Madrid, 1940, p. 327. Notice the same contrast between west and center in the development of magistré, magistru. Secta "arrow" in Calisto y Melibea (1499), p. 3017, may be a regionalism.

\textsuperscript{106} Thus, J. Escrig y Martínez and C. Llobart, Diccionario valenciano-castellano, Valencia, 1887, pp. 83a and 215c, have separate entries for acejar, aceig; aseig, asejador, asejament, asejança, asejar, asejós. In actual use, the eastern equivalents of assechar, asechar have, from the late Middle Ages, been guaytar and aguaytar, of Germanic ancestry, apparently due to diffusion of Frankish wakta from Northern France; see E. Gamillscheg, Romania Germanica: Sprach- und Siedlungsgeschichte der Germanen auf dem Boden des alten Römerreiches, 3 vols., Berlin and Leipzig, I, 173. For documentation of Cat. aguaytar, aguayt, aguaytador, aguaytill, aguaytò, aguaytòs, see A. M. Alcover and F. de B. Moll, Diccionari català-valencià-balear, Palma de Mallorca, 1930–, I, 328–329.

In Portuguese, the word selected to replace asseitar, after it had become useless through homonymy with aceitar, was espreitar. Meyer-Lübke regards espreitar as an adaptation of Prov. espletar "to exploit," traceable to Lat. explicitum "result, gain" (REW, 8 No. 3053); W. von Wartburg notices the erratic meaning
there is no compelling reason to assume that they have ever been in actual use on any appreciable scale: earlier lexicographers of the Spanish Levant occasionally indulged in the sport of simply transliterating, with a modicum of phonological and orthographic adaptations, the words they found in the Castilian standard.

The richest mine of dialectal products is found in Galicia: some are due to native developments of the Latin stock, including enxeitar < *insectārī; the majority may be ascribed to the diffusion of the Castilian types assechar and acechar and the ensuing conflicts with autochthonous products. Obvious intruders from the central standard are asejar, asejar, and ace(i)xar; of the Portuguese offshoot, yet fails to endorse the assumption of a borrowing; he points out the Catalan cognate espletar “to harvest” (FEW, III, 311–312). The sense development of Ptsg. espelitar seems to have been aberrant, the starting point easiest to account for being espelitar uma ocasião “to exploit an opportunity, to avail o.s. of a chance,” rather than, say, espelitar um pássaro. This tends to show through what devious routes replacement for outworn or otherwise unfit lexical material is procured.

Perpetuation of Lat. *insectārī in as conservative a dialect as Galician is a simpler assumption than the derivation of enxeitar from asseitar through prefix change, the more so as there exists a difference in meaning between the two words which escaped Baist’s attention: J. Cuveiro Piñol, Diccionario gallego, Barcelona, 1876, p. 110, renders enxeitar by “asañar.” The shift ens- > enz- is not exceptional in Galician. On the other hand, a measure of uncertainty remains in view of the multiplicity of reflexes of a formation like *asciāta “hoe”: to Sp. azada add the eastern forms: Prov. aissada, Cat. azada, OArag. a(i)xada, exada, Arag. ajada, jada, jadico, Lit. jadón, Upper Arag. xata, izata, ONav. aixa; and the western forms: Ptsg. enzada, OLeón. ezada, EGal. azada (the isogloss follows the line of the river Eo), WGal. aizado, aixada, eixado, eizada; Cáceres-Salam. azá, Salam. azaja (cf. azuela > zuela in Cespedosa [Sánchez Sevilla, RFE, vol. XV] and Segovia [García de Diego, HMP, II, 9]). Also notice fascina > Arag. fajina, Ast. hacina, And. cina, Tol. encina, through aphaeresis and addition of a new prefix. For literature, see A. Castro, RFE, VIII, 14; V. García de Diego, “Evolución de algunos grupos con -s-,” Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, II, 9, 11; R. Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español, Madrid, 1929, p. 313; W. D. Elcock, De quelques affinités phonétiques entre l’aragonais et le béarnais, Paris, 1938, p. 42; A. M. Espinosa, hijo, Arcatismos dialectales, p. 24; W. Ebeling, “Die landwirtschaftlichen Geräte im Osten der Provinz Lugo,” VKR, V, 128, reviewed by M. Rodrigues Lapa, BF, I, 365.

Asejar, asejamento, and asejo are listed in the dictionary of the Galician Academy (p. 245a); the former is illustrated from P. Sobreira and is defined thus: “hacer el gato viva o muy atenta observación; estar con cuidado para lograr el ver alguna cosa; atisbar.” Assejar is listed in the glossary to the fourteenth century Crónica Troyana.

See the Galician Academy Dictionary, p. 247b: asezar and azexo.

Ibid., p. 35b: aceizar and especially aceixa-ratos “acechador, atisbador: el que es amigo de atisbarlo todo y de andar a la escucha.”
axecer is due to the assimilation of the first to the second sibilant;\textsuperscript{111} ajeitar is best explained as patterned on enjeitar < insectārī.\textsuperscript{112}

A lone relic of ancient sectārī, mutilated almost beyond recognition, may have survived in El Bierzo. Here are the definitions of echada and echador supplied by García Rey:

**Echada:** exploración minuciosa del terreno, hecha de trecho en trecho por el cazador, de una espera a otra. Se emplea este término principalmente en la caza mayor: “Vamos a dar la echada de la Dehesa Vieja”; “en el río grande dimos tres echadas.”

**Echador:** explorador del monte, en la caza mayor: “Salimos a caza mayor y fuimos cuatro esperas y diez echadores.”

Although the conjecture, at first glance, admittedly appears bold, it is not impossible that the original forms should have been *sechada* and *sechador*. On the semantic side, close relationship with sectārī and absence of any conceivable link with iactāre “to throw” are self-evident. On the phonological side, aphaeresis of initial s-, a rather exceptional but not unheard of phenomenon, may occur in words primarily used in the plural and then preceded either by the definite article (los, las) or by a numeral, frequently one ending in [s] or [θ], as is true of dos, tres, seis, diez. This requirement is met by two out of the three examples supplied by García Rey.\textsuperscript{113}

**V. Latin sectārī, assectārī, and *sectāre**

Assectārī, the base of Hispanic asseitar, assechar, acechar, was a formation widely used in Latin literature, principally from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., being a favorite with such writers as Cicero, Horace, Seneca, Pliny, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Tertullian.\textsuperscript{114} It signified “to follow steadily”:

Cum adsectaretur, numquid vis, occupo (Horace); lecticam adsectati quibusdam locis etiam tulerunt (Seneca); miles Valentem adsectabatur (Tacitus); custodes . . . corpora putrefacta adsectabantur (Tacitus); Caesar omnibus officii . . . Pompeium adsectatus est (Suetonius).

\textsuperscript{111}Cuveiro Piñol, op. cit., p. 32: axecer “acechar, atisbar; cortejar sin tener edad para ello”; axecer a papuda “acechar con cierto disimulo, como si no se mirase”; the Galician Academy Dictionary, p. 277a, lists axecer and azezo, documenting the former from Rossalía de Castro, Curros Enríquez, and Benito Losada.

\textsuperscript{112}V. García de Diego, Elementos de gramática histórica gallega, Burgos [1909], pp. 49, 163.

\textsuperscript{113}Under similar conditions prosthesis of e- occurs in Gallo-Romance; see E. Tappelet, “Die e- Prosthese in den französischen Mundarten,” Festschrift zum vierzehnten Neuphilologentag, pp. 158–183.

\textsuperscript{114}Most of the examples here cited have been excerpted from the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, II, 848.
The two examples from Tacitus, especially the first, show the use of *assectarī* in military life, making plain how it may have been introduced into Spain by the first wave of Romans who came into contact with the natives. Assectarī fell into desuetude in medieval Latin, so that its infiltration into the vernaculars must have occurred through early oral use.

Among the special uses of *assectarī*, its reference to the Roman custom of accompanying aspirants to political offices must have been peculiar to metropolitan rather than to provincial parlance and was least of all appreciated among the rural population. Of greater interest to the Romance scholar is its applicability to the language of love; in Old Spanish texts, *assechar una muger* denotes a more energetic mode of pursuit than the discreet and bashful following the steps of the beloved woman intimated by Ulpianus’ use of *assectarī*; notice that writer’s insistence on the silent character of the pursuit:

Matrem familias aut praetextum . . . adsectatus (Gaius); aliud est appellare aliud *assectari*; appellat enim qui sermone pudicitiam adtemptat, *adsectatur* qui tacitus frequenter sequitur (Ulpianus); contra bonus mores *adsectari* (Ulpianus); iuvenculas viduas quae . . . aliquamdiu *adsectatae* . . . nubere volunt (Tertullian).

Metaphorical use (with respect to the pursuit of fame, peace, and reward, including sanctification) was distinctly literary and failed to leave traces in the vernacular. The derivatives *assectatīō* and *assectātor* deserve mention; the former may have survived in Portuguese, although infrequent *asseitação* is not demonstrably a traditional word (it interests chiefly through the possible connection between Pliny’s *assectatīō caeli* “the study of the sky” and the sense development of *acechar*); the latter indubitably underlies widespread OSp. *ascechar*.


116 Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, I, 93b, refers only to early Graeco-Latin glosses. No references whatever are found in J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, Oxford University Press, 1934, nor in F. Arnaldi, “Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi Lexicon Imperfectum,” *ALMA (Bulletin Du Cange)*, vol. X. As for the quotation of *assectāre* by Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 429, from a text of the year 1308, the old lexicographer clearly indicated that a hypercorrect graph of *assectāre* was involved.

117 Add the following excerpt by Du Cange, I, 93b, from Festus: “Femina, vel in bonam partem dicitur velut honorata; vel in malem quasi ad extremum periculum adducta” (speaking of *adsectata*).

118 *Assectator* was employed with respect to those who were wont to accompany candidates (Cicero: “Quidam vetus *adsectator* et ex numero amicorum”); to
Why was assectārī allowed to take root in Ibero-Romance at the expense (and almost to the exclusion) of the vastly more important verb sectārī? Indeed, assectārī was a mere variant of sectārī apt to bring out certain shadings more efficaciously; altogether, in point of connotation, OSp. assechar is closer to sectārī than to assectārī. The simple verb, much like the compound, signified "to follow continually, eagerly; to run after, to attend, to accompany," but, in addition, it was used for "chasing, hunting," in conjunction with objects like canēs (Tibullus), suēs silvāticōs (Varro), aprōs (Vergil), gallinam and simiam (Plautus), leporem (Horace), cervam (Terence). There came into existence the derivatives sectātiō "pursuing, striving after, emulation" (Vulgate, Tertullian) and sectātor "follower, attendant, adherent; pl. train, retinue, suite" (Cicero, Tacitus, Gellius). It is correct, then, to say that sectārī and assectārī have merged to produce OPtg. asseitar, OSp. assechar, and so have the corresponding members of the two word families. Yet, if that much is conceded, the question remains why, within this process of amalgamation, assechar proved to be the product superior in strength to *sechar. Was there any hindrance to the free development of sectārī in the Iberian Peninsula?

As on previous occasions in this study, the answer seems to be that the obstacle to the perpetuation of sectārī was the conflict with a homophone. Lat. secō, secāre "to cut," with the abnormal past participle stem sect-, and its rather numerous compounds left many vestiges in Ibero-Romance. Latinists apprise us of some measure of confusion between sector, sectārī (ultimately an offshoot of sequor, sequī "to follow") and secō, secāre even among speakers of wooers, suitors (Pliny: "Virtutibus meruit ut a C. Musonio ex omnibus omnium ordinum adsectoribus gener adsumetur"); and to followers of any teachers or teachings and devotees of things religious and artistic, derisively also to bons vivants and gourmets (Seneca: "Sapiens adsectorque sapientiae"; Seneca: "Cenarum bonarum adsector"; Pliny: "Eloquentiae adsectoribus et potentiae"; Symmachus: "Adsectoribus litterarum . . . eiusdem religionis."

Typical representatives include dissecāre > OPtg. dessegar (see Elucidário, s. v.), as against dessecar "to lose weight" < siccus, in P. Menino and other authors; subsecāre > (as)seosegar, see PhQ., XXIII, 297–306. Asegar has been identified in Upper Aragon, see A. Kuhn, RLiR, XI, 164; cf. Ribag. asagadó(r) "estrecho sendero existente en las montañas" (Ferraz y Castán); the adjective segadoiro "ripe, fit to be harvested" occurs in Vida e Feitos de Júlio César, fol. 24vo (BF, III, 213). Resecāre survives in resegar, resiego (Cuenca) and, according to some scholars, in resgar, rasgar. The history of this word family has been traced in my note on cosecha, see Lang., XXIII, 389–398. Segada: Calisto y Melibea, p. 17.
the privileged class and exquisite writers in the Empire. The situation may well have been more intricate in the parlance of the Roman soldier-peasantry which settled down in Spain.

There is no trace of Lat. *sector, -ōris* “cutter, reaper, harvester” in Ibero-Romance, although that word has left reflexes in other relic areas like Northern Italy, Southeastern France, and the Raeto-Romance domain. But *sectūra*, used by Varro, Caesar, and Pliny for “cut, cutting, digging, mines,” reappears as “harvest” in Galician (also in Piedmontese and in a few French patois). Latin *sectōrius, -a, -um* emerges in the Astur-Portuguese area as the name of tools used in agriculture. On the analogy of *sectūra* and of *sectōrius*, possibly also of *sector*, a new verb, we may assume, was coined in spoken Latin early enough to spread over most of the territory of the Empire, namely *sectāre* “to mow, to cut,” reconstructed on the basis of products in Portuguese as well as in Southern and Eastern patois of France. Morphologically, *sectāre* is classifiable as an intensive formation; it bears resemblance to *cantāre*, derived from *canere*, and to *dictāre*, developed from *dicere*. In Old Portuguese, *seitar* was used for “mowing”; in Northern Portugal, Krüger identified *seita* as the name of a part of the plough.

What is the justification for arguing that homonymity of *sectārī* “to follow, to pursue, to chase” and *sectāre* “to cut, to mow, to harvest,” originally used over a much wider territory than at present, may have led to the prevalence of the compound *assectārī* over the simple verb? The notions expressed by the two homo-

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121 See *REW*³, No. 7768.
122 See *REW*³, No. 7770; M. Lugris Freire, *Gramática do idioma galego*, La Coruña, 1922, p. 152; C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, *RL*, XIII, 371. *Setura* occurs in two charters, both of the year 1210 (one issued at Santoña, the other in La Montaña); see V. R. B. Oelschlager, *A Medieval Spanish Word-List*, Madison, [1940], p. 192a.
123 See C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, *loc. cit.*, with a reference to *RL*, II, 255 and XII, 124; and *REW*³, No. 7769 (it is unfortunate that Meyer-Lübke, as on other occasions, should have starred a well-documented Latin word; its technical connotation [“belonging to the purchase of captured goods”] is tentatively accounted for by Ernout-Meillet). The following products are known: Ast. *sechoriú*, Gal. *seíouro* “couler”; Pig. *seíoura* “small sickle.” On the Asturian suffix -*orít* (the word here studied has been registered by A. Rato y Hevia), see F. Krüger, *Studien zur Lautgeschichte westspanischer Mundarten*, Hamburg, 1914, p. 93.
124 See *REW*³, No. 7760.
phones do not strike one as being closely related, but the level of speech on which sectârî and *sectâre were used was essentially the same: the parlance of the rural population. If ambiguity could be avoided at so low a price as the elimination of a simple verb in favor of an almost synonymous compound, the substitution was inevitable. The present case of the conflict of two homophones has the added significance of demonstrating one of the consequences of the abandonment of deponential endings. Only after the medio-passive inflection had fallen into desuetude, did the clash between sectârî and *sectâre enter into an acute phase. Since the testimony of all branches of Romance induces us to posit an early date for the decay of the passive terminations, a tentative date—the beginning rather than the end of the first millennium—is provided for the outbreak of the conflict. If the interpretation of Berc. echada, echador here given is acceptable, it would appear that sectârî > *sechar, while superseded by assechar, receded slowly enough to leave an occasional trace in conservative dialects.

VI. The Shift assechar > açechar

This shift is the nucleus of the problems presented by the word family under study, as has been recognized by Menéndez Pidal. The scholar, as late as 1941, assigned considerable importance to the wavering between assechar and açechar in connection with researches on acoustic equivalence:

También hemos hablado de la equivalencia de S ~ Ç (en escritura fonética [s] ~ [θ]) en posición inicial . . . y en parte los casos de confusión pueden proceder de la pronunciación de los ceeos antes y después que el ceceo se propagase por la región de Sevilla y Málaga; este eventual origen andaluz parecen sugerírnoslo casos como el de açechanzas en el auto IV de la Celestina, edición de Burgos 1499, frente a aâcechanzas de la edición de Sevilla 1501, forma que ha prevalecido con el verbo açechar en vez de açechar que usan BerCEO, Juan del Encina, etc. Pero sin influjo andaluz, en el habla popular de Castilla se observa hoy la alternancia de ambos sonidos sancocho y zancocho, etc.

127 The study of acoustic equivalence in Spanish dialects, initiated in 1918 in a joint note by T. Navarro and A. Castro, RFE, V, 197, has been chiefly furthered by the researches of A. Alonso. For an interesting recent appreciation by a worker in a different field, see K. Jaberg, Vox Romanica, VIII, 28–30.
128 On the changing views of Cuervo and Menéndez Pidal on the phonetic value of the Old Spanish graph ç, see A. Rosenblat, RFH, VII, 397.
129 There is no reference either to açechanza (assechança) or to açechar in the printed portion of the dissertation of L. S. Poston Jr., An Etymological Vocabulary to the Celestina, Chicago, 1940.
There is room for questioning the wisdom of dragging the notoriously thorny issue of the authorship of *La Celestina* into the etymological study here presented. Our documentation shows that the two rival branches were in existence at least one century before the composition of that work. The coincidence between the late coinage of a widely used derivative in *-ança* and the appearance of *-çe*- instead of *-sce*- in the stems of both verb and noun is so striking as to suggest a theory different from Menéndez Pidal’s: *acechança* originated as a variant of *asseechança* due to the assimilation of *[s]* to *[ts]*, and the verb *assechar* followed suit. This explanation offers two advantages: it is in line with chronological facts and with the known phonological trends of Ibero-Romance. Conversely, it cannot be argued that the change of *assechar* into *acechar* represents partial assimilation or approximation of *[s]* to the following affricate, because that hypothesis would not account for the coincidence between the shift *ss > ç* and the rise of the noun in *-ança* and especially because incomplete assimilation at relatively short distance is beyond comparison rarer than complete assimilation at long distance.

130 I do not know whether the judgment of Menéndez Pidal is based on collation with the unique copy of the edition Seville 1501, for nothing short of that would justify such a sweeping statement. Foulché-Delbosc’s edition of the first extant print of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Bibl. Hisp. XII) shows interferences by the scholar with his text which would not be regarded as tolerable by the younger school of textual critics immuned by Bédier against undue standardization. Thus, Foulché-Delbosc corrected such valuable testimonies of dialectal or substandard parlance as *deferimos, atrevemento, avantaia, empeditria, impetas, engenio, nemistad, niguna* under the (no longer tenable) pretext that they represented misprints; in consonance with this editorial policy, he changed *asseechanças* into *acechanças* (p. 51, l. 26), doubtless because of the occurrence of *acechar* in the text. But he had at least the precaution of listing his corrections in an appendix (pp. 174–179); this he had not done previously with his reproduction of the text of Seville, 1501 (Bibl. Hisp. I), which, in view of the arbitrariness of many corrections, is almost devoid of value for the purpose of phonological research. But, even if the difference between the graphs of the same word in the two editions could be authenticated, there would still remain too many unknowns (the fact that early printers in Spain were largely foreigners, in most cases Germans; our scant knowledge of the linguistic background of the *cristiano nuevo* Fernando de Rojas) to justify a phonological equation. Notice, incidentally, *sofrir* (p. 40) beside *sofrir* (pp. 157, 162s, 167s) in the Burgos edition.

VII. Vacillation between [s] and [ts] in ancient Ibero-Romance

When older scholars observed wavering between [s] and [ts] in medieval and early Renaissance texts from Spain and Portugal, they spoke ordinarily of a residue of Morisco or Mozarabic pronunciation or else of an Andalusian trait;\(^{132}\) Menéndez Pidal’s classification of the shift under study may be a reminiscence of those earlier theories. Montesinos’ study of Morisco speech on the Spanish stage fails to give added strength to that view;\(^{133}\) Steiger recognizes late influence of the southern dialects in the abnormal transmission of Ar. \(\text{śin}\) as \(s\) instead of as \(ç\), which would point to an opposite trend;\(^{134}\) perhaps the two theories are not mutually exclusive, since there exist both a ceceo zone and a seseo zone in the south.\(^{135}\) Be that as it may, no analysis of the shift \(\text{assec}a\rangle > \text{acechar}\) would be complete unless presented against the background of the general vacillation between [s] and [ts] in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese.\(^{136}\) Some attention must be paid to [z] and [dz], too.

The following major groups of cases may be set off:

a) The medial sequence [ns], through a well-known mechanical process, tends to yield [nts], represented by \(nç\). This would apply

\(^{132}\) Thus, C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, speaking of the co-existence in M. Giraldo [and P. Menino] of graphs like sanco and \(ç\)anco, ssambarco and \(ç\)ambarco, çacotrim and sacotrim, amassar and amaçar, ervatunex and ervatunex, solorgiäaes and celorgiäaes, sumo and çumo, sumaqua and çumaque, lesmes and lesmez, adds: “Em geral esta troca é característica das regiões outrora mozárabes”; see RL, XIII, 392; more examples, including sosségo beside sócégo, pêssego and pécego, sebo besides cebo, were supplied by her in RL, XIII, 388, and attributed this time to false etymologies (but D. Carolina herself was guilty of furnishing a manifestly wrong explanation of sossegar, which goes back to subsécare!). In most of these cases, a late local development, unknown to Castilian, namely the coincidence of [s] and [ts] is involved.


\(^{134}\) A. Steiger, Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe, Madrid, 1932, pp. 136–143.

\(^{135}\) The respective areas have been clearly determined by T. Navarro, see RFE, XX, 225–277 (in collaboration with A. M. Espinosa, hijo, and L. Rodríguez Castellano).

\(^{136}\) Use has been made in the following notes of the material collected by J. D. M. Ford in his Old Spanish Sibilants, roughly half a century ago; this applies especially to references to Don Juan Manual, whose works have not appeared in improved editions. Some of Ford’s examples are reproduced by A. Zauner, Alspanisches Elementarbuch, p. 47; 2nd ed., p. 30.
to San Salvador;\textsuperscript{137} perhaps to trance;\textsuperscript{138} certainly not, as was once assumed, to concérrar;\textsuperscript{139} Germ. Gundisalvo > Gonçalvo illustrates the underlying development. Widespread confusion between consejo and conçejo (from consilium and concilium, respectively) may represent a case of lexical contamination, into which the phonological alternation of -ns- and -nç- may be involved as a concomitant factor.\textsuperscript{140} Ençerrarr, from serâre,\textsuperscript{141} and ençuziar, ençujar, ençuentar, from súcidas,\textsuperscript{142} are credited with having influenced the other mem-

\textsuperscript{137} Cantar de Mío Cid, line 2924; see Ford, op. cit., pp. 68–69.

\textsuperscript{138} Trance is retracted to transitus by G. Baist (Grundriss, I, 704; but not ZRPh., IX, 146), J. D. M. Ford (op. cit., p. 73), and W. Meyer-Lübke (REW\textsuperscript{2}, No. 8855); the latter assumes infiltration through French. Notice trançar in Danza de la muerte, l. 144.

\textsuperscript{139} Ford, op. cit., pp. 33 and 71, distinguishes between the bases suggested by Diez (*consertâre) and by Körtinq (*concertâre); in the latter case, the use of the asterisk was unnecessary, since concertâre is a recorded formation, which enjoyed considerable circulation.

\textsuperscript{140} As a rule, consejo was used for conçejo; this confirms the lexical, rather than the phonological, nature of the confusion. Thus, in Vida e Feitos de Júlio Cézar, fol. 29vo, OPtg. conselhô replaces OFr. concile, found in the model text. In Rimado de palacio, N, 284d, “city council” is expressed by conçejo; the corresponding passage of MS E contains consejo. In El Corbacho, fol. 30ro, consejo is tantamount to “council.” Greater care seems to have been exercised in charters. For material on OSP. conçejo, conçeçuedo, conseje, conçejâr, consejero, consejô (and cossel), see Oelschläger, Medieval Spanish Word-List, pp. 47, 48, 50. For OPtg. conçelô (A.D. 1328), conçelho (A.D. 1344), see A. Roseira, “Documentos braganços,” BF, III, 155, 161, 163.

\textsuperscript{141} The opinion here stated was shared by Ford and Meyer-Lübke (REW\textsuperscript{2}, No. 7867); Zauner suggested contamination with círrâre. Encêrrarr was a very common formation in the Middle Ages; to the examples from the Cantar de Mío Cid, the Fuero de Guadalajara, and the writings of Berceo, adduced by Oelschläger (op. cit., p. 76), add Elena y María, II. 103, 180; Juan Ruiz, 167d, 340a, 394c, 588b, 725a; Barlan e Josapha, fols. 101vo, 106ro, 207vo; Rimado de palacio, N, 754a, 768b, 1059a; Glosarios latino-españoles, E 3055; El Corbacho, fol. 46ro; Confissión del amante, fols. 111ro, 177vo. Cuervo, Disquisiciones filolóxicas, I, p. 158, quotes Cortes de Valladolid, A.D. 1322.

\textsuperscript{142} The following material has been culled from Old Spanish sources: ensuziar (Grail Fragments, fol. 275ro; Crescençia, chap. xxxiv; Cortes de Briviesca, A.D. 1387 [Cuervo, Disquis. filol., I, p. 157]; Glos. lat.-esp., T 1475, 1551; Barlan e Josapha, fols. 96ro, 130ro, 177vo; Rimado de palacio, N, 1051d; Visión de Fulberto, p. 511; El Corbacho, fols. 13vo, 68ro; Confissión del amante, fols. 26vo, 43vo, 243vo) besides later ençuziar (Confissión del amante, fols. 152vo, 248vo); ensuziar, quoted by Cuervo from Bocados de oro, may represent a poor reading. Enaç(i)ado is listed in the glossary to the Galician Crónica Troyana. Cf. ensuziamiento in Barlan e Josapha, fol. 116ro, beside ensuciamiento in Glos. lat.-esp., s. v. piaculum.

From Old Portuguese sources, I can produce ençuzar (Vida de Eufrósina, fols. 44ro, 44vo; Vida de María Egípcia, fol. 59vo [twice]; O Leal Conselheiro, fol. 49ro [see K. S. Roberts’ glossary]) and ençuentar (Traité de dévotion, fol. 151ro). Cf. the passage from Žurara in J. J. Nunes’ Florilégio.
bers of their families to exchange s- for ç-; ser(r)ar offered stronger resistance in the west,\(^{143}\) suzio prevailed in the center.\(^{144}\)

b) and c) Initial (rarely medial) s- was assimilated, permanently or occasionally, to the ç, that is [ts], of a (not necessarily immedi-

\(^{143}\) Forms with s- are extraordinarily rare in Old Spanish; Oelschläger, op. cit., p. 42, attests them from the Fuego de Ávilès (A.D. 1155) and from Santofina (A.D. 1210). The prevalent form was cerrar; see Vida de María Egipcicaqua, l. 895; Grail Fragments, fols. 268r0, 287r0; Juan Ruiz, 57d, 573b, 636c, 872c, 877b, 1129b; Raimundo de palacio, N, 135b, 169a, 1968c; Confesión del amante, fols. 45vo, 82vo, 229vo, 337vo, 350vo; El Corbacho, fols. 7ro, 17ro, 24ro, 53vo, 65ro, 84vo; and the numerous texts cited by Oelschläger and by the Diccionario histórico. Derivatives include: cerrador (Lapidario, ed. Vollmoller, pp. 18, 26); cerradura (Sacrificio de la misa, 58c; Vida de Mar. Eg., l. 574; J. Ruiz, 846d; El Corbacho, fol. 49ro); cerramiento (Signos, 12c); encerramiento (Estoria del Rey Anemur, pp. 332, 336); cerraja (Milagros, 877a; Estoria de Anemur, ed. Lauchert, p. 343; Glos. lat.-esp., E 2961); cerrajo (Glos. lat.-esp., E 714, P 388); de ç cerrajar (El Corbacho, fol. 49ro); cerrajo (Cuentos del Emperador Ottas, ch. xli; El Corbacho, fols. 17ro, 24ro; Cadisto y Melibea [1499], p. 141bis); on the latter formation, see W. von Warburg, Einführung in Problematik und Methodik der Sprachwissenschaft, Halle a. S., 1943, p. 74.

In Old Portuguese, an exceptionally rich set of reflexes is on record. To begin with, ensarrar (see glossary to the Old Galician Crónica Troyana) beside encerrar (Vida de Mar. Eg., fol. 58ro; Tr. de dévotion, fol. 143ro [three times]; Vida e Feitos de Júlio César, fols. 1ro, 16ro, 28ro, 35vo, 44ro, 47ro, 47vo; Crónica de D. João Primeiro, pp. 42, 191, 204, 283). Then the oldest type serar (Livro de Citraria, l. 504); the intermediary types serrar (Livro de Falcoaria, A, fols. 36vo, 52vo) and sarrar (Livro de Falcoaria, p. lx1, 19), with a geminate medial consonant possibly due to the influence of ferrum (see REW\(^2\) and Ernout-Meillet, DELL;\(^2\) s. vv. sera, serra), cf. sarrasom (Crónica de D. João Primeiro, p. 262); finally the most advanced forms: gerrar (Livro de Falcoaria, A, fol. 31vo) and especially cerrar (Vida de Mar. Eg., fol. 52vo; Tr. de dévotion, fol. 144ro; Vida e Feitos de Júlio César, fols. 20vo, 27vo, 41ro [the passage huï̃ lugar cerrado e cerrado de paos seems to strengthen Zauner's theory on the origin of the initial ç], 46vo; O Leal Conselheiro, fol. 44vo; Crónica Troyana (glossary); Livro de Falcoaria, A, fol. 52vo, and B, fols. 45vo and 48vo; Crónica de D. João Primeiro, pp. 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 42, 78, 131, 164, 167, 191, etc. On a similar opening of e to a in the Aragonese products of serra, see Elcock, op. cit., pp. 37–38. Dialectal material on cerrar and cerrojo, ferrolho is offered by Espinosa, Arcaísmos, p. 17. In some of the above-cited Portuguese forms, especially from later texts, initial s- may be due to regression. On Ast. sarrar, ciarrar, see Acevedo y Huelves, p. 234.

\(^{144}\) In Old Portuguese, çujo (Vida de Mar. Eg., fols. 57ro, 61vo; Crón. João I, p. 236) and cugidade (Vida de Mar. Eg., fols. 58ro, 59ro, 59vo; O Leal Conselheiro, fol. 54ro) were the basic forms; sugidade and sujar (Livro de Citraria, ll. 536, 537) may be due to late confusion of s- and ç-. Notice çugidade in A. R. Nykhl, “A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature,” RHi, LXX, 190.

By contrast, the forms with s- have always been dominant in Spanish. Suzio: Cantar de Mio Cid and Berceo (see Oelschläger, p. 197); Vida de Mar. Eg., ll. 725, 1016; J. Ruiz, 466d, 1620c, 1666g; Barlan e Josapha, fol. 115ro; Raimundo de palacio, N, 47c, 1210b; El Corbacho, fols. 9ro, 25vo, 26ro, 39vo, 42ro, 50vo, 55vo, 57vo,
ately) following syllable, as in cacaçdote beside saçerdote,\(^{145}\) Cçaragoçça preceded by Saragoçça,\(^{146}\) sarça traceable to sarça,\(^{147}\) cçarçillo < sarçillo,\(^{148}\) cççina < siccina\(^{149}\) and its congener cççial,\(^{150}\) cçedaço < saetã-69ro; Confícion de amante, fol. 72vo; Calisto y Melibeà (1499), p. 11423; Torres Nahraro, ed. Gillet, I, 178, 245; II, 275; but susio in Vísiçon de Filiberto, p. 5925, and El Corbaco, fol. 9ro. Cuwio was rather exceptional: El Corbaco, fols. 3ro, 21ro (see A. Steiger, BRAE, X, 170, with a reference to the survival of this graph as late as Covarrubias; for a dialectal trace, see [\"thu-\"yo] and [en-thu-\"çjal\] in the neighborhood of Plasencia, recorded by Espinosa, Arcaísmos, p. 63). Derivatives clearly demonstrate the prevalence of s-: sus(ih)uelo in Berceo (see Oelschläger); susizedumme (ibid.); suziedad (Bercose [see Oelschläger]; J. Ruiz, 456d, 1176c; Barlan e Josapha, fols. 109ro var., 126vo, 194vo var; Rimado de palacio, E, 1620b; El Corbaco, fols. 52vo, 84ro; Lapidario, p. 85; Calisto y Melibeà (1499), pp. 825, 11023 (with the late variant suçiedad in Confícion de amante, fol. 292vo) and, with the simplification of the ascending diphthong (as observed by M. A. Zeitlin, MLF, XXIV, 84–90), suzidad: Barlan e Josapha, fols. 109ro, 115ro, 118vo, 127ro, 168vo, 194vo; Estoria de Anemur, pp. 36921, 37820. The vacillation between su- and çw- seems to have spread to other stems; Rouanet’s edition of old forces contains cuçir (I, 226; II, 289, 436; III, 255) and incçufiré (IV, 447, 450); cf. Aljam. çufrençya beside íñufriçência (RHí, LXX, 190, 205).\(^{146}\)

Caçardote is found in Torres Nahraro, ed. Gillet, I, 289; saçerdote was the basic form (Kabila et Digna, ed. Allen, p. 144; Barlan e Josapha, fols. 100vo, 169ro; Confícion de amante, fols. 370ro, 133vo, 201ro).\(^{147}\)

Cf. Ford, op. cit., p. 74. Çaragoçça is found in the Cancionero de Baena, Nos. 65, 67. Proper names, if carefully surveyed, would swell the list of words here cited. In Kabila et Digna, ed. Allen, p. 224, notice the variants Senseba, Sençeba, Çençeba.\(^{148}\)

A word not yet accounted for by etymologists. Notice Pt. sarça, sarçal; OSp. sarçà (Docum. ling. Esp., No. 37 [Cast. Norte, A.D. 1132]; Juan Manuel, Libro de caball. e del esc., p. 50921), sarçal (Oelschläger refers to texts of the years 1153 and 1212), ensarrçado (Bercose, Milagros, 279c; the spelling ensarrizado is visibly due to later distortion) beside less ancient sarça: Glo sareños latino-españoles, E 1758, T 395; Torres Nahraro, ed. Gillet, I, p. 282; Fr. Íñigo de Mendoza, Canc. cast. del siglo quince, I, 5. Etymologies proposed include español (Ford, op. cit., p. 73); pre-Roman *arcà (REW3, No. 615a); Lat. sarçitu (Sánchez Sevilla, RFE, XIV, 176–180; Meyer-Lübke’s comment: “lautlich und begrifflich schwierig”). A. Alonso, who favors derivation from sarçitu (NRFH, I, 1), quotes sarço and çarço from the Crónica general.\(^{149}\)

From sarçulum, *sarceilum “weeding hook”; see Garcia de Diego, Contribución, No. 534. Sarçillo occurs in J. Ruiz, 718d; çarçillo, ibid. (MS G). Not to be confused with çarçillo < cirellu.\(^{150}\)

The suffix is the same as in golosina (for older golosta). The etymology is approved by Menéndez Pidal, Manual4, p. 120. Çêçina occurs in J. Ruiz, 1084b, 1093a, 1106c, 1123a, 1125d; the Dicc. Hist., II, 927, offers quotations from the Libro de Alexandre, the Cancionero de Baena, and other sources. C. Michælis de Vasseconcelos, RL, III, 138–139, attributes the Portuguese variant form chácina to the influence of PN Chacim in Trás-os-montes. There exist the two verbs cecinar (Montoro, G. Herrera, Guevara, Laguna) and acecinar.\(^{150}\)

See J. Ruiz, 1118b; Richardson translates: “cured and dry (of fish).” The
ceu 151 with the derivatives çedaçero 152 and çedaçuelo, 153 serviço besides standard servicio, 154 çimençera related to simiente, simençera; 155 çoçobra enroaching upon socobra, 156 çolloçar and (with vowel dissimulation) çalloçar endangering solloçar, 157 reçucitar threatening to

Dicc. Hist., II, 926, offers further examples: Fernández de Oviedo, Nola, Horozco, Motiño, Quevedo, and Góngora. The variant çicional is recorded by Tallgren-Tuulio, op. cit., p. 79.

151 On this word-family, see, in addition to the Diccionario histórico, also J. Cejador y Frauca, Tesoro de la lengua castellana: Silbantes, 3 vols., Madrid, 1912, I, 317–318. Portuguese has preserved sedaço; reflexes in the dialects of Western Spain have been collected by Espinosa. Arcaísmos, p. 32. Elcock, op. cit., pp. 43, 63, 115, contrasts Bearn. [so-tas] with Arag. [θo-ta-θo]. The spelling cedazo appears as early as Glos. lat.-esp., E 814 and 548. See also note 97. The Dicc. Hist., II, 928, documents derivatives in -er,a, -eria, -ero, -ico, -illo, -ueelo. J. Saroi珪andhy’s conjecture, BH, IV, 218, is infelicitous.

152 Glos. lat.-esp., E 623: cedazero.

153 J. Ruiz, 919b: çedaçuelo; Glos. lat.-esp., E 2042: zaçuelo. Notice that the use of z for Standard Old Spanish į is a peculiarity of the Escorial glossary; cf. note 184.

154 Çervicio is very old; Menéndez Pidal, Manual 6, p. 120, traces it to an Old Leonese document of the year 1079; Oelschläger provides a reference to Covarrubias, A.D. 1148. See Cantar de Mio Cid, II, 69, 1535. The standard form was servicio: add to the examples of Oelschläger (p. 191) and Ford (p. 86) the following instances: Santa Catalina, fol. 15ro; Grail Fragments, fol. 273vo; El Cavallero Plácidas, fols. 27vo, 31vo; El Corbacho, fol. 69ro; Calisto y Melibea, pp. 1, 1144. The Old Portuguese counterpart was servico: Vida e Feitos de J. César, fols. 33ro, 34ro. Forms with initial s- and c- have been identified by Espinosa, op. cit., p. 22.

155 Çimençera is frequent in D. Juan Manuel, El libro de la caza, ed. Baist; see pp. 749, 757, 776, 7929 (Ford, op. cit., pp. 41, 71). But Berceco used semençero “siembar”; notice also sementera (Doc. ling. Esp., No. 261; Toledo, A.D. 1191), from semiente, simiente (whereas the word under study is based on OSp. semiença < *sèmentia). Tallgren, op. cit., p. 79, quotes çemençera.

156 By the year 1500, the two forms co-existed; socobra occurs in Torres Naharro, ed. Gillet, I, 168; çoçobra in Calisto y Melibea (1499), pp. 915, 1018, also in Fr. Íñigo de Mendoza, Canc. cast. del siglo quince, I, 2. Several scholars, including Cuervo, Gorra, and Menéndez Pidal, posit the hypothetical base *subsupräre (the “ups and downs” of anxiety are meant); see also G. Sachs, RFE, XXIII, 183–188. The graph çobra is found as early as J. Ruiz, 1553b and the Cancionero de Baena, No. 58. Rodrigo Cota used çobra, see Canc. cast. del s. quince, II, 548b; socobra and çobra alternate in the Cancionero general of 1511 (NRFH, I, 2). Zoçobra seems to perpetuate OCat. sotsobre, with eastern pronunciation of e, see J. Corominas, Symp., II, 114.

157 The etymon is *subgluitiāre; subgluttium is recorded in glosses; see REX, No. 7943; Manual 6, p. 164. The following forms have been collected: solloçar (Rimado de palacio, N, 686b); sollozar (Cuento del Emperador Otta, chap. xlii; El Corbacho, fol. 58vo); solloço (Barlan e Josapha, fol. 193vo; El Corbacho, fol. 66ro); çolloçar (Conf. del amante, fol. 62ro); çolloçar (Rimado de palacio, N, 834b; but MS E has solloçar); çalluçar (Torres Naharro, II, p. 274).
supersedes *resu(s)*çitar,"\(^{158}\) the latter like *servicio* a manifestly learned formation. The etymology of OSP. *çaraça* "meatball filled with glass (to kill dogs)," long unknown,"\(^{159}\) has been established by M. L. Wagner: the word is a variant form of *ceraça < *cēræca*, see *RFE*, XXI, 225–228.

Or else medial *s* was assimilated to the *ç* of a preceding (usually, initial syllable), as in *çesar* beside *cesar,"\(^{160}\) *çençienço* beside *çençienso,"\(^{161}\) dial. *recezo, receza* from *recessus."\(^{162}\) It is not without significance

\(^{158}\) *Reççitar* was by no means uncommon; cf. *Kalila et Digna*, ed. Allen, p. 13 (MS B); *Barlan e Josapha*, fols. 106vo var., 190vo var.; *Conf. del amante*, fols. 97vo, 122vo, 272vo (twice), 379ro. But *resu(s)*çilar prevailed throughout the Middle Ages; Oelschläger, *op. cit.*, p. 179, attests it from the *Cantar de Mío Cid* and from Bercceo; add J. Manuel, *Libro del cavallero e del escudero* (see Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 36); *Santa Catalina*, fols. 17vo, 18ro; J. Ruiz, 1639d, 1645c; *Barlan e Josapha*, fols. 106vo, 117ro; *El Cavallero Placidus*, fol. 24vo; *Crescentia*, chapter IV; *Grail Fragments*, fols. 255ro, 263ro; Palencia, *Dos tratados*, II, 50; Torres Naharro, II, 255; cf. the derivative in *-ador* in *Grail Fragments*, fol. 253ro.

Comparative cases include: *cerceuela* ‘cerceuela’ (Alexandre, P, 1904b; O, 1763b: *cerceuela*); *çilienço* (Alexandre, P, 1249b, 1251b); *zuyso* (Romancero general, see Rodríguez Marín, *Dos mil quinientas voces*, p. 408); Ast. *zorza* ‘piecillo para el chorizo’ < *sorice* (García de Diego, *Manual de dialectología española*, Madrid, 1946), p. 153. The reverse type of assimilation is discernible in *proçeccion* (*Apollonia*, 296b), facilitated by the rivalry between *-sion* and *-cion*.

\(^{159}\) See J. Ruiz, 175b; Calisto y Melibea (1499), p. 132b. We might add to this series the case of *Veldquez* as against *Velasco*, pointed out by Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, p. 198. The case of *mació* is more complicated, as much as *-ieus* ordinarily yielded *-izo* in Old Spanish; see Espinosa, *Arcaísmos*, p. 32. Notice also *ceciliano* "sicilanian" in the *Libros de Caballerías* and in Huerta (*Dicc. Hist.*, II, 926). Notice Ogéal. *Ceilla* "Sicily" (*Cantigas*, Nos. 19, 169, 307, 334); *çizilla* "Sicilian," fem. (ibid., No. 69).

\(^{160}\) Examples of OSP. *çesar*: *Kalila et Digna*, ed. Allen, MS A, chap. ii, l. 6; *Confisión del amante*, fol. 25vo. *Çesar* was the dominant form; see Bercceo (Oelschläger, *op. cit.*, p. 42a); *Euforia del Rey Anemur* (Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 34); *Visión de Filiberto* (ibid., p. 33); *Glos. lat.-esp. s. v. vaco*; *Rímano de palacio*, N, 147c, 807h, 808a, 809e, 822d, 828a, 1248b; *El Corbacho*, fols. 2ro, 6vo, 17vo, 27vo, 33ro, 54vo; *Confisión del amante*, fols. 33vo, 75ro, 139vo; also in Old Portuguese, cf. *Vida e Feitos de J. César*, fols. 8ro, 44vo.


that there existed previously numerous Old Spanish words exhibiting the sequence ç . . . ç, such as açuçena, boceçar, çanecer (<loçanecer), çençeño, çençerro, çençerrilla, çerçenar, çerçillo

Seems to be a typographical error. "çençeño" appears in Kalila et Dīgna, ed. Allen, p. 86 (MS A, fol. 48 ro). The editor hesitated between the readings çanecer and çawecer and pointed out that the equivalent in MS B was alegarçese (p. 215). Solalinde's edition of the text and his interpretation of the word (p. 290) are not accessible to me. The passage reads as follows: “Enpero yo meneavalos e çanecia con ellos quando quier que me venia emjentes.” See my essay on lo(u)çano in Three Hispanic Word Studies, UCPL, I, 248-257, 260-267, 284-288.

This word is the object of a special article. Diez, Körting, and Meyer-Lübke omitted it in their dictionaries; Richardson connected it with *singellus, Aguna with *cincingulum, Monlau with azymum, Alemany Bolufer admitted his inability to explain it, García de Diego erroneously linked it to sincêrûs, but pointed out some important reflexes, including Sal. recençada “la niebla humeda y fria de los dias de hielo, la escarcha” and senceño in Villalba, El peregrino curioso, Bibl. Esp., XXIII, 438 (see “Etimologias espanolas,” RFE, VII, 117-119, and “Etimología idealista,” RFE, XV, 232-234; in his criticism of García de Diego’s derivation of OSp. sencido from sincêrûs rather than from sancitûs, Spitzer, “Notes etymologiques,” RFE, XIII, 115-116, failed to discuss cenceño). Cenceño signified not only unleavened,” speaking of bread (cf. Prim. crón. gen., p. 120a14), but also “tall, lean, thin,” e.g. in J. Ruiz and in Bernal Díaz del Castillo (“çençeño e de pocas carnes”). Many additional data have been assembled by Espinosa, Arcásimos, p. 105. The etymon is undoubtedly cincinnus “curl, lock” (> “thin”), see ThLL, 111, 1060; see also Glos. lat.-esp., E 441 and T 1527. The Castilian suffix -eñô thus goes back not only to -ineus, but to -innus as well; the statements in AJPh., LXV, 372-381, require revision. (Since the completion of the present article, the special study here promised has appeared: “The Etymology of Spanish cenceño,” St. Phil., XLV, 37-49.)

See J. Ruiz, 874d, 1188b; Glos. lat.-esp., P 161, T 856; Torres Naharro, I, p. 263. The etymon is Basque zinzerri, see RER², No. 9621.

See Torres Naharro, I, p. 225.

Examples include Barlan e Josapha, fol. 104ro; Glos. lat.-esp., E 2518. The spelling sercenado in Berceo, San Millán, 91a, is comparable to those discussed in notes 178-180.
beside carcillo,\textsuperscript{170} cician < scissione,\textsuperscript{171} ciérco,\textsuperscript{172} cizaña,\textsuperscript{173} exerçició,\textsuperscript{174} notice the group cercustancia, ciença, conçiençia, licencía, magnificência.\textsuperscript{175} In spite of this strong pressure, some learned words like silêncio, solaz beside solacíó, solución, and suficiente, seem to have succeeded in preserving the inherited s.\textsuperscript{176} Although the general tendency in Spanish has been to replace s by ç rather than the

\textsuperscript{170} See \textit{REW}³, No. 1939, s. v. circellus, and \textit{Manual⁸}, p. 70. Cercillo occurs in \textit{Glos. lat.-esp.}, E 447, 2019; also in numerous sources quoted in the \textit{Dicc. Hist.}, II, 997; the variant form carcillo in J. Ruiz, 1004a. Cárçillo is simultaneously a product of sarcellum.

\textsuperscript{171} This word, signifying “chill, fever, and ague,” occurs in \textit{Rimado de palacio}, N, 462c (the corresponding passage in MS E contains secciones), and in \textit{Confissió de l'amante}, fol. 125vo. Meyer-Lübke does not list it in his dictionary; Cuervo, \textit{Disquisiciones filológicas}, I, p. 151, conceded that the origin of the word was unknown to him. The \textit{Dicc. Hist.}, II, 927, offers material from the \textit{Crónica de D. Juan II}, from Zurita, Pineda, and Tirso de Molina.

Two etymologies suggest themselves: scissiö “division, cut” (Macrobius), “tearing apart” (Arator); and sectiö “(surgical) cut, operation” (Pliny), “castration” (Apuleius). Semantically, the second base, long known to the medical profession, seems the more acceptable (“operation” > “fever”). See also Menéndez Pidal, \textit{Romania}, XXIX, 345, and J. Vallejo, \textit{RFE}, XXVIII, 63–66, who posit accessiö. As a term of agriculture (“harvest” > “July”), sectiö has, incidentally, been perpetuated in Franco-Provençal, see \textit{REW}³, No. 7767. In that same dictionary, the entry *scisàre (No. 7725) is in urgent need of revision.

\textsuperscript{172} In Latin, both circius and cercius are recorded, the latter in Seneca, a native of Spain; cf. linteum beside lenteum (in inscriptions), which underlies OSP. lêncô, Ptg. lenço. Therefore, Ford (\textit{op. cit.}, p. 33) and Meyer-Lübke (\textit{REW}³, No. 1945) were wrong in starring cercius; as usual, Menéndez Pidal was more accurate, see \textit{Manual⁸}, p. 150. Examples include \textit{Docum. ling. Esp.}, No. 110 (La Rioja Baja, A.D. 1147); J. Manuel, \textit{El libro de la caza}, p. 517, and \textit{El libro del cavallero e del escudero}, pp. 500\textsuperscript{a} and 504\textsuperscript{a}, 21; \textit{Glos. lat.-esp.}, T 24, E 550, 551. For dialectal material, see Espinosa, \textit{Arcaísmos}, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{173} This is a literary word of Greco-Latin background (gutzávia); a relatively old example would be Torres Naharro, II, p. 250. The second consonant appears to have been voiced, according to material assembled by Espinosa, \textit{Arcaísmos}, pp. 42, 92–93.

\textsuperscript{174} Exerçició appears in late Old Spanish; see \textit{Confissió de l'amante}, fol. 118vo; Palencia, \textit{Dos tratados}, I, 5, 103; II, 6, 7. In the latter work, notice also exercitaciön: II, 20, 21, 22, 23, etc.

\textsuperscript{175} See my word-list in \textit{UCPL}, I, 101–132.

\textsuperscript{176} Silêncio occurs in Berceo; see also Barlan e Josapha, fol. 207vo, \textit{Confissió de l'amante}, fols. 51ro, 182vo. OSP. solaz, solazar, solazoso go back to sôlácium rather than solatium (Ford, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16), are presumably borrowings, although Menéndez Pidal, \textit{Manual⁸}, pp. 168, 231, does not seem to admit it. Solacição is of later date; see Torres Naharro, I, 156, 255. Solución occurs in \textit{Confissió de l'amante}, fol. 176ro; suficienç, \textit{ibid.}, fol. 220vo, and previously in Barlan e Josapha, fol. 143ro. Notice that the prefix sobre-, very much in contrast to so-, preserves the traditional form, in spite of the temptation to assimilate initial s- to medial ç- in words like sobreçea, sobreçena.
reverse, the state of flux and uncertainty could not but lead to the coinage of occasional variants like serqeta (beside çerçeta),178 serviz (beside cerviz, pronounced [tservitz]),179 selicío (beside çeliçio, çêliçio).180

d) Initial s- was partially assimilated to medial z [dz] by changing into ç- [ts]; total assimilation would have been structurally impossible in this case.181 Çenziello beside senziello is a clear-cut,182

177 The phenomenon has been briefly touched upon by Menéndez Pidal in Manual, p. 198. The original standard word for “left” was siniestro; later we find ysquierdo (Calisto y Melibea, pp. 122a, 142b) beside yzquierdo (Lapidario [quoted by Ford, op. cit., p. 26]; Torres Naharro, II, 231); mesclar (Vida Mar. Eg., l. 200; Palencia, Dos tratados, II, 26) beside mezclar (Dos tratados, II, 51); mesquino (Vida Mar. Eg., l. 73, 270, 353, 404; Dança da muerte, l. 470; Palencia, Tratados, II, 31, and passim in Old Spanish texts) beside later mezquino; then biscocho for biscocho, etc. The starting point of this movement, characterizing the language of the declining Middle Ages, remains to be determined. It is not impossible that the process was parallel to the shift assechanga > acechanga; if so, the initial phase must have been the coexistence of mesclar and mezclanza (see UCPL, I, 108), the forerunner of mescolanza; then the verb changed to mezclar; mesquino followed suit and emerged as mezquino; and an ever increasing number of other formations have since been involved. If detailed studies should corroborate this hypothesis, the origin of a minor phonetic shift would be determined.

178 Çerçeta “widgeon” goes back to querquêduela, *cerçeđula, see REW3, No. 6952; cf. OFr. cercele. Examples include: J. Manuel, Libro de la caza (Ford, op. cit., pp. 34, 37, where çerçereto is also attested) and Glos. lat.-esp., T 730, E 1136; the Dicc. Hist., II, 997, quotes from the Libro de Alexandre, from Villena, and López de Ayala. The abnormal variant serqeta appears in Glos. lat.-esp., P 151. Notice the use of sierço for çierço in Canticum Canticorum, 4: 16 (ed. Cornu).

179 Çerviz: J. Ruiz, 242a, 1293d; Barlan e Josapha, fol. 175ro; Rimado de palacio, E, 1738d; Confisión del amante, fol. 142vo; Calisto y Melibea, p. 30a. Serviz: Rimado de palacio, N, 1099a. See REW3, No. 1848.

180 The popular form of cíliçio < κλικίαστις has not persisted in Western Romance. Çêliçio: Barlan e Josapha, fol. 133vo; çêliçio: Santa Oria, 17b; J. Ruiz, 1255d; Barlan e Josapha, fols. 104ro, 146ro; J. Ruiz, 1255d; Estoria del Rey Anemur, p. 6; Dança da muerte, l. 258; for more examples, see the Dicc. Hist., II, 951. The erratic variant selicío is mentioned by Ford as occurring in Estoria del Rey Anemur, p. 387.

181 Initial [dz] does not seem to have existed in Old Spanish. True, in Hellenisms graphs like zelo, zelar, zeloso, zealotes, zefiro are on record; but then, the same words were frequently spelled with ç- and there is nothing to prove that the use of z- was more than a historical reminiscence. See Ford, op. cit., pp. 25, 35.

On ititial z-, see Joseph J. Cheskis, RR, VII, 230, who offers the control of Hebrew transliterations (many Hebrew words are misprinted). Notice zeniza in the Cancionero de Baena, No. 86, and in the Libro de la miseria de homme, 21a (against ceniza: 13b; ceniza: 23a).

182 Senziello was used in the earlier texts (e.g. Libro del cavallero e del escudero, p. 494a), senzillo in the later texts (J. Ruiz, 1019c, 1555d; Calisto y Melibea, p.
çisra (<*çizra < sicera) a tolerably reliable example. Notice that this explanation would apply also to súcida > OSp. suzió, çuzio, but not to OPortg. çujo; since diffusion of a Castilian feature is unlikely in this case, the word has been classed under a).

e) Medial -s- [z] changed to -z- [dz] in partial assimilation to initial ç- [ts] at a very early date; this assumption would explain the three notoriously difficult words çeniza, çeresa, and çerveza.

141a; Torres Naharro, I, 270). The aberrant variant çenillo occurs in Rimado de palacio, N, 139b (but MS E: senzillo), and in P. Guillén de Segovia, see Tallgren, op. cit., p. 79. Çenillo was used by Venegas, in contrast to Nebrija, according to B. Escudero de Juana, La ortografía de Lebrija comparada con la de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII, Madrid, 1923, pp. 26, 27, 123. Traces of the abnormal pronunciation have been identified by Espinosa, Arcaísmos, p. 78. Çenillo appears in the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo. To this case may be likened Lat. sacríre > OSp. çarzir, çurzir, but in Portuguese with s-; see Espinosa, op. cit., p. 16. A. Alonso’s derivation of çurzir, surzir (both spellings occur in Covarrubias) from surgere (NRFH, 1, 1) appears hazardous to me in the light of Ptg. serzir. The pending publication of H. and R. Kahano’s splendid study on surgere in the Romance languages may clarify the issue.


184 Espinosa, Arcaísmos, p. 89, has correctly observed that in this and the following two words initial [ts] may have swerved medial -s- [z] from its normal course, changing it into [dz]. But, in contrast to the present writer, he seems to reckon with yet other factors. The base is given by Cuervo and Ford as *ciniciu, by Meyer-Lübke as *cinisua (REW3, No. 1930); the latter reconstruction is accepted in Manual4, p. 180, where cendra is retracted to cinere, p. 161; the plural cinera would have been more accurate. Çeniza was the standard form: Santa Marta, fols. 3vo, 5vo; J. Ruiz, 75a, 1178d; Barlan e Josepha, fols. 120vo, 197vo; Rimado de palacio, N, 955a, 1066d, 1177b, 1183c; Glos. lat.-esp., E 884; El Corbacho, fol. 40vo; Confisión del amante, fol. 395vo; Torres Naharro, I, 152, and II, 30; cf. OJud.-Sp. de[s]çenizar: _HR_, X, 41. But notice çenisa in Rimado de palacio, E, 1587b, 1589c; for examples of çeniga, see the Dicc. Hist., II, 966. The variant zeniza in Glos. lat.-esp., E 2356, may be due to an orthographic whim; cf. enblanquezer (E 2393, 2424, 2502) beside enblanquecido (T 1399); cf. note 153.

For the West, cf. OGal. cijsa, cijsa, quoted by Rübeckamp, _BF_, I, 306. The vacillation, in _P_. Menino’s _Livro de Falcoria_, between sinza (MS A, fol. 46vo [twice]) and ciinzia (MS B, fol. 55vo) is too late to carry great significance.


186 The base is given as cervésia or cervetia; _Baist_, _Grundriss_, 2nd ed., I, p. 886,
f) Some words show a shift $\varsigma > s$ (apparently orthographic rather than phonetic) in late Old Portuguese alone: *çamarrá*, *censor*, *çima*, *çumo*, *dança*; conversely, *massa* yields to *maça*. Regional coincidence of two originally separate sounds is involved.

g) Occasionally, the shift $s > \varsigma$ is not traceable to an internal Romance process, but goes back to an earlier phase. This is certainly true of *çendal*, connected with *σωδόν*; it may apply to the reconstructions of the termination *-icia*. Menéndez Pidal and Espinosa assume that the word does not belong to the traditional stock. My collection does not contain very old examples; the *Dicc. Hist.*, II, 1024, quotes *ceresía* from Gordonio; *cerrisa* from *Andanzas de Tafur*; *cereza* from Fernández de Oviedo.

187 The etymon is Ar. *sammūr*; notice the variant *chamarrā* (*Manual*, p. 121); *çamarrá* is found in *Rimado de palacio*, N, 293b; *çamarrón* in Torres Naharro, I, 284. On the question of spelling in Portuguese, see J. Leite de Vasconcelos, *Estudos de Filologia Mirandesa*, 2 vols., Lisbon, 1900–1901, II, 180.

188 In *Vida e Feitos de Júlio César*, both *çessor* (fol. 2vo) and *ssensor* (fol. 2ro) are found.

189 In Old Spanish, only *çiña* < *çiyna* < *çiyna* seems to occur; in Old Portuguese, *çima* dominates, but toward the close of the Middle Ages, as the borderline between *s* and *ç* was effaced, the spelling *simā* is found, too; cf. *Livro de Falcoraria*, A, fols. 37ro, 48vo, 54ro (as against MS B, fols. 48ro, 56vo); *Livro de Citaria*, II, 145, 184, 199, 356, 468, 658, 760, 834 (as against II, 423, 829, 836).

190 The etymology of this word is debated. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 34, favors Gr. *ἡμόσ*; Meyer-Lübke (*REW*, No. 9632) follows Fokker in tracing the word to Ar. *zūm*. Espinosa, *Arcaísmos*, pp. 43–44, thinks of a contamination of the Greek word by *sucus*. In Old Spanish *ç-* prevails throughout: *Libro del cavallero e del escudero*, p. 509; *Lapidario*, p. 1620; *El Corbacho*, fol. 42vo; *Confesión del amante*, fol. 230vo; *Calisto y Melibea*, p. 182; Torres Naharro, I, 291. Notice Old Leonese *zumar* in *Libro de los caballos*, p. 150. In late Old Portuguese, there was a (presumably orthographic) wavering between *çumo* (*Livro de Falcoraria*, A, fols. 31vo [twice], 40vo; B, fols. 47ro, 51vo) and *sumo* (*Livro de Falcoraria*, A, fol. 31vo; *Livro de Citaria*, lines 476, 575, 845, 852).

191 The etymology of this word is one of the most debated problems in Romance linguistics. Germanic origin is probable. In Old Spanish the only spelling known was with *ç-*: *dança* (*Santa Catalina*, fol. 14vo; *Barlan e Josapha*, fol. 183ro; *Glos. lat.-esp.*, E 775; *Dança de la muerte, passim*; *El Corbacho*, fol. 25ro), *dancar* (*El Corbacho*, fol. 65vo; *Confesión del amante*, fols. 178vo, 214vo, 264vo, 347vo, 377vo, 402vo, 465vo; Palencia, *Dos tratados*, II, 43), *dançador* (*El Corbacho*, fol. 61vo).

192 In Old Spanish, one finds *massa* (*Vida Mar. Eq.*, I, 765), *amassar* (J. Ruiz, 968c; *Rimado de palacio*, N, 1276b, 1836a); but in late Old Portuguese rather *maça* (*Livro de Citaria*, l. 478), *amaçar* (ibid., l. 477, 553).

193 Cf. the notes 74 and 81 with the notes 187–192.

194 Extrapeninsular branches of this difficult word also presuppose a variant form of the base with initial [ts]; see Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 70; A. Castro, *RFE*, VIII, 333–334; *REW*, No. 7935; Oelschläger is in doubt whether the form *cedal* (Covarrubias, A.D. 1112) should be classed as a variant. A. Alonso is inclined to ascribe the form of *cedal* to Arabic transmission (*RFH*, VII, 60–63; *NRFH*, I, 2).
prefixes sub-, sym > ça-, çam-;\(^{195}\) the latter may have paved the way for saburra > çahorra.\(^{196}\) Soccu > çueco is obscure.\(^{197}\)

h) There remains a small residue of words defying classification. The best known is quisab > quiça, Mod. Sp. quizá\(s)\(^{198}\).

Against this background, the shift assechança > acechança, entailing the transformation of assechar into acechar, loses its appearance of anomaly. The breakdown shows clearly that acechança belongs to subgroup b), by far the strongest of all those studied. Though the shift was tendential, there are few cases in which it was to be expected and yet failed to materialize. Once a derivative in -ança was coined from assechar (conceivably in imitation of matança,

\(^{195}\) The history of this prefix ça(m)- will be traced in a separate essay.

\(^{196}\) Bourciez, Éléments, 3rd ed., p. 406, and Menéndez Pidal, Manual, p. 120, attribute this change to Andalusian ceceo without associating it with the general development of the prefixes sub-, sym-.

\(^{197}\) There exists a rich literature on this word, which cannot be discussed here; see H. Schuchardt, ZRPK., XV, 106; W. Meyer-Lübke, REW, No. 8052; G. Gröber, ALLG., V, 471; J. D. M. Ford, Sibilants, pp. 72–73; E. Gorra, Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini, p. 53; V. García de Diego, "Etimologías españolas," RFE, VI, 127–131; L. Spitzer and A. Castro, RFE, VIII, 404; R. Menéndez Pidal, Manual, p. 120; A. M. Espinosa hijo, Arcaísmos, pp. 18–19.

A definite study remains to be written. An old instance would be Estoria de los cuatro dotores, p. 106\(a\).

\(^{198}\) To the studies of Cuervo, Ford, Tallgren, Hanssen, Menéndez Pidal, Gavel, García de Diego, Krüger, and Sánchez Sevilla, ably summarized by Espinosa, Arcaísmos, pp. 100–101, add Á. W. Munthe, Anteckningar om folkmålet i en trakt af vestra Asturien, Upsala, 1887, p. 85 (where WAst. quizabis, quiciabis; Standard Bable quicaiues, quicisdes; Gal. quizaves, quizaes, quizais, quizayes, etcyayes); R. K. Spaundling, "Two Problems of Spanish Syntax," Hisp., XXIV, 311–315 (who is more concerned with the rise of the variant quizás), and J. D. Fitzgerald, RHi, VI, 249–255. In the 16th and early 16th century, quiçá was the prevalent form; see Carlos Maynes, chap. xxxvii; Enperator Ottas, chap. xlix; El Corbacho, fols. 29vo, 36vo (twice), 42ro, 43vo (twice), 47vo, 49vo, 50vo, 57ro, 67vo, 72vo, 90vo; Confesión del amante, fols. 388ro, 397ro; Calisto y Melibea, pp. 3s, 3n, 48s, 57s, 136n, 147s; Palencia, Dos tratados, I, 78; Torres Naharro, I, 179, 227, 261, 262; II, 20, 79, 143, 147. Notice quiçave in Kalila et Digna, ed. Allen, p. 193avar; similar forms occur as late as the Judeo-Spanish Biblia de la Casa de Alba; Ast. quizaves, quiciaves, quiciabes are recorded by Acevedo y Huelves (p. 183) and Canellada (p. 308). The degree of confusion is exemplified by the use of quiçá in the Farca a manera de tragedia, ed. Rennert, lines 479, 990, beside quiçás, ibid., lines 676, 938.

I have deliberately omitted obvious loan-words like OSp. cafrin <OFr. safrin (A. Castro, RFE, VIII, 326–327; X, 135); rancal, possibly from Reims (id., ibid., X, 125). A Alonso, NRFH, I, 1, would have done well to separate sinzel, cinzel "chisel," borrowed from Provençal-Catalan (REW, No. 1474), from the rest of his examples, since s- and ç- alternated in the language from which the word was absorbed. I have omitted sencido, cencido, of dubious ancestry (sincérus is hardly a plausible base).
vengança, viltança, and the like), the phonetic shift was predictable; more accurately speaking, the appearance of a variant with -ç- instead of -ss- was the obvious consequence. In most of the formations whose spread is accessible to observation, the original and the secondary variants co-existed over a period of centuries. The outcome of their struggle for supremacy varied from case to case and was conditioned by a variety of (frequently determinable) circumstances.

VIII. Conclusion

In summary, the following sequence of events can be reconstructed. With the first wave of Roman conquerors, the Iberian Peninsula absorbed the verbs sectārī, assectārī, īnsectārī “to follow (steadily and tacitly),” used in military life, in hunting, and in reference to the courting of women. The Latin lexicon which reached territories conquered at a later date may or may not have contained these words in the vernacular stratum. As the deponential endings were discarded throughout the Empire, a conflict arose in Hispanic Latinity between the homophones sectārī and *sectāre “to cut, to harvest,” based on secāre and used by the rural population in widely scattered parts of the Empire, including the Iberian Peninsula, where it has lingered on in the conservative dialects of the northwest. The result of the conflict was the abandonment of sectārī in favor of assectārī, permitting the latter to cumulate the meanings of the two closely related, yet not quite synonymous words; scattered remnants of sectārī may have persisted in El Bierzo, disguised beyond recognition through attraction by iāctāre > echar; īnsectārī entrenched itself in Galicia. Assectār [a-sei-tar] was used in early Ibero-Romance from the Atlantic coast to the Ebro valley (in the east, it was overlaid by Gallo-Romance aquaytar, of Frankish ancestry); this basic form, at a later date, cast off the variant assechar in the central dialects. From Roman days, the verb had been accompanied by the designation of the agent assechador < (as)sectātōre; in the preliterary period, new verbal substantiveś, assecho (beside OGal. asseita) and assechamiento (OPtg. asseitamento) were added to the stock of the word family.

Meanwhile, a suffix only scantily represented in the traditional Hispanic lexicon, -ança, was radiating from Southern and Northern France. In the late Middle Ages, when the prestige of Provençal and French culture was at its highest, many words terminating in -ansa and -ance, respectively, forced their way into Spanish and Portuguese, not to speak of Catalan. The growing success of the imported suffix may be measured by its repeated addition to native
stems. In the course of this process, somewhere around 1400, the new derivative assechança, possibly coined in imitation of matança, vengança, and viltança (all three notoriously old), rapidly rose to prominence in Castilian and, to a lesser extent, in peripheral dialects. At this stage, a trend toward assimilation of the [s] to the following [ts] made itself felt, giving rise to the variant form acechança, comparable to çaça, çarçillo, çeçina, çeçial, çėdaço, çervicio, çimencera, and reçuçitar. Wavering between assechança and acechança spread to other members of the word family; one by one, the new forms acechar, açecho, açechamiento, açechadero, açechón, açechador arose; in the dialects of Leon and Andalusia, aphaeresis and prefix change led to the coinage of cechea, cecero, recechar, rececho, comparable to (obsolete) Ptg. ceitoso. The influence exerted by a derivative on the primitive is not an exceptional phenomenon; witness Sp. cerrar, Ptg. çujo, which, more likely than not, owe their initial consonant (which replaces Lat. s-) to the influence of encerrar and ençujar, ençujentar, respectively, if it is true that medial [ns] tends to yield [nts]; similarly, Sp. ñubla and ñudo, unless they were initially regionalisms, have been reshaped to conform to corresponding verbs, presumably innübilibare and innõdãre (or annõdãre). 199 Surprisingly, the word first exposed to the shift -sse- > -ce-, namely assechança, was the one that most tenaciously withstood the standardization of the secondary variant. The failure of acechança to prevail may be attributed to the transformation of assechança, at the threshold of the Renaissance, into a pre-eminently literary word, even as the once popular suffix -ança was approaching the state of extinction and thus increasingly assuming an archaic character. Of all the members of the word family, assechança was also the one most conservative in meaning, continuing to denote an ambush, a trap, especially in set phrases like armar, poner assechanças, used frequently in a figurative sense. In the meantime, the verb, closely followed by other formations, underwent a semantic shift, signifying primarily “to pry, to spy, to peep.” In Portuguese, the entire word family was eliminated as a result of its clash with aceitar < aceptåre; in most of the territory, assequitar and aceitar had become homophones through coincidence of originally carefully distinguished [s] and [ts]. The phenomenon is reminiscent of the

199 See REW3, Nos. 4445, 4447, 5948. But cf. RFE, III, 301–318; BDHA, I, 158–160. On a similar case in French, see B. Hasselrot, Stud. Neoph., XVII, 287. As will be shown in my forthcoming contribution to the new Menéndez Pidal homage volume, rebelle > rebeldê has been reshaped after rebeldia, which branched off rebellia in imitation of osadia, porfaçadia.
disappearance of OFr. noer "to swim" under the pressure of noer "to knot," which coincides chronologically with the loss of the original contrast between open and closed pretonic o.200 As in French nag(i)er, the word for "navigate," had to fill the gap created by the discarding of noer and actually developed with astonishing speed the urgently needed connotation of "swimming," so in Portuguese the set phrase espreitar uma ocasião "to avail oneself of, to exploit, an opportunity" provided the material for replacement of the moribund asseitar201.

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DOCUMENTATION

[DAut. stands for Diccionario de autoridades, DH for the Academy's Diccionario histórico, C for Cuervo's Diccionario de construcción y régimen.]

ASSECHAR. Non fallava en ellos el diablo retecha, / el que todas sazones a los buenos asecha (Gonzalo de Berceo, Vida de Santa Oria, ed. C. C. Marden, 12cd [based on a late medieval Castilianized version]; but acecha in the edition by F. Janer in BAE, vol. LVII [based on an 18th century copy of the lost ancient Navarro-Aragonese MS]); todos los ladroncillos, eya velar: / que assechan por los pestiello, eya velar (idem, El duelo de la Virgen, 181ab); dixo le manyana soviase assechando, / quando sobre Licorides ssoviese orando (Libro de Apolonio, ed. Marden, 374cd; C); ovo Alexandre a Poro assechar / en medio de la muela en un firme lugar (Libro de Alexandre, O, 1911ab; but P, 2053a: asechar); silvan por las Riberas muchas malas serpientes, / estan dias e noches aguzando los dientes, / assechan a las almas, non tienen a al mientes (Libro de Alexandre, O, 2177abc; P, 2319c: asechan); deve dezir al diablo amenaçandol que se vaya, et que non ande en derredor asi como quien asecha (Las siete partidas, I, iv, 17, C); el que quiso matar a otro por armas y le asecho para ello con sus armas, empero no lo pudo fazer, porque le destorvaron . . . ha pena de homezillo (ibid., VII, vii, 12; DAut. and DH); que pena deve aver el que asechar a casa de la reyna.— Asechan sobre los tejados o por los furados que a en las paredes, o que ellos fazen (Espéculo, II, xv, 9; C and DH); así como los enemigos estan todavía asechando para fazer mal, otrosi los otros deven estar apercebidos para guardarse dellos (ibid., III, vi, 9, C); peche x maravedis qualquer que a las mugeres asechar en el banno (Fuero de Zorita, see Mem. Hist. Esp., XLIV, 68; DH); andava amenazando mucho a Paris, el infante, e

200 For the latest interpretation of this famous "chain-reaction," see W. von Wartburg, Einführung in Problematik und Methodik der Sprachwissenschaft, pp. 138–140.

201 OGal. espreitar occurs in the Cantigas (Nos. 264, 345).
asechándolo con sus cavalleros por doquier que el andava; mays Paris andava yaquantox lexos, guardándose (Historia trovana en prosa y en verso, fol. 107vo); aquella es la su car a e su ojo de bezerro; / jcatat, catat como assecha! barrunta nos como perro (Libro de buen amor, ed. Ducamin, 874ab; the passage occurs only in MS S, ca. 1400); luego a la entrada, a la mano derecha, / estava una messa muy noble e muy fecha, / delante ella grand fuego, de grand calor echa, / tres comen a ella, uno a otro assecha (ibid., MS S, 1270abcd; in MS G [ca. 1389] the passage reads: el uno al otro asecha); andavan assechando como le poderian quitar lo que traya (Cuento del emperador Ottas de Roma, ed. A. de los Ríos, chap. xlviii); estos andavan siempre contra el rey, assechando como bastiran encobiertamente ssu mal e su onta (Carlos Maynes, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, chap. iv); e el galgo andole a derredor e asche de qual parte lo poderia coger (ibid., chap. xxvii); entonçe sse guisaron todos e ssacaron las espadas de las baynas que trayan sobarcadas, e estovieron assechando; atanto vieron venir a Barroquer (ibid., chap. xxxi); mas si non quiseredes matar los moradores de la tierra, seran vos como clavos en los ojos et lanças en los costados, et assecharvos han en la tierra de vuestra morança (Bibliá medieval romançeada, MS Esc. I-j-8, Numeri, xxxiii, 55); mas si alguno quiserie mal a su vezino e lo assechare e lo mateare (ibid., Deuteronomy, xix, 11); e asy estavan ambos a dos assechando como se podian mas de mal fazer; ca mucho se dubdavan e resgelavan uno de otro (La leyenda del cavallero del cisme, ed. Mazorriaga, p. 144 [fol. 48vo]); antes por cierto el gran dragon que asche / la plata e oro muy mucho me daña (Fr. Migir, in El Cancionero de Baena, No. 38 [p. 44]); e yo bien le assecho / al ssymple contrecho, / sy no me da pecho / dyre ssu vileza / en plaza sssyn techo (Álvar Ruyuz de Toro, ibid., No. 394 [p. 449]); por en soplico al noble bendito / ssu primo el alcalde, el qual syenpre asche (J. A. de Baena, ibid., No. 411 [p. 462]); un huevo me davas tu cada dia; avjada te tenía el que te comio; assechando estava el traydor (A. Martínez de Toledo, El Corvacho, ed. Simpson, p. 118); acaesce muchas vezes que algunos omnes estan assechando para ferir o fazer fabla o consejo para ferir (Cortes de León y Castilla, I, p. 529, DH); e el duque assechava otrosi al e como lo podría ferir en esta mesma guisa (La gran conquista de ultramar, ed. 1503, fol. 64, DH); andando Ganimedes un dia a caza ... ascheole Tantalo, rey de Phrigia, e robole (El Tostado, Sobre Eusebio, part I, chap. xlix, DH); se que los lobos ambientes contino, / por ver si me parto, estan assechando (J. del Encina, Teatro completo, p. 219, DH); esta noche lo asche / y dijo que es caballero, / y no hortelano (Gil Vicente, Tragicomedia de Don Duardos, ed. D. Alonso, ll. 1164-1166). Cf. Libro de la miseria, 125c; Libro de los gatos, fol. 166vo; ONave. seyan assechando lur ayziña (A.D. 1333; quoted by G. Tilander, Los fueros de Aragón, p. 261).

Que andan a estas horas assechando a la castidad de la innocente doncella (Fr. Luis de Granada, Guía de pecadores, ed. 1730, p. 161, DH); otro religioso ... ascheó con cuydado y vio que era el prior (J. de Si-
güenza, Historia de la orden de S. Jerónimo, ed. 1600, p. 335b, DH); compelido de la hambre le asequé y ahondé más de una hora por el contorno de la tienda (Estebanillo González, in BAE, XXXIII, 338, DH).

ASSETAR. El assetar del diablo (El caballero Placidus, ed. Knust, fol. 25vo).

ASSENCHAR. Vieron allí cerca de la tienda, estando despiertos guardando, quebrantarse la tierra hazia arriba, e fueron se allí a asenchar, por ver que era y que no (Historia de Enríquez fí de Oliva, Soc. bibl. esp., VIII, 85).

ACECHAR. Yo aseqhavalo fasta que salía; desy venjame para el canastillo (Kalila et Digna, MS A [ca. 1400], ed. Allen, p. 84; MS B [15th cent.] has asequhá); et desta misma guisa deven fazer al clerigo que denostase a su obispo, et nol quisiese obedecer, o le aseqhase para matar lo en qual manera quier (Las siete partidas, I, vi, 60, C); viven siempre en trabajo et en pesar aseqhando tiempo para fazerles mal (ibid., II, v, 9, C; var. aseqhando); aseqho por ver quien era aquel que le visitava e acorria a tan gran cuita (Castigos e documentos, in BAE, LI, 99a, C); e el Duc aseqhava, otrozy, a el, commo le poderia ferir (El cavallero del cisme, p. 144 [passage supplied by editor from other MS, cf. supra the quotation of the parallel passage from La gran conquista de ultramar, ed. 1503]); ca yo esto aguzando mi entendimiento por asecchar los tiempos que son para fazer (Confisión del amante, fol. 166vo); porque todos los ladrones aseqhane e buscan commo podran furtar las riquezas (ibid., fol. 189vo); si rrie o faze otra qualquier contenencia, luego es a la mirar e aseqhchar, pensando quanto mal puede (ibid., fol. 192vo); ni dexava christianos, ni moros, ni judíos, cuyos enterramientos no visitava: de dia los aseqhava, de noche los desenterravava (Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, ed. Fouche-Delbosc, p. 86 [Burgos, 1499]; p. 91 [Seville, 1501]); Eutizio, irritado de que su hijo trate de casarse con Calamita, da orden a un criado que le aseqhe y quando le vea salir de casa de su querida le mate (Comedia Calamita [ca. 1520]; see the dictionary of Mexican Spanish by F. Ramos y Duarte, 2nd ed., p. 14); juntamente halagалlos / y contalle vuestros duelos, / andar de noche aseqhallos, / mandar de dia a llamallos / y pedilles dos mil celularos (Torres Naharro, Propalladía and Other Works, ed. Gillet, I, pp. 247–248); Lucifer, que nos aseqha / por hacerse nuestro rey (Sánchez de Badajoz, Recopilacion, I, 29); muchos niños que aseqhavan quando abriian las puertas ([Tercera] Crónica general, part IV, chap. iii, DAut.); quien aseqha por agujero ve su duelo (Refrán, DAut.). Notice the spelling aseqchar in J. Timoneda, El patrañuelo, ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende, Madrid, 1930, p. xxxv.

Yo pondré enemistad entre ti y la mujer, y entre su simiente y la tuya; y ésta te quebrara la cabeza, y tú andarás siempre aseqhando [Vulgate: insidiari] a sus calçañares, que es, armándole lazos en todos sus pasos y caminos (Fr. Luís de Granada, in BAE, VI, 485b, C); mas sintiendo los golpes carniceros, / el ánimo turbado y los sentidos, / las
atentas orejas acechaban / adónde con menor rigor sonaban (A. de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana*, in BAE, XVII, 55b, C); si tal vez la aceché por verla sola, / en ferviente atención orar la vía (B. de Valbuena, *El Bernardo*, in BAE, XVII, 189a, C); acechárate dos días / a qué fidalgo mirabas, / y casárate con él (Lope de Vega, *Los Tellos de Meneses, segunda parte*, BAE, XXIV, 536b, C); acecha por esta llave / si sus criados se ven (Lope de Vega, *La discreta enamorada*, in BAE, XXIV, 162a, C); y estando ¡oh, dura suerte! / acechando a la punta de un aero / un tordo que cantaba, / la inexorable muerte, / flechando el arco fiero, / traírora le acechaba (Lope de Vega, *Gatamaquia*, in BAE, XXXVIII, 352b, C); acechando está un ladrón por los mismos agujeros (Lope de Vega, *Rimas sagradas, DAut.); y por aquella antepuerta / está acechando la hija (Lope de Vega, ¿De qué entres acá vos vino?, in BAE, XLI, 205b, C); si acaso acechando estás / por la ventana Marcela, / y el papel me ve leer (Lope de Vega, *El acero de Madrid*, in BAE, XXIV, 376a, C); silencio y soledad, ministros puros / de alta contemplación, tened el velo / a profanos sentidos inferiores, / no acechen cómo cieñe el tercer cielo / la muerte de tan limpios resplandores (B. L. de Argensola, *Sonetos*, in BAE, XLII, 326a, C); en la conseja / se mezcla un lobo, que acechado había / del modo que la presa se festeja (B. L. de Argensola, *Epístola*, in BAE, XLII, 318b, C); ellos quedaron hablando en su gerigonza y debieron de esperar o acechar al mercader para pedirle limosna (V. Espinel, *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obrégón*, in BAE, XVIII, 417, DH); para vivir escándome y acecho (Fr. de Quevedo, in BAE, LXIX, 131a, C); tan seguro estarán de ladrones que antes te temerán por testigo y huirán de ti por estorbo que te acecharán por el provecho (Fr. de Quevedo, *Cuna y sepultura*, in BAE, XLVIII, 82b, C); sólo el alguacil hurta con todo el cuerpo, pues acecha con los ojos, sigue con los pies, ase con las manos y atestigua con la boca (Fr. de Quevedo, *Alguacil alguacilado*, in BAE, XXIII, 306b, C); tenía un becino / un galtillo blanco, / que luego a acecharla / con grande cuidado (Jerónimo Barrionuevo [Selected Poems], ed. C. G. Fallis, MS, Library of Un. Calif., 1940, No. 144); acércate que sólo era mi gusto / (¿qué simple gusto!) componer las redes, / armar con ligad una y otra mata / y acechar de las fieras en el bosque / la cueva y huellas (J. Martínez de Jáuregui, *Aminta*, in BAE, XLII, 133a, C); pero celos, o no, en fin / una noche aceché inquieta / por la llave lo que hacía: / su mal busca quien acecha (Tirso de Molina, *El amor médico*, in BAE, V, 385b, C); detengo el paso, escándome y acecho / (entre las hojas de un taray oculto) / desnudándose un ángel (Tirso de Molina, *Privar contra su gusto*, in BAE, V, 547a, C); y cuando la noche, escasa / de luz, salga de occidente, / pasaremos fácilmente / adonde acechar podemos / la Rugero (P. Calderón de la Barca, *Lances de amor y fortuna*, in BAE, VII, 51a, C); para que yo vea / si Nise en su cuarto habita, / le he de acechar esta noche / por aquella puerta (P. Calderón de la Barca, *Casa con dos puertas*, in BAE, VII, 142c, C); criados, dueñas y vecinos, / ¿de qué servimos, señor, / si de acechar no servimos? (P.
Calderón de la Barca, ¿Cuál es mayor perfección?, in BAE, VII, 84b, C); la pereza y la ignorancia crecía con ellas y el vicio las acechaba desde lejos, aguardando el momento de su adolescencia para perderlas en sazón (G. M. de Jovellanos, Discurso en la Sociedad Económica de Madrid, in BAE, L, 29b, C); refrena tu furor: aguarda, acecha / la ocasión oportuna (Fr. Martínez de la Rosa, Morayma, act III, C); nada se perdió con que nos acechara Pilar; salimos del compromiso antes (J. E. Hartzenbusch, Un est y un no, act III, DH); no, no es mi voto que a mamarlo vamos, / cual vil ladron, que al caminante acecha / en la tiniebla, y lo asesina al paso (V. de la Vega, La muerte de César, at IV, C). Notice the illustration of A. Salazar, De las palabras que hacen equívocos, Rouen, 1614: “Está acechando por la rehendija de la puerta” (S. Gili Gaya, Tesoro lexicográfico, I, 24).

ASSECHANÇA(S). Las asechanças del enemigo (Libro de la vida de Barlan e del Rrey Josapha, fol. 208vo); asechanzas (Ein altspanisches Steinbuch [15th century MS], ed. K. Vollmoller, Heilbronn, 1880, p. 33; see Ford, Old Spanish Sibilants, p. 104); mas nos devemos guardar de la enemistad de los amigos que de las asechanzas de los enemigos (Vida e costumbres de los viejos filósofos, ed. Knust, p. 41); dos linages de lagrimas son en los ojos de las mugeres, uno de verdadero dolor, otro de asechanças (ibid., p. 79); ningunos engaños nin asechanças son mas ocultos que aquellos que se esconden en la simulacion del ofício (ibid., p. 211); e aun y sofrío asechanças sin cuenta de la dicha Justina, la qual movía el pueblo contra el por dones e por onrras (Estoria de los cuatro doctores de la Santa Eglesia, ed. Lauchert, p. 12); mas commo denostase la hurgullia de unos clerigos e monges e ellos non sofrjéndolo le pusiesen asechanças (ibid., p. 15); algunas vegadas ponían le asechanças en el camino al varon santo (ibid., p. 47); mataronle el oso echandole asechanças (ibid., p. 382); el enimigo antiguo . . . que por grandes asechanças asecha nuestros pensamientos (ibid., p. 386); disen que el rey de Siria puso asechanças e celadas al rey de Israel por lo tomar (C. Sánchez de Vercial, Libro de exemplos por a.b.c., MS P[ca. 1480], ed. Morel-Fatio, Romania, VII, 516); en especial las prosperas son promptas a arruyna, asechanças (E. de Villena, “Tres tratados,” RH, XLI, 164); este es el tiempo en que las celadas e las asechanças mejor se puedan poner (E. de Villena, “El libro de la guerra,” RH, XXXVIII, 528); ca el que se va delante puede bien echar celadas en valles convenibles o montes espessos, e dexar en pos de sy las dichas asechanças e celadas; e quando en ellas cayere el enemigo, tornara en ayuda de los suyos (ibid., p. 529); lo que mas les aprovecha es cometer los mismos vencedores por ascondidas asechanças (ibid., p. 530); siempre es de ayudar a la paz que no tiene cosa alguna de asechanças (F. Pérez de Guzmán [?], “Floresta de philosophos,” No. 930, RH, vol. XI); digno de todo mal es aquel que de las asechanças de la fortuna se avergüenza (id., ibid., No. 1340); hermanos, conocistes diversas asechanças de los enemigos espiritos malinos (El Antipapa Luna,
Libro de consolaciones de la vida humana, in BAE, LI, 571b); e si por asechanzas del diablo caemos en tal lazo que non podemos escapar desde sin pecado (ibid., p. 596b); aver muchos tesoros cobdiciados de todos e aparejados a muchas celadas e asechanzas (A. de Luna, Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres, in Soc. bibl. esp., XXVIII, 175); e así libro a su Penelope de las asechanzas aparejadas (ibid., p. 266); el qual seyendo muerto, por asechanzas de Mitridates, hermano della que le llamavan comto a su padre (ibid., p. 273); mato a este sobrino, poniéndole asechanzas (A. de Luna, Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres, ed. M. Castillo, p. 187a; absent from the aforesited edition); que si en la noche que era cercana se continuase la batalla, temia las asechanzas de los pastores (A. de Palencia, Dos tratados, ed. A. M. Fabié, I, 96); e de como el Marques oviese visto a su padre tener en poco las asechanzas, no rescelo de venir al lugar acordado (Mª. Diego de Valera, Memorial de diversas hazañas, in BAE, LXX, 91a); donde parescera evidentemente omezido o algun otro maleficio que sea hecho a traycion o sobre asechanzas o por consejo o fabla avida (Mª. Diego de Valera, Epistolos, p. 249); seis christianos Almogavares entraron en la tierra de los moros, como algunas veces lo acostumbravan fazer e pusieronse en asechanza encima de una sierra para fazer sus asaltos e prender algunos moros (H. del Pulgar, Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, in BAE, LXX, 393a); los quales, por mandado del alcaide e por sus propios intereses siempre salian e se ponian en asechanzas e captivaban e mataban bien cerca de la cibdad a los moros que salian della (ibid., p. 507b); a los ricos se les va la bienaventuranza, la gloria e descanso, por otros alvñeros de asechanzas que no se parescen, ladrillados por encima con lisonjas (Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, Burgos, 1499, ed. Foulché-Delboce, p. 51; cf. p. 176); allí le sobrevinieron las primeras asechanzas de la fortuna (G. Rodríguez de Montalvo, Amadís de Gaula, in BAE, XL, 73b, DH); que en este hueso que arde / no ay esperanças: / de tus grandes asechanzas / no ay ninguno que se guarde (Cancionero de P. M. Ximénez de Urrea, p. 222).

¿Qué cosa es acometer los hombres sobre asechanzas? (Lope de Rueda, Tymbria, see Cejador y Frauca, Fraseología o estilística castellana, I, 113–114); tenfanle puestas asechanzas en el camino (A. de Fuenmayor, Vida de San Pío Quinto, Madrid, 1595, fol. 8, DAut.); Annibale les armaba asechanzas como enemigo suyo muy declarado (J. de Mariana, Historia de España, part II, chapter ix, DAut.); asechanzas: in El laberinto amoroso de los mejores y muy nuevos romances, ed. K. Vollmöller, RF, vol. VI, No. 43 (see Ford, Old Spanish Sibilants, p. 40); pareciéndome ser imposible guardarme de las asechanzas de tan indignados enemigos (M. de Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, in BAE, I, 211, DH); por esto se atrevió Getulio a escribir a Tiberia que sería firme en su fe si no le pusiese asechanzas (D. de Saavedra Fajardo; see Pagés); en sangre a Adonis, si no fue en rubés, / tiñeron mal zelosas asechanzas (L. de Góngora y Argote, Obras poéticas, ed. Foulché-Delboce, I, 283); debiendo a su amistad el último escape, acordó de poner tierra en medio de las asechanzas con que
se procuró embarazar su viaje (A. de Solís y Rivadeneyra, Conquista de México, in BAE, XXVIII, 349, DH); entre multitud plebeya / Bellido Dolfos estaba, / hijo de Dolfos Bellido, / muy artero de asechanzas (N. Fernández de Moratín, see Zerolo, Toro y Gómez, and Isaza, Diccion. encicl., I, 263b [in archaizing style]); cualquiera que haya sido su suerte en tan alevosa asechanza, cabe la misma prez y corresponde igual aplauso (P. A. de Alarcón, Diarios, ed. 1917, I, 148, DH). For another isolated late example of the singular asechanza, see S. Denis, Lexique de Ruiz de Alarcón, p. 111.

ASECHANÇA(S). El que finxo que Calistenes era particionero con otros algunos que le tenían asechanças para lo matar (Vida e costumbres de los viejos filósofos, p. 281); e tanto andovo en su asechanza fasta que los fallo en un secreto lugar debaxo de un arbol (Confisión del amante, fol. 80ro); porque odio yaze siempre en asechanças, así como el pescador sobre el cebo para matar al pescado (ibid., fol. 136ro); e propuso de se poner en asechanza e saber la verdad (ibid., fol. 194ro); esta cosa una sola te ruego, que me quieras aceptar por los sagrados derechos del nuestro matrimonio, en manera que yo no sea vista perder la tu vida con asechanças engañosas (J. Rodriguez de la Cámara, Obras, ed. Paz y Melía, p. 240); seyendo por ella rescabido así honorablemente como se convenia a fijo de su Rey, el malvado mancebo asechanças pusso al dormir de aquella (Mº. Diego de Valera, Epístolas, p. 150); descienden a las praderías que están en lo llano, donde los pastores traen paçiando sus rebaños, que les son puestos en guarda, asy por temor de asechanzas como porque allí fallan mejores pasturas (A. de Palencia, Dos tratados, I, 10); salieron de una celada grande multitud de índios que estaban puestos en asechanças con mano armada (G. Fernández de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, ed. 1851, II, 167, DH); sin entender ... sus acozhimientos ... sus asechanças (P. de Ribadeneyra, in BAE, LX, 19, DH); dudoso, incierto, / cercado de peligros y asechanzas / al rigor de mi estrella, ya sin guía, / fortuna, cetro y vida abandonaba (Fr. Martínez de la Rosa, Obras, ed. 1827, IV, 8, DH).

ASSECHAMIENTO. Nin pueda hi dexar ascondidamente ningunt as[ñ]echamiento para fazer mal (Las siete partidas, I, iv, 27, DH).

ASECHAMIENTO. Tal es el diablo con sus asechamientos ... para fazer entrar al mezquino del home (Castigos e documentos, in BAE, LI, 88b, DH).

ASSECHO. El mortal enemigo sedia lî en assecho, / destas afflicciones avia el grant despecho (Gonzalo de Berceo, Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, ed. Fitz-Gerald, 686; versions HV: enemigo sediel en su asecho); non podia el Rey olbidar el despecho; / por buscarlî achaque andaval en assecho, / ante del medio año echo lî un grant pecho (ibid., 173abc; var. assecho); que fago razón en tener despecho, / de quien emagina de mi
aver pecho / estando en asecho (A. Álvarez de Villasandino, Cancionero de Baena, No. 202 [p. 179]); por cierto parar asechos de engaño a los dioses del cielo, o quererlos engañar, es muy grave culpa (Regimiento de príncipes, III, ii, 19 [fol. 149vo], DH); Marsepia, fiando mucho de sí misma, tomada en descuido por un subito asecho de los barbaros que estaban en la frontera, con parte de su gente fue muerta (Boccacio, Mujeres ilustres [translation of De Claris Mulieribus], ed. 1528, chap. xi [fol. 15vo], DH).

ACECHO. No te pongas tú de malas entrañas en acecho, que ya te veo (M. Alemán, La vida de Guzmán de Alfarache, DAut.); por todas partes puestas en acecho, un instante la vista no reposa (P. Silvestre, La Proserpina, VII, lii, DH); pues un día desde mi acecho vi que mi hermano estaba solo con su catalán amigo (M. de los Reyes, El Menandro, ed. 1909, p. 250, DH); cuyo natural da buenas promessas a nuestro acecho (F. de Quevedo, La fortuna con sesso, DAut.); se previno con oraciones, ayunos y penitencias contra los aechos de la ambición y contra los ahogos de la envidia (Fr. D. Cornejo, Crónica de San Francisco, III, viii, DH); la ciencia no es más que un acecho al país de las verdades (D. de Torres Villarroel, Obras, ed. 1794, III, 171, DH); pues que Juana esté en acecho / en la puerta y nos avise (Fr. Martínez de la Rosa, Obras, ed. 1827, III, 220, DH); el gato se retiró con prontitud, pero no tardó en ponerse en acecho, como quien no quiere la cosa (Fernán Caballero, La Gaviota, ed. 1895, p. 120, DH); mal nos ha salido el acecho de esta noche, compadre (A. Flores; see Pagés); colocó largas varillas untadas con liga y se puso en acecho de los pájaros (J. Valera; see Pagés).

ASECHEOSO. Yo ire esta noche con Holeilas al lugar por el Rey señalado y llevaré uno mío que sabe guiar fuera de los lugares y pasos asechosos (Hernán del Pulgar, Crónica del Gran Capitán, fol. 16vo, DH).

ASECHADOR. ¿Que es ell omne?—Voluntat encarnada, fantasma del tiempo, asechador de la vida (Primera crónica general, p. 147, DH); conviene al sesudo que sea asechador de sí e tenga su yerro por grande e el su fazer derecho por poco (Bocados de oro, ed. 1495, fol. 23ro, DH); con mis amigos y cavalleros trato mi muerte; necesario y razonable es que yo hasta la fin lo persiga, no como a enemigo de guerra, mas como a asechador de mi vida (Pérez de Guzmán, Mar de Istorias, ed. 1512, fol. 4ro, DH).

ACECHADOR. Propuso en su voluntad de se fazer asechador della so yntencion de la enojar (Confisión del amante, fol. 79vo); la viudita asechadora perdió su tiempo, porque a un traidor dos alevosos (La Picara Justina, DAut.); así como bebemos este vino, hemos de beber de la sangre a todo asechador (Fr. de Quevedo, in BAE, XXIII, 527b, DH); incansable asechadora, / tus pasos he de seguir / desde hoy hasta descubrir / mi oculta competidora (J. E. Hartzenbusch, Primero yo, act
II, DH). Notice the definition of A. Salazar, *De las palabras que hacen equivocos*, Rouen, 1614: “Se dize del que brujulea lo que los otros hazen.”

**ACECHANTE.** El grito oyeron los acechantes ministros y la caída de la sucesora de Circe vieron (Matías de los Reyes, *El Menandro*, ed. 1909, p. 43, DH).

**ACECHÓN.** Yo soy el diablo de los juzgamundos, de unos bellacos acechones que, tintos en políticos, son el pero de todo lo que se ordena (Fr. de Quevedo, *El entremetido, la dueña y el soplón*, DAut.); tapada de medio ojo / en forma de acechona, / con el Ce caballero / y un poco la voz (idem, *La musa*, DAut.); ya sé que anoché hicie la acechona, pero perdiste el tiempo (M. Fernández y González, see Pagés); y tan acechona anduvo que consiguió hablar con él a solas (J. Valera, see Pagés).

**ACECHADERA.** Que es muy bien que el príncipe tenga azechaderas por donde vea y no sea visto (Cr. de Fonseca, *Vida de Christo Señor Nuestro*, 1596, DH).

**ACECHADERO.** Excelente acechadero en tal mañana para seguir las operaciones de Manuel Venegas (P. A. de Alarcón, *El niño de la bola*, ed. 1880, p. 198, DH); bajé pues a la despensa del Brigadier, cogí unos dulces, y me volvía a mi acechadero (idem, *Diario*, ed. 1917, II, 249, DH).

**CECHERO.** ¿Y qué tiempo os paresce, señor montano, que debe estar el cechero en cada atalaya, para que ni allí lo pierda siendo necesario en otra parte, ni le falte para hacer lo que debe a su oficio? (L. Barahona de Soto, *Diálogos de la montería*, ed. F. R. de Uhagón, Madrid, 1890, p. 103, DH); sino procure a lo menos ir por donde no haya piedras ni tármaras secas, pues quebrándolas con los pies podría el cechero hacer ruido (*ibid.*, p. 115, DH).

**RESECHAR.** El alano se apareja; / razón rodea y resecha; / de amor le suelta una flecha (Sánchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación en metro*, I, 3; similarly I, 16).

Que el cazador tenga la cuenta que tantas veces hemos dicho, al tiempo de ille resechando [viz. al jabalf], de entrar cuando le oyere estar trafagando y pararse cuando sintiere que está quieto (Barahona de Soto, *Diálogos de la montería*, see Pagés, IV, p. 716b, and Rodríguez Marín, *Dos mil quinientas voces*, p. 314).

**RECECHO.** Lo demás queda dicho en el atalayar de los venados, diciéndonos ahora cómo se han de matar a rececho (Barahona de Soto, *Diálogos de la montería*, p. 233); todas las aves dichas y que restan por decir están sujetas a la caza del rececho (*ibid.*, p. 488); ¿y qué día será menester para matar estas aves a rececho? (*ibid.*, loc. cit.).