Old Spanish Paladino, Palaciano, Palanciano, Palaciego

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STRUCTURALLY parallel derivatives from a given primitive (such as Lat. *tenebr-icus* beside *tenebr-ōsus*, Fr. *verd-eur* beside *verdure*, OSp. *trist-esa* beside *trist-ura*) in the historical perspective mostly turn out to have been successive rather than simultaneous offshoots. As long as such formations are studied merely in word lists illustrating the ranges of the individual suffixes that go into their making, the historical sequence of events is bound to pass unnoticed or, at least, not to remain fully discernible. To shed light on the relative chronology, it is advisable to select, as an appropriate unit of inquiry, the growth of separate word families showing sufficient proliferation of derivatives. The implicit severe limitation of scope allows the explorer to focus attention on the constantly changing interrelations between the nuclear formation of each family (the primitive) and its satellites in a number of carefully selected, clearly defined cases, in which adequate documentation can be furnished and the number of unknowns in historical reconstruction is reducible to the barest minimum. These shifts are in accord with the observable semantic expansions and contractions of the radical element and the ceaselessly changing availability of formatives, which, in turn, gradually experience extensions and reductions of their original scopes, proportionate to the number of currently used derivatives in which they are represented (to the extent to which they can be individuated and detached by untutored speakers). The linguistic historian can thus work out an intricate pattern of attractions and repulsions between radical and formatives. If his interest broadens out into culture history, he is further able, in the concrete case of the Hispano-Latin lexicon, to follow the (frequently tortuous) course of an important word-family, including all its ramifications, over a period of two thousand years, with the aim of distinguishing between the services that each member of the

word-family, through incessant readjustment, has lent to consecutive
generations of speakers, each in search of new expressions for newly-felt
needs.

A none too rebellious problem involving few etymological enangle-
ments: the history of OSp. paladino, palaciano, palanciano, and palaciego
(including a small number of regional variants and a few tertiary forma-
tions, mostly shortlived, which they have cast off) is here presented
against the background of the development of Lat. palatium ‘palace’
in the Romance languages, as an illustration of the proposed approach.2

Latin palatium, its Derivatives, and its Romance Descendants

Palatium was the name of one of the seven hills of Rome (on Varro’s
authority,3 the one which was first built upon); historians at present
regard it as the ancient seat of authentic Roman tradition, as against the
collis quirinalis and the mons Capitolinus.4 The enigmatic name of
so significant a place stimulated the imagination of the ancients, and
Festus offers a miscellany of explanations, mutually exclusive and non-
committal, as were most etymological conjectures thought up by those
precursors of scholars.5 Students of pre-classical languages nowadays

2 No attention has here been given to OSp. palactin, palazin ‘courtier,’ which appears
sporadically in texts composed around 1400 and is clearly an adaptation of the OF (or
OProv.) cognate. Cf. the Poema de Alfonso Onceno, ed. F. Janer, quatr. 1739 (MS. E:
1742), where, significantly enough, it applies to Roland, the paladin par excellence (“Nin
fué mejor cavallero / el arçobispo don Torpin, / nin el cortés Olivero [Obruero has been
recognized as a misprint by J. P. Ten Cate; see p. 181 of her vocabulary] / nin el Roldán
palactin”). Under these circumstances, and in view of the otherwise unaccountable vacilla-
tion between -c- and -ç-, imitation of OF palacin, palazin is a more plausible assumption
than coinage on Spanish soil, with the help of the (preeminently Asturo-Leonese) sufix
-in (as in andarín, bailarín). The progress, however slight, the borrowed word made in
courtly circles, particularly during the reign of John the Second, is seen in its application
to Spaniards in the Cancionero de Baena: “Las obras del cuerdo son menos preciadas / e
tienen al loco por gran palazín” (No. 97, by A. Álvarez de Villasandino, fol. 33v); “Yo
espero a todos fasta la su fyn, / por que conoscan mi grand señorío; / asy al flaco, commo
al palacín / dy para salvarse equal alvedrio” (No. 336, by Gonçalo Martínez de Medina, fol.
119v). For a very late mention of palazín, see O. J. Tallgren, Estudios sobre la Gaya de
Segovia: capítulos de introducción a una edición crítica (Helsinki, 1907), p. 89c. The rhyme
dictionary in question dates from c. 1475.

3 De lingua Latina, b. v., ch. liii.
4 V. Bertoldi, Questioni di metodo nella linguistica storica (Naples, 1938–39), pp. 173–
186, with a detailed description of the background.
5 “Palatium, id est mons Romae, appellatus est, quod ibi pecus pascens balare con-
sueuerit, uel quod palare, id est errare, ibi pecudes solerent; alii, quod ibi Hyperborei filia
Palanto habitauerit, quae ex Hercule Latinum peperit, aliu eundem, quod Pallas ibi sepultus
sit, aestimant appellari”; see Sexti Pompei Festi de uerborum significatu quae supersunt, ed.
W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig, 1913), p. 245.
widely believe that Palātium, much as the names of the river Tiber, of
the town of Alba Longa, and of the city of Rome, along with other
localities prominent in the history of the near-legendary Roman king-
dom, go back to the “Mediterranean substratum,” antedating the oc-
cupation of the Apennine peninsula by Indo-European tribes, preêmi-
nently Latins and Italics.⁶

Emperor Augustus had his residence on the Palātium; in view of his
eminence, the orographic proper name, in a matter of years, came to
designate the ‘imperial palace’ for short. The contemporary poet Ovid
spoke of the seat of Jupiter as “magni palatia caeli” (Metamorphoses, I,
176) and, again using the majestic plural, wrote in his Ars amatoria (III,
119): “Palatia fulgent.” At a later date, writers occasionally indulged
in extending the meaning of Palātium yet in other directions, but only
by a narrow margin, as when Juvenal, speaking of “secretas palatia
matris,” referred to the temple of Cybele (IX, 23). The corresponding
adjective Palātinus invariably referred to the imperial abode or to
the surrounding hill, adorned with an increasing number of temples
and statues.⁷ There is no evidence, in recorded Latin texts falling within
the period of the Empire, that Palātium cast off more than this one
derivative in -nus (except for a group of very old formations which
became extinct with the decay of paganism: Palatua, the name of the
tutelary goddess of the Palatine, and its offsprings Palatuali and
Palatuar). Palātīnus, in turn, failed to show any productivity within

⁶ V. Bertoldi, op. cit., pp. 193-196, and La parola quale testimone della storia (Naples,
1945), pp. 187-188. The base *pala ‘elevation’ is believed by explorers of the substratum
to reappear in Alp. pala ‘slopes, steep descent,’ Pyren. pala ‘rocky declivity,’ and in topon.
Palone. See also M. Friedwagner, ZVS, LV (1927), 197-198, and especially E. Norden,
104-121.

⁷ Thus, within the precincts of the palace or on immediately contiguous terrain, Palātīnus qualifies laurus, a laurel which stood in front of the imperial residence (Ovid),
domus (Suetonius), cubile ‘couch, bed’ (Juvenal), officia ‘offices,’ located about court
(Aurelius Victor and Trebellius Pollio), Åtriënsis palatinus, in Suetonius’ portrait of
Caligula, refers to the steward or majordomo, even as Martial’s Parthenius Palatīnus
serves to identify Emperor Domitian’s chamberlain. The reference is to the hill rather
than to the Emperor’s domicile and environment in those passages in which the adjective
qualifies Fastorēs (Varro), colles (Ovid), aves, namely the vultures Remus is said to have
seen on the Palatine hill (Ovid), Apollo, because he had a temple on that hill, erected by
Augustus (Horace, Suetonius, Martial), Lūdi, which Livia caused to be celebrated in honor
of Augustus (Suetonius), colossus, the colossal statue of Nero on the Palatine hill (Mar-
tial). In Late Latin (pre-Carolingian) literature, Palātīnus continued to enjoy wide cur-
rency; thus, Venantius Fortunatus wrote: “Ipse palatina refulsit clarus in aula / et placido
meruit regis amore coli” (IV, 19); “pelle palatinas post multa negotia rixas” (VII, 24). At
that poet’s time, the proper name Palatina was used in the highest aristocracy: “De Pala-
tina filia Galli Magni episcopi, uxore Bodegisili ducis” (VII, 6).
the bounds of Latin. However, internal reconstruction, starting from extant Romance place-names, tends to indicate that *PALĀTIOLUM 'small palace' may have been in use over a wide area, including Portugal, Spain, and France. *PALĀTIĀNUS, if coined prior to the disintegration of the Empire, must have been a provincial form, restricted to the Iberian Peninsula.

PALĀTIUM survives in Spanish as palacio, beside the nonce palaco in an eleventh-century text; that erratic variant, which may have enjoyed much greater currency in the preliterary period, calls to mind OGal. Port. paaço, which yielded Mod. Port. paço. The contrasting develop-
ment of the Latin termination -TIUM in the west and in the center of the peninsula is by no means atypical.15 Of the two Italian forms, palazzo and palagio, the former is probably indigenous to the Apennine peninsula and the latter, obsolete at present and used by poets, upon occasion, advisedly as an archaism, has been imported from France,16 cf. presiare~pregiare,17 North. It. palas18 is closely connected with OProv. palasi and OF palais.19 The confusion between 'palate' and 'palace' (PALATUM and PALATIUM) is found at two extremes of the Romance domain, in the territory of the langue d'oil (palais) and in far-off Rumania (paldaf); it was motivated by similarity

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14 In Mod. Port., paco stands for 'royal or imperial palace,' including the court there assembled; also for 'castle,' as a term of mediaeval civilization. Palacio has a wider range of meanings, denoting a variety of large buildings. The words for 'palace' in numerous Romance dialects show a not entirely vernacular form; see A. Horning, "Zur Behandlung von -TY- und -CY-," ZRPh., xxxv (1900), 550, with a further reference to G. Gröber. Regression to forms with -I- was widely practiced in OPort.; competing variants included aas~alas, dooroso~doloroso, gear~gelar, maião~malícia, mua~mula, pañar~paladar, quendas~calendas, saiva~saliva, seenço~silêncio, tamo~lado, vea~vela, zeo-zelo; see J. J. Nunes, Compendio de gramática histórica portuguesa (Lisbon, 1919), p. 106; J. Leite de Vasconcelos, Lições de filologia portuguesa, 2d ed. (Lisbon, 1926), pp. 289-294. On paco ~paláci as a case of "polimórfia vocabular," see J. J. Nunes, Cigressões lexicoldgicas (Lisbon, 1928), p. 95. Palacio has penetrated deeply into dialect speech; cf. K. Rohner, "Um capítulo de fonética dialectal: a inicial em Cachopo (Algarve)," BF, ix (1948), 256.

15 On the conflicting development of -TIA and -TIU in the center and on the periphery of Ibero-Romance, see J. Jud and A. Steiger, Rom., xlvi (1922), 146-147, and my own statement, UCPL, i, iv (1945), 70-71.

16 On the poetic nature of palagio, see U. A. Canello, "Gli allotropi italiani," AGI, iii (1878), 343. W. Meyer-Lübke for decades militated in favor of the classification of palagio as a Gallicism; see his note "Zur Lautlehre: ei, if im Italienischen," ZRPk., viii (1884), 303, and REW? No. 6159. His opinion has been shared by R. R. Bezzola, Abbasso di una storia dei gallicismi italiani nei primi secoli (750-1300): saggio storico-linguistico (Heidelberg, 1925), p. 254, which provides accurate references to medieval texts, and by B. Wiese, Altitalienisches Elementarbuch, 2d ed. (Heidelberg, 1928), p. 44. M. Roques ventured the guess that It. palagio, along with casione, ragione, and Ambrogio, could be learned words absorbed after the 4th century, in contrast to entirely vernacular PUTEUS>pouso and to strictly erudite GRATIA>grazia; see Rom. xxv (1906), 481. For a survey of older statements on palagio, see J. Clark, "L'influence de l'accent sur les consonnes médiales en italien," Rom. xxxiv (1905), 74.

17 Cf. E. Lerch, RF, lv (1941), 57-82, and G. Rohls, ASNSL, clxxxvi, 127.

18 Wiese, op. cit., p. 46; Horning, op. cit., p. 550, quotes ONorth.-It. palasio, Ment. palazi, OBerg. palasio, Bell. palazi, Terg. palasi.

19 In toponymy, Palaiz and Palais may also reflect [*PALITIU, [*PALICIU; see E. Philipon, "Les destinations du phonème e+i dans les langues romanes," Rom., xlv (1918-19), 470.
of sound (prior to the assimilation of t before i) and, in all probability, also one of image, especially if we take into consideration the use of **PALATIUM, PALATIA** for the ‘sky canopy.”

Old Spanish **palaçio**

In Old Spanish literature, **palaçio** had a surprisingly wide range of reference: it related to heaven (God’s palace; notice the direct line of descent from a pagan image), to an ancient imperial palace, to the royal abode of a foreign potentate, of a fabulous sovereign, or of a Castilian king (or his peer in any of the peninsular monarchies); to

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The essential identity of the underlying image is affirmed by E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1928), pp. 660-661, and is denied by O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1932), II, 119: “On a voulu expliquer cette forme (i.e. *PALATIUM ‘palate’) par la comparaison de la voûte palatine avec la voûte des salles d’un palais, mais les palais romains n’étaient pas voûtés et la date très ancienne de *PALATIUM est assurée par le roumain páraf.’”

This line of argument is not wholly convincing; from the material assembled by A. Zauner, “Die romanischen Namen der Körperteile,” *RF*, XIV (1903), 392–394, it would follow that **PALATUM**, all over the Romance territory, had to vie for supremacy with the paraphrase **CAELUX BUCCAE**, liter. ‘the celestial vault of the mouth,’ cf. Rum. cerul gurit, Mac.-Rum. jerce gur, Râto-Rom. tschiel de la boca, Mod. Prov. cèu de la bouco (Mistral), Sp. cielo de la boca (especially speaking of animals), Port. cêu da boca; similarly in Russian; the direct product of **PALATIUM** prevails only in most of Italy and in southwestern France. If now one recalls that, from Ovid to Berceo, pagans and Christians were speaking of the palaces of heaven, a point of contact between **PALATIUM** and **PALATUM** would have been established, regardless of the architectural style of the Roman imperial palaces. The celestial vault seems to be the Occidental counterpart to the Oriental heavenly curtains or canopies or celestial tents, known to the Psalmist and to the prophet Isaiah as well as to Babylonians and to Asiatic nomads as far east as Mongolia; see R. Eisler, *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt* (Munich, 1910), and L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley—Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 31–32. It. tempio < TEMPOs also seems to show contamination by **TEMPLA**.

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**Vida de Santa Oria**, quatr. 196ab: “Madre, dixo la fija, en la noche primera / non entré al palacio, non sé por qual manera.”


**Libro de Apolonio**, quatr. 154c, 160a, 163a; *La estoria del rey Anemur*, ed. Lauchert, *RF*, vii (1883), 332 (fol. 132); *Confisidn del amante*, ed. Knust, fol. 367r–v (“las cabeças de muchos . . . estavan puestas sobre lanças em derecho de la puerta de los palacios del rey”), 367v ("luego se fué derecho a los palacios del rey"). The palace of a royal prince is involved in *La estoria del rey Anemur*, fol. 135v.

**Libro de buen amor**, ed. Ducamin, quatr. 1250c, 1306a (speaking of don Amor).

**Cantar de Mio Cid**, ed. Menéndez Pidal, l. 2929; *Poema de Alfonso Oñezo*, ed. Janer, quatr. 102a, 226c, 604a, 2359d, 2387b (“siendo el rey castellano / en su palacio mayor”); *Rimado de palacio*, ed. Kuersteiner, MS. N, quatr. 425d, 426b, 447b (“que se vaya a palacio, ca están allá los cavalleros”), 478a, 496d.
the papal or to the episcopal residence; to a monastery, or to any
manor or mansion of a wealthy nobleman and possibly even a burgher. Old Portuguese usage was comparably flexible; noteworthy and hardly
difficult to understand against the background of that seafaring nation
was the addition of the meaning 'doyard.' In each of these cases
almost, either the entire building or, as R. Menéndez Pidal was con-
ceivably the first to remark, the chief room or hall was involved, which

26 Confiscción del amante, fol. 95*: "El rey fuése derecho a los palacios del papa."
27 Danza de la muerte, ll. 219-220: "[Dize el obispo] Yo era abastado de plata y de oro, / de nobles palacios y mucha folgura."
28 Libro de buen amor, quatr. 1492d "[La vieja a doña Garoña] Yol fari cras que venga aquí, a este palacio."
29 Cantar de Mio Cid, ll. 115 (speaking of the hero's exile: "dexado ha heredades e casas e palacios"), 182 (speaking of the interior of the house of the two Jewish bankers: "en medio del palacio tendieron un almohalla"); El Conde Lucanor, ed. Knust, p. 26: "Et aquel genué

... asentóse en un palacio muy bueno donde parescía la mar et la tierra"); Libro de buen amor, quatr. 481 (speaking of the interior of the Flemish painter's house): "Desque en el palacio con ella estudio [read estido]," 1376bc (in reference to the dining room in the manorial house visited by the two mice): "La puerta del palacio comenzó a (sonar, / abrála su señora, dentro quería entrar" (did the entrance door lead directly to the hall where meals were served?); Libro de miseria de omne, ed. Artigas, quatr. 10ab: "En el vientre de mi madre quería que fuese muerto, / e (s)e fuese mi palacio e mi casa e mi huerto" (does the word here mean 'richly furnished hall?'), 158a: "Allí avrán sus palacios los que son luxuriosos" ('sumptuous abode?'); Danza de la muerte, ll. 77-78: "E por los palacios daré por medida / sepulcros escuros de dentro fedientes"); Visión de Filiberto, ed. O. de Toledo (in ZRPh., II [1878]), fol. 127*: "Ya no están en las torres nin en los palacios muy españosos e de grand largura que tú avías fecho de los alcáceres" (for the use of the plural, compare, in the same context, tesoros, riquezas, piedras preciosas, anillos de oro, vasos): ibid.: "¿Qué te aprovechan agora tus moradas e tus grandes onzas e tan grandes palacios e tan rricos?"; fol. 127*: "¿Dónde están tus heredades que ayuntaste e los palacios e los grandes edificios que fundaste?"; Confisación del amante, fol. 390*: "... el qual con palabras de grant mesura le rrogó que quisiese yr a ver su castillo et aquella sibdad; e futronse estonfes todos tres para los palacios de aquel señor que los convidara." The sense development 'palace '>'(large)

house' is found also in Southern Italy and in Dalmatia, see REV 3 s. v. PALATIUM; Nicot, in 1606, observed that the extension of meaning of Fr. palais in his own time (e.g. its application to large courthouses) was due either to Spanish or to Italian influence. The connotation of 'large
countryhouse' survives in dialectal use; cf. A. de Rato y Hevia, Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables (Madrid, 1891), p. 91: palacios 'así se llaman las casas de alto que los haciendados tienen por los campos'; J. García Soriano, Vocabulario del dialecto murciano (Madrid, 1932), p. 93: palacio 'casa rústica' (example from an inventory of the year 1614: "una ermita y dos palacios y cinco barracas"). Similarly in Navarre.

30 C. de Figueiredo, Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa, 6th ed. (Lisbon, c. 1939), II, 515: palácio 'casa de Reis ou de família nobre; casa grande e aparatosa; ant. edificio onde se reúnia a Câmara de uma terra; ant. convento, mosteiro; ant. armazém ou alpendre onde se recolhiam escaleres e outras embarcações da Coroa; ant. casa, para arrecadação de armamentos navais.' For documentation, see Elucídário, 2d. ed., II, 133b, 134a.

31 Cantar de Mio Cid: texto, gramática y vocabulario (Madrid, 1908-11; 2d ed., Madrid, 1944-46), p. 783, documents this meaning with a charter from Sahagún, A.D. 967, and quotes Covarrubias as saying: "en las casas particulares llaman a palacio una sala que es común
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could represent a free combination of dining-room, reception-room, and study. The decision between alternate interpretations is, at times, difficult. There is no agreement between scholars on the exact reason for the striking extension of meaning experienced by *palatium*, in particular (though not exclusively) on Spanish soil: A. Castro is inclined to attribute the semantic dichotomy to symbiosis with the Arabs, while L. Spitzer, with equal force, insists on a development from within. The notable frequency of the plural *palañios* in some works (e.g. the *Confisión del amanite*), in contexts which seem to preclude the mention of more than a single building, may go back to complex structures adding up to one major royal residence; parallels from cognate languages have long ago been assembled by Meyer-Lübke. The concomitant acceptations which *palacio* acquired around the early sixteenth century are of no immediate concern here.

The situation is unambiguous in the following passage from the *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, ll. 1269–70: “Vino el marido e llamó a la puerta; e dixo él: ‘¿Qué será?’ e dixo ella: ‘Vete e escóndete en aquel *palacio* fasta de día’.” But how can the reader ever be sure, except through reference to the earlier part of the tale, exactly what image Don Juan Manuel wished to evoke by writing: “Et si tú quieres naves et galeas que te ganen et te trayan muy grant aver et muy grant onrra, ves las aquó o están en la mar que parescen deste mi *palacio*” (*El libro de los enximemplos del Conde Lucanor*, ed. Knust, p. 27).

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y pública, y en ella no ay cama, ni otra cosa que embarace; éste es término que se usa en el reyno de Toledo.” A. Castro, *RFE*, xii (1925), 408, quotes Tirso de Molina’s *Cigarrillos*: “... en una sala que aquí [in Toledo] llaman *palacio*” and refers to a (not wholly unequivocal) nursery rhyme overheard in present-day Andalusia: “... del *palacio* a la cocina.”

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33 *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judios* (Buenos Aires, 1948), pp. 67–68. Although *kašr* is of Latin descent (< *castra*), the author feels that it was associated with *kašara* ‘to enclose,’ native to Arabia, and that its extended meaning was ultimately transferred to *palatium* within the texture of Hispano-Arabic life, through a process he chooses to call *pseudomorfismo* (German philologists, e.g. H. Schuchardt and G. Rohlfs, speak of innere Sprachform; cf. Fr. *calque linguistique*, Engl. loan translation.

34 “*Mesturar y la semantics hispano-árabe*,” *NRFH*, iii (1949), 143–144; Spitzer quotes parallels from OProv. and MHG; his corollary is that the possibility of Arabic intervention is thus precluded. Still different is the formulation of the problem by J. E. Gillet in his recent review of Castro’s book (Gillet promises further elaboration in his forthcoming commentary to the works of Torres Naharro).


36 Examples of *palazzi* from Sacchetti, of *paços* from Camões, and of *palaños* from Cervantes are quoted in *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen: Syntax* (Leipzig, 1899), §32.

37 Two materially conflicting, but equally refreshing poetic visions of early Leonese courtly life, not yet dominated by sharp-tongued witticism and mock-humility as portrayed in the *Cancionero de Baena*, are offered side by side in the dialogue of the two girls...
To people living outside of Rome, the imperial PALĂTIUM was known only from hearsay. On the testimony of mediæval literature, dialectology, and toponymy, the palacios were disseminated all over Spain, decreasing in denseness from their homesteads in Leon and Asturias to their southern outposts in Murcia and Extremadura. As a result, Spanish peasants and sheepherders associated the palacio not only with the inaccessible royal court, but with the many countryhouses of the gentry, which were definitely within their reach. This explains the sense development of some derivatives, particularly of palaciego.

Native and Imported paladino in Spanish

Covarrubias, Sánchez, Körtling, and Meyer-Lübke,38 to quote only the luminaries of four successive centuries, have all stated that OSp. paladino (without any authentic counterpart in OPort., possibly as a consequence of the fall of intervocalic -I-, which had a crippling effect on many words; but there are traces of paadinhamente39) perpetuates…

Elena and María engaged in mutual challenge (Elena y María, ed. Menéndez Pidal, in RFE, i [1914], especially ll. 51–54, 71–94, 126–129).

Coincident with, or as a sequel to, the changing fashions and pastimes of the courtly society, palacio developed a series of additional, figurative meanings. After the art of mor- dant taunt or thinly disguised mockery had become a prerequisite to the admission to influential coteries at the Castilian court, in the 15th century, palacio, in such works as El Croatán and the Coloquios de Erasmo, assumed the marginal meaning of ‘joke, fun, dissipation’; see A. Castro, RFE, xii (1925), 407–408. J. Cejador y Frauca, Fraseología o estilística castellana (Madrid, 1921–25), ii, 217, illustrates echar a palacio ‘echar a juego y broma’ with excerpts from Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro, De alabanza y murmuración, and Juan de Torres, Filosofía moral de príncipes (1596); hacer palacio de ‘mofarse’ is documented from fray Alonso de la Cruz (c. 1600) and fray Antonio Álvarez, Silua espiritual de varias consideraciones (1590–95).

A less radical departure from the central connotation is seen in Joan Rodríguez Florián’s Comedia Florínea (1554), included in NBAE, Vol. xiv; here, palacio more nearly approximates the signification of ‘tact, discretion, courtesy, refinement’: “Mirs palacio pensè que avía en ti” (p. 167b); “ni tò eres vieja para no holgar y passar semejantes palacios” (p. 180b). The palace was thought of as a place where select individuals were schooled and trained in the ways of mundane life (ibid., p. 209b: “Sábete que en palacios anduve”).

38 REW3 No. 6155. The offshoots of PALAM included an adjective in -ENSIS and verbs in -IDIXRE and -ANT~E beside -ENT-. Prov. pales ‘manifest’ must be distinguished from paroxytonic Prov. pales, -esa <PALLIDU, -A, see E. Philipon, Rom., XLVIII (1922), 20.

39 Replacements by learned forms like those enumerated in note 14 was feasible only where the two variants were not separated semantically by too great a distance, a qualification inapplicable to the case of paladino. If dictionaries do register Port. paladino, a transparent Castilianism is involved; if the word had survived in the west in its autochthonous form, it would have sounded *pádinho.

Scattered traces of the adverb pa(a)dinhamente are actually found in OPort. legal texts; cf. Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases antiguadas da língua portuguesa, 2d ed. (Lisbon, 1865), ii, 132a, 133a: “E outorgarom que a parte que
Lat. **PALAM**; the similarity of meaning between the Latin formation, which signifies ‘publicly,’ and the reputed Romance product, which signifies ‘clear, plain, evident,’ is indeed conspicuous. This derivation has been adopted by the majority of Hispanists, from P. F. Monlau and P. Förster all the way down to S. Gili Gaya, including the compilers of commercial dictionaries and scholarly glossaries. A relatively small group of scholars persisted in associating **PALADINO** with **PALATÍNUS**, particularly J. D. M. Ford and J. Alemany Bolufer, and this derivation is at present endorsed by the Spanish Academy Dictionary. It is noteworthy that the dilemma may have been vaguely sensed, if not rigorously formulated, as early as the thirteenth century: there is a solid record of the rendition of **PALAM** by **en paladino** by the translators of **fueros** into the vernacular, and there are passages in Alfonsine legislation intimating that the redactors were aware of the possible connection between **palacio** and **paladino**, which would imply the acceptance of the alternate etymology.

contra esto veer **paadinamente ou ascondudamente, que lhe nom seja outorgado**” (Documento do século xiv). The compiler also lists **paladino, paladinamente** (ii, 134a) and correctly observes that these forms are “more Spanish than Portuguese.” Numerous ancient formations in -inho have tended to disappear; thus, OPort. **ladinho** ‘Latin’ has been replaced by **ladino, latim**, see J. I. Louro, **BF**, ix (1948), 96-97.

On the development of **PALAM** from an adverb, not infrequently reinforced, in true parallelistic fashion, by **APERTE, LUCE, LOCIT**, into a preposition governing the ablative, see Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 723.


**Old Spanish Readings**, 3d ed. (Boston, 1934), p. 263: ‘appertaining to a palace’ [i.e., a public building] > ‘public,’ ‘manifest’ > ‘clear, manifest.’

**Diccionario de la lengua española** (Barcelona, 1917), p. 1246. That scholar is presumably also responsible for the revision of the etymology in recent editions of the Academy Dictionary, which, in turn, had important reverberations (notice the derivation from **PALÂTIUM** in A. de Pagés and J. Pérez Hervás, *Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana*, iv, 188).


E. g., *Los fueros de Aragón*, ed. Tilander, §190; see the editor’s vocabulary, s.v.

**Partidas**, ii, ix, 29: “Palacio es dicho aquel logar do el rey se ayunta **paladinamente** para fablar con los homes...”
What are the traces that PALAM has incontrovertibly left in the Romance dialects? It has entrenched itself in Corsica, in a fixed formula identified by Guarnerio, and it has given rise to derivatives, adjectival and verbal, in the Italo-Provençal zone (including Tusc. palese) and, in all likelihood, also in sundry French patois; notice also OF paleis. On the morphological side, as was keenly sensed by F. Diez, no bridge can be constructed between the Latin adverb and the Old Castilian (also Leonese and Aragonese) adjective, unless one were to posit the existence of intermediary formations, such as *PALATUS, a reconstruction not supported by any independent bit of evidence. The configuration of areas of the PALAM family (Central and Northern Italy including Corsica, Western Rätia, i.e. Engadin, and portions of the territory of Gallo-Romance) and of paladino (the central part of the Iberian Peninsula) is utterly incongruent. At best, one may concede that PALAM, if at all used colloquially in Romanized Iberia at a late date, could have exercised a measured influence on the sense development of PALATINUS. A compelling need for such an assumption does not exist, since PALATINUS yields a perfectly self-sufficient base, impeccable on the phonological side, requiring no morphological speculation, and semantically by no means opaque: that which is rumored in the imperial palace may easily have adopted the connotation of ‘widely known, public’ and, secondarily, of ‘plain, obvious, readily understandable.’ This line of development is

47 A. Thomas, Mélanges de philosophie française, 2d ed. (Paris, 1927), p. 11: traces of *PALENTARE are disclosed in Namur, Malmédy, and Franco-Provençal. The etymologists are silent on OF paleis, palois, palais ‘public, open,’ abundantly documented by Godfrey, v, 702c, 703a; notice especially the adverbial phrases en secret ou en paleys (Archives de Fribourg, a.d. 1371, 1373); also palasement, palaisement, palesement. The resemblance to OSp. en paladino, en paladinas, paladínam(í)ente is undeniable; it is, indeed, the only definite indication that PALAM or any of its derivatives, at a very early, no longer accurately identifiable moment, may have exercised a measure of influence on the sense development of PALATINUS. Notice in Cotgrave’s French-English dictionary (1611) the verb paliser ‘to reveale, to publish, to bewray.’ Is it justified to analyze It. palese as a word of Gallo-Romance background on account of voiced -s- (like cortese and unlike mese)?

48 In his usual terse style Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen (Bonn, 1853; left unchanged in subsequent editions), pp. 518–519, admirably posed the problem, in a vastly more lucid form than his overrated successor Meyer-Lübke: ‘Lat. PALAM liegt mit seiner Bedeutung nahe genug, doch ist die Art der Ableitung ohne Beispiel.’

49 OPtg. paladino (C. de Figueiredo, i, 516), quoted by Diez, has already been classified as a Castilianism; as for the single OIt. passage in which, according to Diez, paladino signified ‘frank,’ the dictionary of Tommaso and Bellini, iii, 721, provides the translation ‘generous’; unmistakably, this is a mere shade of ‘chivalrous’ and goes back to the mediæval Latin use of Carolingian PALATINUS.

50 In this connection, notice Sp. hacer palacio ‘manifestar alguno lo que llevaba oculto y escondido o debaxo de su capa’ (Covarrubias, supported by the Dicc. Autor., iv, 87). For an apt illustration of this use, see the slightly obscene passage in D. Sánchez de Badajoz,
the smoother, if we surmise that the decisive phase took place at the time
when \textit{palatium} preponderantly referred to the imperial palace, in which
state affairs were actually attended to and which, to that extent, was a
public building, not merely a private residence. Meyer-Lübke's informa-
tion on the survival of \textit{palatinus} in Romance is clearly an understate-
ment;\footnote{\textit{paladino}, by its shape and gamut of meanings, bears the mark of
long transmission, by word of mouth, of a word directly bequeathed by
Roman commoners and either obliterated or not nearly so freely devel-
opied in other, less tenaciously conservative portions of the Empire.}
The organic descendant of Lat. \textit{palatius} in Spanish, the adjective
\textit{paladino}, was surrounded by a number of satellite formations for which
prototypes in the ancestral language were lacking. These newly devel-
oped derivatives, peculiar to Old Spanish alone out of all Romance
languages and which may well have arisen in the second half of the first
millennium, include a miscellany of adverbial phrases (\textit{a paladino}, \textit{a
paladinas}, \textit{en paladino}, \textit{en paladinas}, \textit{paladinament}, \textit{-mente}, \textit{-mienle},
\textit{-miente}, the latter group showing the alternate spellings in one word
or in two words, a testimony to incomplete coalescence),\footnote{The wavering
between \textit{a paladino} and \textit{a paladinas}, \textit{en paladino} and \textit{en paladinas}
could well be made the starting point for the badly needed inquiry into the spread of the adverb-
ial termination -\textit{as}. For succinct information, see F. Hanssen, \textit{Gramática histórica de
la lengua castellana} (Halle a/S, 1913), p. 264 (mientras, ciertas, aosasadas), and R. Menéndez
Pidal, \textit{Manual de gramática histórica española}, 7th ed. (Madrid, 1944), §128, (a ciegas, a
tontas, a hurtadillas). Forerunners are \textit{adforas} (see C. Hamp, \textit{ALLG}, v [1888], 345) and \textit{de
fueras} (\textit{Glosas emilianenses}, 102; cf. Menéndez Pidal, \textit{Orígenes del español}, 2d ed. [Madrid,
1929], p. 388). The material scattered in word-lists and not yet structurally classified is
immense. By way of example, F. Rodríguez Marín, \textit{Modos adversoriales castizos y bien auto-
rizados} (Madrid, 1931), offers the following assortment: (1) \textit{a alas caidas} and \textit{a alas tendidas}
(p. 29), \textit{a arcas partidas} (pp. 33–34), \textit{a manos atadas} and \textit{a manos puestas} (p. 104), \textit{a ojos
ciegas} beside \textit{a ojos abiertos}, \textit{a ojos llenos}, and \textit{a ojos oídos} (pp. 114–115), \textit{a tierras levas} beside
\textit{alesios tierras}, \textit{lejos tierras}, \textit{lejos tierras}, \textit{de lejos tierras}, \textit{de lejos tierras} (pp. 165–168); (2)
\textit{a las iguales} beside \textit{a las iguales} (p. 93), \textit{a las llanas} (p. 101); (3) \textit{a avenidas} (p. 35), \textit{a canta-
radas} (p. 48), \textit{a descansadas} and \textit{a descansadillas} (p. 65), \textit{a desmuerdas} (p. 66), \textit{a reculadas} (p.
148), \textit{a sordas} (p. 159); (4) \textit{a las avemarlas} (p. 35), \textit{a las vueltas} (p. 178); (5) \textit{en pórpolas}
(p. 137); (6) \textit{a buenas o a malas} (p. 48), \textit{de primas a primeras} (p. 138), \textit{con muchas veras}
(p.)} besides the

\begin{quote}
"Farsa del matrimonio," \textit{Recopilación en metro}, \textit{II}, 27, ending thus: "[Fraile] Por Dios,
que estoy bien librado; veis que es cosa vergonzosa./¿ Tengo de hacer palacio?/Tiempo
habrá que allá despacio/vos lo sabrás de mi esposa."
\end{quote}

\footnote{REW\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}} No. 6158. Aside from the omission of OSp.
\textit{paladino} and its derivatives, notice the failure to draw a clear-cut line between Classical and Carolingian Latin; singularly
awkward is the use of the asterisk before Fr. \textit{paladin}, instead of a brief statement that the
Romance cognates go back to Med. Lat. \textit{palatius} and that Mod. Fr. \textit{paladin} is an Italianism of
the late 16th century; there is no mention whatever of OF \textit{palazy, palacin, palasin}. Meyer-Lübke's misrepresentations are the more astounding as the intelligent dis-
cussion by O. Bloch in his \textit{Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française} (Paris, 1932), \textit{II},
118, should have been available to him.}
three approximately synonymous verbs paladinar, apaladinar, espaladinar (with the variant despaladinar). The over-all picture is this: formations pertaining to the word family of paladino were used with impressive frequency in the thirteenth century, they barely held their own in the subsequent one hundred fifty years, and became quite exceptional after the close of that period. From this distribution the conclusion can safely be drawn that the state of affairs disclosed by extant literary texts in reality represents the gradual closing stages in the growth of the word family.

Paladino is abundantly recorded from the early thirteenth to the late fourteenth century; it was a favorite with poets who practiced the "cuaderna vía," including the Riojan Berceo, the Leonese author of the Libro de Alexandre (and both his Leonese and his Aragonese copyists), the Castilian Juan Ruiz, and the unidentified provincial versifier who diluted Innocence the Third's De contemptu mundi into the awkwardly worded Libro de miseria de omne. A purist of Don Juan Manuel's stature did not shun it, and it survived throughout the successive revisions of the Crónica general, down to its sixteenth-century derivatives. The corresponding adverbs, whichever the pattern of derivation, occur largely in thirteenth-century works composed in prose, rarely in verse, as is to be expected of that word category (Fuero Juzgo, Vidal Mayor, Fueros de Aragón, Calila e Digna, Siete partidas, Primera crónica general; Vida de Santa Marta Egipcica); paladinamente has outlived the rest of the word-family. Paladinar and espaladinar are traceable to Alfonsine astronomical treatises, whose redaction, in part, lay in the hands of Jewish translators assembled at the Castilian court; paladinar was further used by the bishop of Huesca who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, composed the legal treatise Vidal Mayor, and by Don Juan Manuel; it penetrated into the Escorial glossary, compiled in the last decades of the fourteenth century. Espaladinar was included in the lexicon of the Libro de Alexandre (and was oddly distorted by the scribe of MS. P, a clumsy copyist of the early fifteenth century to whom the word, then

176). This would still leave out of the reckoning such archaic types as oras...oras (Elena y María, I. 128).

53 Renaissance dictionaries, so far as their evidence has been verifiable, took no notice of the mediaeval word-family. Captain John Stevens, the author of a remarkably independent Eng.-Sp. and Sp.-Eng. dictionary (London, 1726; there exist somewhat earlier editions, inaccessible to me), was possibly the first, after a long interval, who recorded paladinamente 'boldly, openly, barefacedly'; in the adverb so defined, one recognizes dimly a whimsical merger of traits attributed to heroic knights (courage, gallantry, fearlessness in the face of overwhelming odds) and a residue of the traditional meaning 'clear, patent, open'; this combination was feasible in the case of the adverb alone, which thus outlived the underlying adjective.
obsolescent, may no longer have been familiar),\(^{64}\) of the carefully phrased, long authoritative \textit{Siete partidas}, traced to the late fifties and the early sixties of the thirteenth century, and of two slightly earlier, interdependent eastern texts (\textit{Vidal Mayor} and the \textit{Fueros de Aragón}). A \textit{paladinar} occurs twice, in almost identical context (which insures the correctness of the reading, yet detracts from the breadth of information on its use) in the \textit{Poema de Alfonso Onceno}, which would take us to the west of the Peninsula, conceivably around the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

The meaning of \textit{paladino} does not present any major difficulty: Berceo's \textit{román paladino} and \textit{vos paladina} stand for 'commonly understandable vernacular' and 'plain, simple word,' in this order. \textit{Fablar paladino}, side by side with \textit{fablar} (and \textit{desir}) \textit{paladinam(i)ente}, is patterned on \textit{fablar romance} (<\textit{RÓMÀNICÈ}), \textit{vascuenze} (<\textit{VASCONICÈ}), and \textit{fablar alto}, sequences in which the border-line between adjective and adverb is blurred. The \textit{ladrón paladino} is effectively contrasted with the \textit{ladrón cubierto}, as one would nowadays speak of open robbery perpetrated in the street as against secret theft. \textit{Recebir a~otes paladinamente} suggests a severe kind of punishment meted out in public.\(^{64a}\) There existed a wealth of stereotyped expressions, going back indubitably to juridical texts, in which 'openly' and 'by stealth, furtively' were contrasted in injunctions and prohibitions: \textit{a furto o a paladino} (\textit{Vidal Mayor}, \textit{Primera crónica general}), \textit{a furto o a paladinas} (\textit{Primera crónica general}), \textit{ni en escuso, ni en paladinas} (\textit{Calila e Digna}),\(^{65}\) \textit{en escondudo o paladino beside paladina ment ni en escondudo} (\textit{Fueros de Aragón}). \textit{Paladinar} and its various compounds, characteristic primarily of didactic prose, signified 'to explain, to interpret,' in reference to riddles, difficult themes, laws not devoid of ambiguity, embarrassingly contradictory Bible passages, baffling prophecies, and secrets couched in a deliberately obscure language;\(^{66}\) in one juridical text, \textit{espaladinar una demanda}, as can be ascertained by comparison with the Latin prototype (\textit{DEMANDAM RESERARE}), is tantamount to 'publicly presenting a claim.'

\(^{64}\) The mutilation of the radical (\textit{despalidinar}) is more conspicuous than the insecurity in the use of the prefix; the wavering between \textit{es-} and \textit{des-} in the two major MSS. of the poem was observed by A. Morel-Fatio in his introduction to the \textit{Libro de Alixandre} (Dresden, 1906), p. xxvii.

\(^{64a}\) The use of \textit{paladino} by J. A. de Baena, in the early 15th century, already shows semantic contamination by \textit{pala(n)ciano} 'courtly': prior to extinction, the word suffers a fission in its nuclear meaning.

\(^{65}\) As appears from the parallel use of \textit{escondudo}, \textit{escuso} was a descendant of \textit{ABSCÓNSUM} (from \textit{ABSCONDERE}), secondarily contaminated with \textit{escusar}; see my note on \textit{asperiega}, \textit{esperiega} 'kind of sour apple,' \textit{PQ}, xxviii (1949), 303.

\(^{66}\) Y. P. Ten Cate, \textit{Poema de Alfonso Onceno: estudio preliminar y vocabulario} (Amsterdam, 1942), p. 10, correctly translates \textit{apaladinar} by 'declarar, explicar, interpretar.'
Rarely can we lay our fingers on the cause for the disappearance of a word-family as neatly as in the case of paladino, which, outside of capriciously archaizing style and with the possible exception of a few remote corners of the Peninsula, may be regarded as extinct. As in numerous instances, a clash of homophones is involved; what makes the precipitate downfall of paladino particularly noteworthy is that the homophone which displaced it happened to be a doublet in the sense of genetic kinship. Doublets, in the older definitions, were phonologically (and preferably also semantically) differentiated products of a single lexical base. The present advanced knowledge of the stratification of words enables us to recognize doublets in formations of like or unlike appearance and similar or dissimilar meaning, which go back to the same ancestral etymon and have been transmitted through different channels. In the present case, as a result of the diffusion (frequently through devious routes) of OF and ML words pertaining to Carolingian culture, a new formation paladino, endowed with an entirely different meaning and with a strong power of appeal to influential speakers and writers, abruptly entered the Spanish scene at the end of the Middle Ages.

Classical Latin Palatinus has been perpetuated by word of mouth (with the unavoidable semantic shifts attendant upon this mode of transmission) only on Iberian soil. But, centuries after its decay elsewhere, the

57 Pagés, Gran diccionario, iv, 189, quotes paladinamente from two authors as late as J. N. Gallego ("fuera también una ventaja el que para cometer una iniquidad hubiese que confesarla paladinamente") and M. J. Quintana ("¿qué es esto sino confesar paladinamente que lo que se ha hecho y lo que está haciendo con nosotros contra nuestro voto y tendencia general?"). It would seem that the fixed combination confesar paladinamente led a precarious existence as a juridical formula long after the extinction of the corresponding adjective, which may also account for Captain John Stevens' attitude (see note 54); it is still used, upon occasion, in literary style. The occurrence of paladino and a paladinas in the writings of R. José de Crespo, an author of the early 19th century (see Pagés, loc. cit.: "Asentó como hechos paladinos la visible irregularidad dentro y en la faz de la tierra"; "guárdese el moro o alarbe, o como quier fuese, de irse ni a excusañas ni a paladinas con esos donaires hacia mi tierra, si yo fuere alcalde"), strikes one as a wilful archaism.

58 A. de Rato y Hevia, Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables, p. 4: despaladinar 'aclarar, sacar de dudas' (término que usó A. S.).

59 On clashes of homophones in Spanish, see HR, xvii (1949), 188-189, with bibliography, and RPh., iii (1948-49), 52-61; add the statements of R. Menéndez Pidal, "Etimologías españolas," Rom., xxix (1900), 343-345, 348, 353, on collazo, chisme, majuelo, and golftín, respectively.

60 On "Doppelformen" and "Scheideformen," see, in particular, C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung (Leipzig, 1876); parallel inquiries into Romance doublets other than Spanish were made by Brachet, Canello, and Coelho. In the word-list appended to her monograph, C. Michaëlis contrasts only paladin with the undisguised Latinism palatino.
word was artificially revived at the court of Charlemagne, where plans were mapped for the restoration of the Empire under new leadership. There was no need to revitalize the extinct adjective; yet the substantive PALATINUS, which in the days of Martial and Suetonius had signified 'majordomo, chamberlain,' was now found applicable to the counts in Charlemagne's service and to other distinguished members of his retinue. This Carolingian, primarily substantival PALATINUS penetrated into the vernacular of France (cf. AN palain and palazin, palayn in the ancient dialects of present-day Franche-Comté) and, with the prestige of Carolingian political and military organization diffusing all over the Occident, radiated to the neighboring countries, preeminently to Italy (paladino). It. paladino, in turn, infiltrated into Spanish and Portuguese, suffering on its way optional apocope (cf. ciarlatano > charlaitan);
finally, in Spanish paladín prevailed over paladino⁶⁶ whereas in Portuguese the reverse distribution appears to obtain.⁶⁶

Experience shows that conflicts between homophones are solved in two different ways: either through elimination of the less resistant of the two rivals (occasionally, protracted competition enfeebles both partners and makes them an easy prey for unequivocal synonyms) or through merger, which allows the opponents to meet each other halfway. In the case of ‘count, knight errant, champion’⁶⁷ vs. ‘clear, plain, public,’ no meaningful connection between the homophones could be established; there was a difference of grammatical category, of cultural context, and of style between the two formations, so that only one of them could possibly thrive, at the expense of the other. The victory of paladino ‘knight, champion’ over paladino ‘clear, public’ (which eventually entrenched itself in the isolated juridical formula confesar paladinamente, before its total extinction) is noteworthy in many respects: it testifies to the superiority of a young word over a traditional formation; of a word supported by a literary fashion over one rooted primarily in the language of legislation; of a word accepted by the occidental culture as a whole over the local remnant, modified past easy recognition, of an anciently also widespread formation. At the time when Spain discarded paladino ‘plain,’ a part however small of its peninsular heritage, in favor of

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⁶⁶ Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula (London, 1925), in MP, xxiv (1926-27), 481-486, and, in definitive fashion, in El cuento de Tristán de Leons, edited from the unique manuscript Vatican 6428 (Chicago, 1928), pp. 20-78. In the onomasticon, Paladin existed as early as the 14th century (Gran conquista de ultramar, ed. P. de Gayangos, p. 285a: Ponce de Paladín); it may there have infiltrated through a different channel.

⁶⁷ Tirso de Molina used paladin: “No hay quien ejecute en ti / los golpes, cuando tú en todos / te muestras un paladin” (Pagés, iv, 189), but Cervantes resorted to paladino (Don Quixote, p. 1, ch. lii), and so did B. de Balbuena: “Y al quinto dia, con la nueva cierta / de la muerte infeliz del paladino, / la antes dudosa amante quedó muerta” (Pagés, loc. cit.). Paladin was also employed by F. de Quevedo in his eighth jácara. Paladinesco, which is based on the derivative meanings of ‘knight errant, champion,’ has lately been observed in Spain (M. de Toro y Gisbert, “El vocabulario de Blasco Ibáñez,” in Los nuevos derroteros del idioma [Paris, 1918], p. 12) and in Spanish America (F. J. Santamaría, Diccionario general de americanismos, 3 vols. [Mexico, 1942], ii, 376).
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*paladino* 'champion,' which pertained to the western European lexical stock, it also ceased to be a small power involved in local feuds with its neighbors and in a war of attrition with the Moors, and boldly entered the scene of world politics. Another bit of ancient Romanized Iberia, which had persisted throughout the Visigothic and Hispano-Arabic periods, broke away from the remodeled edifice.

In retrospect, one may say that PALÂNUS cut its ties with PALÁTUM embarking upon a course of its own, chiefly on account of the divergent evolution of intervocalic -T- and -TI- in late spoken Latin. The increasingly loose connection between palacio and paladino helps to explain the exceptionally free development of the adjective on the semantic side; as for substantivated PALÂNUS as the designation of a rank ('imperial chamberlain'), it lent itself, like numerous names of professions, to use as a proper name on Spanish soil, down to the eleventh century; it became fossilized in a number of place-names, such as densely disseminated Port. Padinho and Padim, Gal. Padín, and relatively scarce Ast.-Leon. Paladín, reflecting either PALÂNUS or the genitive PALÁTIN.

Since PALÁTUM had been generally transmitted into the Romance languages, the need soon arose for new adjectives, more closely modeled on the primitive, in regard to form and meaning, than was PALÂNUS. This need, keenly felt in different corners of "Romania," was met differently in France and in Spain. Within the domain of the langue d'oîl, the vernacular equivalent of Carolingian Lat. PALÁTUM, to wit palain, was soon abandoned except in the extreme northwest and east in favor of palacin, palazin (beside the crude Latinism palatin, recorded since the first half of the fourteenth century). These new formations, which,

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68 J. M. Piel, "Nomes de 'possessores' latino-cristãos na toponímia asturo-galego-portuguesa," Biblos, xxiii (1947), 342, quotes Paladinus, a.d. 953; Paladínus, a.d. 1047; and the patronymic Paladinici, -ís, a.d. 1047. Some of the results of Piel's valuable research were anticipated by J. Leite de Vasconcelos, "Observações gramático-lexicais," Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal (1925), i, 612–614. Paladin is a widely used family name in Italy, borne in the 16th century, among others, by a Florentine painter and a Milanese musician.

69 Piel, loc. cit.; Padinho has been identified in Guimarães and Fafe, Paladín in Celorico de Basto, Póvoa de Lanhoso, Penafiel, and Braga; Padín in Pontevedra, La Coruña, and Lugo; Paladín around Las Omañas (León) and Las Regueras (Oviedo).

70 According to O. Bloch's dictionary, ii, 119, the masc. palatin is first attested in 1331, the femin. palatine as early as 1323. For examples of palacin, palazin, see F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, v, 703c–704a, with a wealth of variant spellings; notice palasine 'femme d'un comte palatin' (Mort Aymeri de Narbone). The obvious reason for the decline of this word was the homonymic clash with another word-family which was apt to create most embarrassing misunderstandings: palasín, -esín also signified 'paralytic' and palacin, -asín, -esín 'paralysis' (e.g., in Wace's works, in the Raoul de Cambrai, the Roman de Thèbes, etc.); palasine was also used sporadically for 'paralysis,' and there existed a widespread adjective palasinos, with a profusion of variant forms; see Godefroy, v,
incidentally, radiated beyond the Pyrenees, have been explained either as independent offshoots from OF palais, or as so many attempts at modification of older paladino, under the pressure of palais; similarly, OProv. palaci(n), palaciano, palacio, palaciego cannot be linked immediately to palatino: palats must have been instrumental in their derivation either as a new base or as an interfering factor. In Ibero-Romance, the intimate connection between substantive and adjective was restored by the coinage of a new derivative, *palatino, which completely superseded paladino as a companion word of palacio, paco.

OSp. palaciano, palanciano, palaciano; OGal.-Port. pação

The new type *palatino (presumably pronounced *palaçanu from the start) arose, as Piel surmises on good grounds, prior to the extinction of the Roman rule over Iberia. The earliest material on record is toponymic; the places involved may originally have contained a reference to the attested proper name Palatius (see W. Schulze's Namenbuch, s.v.) as the owner of possessions so designated. Its secondary association with palatium, at a moment when a serviceable adjective subsidiary to that word was in urgent demand, was almost inevitable. The early spread of *palatino throughout the first millennium is visible in its even distribution over the west (OGal.-Port. pação) and the center (OLeon.-Cast. palaciano); diffusion at a late date or simultaneous derivation from the same primitive, by means of the same suffix, are inconceivable in the light of the forms preserved.

703c-704a. Notice also OF palazine 'herbe à la paralysis,' 'primevère' quoted by P. Meyer, "Manuscrits médicaux en français," Rom., xliv (1915-17), 200. Palatin, the unadulterated Latinism, was no perfect substitute for the ailing word, because it reached its peak in the 16th century, at a time when palais was commonly applied to the courthouse; hence, especially in the epistles of J. Bouchet, palatin stands for 'du tribunal; avocat' and palatiner for 'fréquenter le barreau.' Cf. palatino in B. Gracián, El Criticón, ed. Romera-Navarro, III, 66, 219.

71 Cf. note 2.

72 The former view was favored by J. Brüch, loc. cit., the latter was supported by C. Appel; for a somewhat skeptical comment, see M. Roques, Rom., liv (1928), 290.

Palaçiano, upon occasion, was used to characterize the size and rank of a city, castle, or manor (Cantar de Mio Cid, Libro de Alexandre), but with greater frequency served to qualify an accepted pattern of courtly behavior, involving aristocratic countenance, good manners, self-control, refinement, soft-spokenness (initially, sharp wit and caustic humor were not major requirements), so far as can be conjectured from elusive contexts. The infrequent derivatives palacianamente ‘in a princely fashion’ and palacianás ‘chivalresque demeanor’ (Libro de Alexandre) fit neatly into this scheme.

After the fourteenth century at the latest, palaçiano began to retreat before its phonetic variant palanciano (containing a by no means unusual anticipatory intrusive nasal) which, from the colloquial level at which it had arisen through lax pronunciation, slowly wormed its way into the literary idiom. MSS. E and H of Berceo’s Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos illustrate the rivalry between the two variants; MS. G of the Libro de buen amor (late fourteenth century) in one passage, not otherwise preserved, contains palanciano. That form was universally accepted by poets who themselves practiced courtly poetry and who surely would have rejected a variant incompatible with the conventions of good tone; palanciano, by then, must have forgone its mildly vulgar flavor. Typical representatives of that group of writers were Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (and other contributors, identifiable and anonymous, to the Cancionero de Baena), Fernando de la Torre, Gómez Ñanrique, and Comendador Hernando de Ludueña. The preference for palanciano was shared by distinguished prose writers of the last two decades of the fifteenth century: Juan de Lucena, Hernando del Pulgar, and Fernando de Rojas. In the sixteenth century, the word lost irreparably in social

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74 It is permissible to doubt whether M. R. Rodríguez’s translation of paação by ‘familiar, campechano, franco, hidalgo’ in the glossary appended to the Crónica troyana: código gallego del siglo XIV, 2 vols. (La Coruña, 1900), II, 340, is adequate.
75 The best-known examples, probably, are pőtiţõe ‘drink’>OSp. p enviado ‘poison’ and (pőma) Mattiána>OSP. ma(n)çana; cf. Gal. londoňo <*LOTÔNEU, on the evidence of Nav. índolaň, see A. Castro, RFE, vi (1919), 343. Notice OF palantien (A.D. 1286) in Godefroy, v, 703c. OS, OHG, and even MHG forms also show an erratic infixed nasal, and some ML texts contain the variant form palantium, which has been attributed to merger with another word (see F. Kluge’s etymological dictionary, s. v. Pfalz). There is no need here to expatiante on the phenomenon of the infixed nasal, discussed by Kretschmer and Schuchardt. Add Arag. sargardana ‘lizard’>sangardana, sargantana, as interpreted by J. Corominas, RFH, vi (1943), 2. On palanciano, see R. J. Cuervo, “Castellano popular y castellano literario,” Obras inéditas (Bogotá, 1944), p. 206.
76 Palaciano is recorded by P. de Alcalá, Percivale-Minsheu (‘courtier’), C. Oudin (merely as a variant form of palanciano), Captain John Stevens (who dubs it as obsolete). The prevalence of palanciano in the late 15th century follows from the fact, rightly stressed by
prestige and receded to the precinct of low-grade farces and eclogues. The decline was due, in part, to the disappearance of that courtly society which had cultivated the palacianerfa, a way of life which, according to Ludueña’s shrewd observation, fostered the tactics of exchanging epi-
grammatic verse, sometimes witty and invariably offensive, a kind of sophisticated verbal dueling. The other reason, within the dimension of literature rather than of “real life,” was the professed urge of a new gen-
eration of writers to discard a generous proportion of the mediæval lexicon, primarily words redolent of rapidly obsolescent institutions, customs, and ideas, as incongruous with the new range of interests and preoccupations. Diego Gracián, who couched his translation of Plutarch in a conservative style, was among the last authors who cared to have recourse to palan-
ciano. Palancianada ‘courtly custom’ belongs to the racy derivatives which give a unique flavor, blended of archaism and provincialism, to Fray Juan de Pineda’s Agricultura christiana (1589).
Erratic palenciano, apparently modeled on valenciano, appears inter-
mittently in old texts (Juan Alfonso de Baena, Alexo Venegas) and has been perpetuated, side by side with palanciano, in the dialects of the north, hospitable to retroceding speech forms; in Western Asturias, a new verb palanciar ‘to idle away one’s time,’ suggestive of the peasant’s appraisal of the nobleman’s activities at court, has sprung into exis-
tence.
Portuguese scholars at present use the Castilianism palaciano (dis-
carded from Modern Spanish, except as an outright archaism) as a term

Menéndez Pidal (Cantar de Mio Cid, “Vocabulario,” s.v.), that Nebrija was aware of the erratic character of palaciano-palacio as compared to italiano-Italia, yet unhesitatingly accepted the aberrant form as consecrated by usage, beyond remedy. Palaciano is listed by P. de Alcalá (1505), C. de las Casas (1570: ‘cortegiano’), Fray Alonso de Molina (1571), Percivale-Minsheu, C. Oudin (‘courtisan, homme de palais et de cour’); S. de Covarrubias and L. Franciosini (1620, 1636) mark it as a barbarism; the Diccionario de Autoridades, v, 89, labels it as obsolete.

77 In recent years, new derivatives from palacio, of limited currency as yet, have cropped up. In addition to palacial (Pagés, s.v.), which calls to mind Engl. palatial, notice palatino (S. Gili Gaya, Voz, s.v.), which has the drawback of ambiguity, because a homophonous adjective has been developed from paladar, in both cases through regression to the classical forms PALATIUM and PALATUM.

78 In Navarre, the word refers to the owner of a mansion (Pagés, s.v.). For Central Asturias, A. de Rato y Hevia, Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables, p. 91, lists both palancianu ‘lo que es de palacio, de gran señor, cortesano’ and palenciano ‘cortesano discreto, urbano.’


of literary history, and some enterprising writers have gone on to coin the neologisms **palacianidade** and **palacianismo**.

Sayagués and Castilian **palaciego**

While **pala(n)ciano** was nearing the end of its career in standard Spanish, a new derivative from **palacio**, namely **palaciego**, suddenly emerged into literature with the advent of two new genres, the farce and the eclogue, whose authors were relentlessly drawing on a novel stockpile of words, previously untapped by decorous, puristic writers: the lexicon of Leonese sheepherders and peasants (of the Salamanca area). **Pala(n)ciano** referred preeminently to the royal court (which, true enough, in ancient Spain had no fixed domicile and was thus within view of outsiders at scattered points of the kingdom); **palaciego** at the outset assuredly included the manorial environment, which was a good deal more familiar to rustics the country over. The two words, then, may most properly be dubbed near-synonyms, interchangeable in some contexts, but with unequally distributed emphases. Juan del Encina favored **palaciego** over **palanciano** by a heavy margin; Diego Sánchez de Badajoz used them about evenly; if A. de Salaya adhered to **palanciano**, Lucas Fernández, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Diego de Ávila, Salazar de Breno, and anonymous contemporary writers of kindred tastes and topical interests were unanimous in preferring **palaciego**. Pero López Ranjel resorted to the local variant **pallaciego**, involving the Sayagués shift -1- > -2- (cf. **dollorido** and **rellumbrante** in the same play).

In what rural district of Spain and precisely at which moment **palaciego** had sprung up, before it penetrated into literature, is difficult to determine. In all likelihood it came into existence not far from where it infiltrated into literature, at some point of the Asturo-Leonese area, the traditional mainstay of the suffix -iego. It may have been coined...
on the analogy of deep-rooted and extensively used solariego 'manorial, of noble ancestry' (in especial reference to real estate) or as an antonym of matiego 'living in the wilderness,' pastoriego 'pertaining to shepherds,' and the like. If paladino goes back to an accurately datable Latin formation (PALĀTĪNUS, in its pertinent connotation, was coined during the Augustan reign) and if palaciano may tentatively be traced to the period of dying antiquity (fourth or fifth century A.D.), there is no way of knowing by how many centuries the genesis of palaciego predates its first appearance in literature. Indirect evidence leads to the belief that palaciego arose in the early second rather than in the late first millennium. If this hypothesis is correct (it is based on careful observation of the spread of the suffix -iego), the principle of tear and wear in language history can be admirably illustrated with the succession of adjectives derived from PALĀTIUM or, secondarily, from palacio: palaciego, presumably the most recent of the four formations under study, replaced palanciano, which in turn, had evicted palaciano, much as that latter word, at a yet earlier stage, had superseded paladino.

Palaciego owes its vogue in literature to the temporary fashion of representing unpolished rustic speech on the stage. The word is found in some recurrent conventional situations, as when the angry shepherd, envious of the economic and educational advantages of the privileged class and jealous of their success with women, addresses (or mentions) the young dashing cavalier whom he has surprised courting his daughter or his betrothed. Initially, then, palaciano and palaciego imply two different perspectives: the cavalier viewed by fellow-courtiers, within the setting of the royal palace, as against that same cavalier on his hunting ground, on a pleasure ride, or wherever he was bound unobtrusively to meet common folks. Yet the border-line was so thin as not to withstand gradual blurring: after palanciano, for the reasons stated, had fallen into desuetude, palaciego, deprived of its original overtones of boorishness and coarseness, became acceptable to a galaxy of distinguished and entirely urbane writers, throughout the Golden Age period and down to the close of the eighteenth century: Padre Juan Mariana, Miguel de Cervantes, Alonso J. de Salas Barbadillo, Baltasar Gracían, Tirso de Molina, and Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos.

A. Castro, España en su historia, p. 453, attributes considerable significance to these scenes: "La tradición literaria del burdador se desarrolló en el marco del gran señor y de la esclavilla, del caballero y de la villana."

Lexicographers of the 16th century paid slight, if any, attention to palaciego; those of the 17th in part afforded it preferential treatment, in part condemned it as a barbarism (Covarrubias, Franciosini). The latter's claim in 1620 that it was a "vocabolo pochissimo usato" is hardly borne out by the traces it left in literature. Covarrubias defines palaciego
At present, *palaciego* remains in use as a distinctly literary or as an antiquarian term, to which literary historians have recourse mainly to characterize those fifteenth-century writers (mostly versifiers at the court of John the Second) who, paradoxically enough, preferred to call themselves *palancianos*. Like most words in -iego, *palaciego* is not accompanied by any derivatives; in this, it contrasts sharply with *paladino* and *pala(n)ciano*, which were surrounded by a system of satellites. Modern Portuguese writers have occasionally experimented with *palaccego* and *palaciego*, the former a disguised and the latter an avowed Castilianism.

**CONCLUSION**

The history of the four successive derivatives from *Palatium* in Spanish: *paladino*, *palaciano*, *palanciano*, and *palaciego*, is instructive in many respects. It has here served its primary purpose of exemplifying, in a particularly lucid way, the relations between radical and formatives, between primitive and offshoots, subject to ever-changing conditions. The inquiry also yielded a good many by-products. Some were of major interest for the student of general linguistics: clashes of homophones (in the case of Sp. *paladino* and of OF *palazin*), their semantic interpenetration (in the case of Sp. *paladinamente*), mutual attraction of words of partly similar appearance, granted that *PALAM* (and *PALENSIS*, if it once extended to Spain?) may have exercised a measure of influence on *PALATINUS*, which is not demonstrable; reshaping of derivatives in an effort to keep them within the orbit of the primitive (OSp. *palaçiano*, OPort. *paagão*, OF *palazin*, which temporarily radiated beyond the Pyrenees); diffusion, in numerous directions (from Spain to Portugal, from France to Italy, from France to Spain, from Italy to Spain); the effect of phonological erosion on the survival of words (contrast between the early decay of OPort. *paadinamente* and the remarkable resilience and resistance of Sp. *paladinamente*).

Other results of our investigation are of greater concern to the historian as ‘hombre de palacio,’ Oudin as ‘courtisan qui sçait faire la cour.’ Interesting is the use made of *palaciego*, in preference to *palanciano*, by the compilers of the Grand dictionnaire et trésor de trois langues (Antwerp, 1640) in defining French words and phrases: *savoir sa cour* ‘ser muy palaciego’; *un courtisan ‘cortesano, palaciego.’ A. de La Porte also lists the word in 1659; so does, in a less conspicuous fashion, Captain John Stevens at the dawn of the subsequent century.

Yet notice *solareguta*, from *solariego*, in Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, I, 101.

C. de Figueiredo, loc. cit.: *palacego* (Almeida Garrett, Portugal na balança, p. 164); *palaciego* (Coelho, Cambões, p. 69).
of Hispanic culture. The record of *paladino*, in particular, throws into bold relief the isolated position of Spain and Portugal within the western Mediterranean zone: nowhere else did the republican and early imperial Latinity find a more secure and well-secluded refuge against the changing tides of language history down to the close of the Middle Ages. We are further led to observe the effects of one such great cataclysm in occidental history: the Carolingian wave, which slowly and often by devious routes, but irresistibly, engulfed part of western Europe and swept over the surface of the rest, including Spain and Portugal. Finally, the semantic study of *pala(n)ciano* and *palaciego* affords glimpses into such environments as the relatively austere courts of ancient Portugal, Leon, and Castile; the more sophisticated, pretentious Spanish courts of the fifteenth century; and the rural scene, with its interplay between aristocracy and peasantry, long veiled by conventional literature and then forcefully revealed in farces and eclogues.\(^8\)

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**Documentation**

(A) *Paladino* and Derivatives

1. *paladino*

Quiero fer una prosa en roman *paladino* / en qual suele el pueblo fablar con su vezino, / ca non so tan letrado por fer otro latino (Berceo, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. Fitz-Gerald, quatr. 2a–c); quando dize “por omnia” con la voz cambiada, / a Cristo representa quando fizo tornada, / quando dormi San Pedro, la mesa levantada, / e amassava Judas la massa mal lebdada. / —Otra cosa significa esta voz *paladina*: / al obispo que exié detrás essa cortina, / la qual partié la casa, el bien de la farina / esparcie por todo, sangne por medicina (Berceo, *El sacrificio de la misa*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, quatr. 77–78); la Natura que cría todas criaturas, / las que son *paladinus* e las que son escuras (*Libro de Alexandre*, ed. Willis, O, quatr. 2161ab; cf. P, quatr. 2303ab: la Natura que cría todas las criazones, / las que son *paladinus* e las que son escuras); e vido a un peón del alguasil quando acotava a un ladrón e dixo: maravilla es cómo un ladrón *paladino* açota al ladrón cubierto (*Bocados de oro*, ed. H. Knust, pp. 146–147; included in *Mitteilungen aus dem Escurial* [Tübingen, 1879]); muerte muy rrebatada trae la golos(s)ina / al cuerpo muy goloso e al alma mesquina; / desto ay muchas fablas e estoria *paladina*; / dezir te lo he más breve por te enbiar ayna (Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. J. Ducamin, S, quatr. 297); en desuso dize que Moysén que fablava con Dios cara a cara; et otros dize que a Dios nunca lo vió ninguno; et si en estas cosas home fablare muy *paladino*, por fuerça tomarían alguna dubda los que lo bien non entendiesen (Don Juan Manuel, “Libro

\(^8\) I am pleased to acknowledge that the two editorial readers of the paper, Professors Julian H. Bonfante and Leo Spitzer, have contributed a few valuable bits of information.
de los estados,” b. II, ch. V; in Obras, ed. P. de Gayangos, BAE, II, 347a); furto nasce de codicia, si faz preda e rapina, / desende nasce (doña) Luxuria, bien aquésta commo reyna, / con los altos e los baxos así mora paladina, / comme si fuese su madre e fuese buena vesina (Libro de miseria de omne, ed. M. Artigas, quatr. 175); Johán García, serpentina / es mi lengua de Tancredo, / e la non ovo non credo, / atán dulce e paladina (J. A. de Baena, Cancionero de Baena, No. 392).

2. a paladino

. . . a furto o a paladino (Vidal Mayor, MS. Perrins 112, fol. 177c, cf. G. Tilander, Los fueros de Aragón [Lund, 1937], p. 504); e con la gran saña que havié, dixo contra su hermano el Rey D. Sancho: “Yo muger so e bien sabe que yo non lidiare con él, mas yol faré matar a furto e a paladino ([Tercera] crónica general, b. IV, ch. ii; see Dicc. Autor., IV, 88; cf. the text of the original version, under the following head).

3. a paladinas

Vinieron se todos pora ell a furto et a paladinas, cada unos lo mejor que podié (Primera crónica general, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, p. 325a; cf. the wording of the [Tercera] crónica general: Viniéronse todos para él a furto e a paladinas, cada uno lo mejor que pudo [B. III, ch. ii; see Dicc. Autor., IV, 88]); et con la grand saña que avié, dixo asf, segund dizen, contra su hermano el rey don Sancho: ‘Yo mugier so, et bien sabe él que yo non lidiare con él, mas yol faré matar a furto o a paladinas (MSS. F, O: a paladino) (Primera crónica general, p. 507b; for the text of derivative versions, see under the preceding head).

4. en paladino

Encara nengún judío qui contra la establida forma en escondudo o paladino osará recibir o demandar alguna cosa de so deudor . . . (Los fueros de Aragón, Bibl. Nac. MS. 458, §190).

5. en paladinas

. . . ni en escuso, ni en paladinas (Fuero Juzgo, Malp. 2, 83, var. 26; see V. Fernández Llera's glossary, p. 233); dixo Seneca: “Digote que yo non mostrará al león enemistad, nin me camiaré de como estava con él, nin en celado nin en paladinas, fasta que vea de lo que me yo temo (Calila e Digna, ed. C. G. Allen, MS. A, fol. 25').

6. paladinament, -mente, -miente, -mientre

E si ninguna cosa non hoviere onde pueda fazer emienda, reciba cincuenta açotes paladinamentemente (Fuero Juzgo, II, i, 19; see Dicc. Autor., IV, 88; on the variant paladinamentre in the same text, Camp., IV, 1, 3, see V. Fernández Llera's glossary, p. 233); non destrengan a cristiano pagar logro a cristiano paladinamentre ni en escondudo (Los fueros de Aragón, Bibl. Nac. MS. 458, §191); una boz oyó veramente / que le dixo paladina miente: / “Ve a la rribera de S(s)ant Iordan . . .” (Vida de Santa Marta Egípciaca, ed. R. Fouché-Delbosc, ll. 632–634; F. Janer's interpretation of the meaning of the word in this passage as 'con agrado, con amabilidad’ [BAE, LVII, 590a] is misleading); palacio es dicho aquel logar do el rey se ayunta paladinamentemente para fablar con los homes, et esto es en tres maneras: o para librar los pleytos, o para comer, o para fablar en gasajado.
OSp. "paladino," "palaciano," "palanciano," "palaciego"

(Partidas, π, ix, 29); yo era mozo pequeño, cautiváronme los christianos, e allí deprende fablar paladinamente ladino ([Tercera] crónica general, b. iv, ch. iii; see Dicc. Autor., iv, 88).

7. paladinar
E si alguno mostrare los instrumentes et las poridades de su negotio por aver conseillo o paladinare ad algún savio . . . (Vidal Mayor, MS. Perrins 112, fol. 41c; see Tilander, Los fueros de Aragón, p. 504); et por esto es menester de acuciarme mucho en paladinar su fecho et de allanarlo con todo mio poder (Libro de las armellas, b. i, ch. i; see Alfonso el Sabio, Libros del saber de astronomía [Madrid, 1863–67], π, 3); et segund yo vos he dicho muchas vezes, estas cosas acaecen por entendimiento et non se pueden llanamente paladinar por lengua (Don Juan Manuel, "Libro de los estados," b. π, ch. vii; see Obras, BAE, Li [1860], 349a); Glosario del Escorial, ed. A. Castro, 3087, s. v. vulgo).

8. apaladinar
Non lo qui;o más declarar / Melrrín el de gran saber; / yo lo quiero apaladinar, / commo lo puedan entender (Poema de Alfonso Onceno, ed F. Janer, quatr. 244; very similarly in quatr. 1833).

9. espaladizar, despaladinar
Diz que los infiernos quier venir escodrunnar, / todos los mis segredos quier espaladinar, / a mí e vos todos en cadenas nos levar (Libro de Alexandre, ed. Wil- lis, MS. O, quatr. 2269b–d; cf. MS. P, quatr. 2411c; todos los mis secretos quiere despalidizar [sic]; e si non diere aquel otor a .x. días ante la justicia, assí como convenió, deve peitar .x. sueldos, e deven le espalidinar la demanda que le fazen si el otor fore en aquel regno (Los fueros de Aragón, Bibl. Nac. MS. 458, §53; on variant readings in Vidal Mayor, MS. Perrins 112, fol. 31c, and in the Fueros de Aragón, MS. Zarag. 154, see G. Tilander's vocabulary, p. 393; the Latin prototype reads: demandam reserare; the editor's gloss: 'entablar demanda'); porque cada uno de ellos se trabe en espaladinar los saberes (Aben Ragel, De los juicios de las estrellas, trans. by Yehuda-ben-Moše, in Libros del saber de astronomía, π, x; for comment, see A. Castro, España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos [Buenos Aires, 1948], p. 495, note); quien puede espaladinar las leyes et fazer que las entiendan quando hobiere dubda: dubdosas seyendo las leyes por yerro de la escriptura o por mal entendimiento del que las leye, porque hobiesen menester de ser bien espaladinadas e fechas . . . (Partidas, π, i, 14).

(B) Palaciano, its Variants and Derivatives
(a) The paqão Branch
Este Hervigio fora criado em casa dos rreis e era homen muy paqao (MS.: pação) e de grande vista (Crónica de Espanha, based on the Segunda crónica general; see J. J. Nunes, Crestomatia arcaica, 2d ed. [Lisbon, 1921], p. 103); Breçayda, que era moi sisuda e moy pação, respondeu-lhe muy sisudament (Crónica troyana, see Nunes, op. cit., p. 122); e vos sodes tan boo cavaleyro e tan prezado e tan pação (ibid., p. 123); Elena sua yrmaa foy espello et frol das outras donas, et mays nobre de todas las que Deus fezo em pareçer e mays pação que
sobre todas ouvo prez de apostura e beldade (Crónica troyana, ed. A. Martínez Salazar, t. 1, 149).

(b) The palaciano Branch

1. palaciano

Metiosle en Gujera, un castiello palaciano; / mio Cid el de Bivar fasta allí llegó en alcanço (Cantar de Mio Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, ll. 1727–28); Ayño era travieso e muy sabidor, / en cara palaciano e muy donéador (Libro de Alexandre, P, quatr. 342ab; O, quatr. 334ab: Ninno era ardido e muy sabidor, /en cara muy loçano e muy doneador [sic]); allí fazién los cantos dulces cada mañaña, / mas non y cabié ave sy non fues palaciano (ibid., P, quatr. 921cd; O, 892d: mas non cabrié hy ave sy non fues palaciano); el rey fué palaciano, prisola por la rrienda, / por mejor ospedarla levóla a su tienda (ibid., P, quatr. 1860ab; O, 1719a: el rey fué palaciano, tomóla por la rrienda); Bolonia sobre todas paresce palaciano, / de leys e decretos Csa es la fontana (ibid., P, quatr. 2547cd; O, 2419c: Bolonna sobre todas parece plaiana [sic]); pues el sotil palaciano, / quanto más e más privare, / por tal yerro non desvare, / e seré consejo sano (Marquis de Santillana, “Dotrinal de privados, fecho a la muerte del Maestre de Sanctiago,” NBAE, XIX [1912], 505b); déxate dessas razones, / que aunque bivo entre pastores, / entiendo lo palaciano (Anonymous pastoral eclogue included in E. Kohler’s Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen [Dresden, 1907], p. 278).

2. palacianamente

Porque dende antes que naciesse se cria en palacio y más palacianamente que los apóstoles (Fray Juan de Pineda, Libro de la vida y excelencias de San Juan Bautista [Salamanca, 1574], b. II, p. 387; see F. Rodríguez Marín, Dos mil quinientas voces castizas [Madrid, 1922], p. 275).

3. palacianita

En ti son ayuntados seso e clerescía, / esfuerço e franquezía e palacianità (Libro de Alexandre, P, quatr. 220ab; O, quatr. 214b: palacianità).

(c) The palanciano Branch

1. palanciano

Qui pudo veer nunca cuerpo tan palanciano (BerCEO, Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, MS. E, quatr. 485a; the equally old MS. H and the lost MS. V, known through a print, have palaciano instead); pero que ome non coma [sic] nin comienza la maança, / es la color e la vista alegria palanciana (Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor, G, quatr. 678b; absent from MSS. S, T); algún perderá una cana, / sy oyere presentar / esto que deven llamar / arte fina e palanciana (A. Alvarez de Villasandino, Cancionero de Baena, ed. Pidal and Ochoa, No. 151); ante vos bes(o) la tierra, / vuestros pies e vuestras manos / a la leña de los ançianos / palancianos / non livianos (idem, see NBAE, xxi [1915], 423a); filósofo palaciano, / varón de alta prudencia, / a quien dió rica influencia / el gran planeta diafano (Anónimo, Cancionero de Baena, No. 285); vos no la liberal e franca, mas la mina e venero de la grand liberalidad e franquesa; e en conclusión, vos no la palanciana e gloria mundana, mas el alto, Real e noble palacio, glorioso, angélico e muy celestial (Fernando de la Torre, Cancionero e obras en prosa, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, p. 2); aunque vivo en la aldea / e fablo como aldeano, / ya yo me vi palanci-
ano / un tiempo, para bien sea; / e nunca fize profierta / al revés (Gómez Manrique, Cancionero, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, i, 88); buena gracia e buena lengua / al discreto cortesano / hazen la plaza segura, / e al que de esto tiene mengua / no le llaman palanciano, / aunque le crezca ventura (Hernando de Ludueña, “Dotrinal de gentileza,” NBAE, xxxr [1915], 722a); porque ay cien mil mugeres / festejadas, palancianas / en esta nuestra Castilla / que salen de mil plazeres / sanas como las manzanas, / sin punçada e sin manzilla (idem, ibid., p. 731a); los palancianos del tiempo loan el motejar y el gramatejar desloan: aquello corona, y esto les es vituperio (Juan de Lucena, “Libro de vida beata,” in Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, p. 199); omme de buen cuerpo e de fermosa disposición, graciosos e palanciano en sus fablas (Hernando del Pulgar, Claros varones de Castilla, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, p. 51); era omme palanciano e siempre fablava cosas breves e graciosas (ibid., p. 91); mira que es bienquisto, diligente, palanciano, buen servidor, graciosos (Fernando de Rojas, Tragicomedía de Calisto y Melibea, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, act vii [1, 233]); Mingo, pues que ya tenemos / esta vida palanciana, / de gran voluntad y gana / a la crianza nos demos (J. del Encina, “Egloga,” Teatro completo, p. 131); no le puedo bien entrar / ni tomar, / que es un poco palanciano; / hazme un otro villano / que sea de mi manjar (idem, “Egloga de Cristino e Febea,” Teatro completo, p. 405); mas no boçal ni grosero / en la lengua castellana, / en su habla palanciana / se muestra ser caballero / bien gracioso (C. de Castillejo, “Sermón de amores,” ll. 21–25; in Obras, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, i [1926], 40); ay allá algún palanciano, / que he miedo que me burles (A. de Salaya, “Farsa,” ed. J. E. Gillet, PMLA, lii [1937], 25); que, si empiegan de burlar, / entre aquesos palancianos / que, si empiezan de burlar, / no dexaran de llegar / a picar como milanos / palancianos en quadrilla (ibid.); sé tocar a palancianos / rabel, guitarra, vigüela (D. Sánchez de Badajoz, “Farsa moral,” Recopilación en metro, ed. Barrantes, i, 248); mas ora los palancianos / sabéis que tienen por mañas / remordern las entrañas, / y después beso las manos (D. Sánchez de Badajoz, “Farsa del molinero,” Recopilación en metro, ed. Barrantes, ii, 106); España sobre todas las cosas es engefiosa e aun temida e mucho esforzada en lid, ligera en afán, leal al señor, afirmada en estudio, palanciana en palabra (Tercera crónica general, b. ii, ch. lv, see Dicc. Autor., iv, 89); Alcibíades en Athenas usaba de motes y se daba a criar caballos y se daba una vida alegre y palanciana (Diego Gracián’s translation of Plutarch’s Morales, fol. 145; see Dicc. Autor., iv, 89).

2. palancianería

E huya quanto pudiere / del contino motejar / de que muchos hazen rima, / pues cualquiera que lo quiere, / quiere recibir e dar / los agravios por encima: / porque los motes pesados / sin duda son enconados, / e su mucha pesadumbre / ha tornado en muchedumbre / de amigos enemistados. / —E muchos tal ejercicio / llaman palancianería, / e palacio verdadero, / y el tenello por oficio / es muy gran tacañería / e gesto de ombre grossero (Comendador Hernando de Ludueña, “Doctrinal de gentileza,” NBAE, xxii [1915], 723a).

3. palancianada

Ha pocos días que nos topamos en casa de un noble donde la conversación de
hombres y mugeres fué tan suelta que parece cosa contrahecha en nosotros tratar de virtud, aviendo tratado allí la mala palancianada (Fray Juan de Pineda, *Diálogos de agricultura christiana*, dial. I, §15); yo poco sé de palancianadas, ni de costumbres peregrinas, mas esta borgoñada bien me parece (ibid., dial. III, §2); por mi contento huelgo de comer con vos, por huir la trápala de mi casa, y el arrastrar de pies de mis criados; que estoy comiendo y concomiéndome de los ver romper los capatos, por hacer de la gentileza palancianada (ibid., dial. xix, §4).

(d) The palenciano Branch

Por ende, pues onrra gano, / con rriqueza e mejorla, / por loar tan gran valia / del gracioso e palenciano / que del rey esté cercano (Juan Alfonso de Baena, “Respuesta a Villasandino,” see NBAE, xxii [1915], 405b); las cortes se ordenaron para dar corte en los negocios travados, y porque en la corte se junta la gente más política del reino, se dice cortesía la habla política y palenciana (Alexo Venegas, “Agonía del tránsito de la muerte,” NBAE, xvi [1911], 294b).

(C) Palaciego and its Variants

1. palaciego

Porque sois muy palaciego, / presumís de corcovado (Juan del Encina, “Égloga representada en requesta de unos amores,” *Teatro completo*, p. 94); y aun quizás que más que tú, / que has ya sido palaciego (idem, “Égloga representada por las mismas personas,” ibid., p. 108); guárdate, que si yo ensisto / en tornarme palaciego (idem, ibid., p. 120); no creas que no reproche / el palaciego vivir (idem, ibid., p. 122); aquel fuerte del Amor / que se pinta niño y ciego, / hace al pastor palaciego / y al palaciego pastor (idem, ibid., p. 133); más quelotra un palaciego / que no físico ni crego (idem, “Égloga representada la noche de Navidad,” ibid., p. 175); idalos a rabia y a roña / los de villa y palaciegos! (idem, “Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano,” ibid., p. 307); A Dios praga con el viejo! / Ya te tornas palaciego (Juan del Encina [?I, “Égloga interlocutoria,” ed. U. Cronan, *RH*, xxxvi [1916], 477); [Pastor al caballero:] ¿Asmo pensáis, palaciego, / que así me habéis de ultrajar / y espantar? (Lucas Fernández, “Farsa o cuasi comedia,” in Farsas y églogas, p. 71); [Juan Tomillo:] Di, pues, algo palaciego. / [Caxcoluzio:] ¿Quies que diga, jur'al ciego, / la compreta? / [Juan Tomillo:] Mas di la tu chançoneta / por míasales y cantos (B. de Torres Naharro, *Comedia Trofea*, “Jornada segunda,” ll. 22-26; see *Propalladia and Other Works*, ed. J. E. Gillet [Bryn Mawr, 1943-], II, 102); y sabe más cosas que un palaciego (Diego de Ávila, “Égloga interlocutoria,” l. 504; see Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, p. 251); muy querida y festejada / de garçones palaciegos (Anónimo, “Égloga nueva,” see Kohler, *op. cit.*, p. 298); no comáys como rapiegos! / Pues razón no lo consiente; / antes comed cortésmente / y no a huer de palaciegos (idem, ibid., p. 314); mi dolor / diz que le llaman amor / palaciegos / —o bovos llóbregos ciegos, / no ay otro mal mayor (Salazar de Breno, “Égloga,” ed. H. C. Heaton, *RH*, lxxii [1928], 80); an algunos palaciegos, / de estos que andan rebuznando, / querían andar donde ando / más que un hato de borregos (Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, “Farsa de la hechicera,” *Recopilación en metro*, II, 221-222); o será algún palaciego, / de estos fieros fanfarrones, / que por cazar los ratones, / se haz
gato muerto y ciego (idem, ibid., II, 226); solamente las palabras / que usan los palaciegos / para dar risa a los griegos (Diego Gracían, in his translation of Plutarch's *Morales*, fol. 155; see *Dicc. Autor.*, iv, 86); si Roboán huviera dado oídos a la ancianidad experimentada y no dexándose impressionar del ardor juvenil de sus palaciegos . . . (Francisco Núñez de Cepeda, *Ideal del buen pastor . . . representado en empresas sacras*, see *Dicc. Autor.*); aquellos que dexan passar sin castigo tan grande impiedad y afrenta, pretendiendo ser tenidos por benignos y palaciegos y populares (Padre Juan de Mariana, *Historia de España*; see A. de Pagés and J. Pérez Hervás, *Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana*, iv, 188); a buena fe, que no viene vestida de labradora, sino de garrida palaciega (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. II, ch. xxi; Vol. III, p. 264 in R. Schevill's edition); "Ay, señor mío, quitése de af, no haga eso," respondió Teresa; "que yo no soy nada palaciega, sino una pobre labradora, hija de un estripaterrones y muger de un escudero andante" (ibid., p. II, ch. I; Vol. IV, p. 143 in R. Schevill's edition); tendieron sobre ella unos manteles, ni mui limpios ni mui largos, porque lo uno es aseo y lo otro, vanidad, y ellos jamás padecieron tan palaciegos achaques (Alonso J. de Salas Barbadillo, *Coronas del Parnaso y platos de las musas* [1635], plat. iv, see *Dicc. Autor.*); fuéronse ya acercando a la palaciega antigualda y descubrieron dos grandes letreros sobre ambas puertas (Baltasar Gracían, *El Criticón*, ed. M. Romera-Navarro, III, 36); encontróse en el camino / un palaciego y quitóle, / que quiso o no, los vestidos (Tirso de Molina; see A. de Pagés, *loc. cit.*); así viven y mueren cada día / en su guerra interior los palaciegos (F. M. Samaniego, *Fábulas*, iv, xxv); habíanse enviado a sus casas dos armas que había de repuesto, una por indispuesta y otra por disgustos palaciegos (G. M. de Jovellanos; see A. de Pagés, *ibid.*); todos los palaciegos aspirarían a lo mismo y adularían y obsequiarían a porfía (M. J. Quintana; see *ibid.*); verdaderos / amantes de Penélope, venimos / y de Alcinoó / a ser los palaciegos (Miguel Antonio Caro's translation of Horace's *Epistles*, I, 2). Cf. the quotation from Francisco de Quirós, *Mentiras de toreros y casadores* (Madrid, 1656), included in the glossary to the *Cancionero de Baena* (Madrid, 1851), p. 717a: " . . . palaciego cortesano / que es cochero de sí mismo / por no sufrir un picaño."

2. *palláciego*