THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC \textit{que(i)xar}

Yakov Malkiel

University of California

On the basis of a complete record of the word and of its derivatives in ancient and modern dialects, an attempt is made to link OSp. \textit{(a)quezar} ‘to press, to squeeze, to crush’ with OPort. \textit{queixo}, OSp. \textit{quez-ada}, Cat. \textit{queix ‘jaw’} < \textit{capsu}; the further semantic development shows no anomalies. In the course of the discussion of the suggested etymology, reference is made to questions of method in Romance word-studies; to contrasts between the Old Spanish and the Old Portuguese vocabularies and their subsequent interpenetration; to synonyms of \textit{(a)quezar} and of \textit{quezarse} and their relation to the neologism; to various suffixes involved (-iira, -fimen, -asus, -ittire, -iuire); to individual words, including Mozar. \textit{quexdar < quaesi-tare}, Sp. \textit{quejigo}, Sp. \textit{requejo}, Sp. \textit{caja}, and its cognates.\footnote{The sources of this study are listed in the last footnote.}

I. Earlier theories

1. The origin of Sp. \textit{quejarse} (OSp. \textit{quezarse}), Ptg. \textit{queixar-se} ‘to complain’ and of their congeners has been one of the most widely discussed problems of Hispanic etymology.\footnote{For further bibliographic data see fn. 9 for ancient dictionaries consulted, fn. 341 for dialectal glossaries used.} Among the pioneers of Spanish word-studies Covarrubias was inclined to relate the stem to Lat. \textit{queri} ‘to complain’; Francisco del Rosal connected it with \textit{quercē(lī)ta} ‘complaint’;\footnote{In the unpublished \textit{Origen e etimologia de todos los vocablos originales de la lengua castellana}. The writer owes knowledge of this theory to Monlau.} J. Minsheu thought of an Arabic origin,\footnote{R. Percival and J. Minsheu, A Dictionary in Spanish and English (London, 1623).} doubtless because of the presence of -\textit{x} in numerous Arabisms (a fact known to Nebrija\footnote{[A. de] Nebrija, Gramática de la lengua castellana [Salamanca, 1492], ed. I. González Llubera, p. 243 (Oxford University Press, 1926).} and to J. de Valdés\footnote{Juan de Valdés, Diccionario de los vocablos de ciencias y artes (Madrid, 1731).}); while his successor Pineda was satisfied with a compromise, linking \textit{queza} ‘complaint’ with an Arabic root, yet deriving \textit{quezar} from \textit{queri}?.\footnote{M. de Larramendi, Diccionario trilingüe del castellano, bascuenco y latín 1.91, 2.213 (San Sebastián, 1745).} The theory of Basque origin was suggested first by Larramendi,\footnote{E. de Terreros y Pando, Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes (Madrid, 1788–93). Here is a list of other ancient dictionaries referred to throughout the essay: A. de Nebrija, Diccionario de romance en latín (1492; an 18th-century reprint was available); C. de las Casas, Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana (Seville, 1570); A. Sánchez de la Ballesta, Diccionario de vocablos castellanos aplicados a la propiedad latina (Salamanca, 1687); H. Vittori, Tesoro de las tres lenguas francesa, italiana y española (Gen-}
Maiàns i Siscar apparently failed to state their opinion on the subject. In the 19th century Cabrera went a step farther by associating quejar with the participial form questus. The 12th edition of the Academy Dictionary (1884) suggested aculeäre > *aqueuéäre 'to spur' as a fitting etymon for aquejar (and was to find a belated supporter in Lanchetas), but derived queja from querela and quejar from queja. Diez, who believed that Latin medial -st- yielded -x- in Old Spanish, adopted Cabrera's suggestion and maintained it in subsequent writings. In his wording *questiare was a frequentative variant of queri. Diez's theory was in turn accepted by Reinhardtstoettner, Coelho, and Fernández Llera.

2. The correctness of this view was questioned by Baist and Cornu almost simultaneously around the year 1880. Baist attacked Diez's assumption that OSP. -x- could be a product of Lat. -st- as the weakest point of his argument, tentatively substituting quassare 'to shake, to shatter', and finally selecting...
*questiāre as the presumable etymon. This theory was widely acclaimed in the following years; it found supporters in Körting (throughout the three editions of his dictionary), Cortesão, Gorra, Gassner, and Ford and was quite recently revived by Jud, Luria, and Castro. Among the advocates of this theory there is no complete agreement on the spelling (and, implicitly, origin) of the hypothetical base. Some indicate it as *questiāre, others as *quaestiāre, and Singleton actually derives the Spanish word from a blend of the two hypothetical words (the former supposedly meaning ‘to complain’ and the latter ‘to aim at’, from quaerere). None among the supporters of this theory seems to have taken the trouble to investigate the development of the quaerere family in Classical Latin or Church Latin. Baist himself upheld his original view in

22 Both because of its somewhat obscure phrasing and of the significance attached to it by subsequent explorers the passage deserves quotation: ‘Quexarse könnte quassare sein; der Begriffsübergang wäre dann genau derselbe wie bei plangere. Cansar wäre dann eine populäre Schreibform, cfr. auch cazida S. Millán 230c neben gessarsse. Am besten wird man aber an der Herleitung von questus festhalten; nur muss questiare eingeschoben werden, da st spanisch nicht zu x wird.’
23 G. Körting, Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch (Paderborn, 1891); 2nd ed. (Paderborn, 1901); 3rd ed. (Paderborn, 1907) s.vv. coaxē and questiē.
24 A. A. Cortesão, Subsidio para um dicionário completo (histórico-etimológico) da língua portuguesa (Coimbra, 1900–1). I owe knowledge of Cortesão’s opinion to Nascentes.
25 E. Gorra, Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini 62 (Milan, 1898).
26 A. Gassner, Die Sprache des Königs Denis von Portugal §§8 (Erlangen, 1906).
27 J. D. M. Ford, The Old Spanish Sibilants, [Harvard] Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature 7.120 (Boston, 1900). Repeated in the etymological vocabulary (s.v.) appended to the same author’s Old Spanish Readings (1911 and subsequent reprints).
30 A. Castro, More on quejarne, HR 7.169–70. See also Kuhn, RLIr 11.46.
31 M. Singleton, Spanish Etymologies: quezar, HR 6.206–10. Jud, whom the author quotes as his authority, did not work with two unknowns. Under the influence of Gilleon’s theory of conflicting homonyms, he surmised that the danger of confusion between querœ(r) and quaerœ (through loss of deontional inflectional endings and simplification of the diphthong) may have led to the coinage of *querio beside quaerœ. The assumption of the survival of the querœ-stem in Spanish and Portuguese would fit into Jud’s theory that a number of originally juridical terms have persisted in Ibero-Romance, among them autumœ, which he regards (rightly or wrongly) as the base of tomar.
32 An excellent summary of the present state of research is found in Ernout-Meillet, Dict. étym. de la langue latine 830–1 (Paris, 1939); further information is supplied by F. Sommer, Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre 502, 567, 569, 585–7, 597, 609 (Heidelberg, 1914) and Kritische Erläuterungen zur lat. Laut- und Formenlehre 175 (Heidelberg, 1914). The points of interest for the Romanicist are: confusion in Plautus and Ennius between quaerœ and the corresponding desiderative quaeso (quaeso, quaesumus, precor quaesoque, oro quaesoque, and similar formulaic sequences occur, according to Georges, also in Lucretius, Terence, Cicero, Livy, Curtius Rufus, and as late as Claudianus Mamertus); progressive prevalence, especially in the compounds, of the analogical participle quaestus (patterned after quaestus or in imitation of cupere ~ cupitus) over the ancient partiple quaestus, which survived as a verbal noun. There exist old doublets with semantic differentiation like quaestor versus quaesitor, but in Imperial Latin only the quaestus-stem was productive, as shown by the coinage of quaestitiœ. Surely, there is no way of arriving at *quaes-
subsequent publications. Two leading scholars, however, after endorsing Baist’s explanation for a while, later withdrew their approval. Meyer-Lübke, who had sided with Baist in his Lautlehre (1890) and Formenlehre (1894), abandoned the theory in a significant review of Ford’s thesis (1901). Menéndez Pidal, who had lent his support to Baist in the grammatical commentary in the Cantar de Mío Cid (1908), reversed his position three years later in his glossary to that epic.

3. Both scholars declared themselves in sympathy with the hypothesis of Cornu, who years before had asserted that *coaxâre* ‘to croak’ was at the bottom of the Hispanic formation. Meyer-Lübke continued to adhere to Cornu’s interpretation in REW1 (ca. 1914) and REW3 (ca. 1934). Menéndez Pidal chose not to commit himself on the question in subsequent studies, thus implying a certain measure of skepticism. Cornu’s theory (or rather his first theory, although it is hardly ever referred to under this name) was accepted, sometimes with slight modifications, by numerous Romanicists, including C. Michaëlis (in 1894, when she posited the intermediary form *ceazâre,* and again in 1920),

*târe* from *quaestône* and its derivatives. All this tends to show that the Latin evidence does not support the *quaestârê* base.

The data assembled by Du Cange 6.588–91 and by Baxter-Johnson, Medieval Latin Word-List (Oxford University Press, 1934), show a very lively development of the *quaerere* family in Church-Latin. Of immediate concern to us is the coinage of *quaestia* ‘inquiry, quest, search, taxation’ with the variant forms *quaestusia,* found precisely on Aragonese and Catalan soil, and *quista,* documented from Spanish and French texts of the 12th and 13th centuries. Even more significant at first sight appears *questalis* beside *questalis,* *questabilis* ‘liable to pay the tax, serf’; there exists also a verb *quaestare* (variant *quaestuare*) ‘tributum exigere,’ and *quaestores, quaestarii, quaestuarrii, quaestionarii* ‘alms-collectors, especially in churches’. Precisely the wide range of competing varieties makes us suspicious that these Middle Latin words may represent merely attempts to Latinize words coined in the vernacular, specifically in Gallo-Romance. Comparison with the material offered by Godfroy, Dict. de l’anc. fr. 6.505–7, and by Levy, Provenz. Supplementvth. 6.618–20, immediately confirms this suspicion: *questa,* *questia* are reflexes in Middle Latin of OFr. *queste,* OPrv. *questa,* *quista* (showing the well-known spread to the participial stem of the vowel characteristic of the preterit); Levy quotes even *quistal* beside *questal*. *Questia* or *questia* is, then, a spurious Latin word (comparable to *quaessia* ‘capsa’ Du Cange 6.558c, extracted from OFr. *caisse*) and does not help us in tracing the genealogy of *que(i)xar.*

See Grüber’s Grundriss 1.705 (ca. 1888) and Gr. 1.901 (ca. 1904).

See W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanische Grammatik 1.429, where the etymon is implicit in the mention of the cluster [stj].

Ibid. 2.606; the etymology is stated explicitly, without an asterisk (notice the same carelessness in the above-quoted text of Baist).
Gröber (who preferred the base *quaxāre; present day Latinists regard coaxāre and *quaxāre as alternate spellings of the same word), Huber (in 1908, in a review of Gassner’s study, and again in 1933), Barreto, Nascentes, Alemany Bolufer, Richardson, Garcia de Diego, Aguado, Krüger, Tuttle, and conceivably yet other scholars; it is also given some consideration by the redactors of the later editions of the Academy Dictionary. Oddly enough, the one Hispanist not satisfied with this theory was Cornu himself. A few years later (1888) he suggested the new etymon *capsāre, a variant form of *carpere ‘to tear (one’s hair in token of grief)’, allegedly comparable to rapsāre beside rapere. This view Cornu reiterated around the year 1904. The second explanation of Cornu passed almost unnoticed. Only Coelho incorporated it into the supplement to his dictionary.

4. For many years no renewed attempts were made to elucidate the origin

christianus > chrischāo u.a.m. Zur Zeit als man bestscha, chrischāo sprach, schrieb man bereits queixar, nur caaxare für coaxare sein kann.

43 Glossário do Cancioneiro da Ajuda, Rev. Lus. 23.1-95. True, this glossary had been compiled many years before its publication.

44 Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie 5.128.

45 Ernout–Meillet, Dict. étym. s.vv. On expressions for ‘croaking’ in Romance see H. Schuchardt, Die lateinischen Wörter im Berberischen 28-31 (Sitzungsber. Wien 188, No. 4). Spanish applies graznar to frogs and ravens alike, French distinguishes between coasser and croasser, as does German between quaken and krächzen and Russian between kvakat' and karkat', the [r] being used to characterize the cry of the bird. Unsolved is the etymological problem raised by A. Thomas, Crassantus ou craxantus, nom du crapaud chez Eucherius et ailleurs, ALMA 3.49–58. On graznar, -ido see BRAE 10.31.

46 See LGRPh. 29.409.


48 Nascentes quotes him from Rev. d. Fil. Port. 2.104.

49 Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa (Rio de Janeiro, 1932).

50 J. Alemany Bolufer, Diccionario de la lengua española (Barcelona, 1917) qualifies this interpretation as possible. There is no reference to quejar in the body of the text of Estudio elemental de gram. hist. de la lengua esp. (Madrid, 1911).

51 See An Etym. Vocab. to the Libro de Buen Amor.

52 V. García de Diego, Elementos de gramática histórica gallega 49 (Burgos, [1909]). The question is not taken up in Elementos de gram. hist. cast. 45 (Burgos, 1914). There may be implicit approval of his previous opinion in his failure to include quejar in the list of words reflecting [stj], see Homen. Menéndez Pidal 2.16-8.

53 J. M. Aguado, Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz (Madrid, 1929).

54 F. Krüger, Einführung ins Neuspanische (Leipzig, 1924), section on etymology and word-formation (not at present accessible to me), and El dialecto de San Ciprián de Sanabria: monografía leonesa 81 (Madrid, 1923).

55 E. H. Tuttle, Spanish caja, quejar, quijada, HR 5.349.

56 See the 14th, 15th, and 16th editions, of the years 1914, 1925, and 1939 [1936] respectively; the 13th ed. is not accessible. Pagés also gives this etymology. Compare the similarly cautious judgment of Alemany, who may be responsible for the entry in the Acad. Dict.

57 Gröber’s Grundriss 1.718. On escarçar < *excarptāre, see RL 3.143.

58 Gröber’s Grundriss 1.975.

59 True, the consultation of the unusually condensed Portugiesische Grammatik is made difficult through the absence of an index; yet Nascentes’ dictionary may to some extent serve as a key to Cornu.

60 According to information provided by Nascentes.
THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC que(i)zar

of the word, most scholars being content with regarding either *questiāre or coaixer as the closest possible approximation to its base. Then Nicholson’s assertion that *capstiāre underlies quejar, reiterated in rejoinders to his critics, precipitated a lively exchange of opinions. Mention has already been made of some who took up the old explanations; new theories were advanced by Spitzer and Rice. The former, narrowing down the range of acceptable etyma to *coactiāre and *quassiāre (and apparently unaware of the fact that Menéndez Pidal had previously occupied himself with *requassiāre), finally declared himself in favor of the latter. Rice proposed to trace back quejar to another, purely hypothetical variety of *coaxāre, which, he contended, branched off from coac- 
tāre ‘to constrain’. L. Poston Jr. participated in the controversy without 
committing himself to any theory; this had been the attitude taken years be- 
fore by Hanssen. Admittedly undecided had also been Monlau and Zauner. Several scholars, while dealing with problems of Hispanic phonology, failed to pronounce themselves on this question: Tallgren, Krepski, Bourciez, Guarnerio, Nunes, Williams, and others.

63 See RFE 24.30–3. In favor of this etymon would speak the fact that the primary meaning of the word was ‘to pursue, to oppress’. Spitzer recognizes the phonological difficulties presented by this etymology and somewhat reluctantly abandons it.
64 Ibid. The author admits the incompatibility of *quassiāre > quejar and *bassiāre > 
bajar. He tries to eliminate the difficulty by tracing bajar to bajo, which Millardet, Rom. 41.247–59, connected directly with bassus, cf. passer > pájaro. Is Spitzer aware of the added complication presented by Ptg. baixo, baizar?
65 See Orígenes del español 93–5 (Madrid, 1929).
67 L. Poston Jr., quezar, HR 7.75–6. The opinion of this author as presumably expressed in his thesis (An Etymological Vocabulary to the Celestina, A–E, Univ. of Chicago, 1938) s.v. aquezar is unknown to me; the published abstract (1940) contains no reference to it.
68 F. Hanssen, Spanische Grammatik auf historischer Grundlage 56 (Halle, 1910), only states that quejar cannot reflect *questiāre. There is no reference to quejar in Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana (Halle, 1913).
69 P. F. Monlau, Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana (reprinted Buenos Aires, 1941).
70 A. Zauner, Altspanisches Elementarbuch 39 (Heidelberg, 1908). In the 2nd ed. (Heidelberg, 1921) the word has been altogether omitted and so, too, in Romanische Sprachwissenschaft 1.98–107 (Berlin–Leipzig, 1914). Uncertainty pervades also the note of Castro, HR 7.169–70, who questions the wisdom of tracing rigid dialectal boundaries in medieval Spain and assumes that quezar < *questiāre may well have originated in the central, not only in the peripheral dialects, conceivably side by side with *quecar.
71 O. J. Tallgren, Estudios sobre la Gaya de Segovia 49–52 (Helsinki, 1907).
72 M. Krepski and V. García de Diego, Inflexión de las vocales en español 40 (RFE Anexo 3; Madrid, 1923).
73 E. Bourciez, Éléments de linguistique romane 400–78 (Paris, 1910); the 3rd ed. (1930) was not available for consultation.
74 P. E. Guarnerio, Fonología romanza 420, 515 (Milan, 1918).
75 J. J. Nunes, Compendio de Gram. Hist. Port. (Coimbra, 1919; the 2nd ed. of 1930 was not available) and Crestomatia Arcaica 1xxxviii, lxxxii (Lisbon, [1921]).
76 E. B. Williams, From Latin to Portuguese (Philadelphia, 1938).
77 F. Förster, Spanische Sprachlehre 17 (Berlin, 1880); A. Koch, Sibilanten und Palatale im Altepanischen nach den beiden Handschriften der altcast. Übersetzung des Codi 26–7
5. The inadequacy of most of the older explanations is so manifest as to make specific refutation unnecessary. The recent studies contain some information that is of genuine interest (e.g. Singleton’s documentation from Alphonsine sources, as distinct from his, in the present writer’s view, erroneous interpretation⁷⁸), but, in all fairness to their authors, it must be conceded that no nearly definitive conclusions have as yet been reached. Most of these contributions suffer from two weaknesses symptomatic of the present status of Hispanic word-studies: insufficient bibliographic preparation and exaggerated reliance on conjecture. Thus it is regrettable that none of the recent explorers was aware of the existence of Cornu’s second theory. García de Diego’s essay on the development of [ps] according to the stratum was overlooked by the scholars inclined to link quejar with caja and quijada. There was no reaction to Spitzer’s proposal on the part of some writers who took up the issue after him. And as usual, students of Spanish have disregarded the findings of Portuguese scholars and conversely.

More serious and far-reaching in its effects is the second deficiency: the reliance on conjecture. To be sure, no etymologist, however cautious, will subscribe to a complete elimination of the conjectural method. As long as we have to deal with language periods which left no abundant record of popular speech, reconstruction of bases and intermediary forms will remain an integral part of lexical research and, let us further admit, possibly the most rewarding phase of the entire work. However, one improvement upon methods practiced at present by several Hispanic etymologists appears imperative:⁷⁹ conjecture must come only after all other sources of information have been exhausted. It is true that

---

⁷⁸ Credit is given here once and for all to Dr. Singleton for his excerpts from the Primera Crónica General and the General Estoria; this material has been freely used by the present writer. The collation with the originals revealed but few misprints. Open to criticism, however, are (1) his method of semantic analysis: the enumeration of twenty-odd meanings of quezar without reference to specific passages is of little use; (2) his misrepresentation of Jud’s theory; (3) his failure to distinguish between adjectival (a)quezado and (a)quezado with verbal force as used in compound tenses of aquezar; (4) his reliance, in justifying a reconstruction, on Alphonsine material, anonymous and standardized. Such material, while valuable, must be supplemented by excerpts from sources susceptible of more accurate localization.

⁷⁹ This danger was clearly sensed by Meyer-Lübke twenty years ago (RLİR 1.21): ‘Allzu sehr gilt etymologie als ein ratselraten, wird das wort nicht in seiner ganzen umgebung geprüft, allzu wenig auch untersucht, was schon früher darüber gesagt worden ist, und der versuch gemacht, alte erklärungen zu widerlegen, die neue zu begründen. Gilt auch hier die sog. intuition mehr als beweisführung, so wird, da die intuition ja nicht bei allen gleich ist, namentlich eine intuition nicht so einfach nachempfunden und übernommen werden kann, allmählich ein vollständiges chaos eintreten oder ein wister dilettantismus, der uns in die zeit vor Dies zurückwirft.’ Unfortunately, much of the research done in Hispanic etymology is still amateurish.
students of Hispanic lexicology are less fortunate than some colleagues in related fields, in that no nearly satisfactory historical dictionaries are available to them; but texts covering the late Middle Ages exist and have largely been made accessible, so that the problem of marshaling evidence has simply become one of time and labor.

Special caution should be exercised in introducing hypothetical bases. Experience shows that most proposed reconstructions are later discarded as unjustifiable. An irreducible nucleus of Romance etyma unrecorded in Latin will, of course, persist; but the trend is toward identification of genuine Romance with genuine Latin words, and the chances are that within a few decades much of what is now conventionally (and conveniently) called 'Vulgar Latin' will be discarded. The successful substitution of a recorded for a hypothetical base is a step forward in our science. For a variety of reasons, such progress can today be achieved in Ibero-Romance more easily than elsewhere. Now, que(i)xar happens to be limited to the Iberian peninsula, or rather to its center and west, since it penetrated late into Basque and into Valencian. It may therefore be used as a model case for investigations based on a careful collection of recorded material.

**It will be observed that most of the hypothetical bases end in -iāre.** There has been a real epidemic of questionable reconstructions of -iāre verbs. The reason for this vogue is transparent: our knowledge of palatalization in Romance is still inadequate. The dispensability of *pulsiāre* has been admitted by Zauner, RFE 16.154-60, and Brüch, RFE 17.1; both of them inclined to trace Sp. *pujar* to *pulsiāre*. For the latest summary of the state of research on palatalization in Ibero-Romance, see Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* 44-50; a penetrating but hardly definitive analysis of the phenomenon in the Pan-Romancist perspective has been offered by E. Gamillscheg, Zur Palatalisierung im Romanischen, in *Studies for W. A. Read* 183-200 (Louisiana Univ. Press, 1940).

**Not only because the phonological shifts are less numerous and complicated than, for instance, in French and in Roumanian, but also because the Ibero-Romance lexicon largely reflects the not yet conventionalized Republican Latinity.** Grober's theory has been revived in recent years, explicitly by J. Bonfante, L'origine des langues romanes, Renaissance 1.573-88 (New York, 1943) and implicitly by J. Corominas, Espiguero de latin vulgar, AIL 2.

**R. M. de Azkue, Diccionario vasco-espaiiol-francés** (Bilbao, 1905-6) lists *keiSadura, keiSamendu* 'inquietud', *keišarazi* 'molestar', *keišatu* 'lamentarse, apresurarse', *keišu* 'apuro, inquietud; violento; queja, lamento', with pertinent quotations from texts and references to modern dialects. These formations and especially some of their meanings seem to reflect 12th- and 13th-century Castilian rather than Modern Spanish. A wider variety of less accurately classified offshoots of the Romanic *quez-* is offered by I. F. de Aizkibel, Diccionario basco-español s.v. *keja* (Toulouse, 1884), including some figurative uses unknown to Spanish. How Romance words were bound to experience considerable semantic modifications by slowly penetrating into Basque over a period of centuries, has been discussed by H. Schuchardt, Baskisch und Romanisch: Zu De Azkue's baskischem Wörterbuch, I. Band 45-58 (ZRPh. Beiheft 6; Halle, 1906). Notice the contrast to the more recent and more rapid penetration of Castilianisms into Valencian and Catalan.

**Aqueizar** 'pain, ache' penetrated around the year 1500 into Valencian, see the quotation from Cançoner satriach valencià dels segles 15 y 16, ed. R. Miquel y Planas, p. 311 (Barcelona, 1911), in A. M. Alcover and Fr. de B. Moll, Dicc. cat.-val.-bal. 1.765; no further data are supplied by Dicc. Aguiló and Dicc. Balari. From E. Julià Martínez, Problemas lingüísticos en el reino de Valencia, BRAE 8.322-36, we gather that the first official document
6. The procedure adopted in the present essay is to describe the use of \textit{que(i)xar} and its congeners with all possible attention to chronological and dialectal variations, and, on the basis of such knowledge as is obtainable, to state a few definite conclusions concerning its etymology and to suggest various others. There will be a dual presentation of the material available, because of the intricacy and the significance of the problem involved: first, a purely objective classification of the formations encountered in ancient texts and the records of modern dialects; second, a more condensed survey with emphasis on characteristic data illustrative of the theory suggested by the writer. The first presentation is strictly descriptive and comparable to the map of a linguistic atlas; the second is interpretative. This method, applicable only in exceptionally difficult cases, entails the disadvantage of requiring considerable space; its advantage is obvious, since it provides an unbiased record of findings, from first-hand sources, of every possible vestige of the stem under study. Thus, even if the interpretation should not be found acceptable, or if further elaboration should be required, fellow-workers interested in the problem will find a body of data enabling them to re-examine the entire issue.

These data will be discussed in the following order: Old Spanish formations first, their Old Portuguese counterparts next, and finally reflexes in peninsular, American-Spanish, and Judeo-Spanish dialects. Within each section the major branches of the word family \textit{que(i)xar, aque(i)xar, reque(i)xar, arreque(i)xar} will be dealt with separately. The whole will be preceded by a brief discussion of various words showing a real or apparent resemblance to the \textit{que(i)x-} stem.

II. \textit{Que(i)x-}, \textit{quix-}, \textit{ques-}, and similar stems in Ibero-Romance

7. Attention has been given in recent years to \textit{caja} 'box' and \textit{quijada} 'jaw' in connection with the controversy over \textit{quejar}; it is our first duty, then, to list characteristic reflexes of these words in the Hispanic dialects. There exists a...
Portuguese word *queixo* 'chin', which previously meant also 'jaw'; it is OPtg. *queizoo* is presumably just a variant graph of the same word, not a separate formation, as Nunes surmised. A related formation of identical meaning, encountered in the ancient cancioneiros, is *soqueixo*. Confusion of words designating neighboring parts of the human body or physical defects is not surprising in the light of the researches by Zauner, Wartburg, and Kahane. Now, in Catalan and in Valencian there exists the cognate word *queix* 'jaw'. In terms of linguistic geography we are thus dealing with a case of lateral areas as defined by Bartoli. There can be little doubt that the *queixo* type originally covered the entire peninsula. It has been overlaid by various suffixal formations. In Old Portuguese, *queixada* and *queixo* co-existed for a while, but the latter prevailed. Not so in Castilian, where *quezada* and *quizada* were from the begin-
ning of the literary period the standard words for 'jaw'. This special use of the suffix -ada has been studied by Collin. Another type is represented by OPtg. queizal, OSP. quezar, with a use of the suffixes -al, -ar peculiar to Ibero-Romance; remnants of this type in modern dialects and some related formations have been studied by García de Diego. In the West and in the Center this formation stands for 'jaw', but in the East it means 'tooth'; Catalan lexicographers list a wealth of derivatives from queizal ‘tooth’, and Griera localizes the border-line between this formation and Eastern Aragonese muela, without knowing that quezarada 'chattering of teeth', found in the Libro de la miseria del omne and even in 16th-century texts, testifies to its original extension much farther West. There exists also some literature on other derivatives like bárba-queijo ‘small chain forming part of the head harness’ and its variant forms.

Sp. caja, Ptg. caixa represent a type of much wider use in the Romanic languages. Its connection with queixo, queçada is brought out by such dialectal reflexes as Gal. queixón ‘cajón’ (Cuveiro Piñol) beside Sp. cajillas ‘quijadas’.

for 'gena, mandibula, mala' in Glosarios latino-espafioles, ed. Castro, T745, P131; T843, P151; E1478.

96 See Le développement de sens du suffixe -ata 199.
97 See Canc. Geral 1.298.
98 Libro de Alex. P, quatrains 2379b (O 2237b has yiur), O 980b; Libro de Buen Amor, quatrains 1416c. Old Leon. quizar, quezar, quizada are found in the Libro de los Caballos, ed. G. Sachs, p. 23, line 16 (Madrid, 1936). Sp. quizaler is documented in Rodríguez Marín, Dos mil quinientas voces.

99 The use of -al, -ar to designate a location has been discussed by J. Alemany Bolufer, Tratado de la formación de palabras en la lengua castellana 13-5 (Madrid, 1920; reprinted from BRAE) and by M. L. Wagner, Zum spanisch-portugiesischen Suffix -al, VKR 3.87-92.

100 V. García de Diego, Contribución al diccionario hispánico etimológico 43 (RFE Anejo 2; Madrid, 1923). Of special interest are desquijear ‘romper las quijadas’, quijera ‘correja de la cabezada del caballo’, quijero ‘lado en declive de la acequia o brazal’. The latter formation will be remembered in discussing the occurrence of the que(i)x- stem in toponymy.

101 Thus the Dicc. encicl. de la ll. cat. 4.144 lists queizal ‘diente, muela’; queizarda ‘mordisco, bocado’; queizalar ‘mossegar’; queizalejar ‘donar queizalades’; queizal er ‘rel. als queixals’; queixaler ‘part de la barra on hi ha els queixals’; queixerera ‘barbuequejo, carrillera’; queixut ‘quijardu’ (some words are identified by Castilian, others by Catalan equivalents). Most of these formations are accepted by P. Fabra, Diccionari ortogrÀfic (Barcelona, 1923).

102 A. Griera, La frontera del català occidental, BDC 6.17-37, 7.69-79 (especially 7.77).

103 Quatrains 103ab: Cuando viene el evierno que faze malas eladas / Apríemelo el grand frío e fiere grandes quezaradas ‘when winter comes bringing with it bitter frost, the severe cold tortures him and his teeth chatter’. Quezarada [cf. cazaráda Alex. P, quatrains 785c] is completely misunderstood by the editor, whose philological training is so inadequate as not to permit him to localize his unmistakably Aragonese text in spite of the preservation of pl- and other equally characteristic features. It is a rare but perfectly normal derivative, with the suffix -ada, appended to the name of a limb, serving to express the performance of a single movement.

104 For an example from Francisco Truchado, Honesto y agradable entretenimiento de damas y galanes fol. 87 (Granada, 1582), see Rodríguez Marín, Dos mil quinientas voces s.v.

105 See the note by García de Diego in RFE 7.147-8. The etymon suggested is *barbacapsu. This note throws light on word composition in Old Spanish, debated years ago by...
The semantic relation has been illustrated by Spitzer in his note on Sp. carrillo. Similarly fluctuating reflexes have been observed in the cases of fascis 'sheaf', maxilla 'cheek', and taxígo 'badger'.

There is hardly any doubt that caixa and queixo (and their equivalents in other, less conservative dialects) are outgrowths of Lat. capsa and capsus respectively. Some scholars, it is true, have attempted to account for the divergent development of the ps cluster in the different branches of this word family by introducing a hypothetical base *capsue or by assuming that a Provençal cognate has been absorbed by the Hispanic dialects. In the light of the researches of Garcia de Diego and Griera, these assumptions appear gratuitous.

Munthe and Baist. Of especial interest is the mention of a variant form barbicacho, presumably replacing barbicajo and arrived at through the agency of the suffix -acho, of uncertain origin and widely debated in connection with the etymologies of borracho 'drunk' and muchacho 'boy'. Cf. the Dicc. Hist. v. barbicacho, barbiquejo, barboquejo, barbuquejo.

The ancient standard form appears in El Cavallero Zifar 201, 206; for Old Aragonese maxilla, see El Libro de la Miseria, quatrain 11b. On Sp. tasugo, Ptg. teixugo (according to some, a cross of VLat. *taxōne and Visigothic *pahsuka), see the controversy between Bruch and Gamillecheg, summarized ZFSL 59.97-9. OPtr. texugo is found Canc. Ger. 1.182. Cf. Kuhn, RLiR 11.54.

The connection between quiyada and capsu was guessed by Covarrubias over three centuries ago; it was known to Cabrera, Diez (Gramm. d. rom. Spr. 1.259), Monlau ('qui¬jada es, de consiguiente, el hueso que tiene los encajes, las cajas o alvéolos para recibir los dientes'), and has been reaffirmed by the majority of modern scholars, including Coelho, Michaëlis, Cornu, Meyer-Lübke, Hanssen, García de Diego, Nascentes, Williams. Capsa occurs Gen. Est. 1.359b; for capseta, see Berceo, Signos 22.

This is the viewpoint of Zauner in Altspan. Elementarbuch 1.39-40 retraced caja to *capssea. Acceptance of *capssea and capsus as etyma of Sp. caja, Ptg. caixa and Sp. quij-ada, Ptg. queixo respectively, was advocated by Tuttle, HR 5.349. Nicholson, by way of contrast, claims that *capssea in native development would have yielded *queja. Wartburg's derivation of Sp. caja < *capssea (FEW 2.314-5) was criticized by Rohls, ASNSL 173.283.

Zauner, Altspan. Elementarbuch 1.43, and of Nicholson, who does not hesitate to label bajo and bajar also as Provençalisms. A convincing refutation of this theory by García de Diego is found Homen. Men. Pidal 2.18-9.

Ibid. Analyzing the products of bases like capsu, gysseu, ipse, the author distinguishes between (1) cases of early confusion between -ps- and -cs-, permitting capsua to be mispronounced *casa; and (2) cases of a more faithful preservation of the original consonant cluster, with ultimate assimilation of the p to the following s. *Casa yielded *casa [kasa]. According as the [s], palatalized by the preceding [j], absorbed the latter more or less rapidly, this [j] could exert its influence on the preceding vowel; hence caja beside quiyada and Gal. barbiquejo. Cacharita 'vaina de las alubias' (Santander) and barbicacho are explained as due to a 'refuerzo de palatalización'; for a different interpretation by the same author at an earlier date, see footnote 105. The [e] may also represent an attempt to imitate, in borrowing from peripheral dialects, the sounds [e] and [o], lost in the center.

Dialectal reflexes of capsua, fascis, lacte in Catalan are studied in A. Griera i Gaja, La frontera catalano-aragonesa: Estudi geogràfico-lingüístic 58-60 (Barcelona, 1914). In the West of this territory [aj] prevails, in the East [e], but it is impossible to draw neat boundaries.
Capsa\textsuperscript{116} and capsus\textsuperscript{118} are well-documented formations, whose semantic development presents no difficulties. In dealing with queixo, quijada, and caja we are thus, fortunately, on solid ground.

While scholars have recently discussed these formations in connection with que(i)xar, they have done so exclusively with the purpose of clarifying certain phonological issues; a genetic relation between the nouns and the verb has, to our knowledge, never yet been suggested. We shall attempt to demonstrate that queixo 'jaw', which must have existed in preliterary Castilian also, underlies (a)quexar 'to press, to besiege, to torment', literally 'to squeeze between the jaws'.

8. The acceptance of this theory does not necessarily mean that the earlier assumption of a link between quezar and queror quaerō should be completely discarded. To begin with, there is inscriptive evidence of the use of questus in Hispano-Latin.\textsuperscript{117} Specifically, quexdar 'plangere', used in much the same way as que(i)xar, has been extracted by Simonet from Mozarabic texts.\textsuperscript{118} The Mozarabic dialect is known to have maintained the Latin tradition with exceptional faithfulness.\textsuperscript{119} Phonologically quexdar can be retraced to Lat. quaestarii, a formation actually recorded by Priscian,\textsuperscript{121} though admittedly not nearly as frequent as quaerilāre (compare quaesō beside quaerō).\textsuperscript{122} The suffix -itāre

\textsuperscript{116} On capsus consult ThLL 3.361–2, where four connotations are distinguished: (1) 'instrumentum aq biblios condendos' (Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Statius, I. Paulus iurisconsultus, Passio Martyrum Scillititanorum ca. 180 A.D., P. Porphyrio [4th cent.], Gregory of Tours); (2) 'receptaculum variarum rerum' (Pliny, Martial, Querulus [5th cent.], Marcellus medicus [after 400], Ennodius [died 521], Pseudo-Prosperus [ca. 415], Dracontius [end of 6th cent.]); (3) 'pars carpenti, ploxenum, capsae' (Paulus Diaconus); (4) 'ima navis pars' (Passio Felicis episcopi). The second meaning survives in Romance. Capsārius and capsilāgo are recorded Latin formations.

\textsuperscript{118} On capsus see ThLL 3.363. The reductor of the article was Probst, but Meyer-Lübke supplied the Romance material; at that time (ca. 1906) the Italian and the Old French reflexes were known to him, but not the Ibero-Romance. Four connotations are distinguished: (1) 'ploxenum': Vitruvius, Glosses, Isidor, and Paulus Diaconus: (2) 'cavea': Velleius Paterculus, Anthologiae Lat. carmen No. 235; (3) 'vesica ad aliquid includendum': C. Apicius; (4) 'pars ecclesiæ': Gregory of Tours. The second and third meanings seem to underlie the Hispanic word. In REW\textsuperscript{2} there is surprisingly enough an attempt to separate capsœm ($\S1660$) from *capsœm ($\S1659c$); equally inconvincing is the treatment of capsae ($\S1658$) beside *capsœa ($\S1659a$); the scientific integrity of Meyer-Lübke compelled him to admit his own doubts of the correctness of his view.

\textsuperscript{117} A. Carnoy, Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions: étude linguistique\textsuperscript{3} 71 (Brussels, 1906). Cf. OSP. quisto 'wanted, loved'.

\textsuperscript{118} F. J. Simonet, Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes 472 (Madrid, 1888). The author unnecessarily posits the base *questare, produced from queri on the analogy of [*]quaestare ~ quaerere. The termination -zdar is quite unusual in Romance words, but may have found a favorable environment in the Arabic world of Southern Spain. A. R. Nykl, A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature (reprint from RH 77) quotes (183) aqajdar, așeqdar 'to worship, to do homage' < Ar. saqjada. Compare the development of *amicitāte > Ptg. amizade, recitāre > rez(ā)ar, placitū > pλaz(ō), *accepitāre > ač(l)or.

\textsuperscript{119} See Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español\textsuperscript{2} 434–61.

\textsuperscript{120} On -itāre in Ibero-Romance see Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gr. 2.612–3; Hanssen, Gram. hist. 158.

\textsuperscript{121} See Forcellini and De Vit 5.16.

\textsuperscript{122} See the abundant illustrations in K. E. Georges, Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutches Handwörterbuch\textsuperscript{4} (Hannover-Leipzig, 1918). The recorded meanings are 'to look for, to
was hardly productive in Romance except in the earliest (‘Vulgar Latin’) period. These facts seem to indicate that *quaesitäre* took root in Spain presumably at an early date and left traces in the archaic Mozarabic dialect. By way of speculation we may say that this ancient *quexdar* has conceivably been overlaid by the neologism *aque(i)*zar, not without having exerted some influence on the semantic development of the latter word. This development, as we shall attempt to show, can be accounted for without the intervention of *quexdar*, yet the possibility of a cross, however remote, seems worth mentioning.

procure, to inquire, to earn’; the word occurs in Plautus, Terence, Catullus, and likewise in authors of the imperial era. If *quexdar* actually reflects *quaesitäre*, of which there is only vestigial evidence, we would have to surmise the semantic development ‘to ask insistently’ (cf. *quaesō* ‘I pray’) > ‘to complain’.

*Sp. alentar, diaL. alendar ‘breathe, revive, encourage’, has been retraced to *anhelitäre* through *(h)âquitäre; see A. Gassner, Das altspanische Verbum 11 (Halle, 1897); A. Castro, RFE 6.340; Garcia de Diego, Contribución 23, 94; REW® §473a. (D)esperitar ‘to awake’ used to be derived from *ez-pergitäre (e.g. Gassner 10); but Jud, RLR 1.186, posits *expertitäre instead. The etymon *repéditäre of Sp. reventar ‘to burst’, suggested by Cornu, has been mostly rejected, see REW® §7221. *Véltäre (Contribución 175) is not necessary to account for *vuitlar ‘to vilify’ in view of *vultid ‘meaness’. Gal. *sandar ‘to heal’ has been connected with *sántitäre, see RL 3.155; cf. Gal. *amandar < *mántitäre, RL 3.155. *Aequilitäre is not needed to explain *igualdar ‘to make even’ on account of *igualdad < *aeguálititäre, ibid. Of greater interest is the derivation Gal. *achandar ‘to flatten’ < *plânitäre, ibid. Cat. *esquierdar ‘to split’ may represent *crepititäre, see Contrib. 57, REW® §7979. Cf. REW® §§62, 63, 111a, 1635, 1793, 7185, 7726, 9191, 9446, 9452. The reflexes of *ambititäre, *côpititäre, and *recapititäre are well known. As will be shown in a forthcoming essay, Sp. *lerdo, *enlerdar contain the same suffix.

9. Certainly unrelated to our stem is *quixote* ‘cuissart’, in spite of the opinion to
the contrary of such an authority as Gonçalves Viana. The etymology of
this word naturally aroused the curiosity of Cervantes. *Quixote* is docu-
mented from Juan Ruiz to Covarrubias. It goes back to OFr. *cuissot*,
even as its English cognate reflects OFr. *cuissart*, from *cuisse* < *coxa* ‘thigh’,
a stem found in Portuguese, but not in Spanish. The formation does not
seem to have passed through Old Catalan, where, on the authority of Giese,
*gambera* and *cuxera* were used instead.

It is regrettable for our purposes that the present knowledge of the origin of
*quejigo* ‘species of oaktree’ should be limited to mere guesses, in spite of the
studies by C. Michaëlis, V. García de Diego, and lately P. Aeischer. Actual
confusion between *quejigo* and *quejido* ‘complaint’, due to the weakening

---

124 A. R. Gonçalves Viana, Apostilas aos Dicionários Portugueses 2.322–3 (Lisbon, 1906);
he interprets *quixote* as ‘mentonnieré’.
125 See Obras completas, ed. Schevill-Bonilla, 15.50, 55; cf. the edition of Don Quijote by
Rodriguez Marin 1.97–8 (Madrid, 1916–7). *Quezada* as a family name occurs in Poema de
Alfonso XI, quatrain 2182a.
126 It is absent from the oldest texts; see W. Giese, Waffen nach der spanischen Literatur
des 12. und 13. Jh. (Hamburg, 1925). *Quiçote* ‘superfemorale’ occurs in Esc. 1859, Glosa-
rrios latino-españoles, ed. A. Castro.
127 See Godefroy 2.399a.
129 W. Giese, Waffen nach den katalanischen Chroniken des 13. Jh., VKR 1.140–82, es-
pecially 153.
130 Idem, Waffengeschichtliche und -terminologische Aufschlüsse aus katalanischen
131 C. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Miscellanea de filologia e linguistica in memoria di Caix-
Canello 147 (Florence, 1886), suggested derivation from *quessiculu* < *querciculu* ‘little
oak’, through Portuguese, without justifying the migration of the word.
132 V. García de Diego, Contribución al diccionario etimológico español 10–1 (included,
with separate pagination, in the author’s Miscelhnea filoldgica [Madrid, n.d.]). According
to this somewhat confused essay, *quejigo* is a cognate of Fr. *chêne* ‘oak-tree’; it is classed
as an outgrowth of *cassicu* < *cazicu*, a variant of *cazinu*, which in turn is said to be pat-
terned after *fraxinus* ‘ash-tree’.
133 This author occupied himself twice with the expressions for ‘oak-tree’ in Ibero-Ro-
mane. In La forme dissimilée *cerquus* < *quercus* dans le latin d’Espagne et d’Italie,
RFE 21.337–60, he regards *quercus* as the intermediate form, pointing to Central and South-
ern Italy as the radiation centers, concludes that the word was transplanted to Spain by
maritime routes and through African Latin, and explains the preservation of *cerquus* in
Italian and its elimination from Ibero-Roman, except for vestigial remnants, as due to the
conflict on Spanish soil with homonymous *circus* ‘circle’. In Deux noms de lieu catalans
d’origine religieuse Madremanya et Marquizanes, Aeischer traces *quejigo* to *cazu* (BDC
22.49), thus opposing the view of V. Bertoldi, Problèmes de substrat, BSL 32.93–175, who
was inclined to revive Schuchardt’s theory of close relationship between *quejigo* and Basque
*gasigarr*, Srd. costighe ‘maple-tree’ (131). Bertoldi’s interpretation was subsequently
who concentrated on the phonological analysis of the -*ej* group. Rohls, in his editorial
comment on Kuhn’s note, posited the base *cazu* and, in an effort to explain the pre-Latin
suffix, drew attention to Southern French (and Old Aragonese) *garric(o)* ‘species of oak-
tree’ (classed as Gallic in REW §3690c).
of intervocalic voiced stops in Ibero-Romance, is recorded in the Sayagués dialect as used by Lucas Fernández. The dialectal reflexes of quejigo show a striking resemblance to those of capsu, capsə.

In large sections of the northwestern corner of the peninsula (exclusive of standard Portuguese) the product of cása ‘cheese’ and its congers have evolved the same stem as que(i)xar. Because of the lack of any conceivable association, no conflict between the two word families appears to have ensued.

The quiq- stem appears in quixar ‘bark’, encountered in the Orden. de Granada; its Arabic prototype has been listed by P. de Alcalá. Of demonstrably different origin is quiqera, a late variant of quiqera, and like formations. Whether the three words found in Spanish cant: quejera ‘silk’, quejana ‘customhouse’, and queñea ‘bank’, have any bearing on the development of the stem under study, the writer is unable to determine; no information to this effect has been discovered in the studies of M. L. Wagner covering this field. OSp. queça ‘overcoat’ has been traced by Steiger to an Arabic etymon.

The student of Spanish etymology must finally bear in mind that there exists a wealth of writings on the development of the sequence [stj] in Spanish dialects and on the origin of OSp. dexar, Ptg. deixar ‘to let, to leave’.

Pertinent illustrations and references to older literature, along with a very original interpretation of the phenomenon, will be found in A. Alonso, Equivalencia acústica, BDHA 1.440–69.

Cejador y Frauca, Vocabulario medieval castellano, gives references to the Academy edition.

See Kuhn, op. cit., with references to his own field notes and to Krüger’s Die Hochpyrenäen.

For Galicia, see the dictionaries of Cuveiro Piñol and Lugris Freire; for Western Asturias, see B. Acevedo y Huelves and M. Fernández y Fernández, s.vv. queizo, queizeiro, requeizón. In Old Portuguese queijo (Canc. Ger. 1.31) is recorded beside requeizaria in O Livro Vermelho d’El Rei D. Afonso V, Ed. 2.190. See also Apostilas 2.310.

See L. Eguílaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico de palabras españolas de origen oriental (Granada, 1886).

See R. J. Cuervo, Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano 553 (Paris, 1914); E. Köhler, Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen (GRL 27; Dresden, 1911), No. 6, line 111.

Recorded by L. Besses, Diccionario de argot español (Barcelona, n.d.).

Notes linguistiques sur l’argot barcelonais (Bibl. Fil. 16; Barcelona, 1924); Sobre algunas palabras gitano-españolas y otras jergales, RFE 25.161–81. Nor was J. Givanel i Mas, Notes per a un vocabulari d’argot barceloní, BDC 7.11–68, of any help.

A. Steiger, Contribución a la fonética del hispanoárabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano 205 (RFE An. 17; Madrid, 1932). See Alex. O, quatrain 598c, P, 625. Of Hebrew provenience, according to Tilander, is OArag. casse(r), see Hom. Rubió i Lluch 1.331–42.

See, among other sources, Menéndez Pidal, Rom. 29.336; idem, Cantar de Mio Cid 187; idem, Orígenes del español 312–4; Baist, Gr. Gr. 1.901; Meyer-Lübke, LGRPh. 22.298 and RLiR 1.15–6; Rohlis, ZRPPh. 41.351–5; Steiger, BRAE 10.178; Jud, HMP 2.25–6; Tallgren, Estudios sobre la Gaya de Segovia 80; Zauner, Altep. Elem. 47; Krepinski, Inflexión 40; García de Diego, HMP 2.16–8; Kuhn, RLiR 11.32–5, 46–50.

Some of the latest opinions on that debated word are: F. Schürr, RF 53.27–41; C. C. Rice, HR 6.351–2; U. T. Holmes Jr., LANG. 17.69; M. L. Wagner, ZRPPh. 62.70–6; Spitzer, AIL 2.13–6.
10. *Quezar* occurs in Old Spanish both as a transitive and as a reflexive, but not ordinarily as an intransitive verb... An exception must be made in favor of the gerund *quezando* 'lamenting', the infinitive *quezar* 'to lament', and the substantivated infinitive *el quezar* 'the lamentation'. *Quezar* as a transitive verb was current in the 13th century, not unusual in the 14th, but quite infrequent from the 15th; the complete elimination was preceded by a state of fossilization as seen in the formulaic occurrence in the Rimado de Palacio. Reflexive *quezar* has been an ordinary word from the beginning of the literary period; it has been found in the Cantar de Mio Cid, the works of Bereo, the Libro de Alexandre, and other pre-Alphonsine monuments. The ratio of frequency between *quezar* and *quezarse* in narrative texts of the 13th century is 10:11; in the Confesión del Amante (ca. 1400) it changes to 0:18.

---

146 On reflexive verbs used as intransitives, especially in non-finite forms, see H. Keniston, *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth Century* 339 (Chicago University Press, 1937) *Hallome quezando* occurs in La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes 161 (ed. J. Cejador y Frauea; Madrid, 1914). For older examples, see Poema de José, quatrains 30ab; Gonçalo Martínez de Medina, Cancionero de Baena 372; Canc. cast. 2.740a.

147 Elena y María, lines 365-6; El Cavallero Zifar 392; Carlos Maynes, chapter 41; El Emperador Ottas, chapter 49; Villasandino, Canc. de Baena 61; Canc. cast. 2.650b, 680b, 742a. Constructions like *començó a quezar* (S. Mar. Eg., fol. 11e) are different in nature, while *fué a quezar* (Conf. Am., fol. 300ro), *se fué quezar* (Rim. Pal., quatrains 1594d) are not clear-cut cases.

148 R. Páez de Ribera, Canc. de Baena 311: *Oyendo tal coita e quezar doloroso* ‘hearing such doleful complaint and lamentation’; *mi sospirar, su gemir*, and similar Old Spanish constructions.

149 See Libro de Buen Amor, quatrains 595a, 688a; Grail Fragments, fol. 280vo; Rim. de Pal., quatrains 705a, 865b (MS N); Barlan, fol. 187ro; cf. Hist. Troyana 101 (of the late 13th cent.).

150 Aguado quotes from La Celestina 76 (ed. Vigo, 1899): *quanto es dulce a los tristes quezar su pasión* ‘how sweet it is to the sad to wail over their passion’. A very late example of transitive *quezar*, presumably a mere literary reminiscence, is quoted by Keniston, Sixteenth Century Prose 338, from the Question of amor. See also Canc. cast. 2.676b, 677b, 678b, 681b, 684a, 714a, 750a. Sánchez de la Ballesta (1587) offers a wide variety of translations for *quezarse* (clamo, gemo, ingemisco, queror, conqueror, gemitus fat, deploro, expostulo, querelam vel querimoniam habeo, querela est, ingemo), but fails to include transitive *quezar*.

151 The formula is *estar quezado de penas* (de cuitas, de cuydado) ‘to suffer pains, anguish’.

152 The documentation in the present essay has been largely limited by the end of the 15th century, because no major changes occurred after that date which could possibly help clarify the etymology of *quezar*. The two best glossaries of 17th-century Spanish, appended to B. Gracián, El Criticón, ed. M. Romera-Navarro (Philadelphia, 1938-40), and to F. López de Ubeda, La Picara Justina, ed. J. Puyol y Alonso (Madrid, 1912), respectively, fail to point out any peculiarities; material offered by glossaries to Cervantes and Gongora has been incorporated in the notes. C. Fontecha, Glosario de voces comentadas en ediciones de textos clásicos, was not yet available for consultation. Examples of the use of *quejar* in refranes will be found in F. Rodríguez Marín’s three collections (Madrid, 1926–34).

153 For statistical data on the frequency of MSp. *quejar* and *queja*, see H. Keniston, *A Standard List of Spanish Words and Idioms* (Heath, 1941); the frequency and range of these two words and also of *quevido*, based on a different count, are given by M. A. Buchanan, *A Graded Spanish Word Book* (Toronto, 1927).
11. The uses of transitive quezar may be roughly classified as follows (with special reference to 13th-century texts):

(a) ‘to attack, to pursue, to close in on, to hammer against’ (as a military term, with regard to an army or an individual soldier, especially when surrounded by enemies): PCG 63b, line 47: *E quexaron los tanto que les fizeron venir a pleyesla* ‘and they attacked them so viciously as to make them come to terms’; ibid. 83b, line 23: *Combater le yen et quezarle* ‘they would fight against him and assail him’; currently so used in the Historia Troyana (Polimétrica), e.g. 9, 10, 38, 45, 70 (twice), 76, 83, 101 (twice), 106, 107.

(b) ‘to urge, to prompt’: HTrPol., poem No. 6, line 66: *Ca no m’devia el quezar d’yr a huest* ‘for he should not have urged me to go to the army’; PCG 117b, line 9: *Mas Gayo quexaval quel demandasse algo* ‘yet G. urged him to ask something from him’; ibid. 132a, line 8: *Los cabdiellos et los cavalleros quezdonle tanto que lo ovo mal su grado a otorgar* ‘the commanders and the knights urged him so insistently that he had to grant it against his own will’; ibid. 144b, line 15: *Quezó el senado de Roma mucho a Traiano ell emperador* ‘the senate of Rome strongly urged Emperor T.’; cf. Gen. Est. 1.312b, line 46; 1.345a, line 24; 1.468b, line 9.

(c) ‘to press’ (with emphasis on impatience, hurry), GEst. 1.469a, line 47: *Pues que non vos queredes soffrir pocos días fasta que viésemes si M. yba o cómo jade, et tanto me quezades* ‘since you cannot wait a few days until we see whether M. comes down, or what else he would do, and you are pressing me so much’.

(d) ‘to oppress, to imperil, to torment’, usually with hunger, thirst, pain, death, or a spell represented as agent: Loures, quatrain 39c: *Dolores lo cubrieron, de muerte fue quezado* ‘pains racked him, as he was in throes of death’; Vida de Santo Domingo, quatrain 554c: *Quedaron los dolores que mucho lo quezaban* ‘then the pains that had been torturing him subsided’; PCG 30a, line 24: *Quezados de fambre* ‘suffering from hunger’; ibid. 75b, line 31: *Quezóles mucho la set* ‘a terrible thirst tortured them’; ibid. 135a, line 13: *Quezándola la gran raviá de la fambre as a maddening hunger was torturing her’; Grail Fragments, fol. 280vo: *El conjuramento de Josafas quel quezó asy que echó ante todos aquéllos la ymagen en medio del templo* ‘the spell of J. which had such a grip on him that in the presence of them all he knocked down the statue in the middle of the temple’; cf. PCG 487a, line 34; GEst. 1.242a, line 13; 1.243a, line 15; 1.378b, line 4; Leonarte, Sumas 178;183 with a person as the agent, PCG 230b, line 28.

(e) ‘to chase, drive, or torture (an animal)’, PCG 98a, line 12: *Un yuvero seye arando con los bueyes, et quezava los mucho; et fabló ell uno dellos et díxol*: *En vano me quezás* ‘a peasant was ploughing with his oxen and pressing them hard; then one of them spoke up and told him: In vain art thou so hard upon me’; ibid. 102a, line 44.

(f) ‘to strain’, PCG 122b, line 51: *E en el logar de los iegues numqua fazte ninguna cosa a menos de seer y el maestro de las vozes quel castigasse cuémo fíziesse et que non quezasse mucho las venas* ‘and in the place where the games took place

183 Alex. O, quatrain 886d: *El ardor del sol la queza fieramente* ‘the heat of the sun tortures her relentlessly’ may easily contain aquezar rather than quezar; cf. Alex. P, quatrain 864d: *la aqueza.*
he never did anything unless his music teacher was present there who could explain to him how he should act so as not to strain his veins'.

Central to all significations is beyond any doubt the idea of pressing or squeezing; this is a fact to be reckoned with in the reconstruction of the etymology. How easily military terms were apt to develop figurative senses, especially in verbs referring to violent or hasty actions, has been known since the appearance of a study on arrebatar, and similar potentialities were recently shown in verbs dealing with the hunting and taming of animals. The connotation of 'urging, prompting' certainly is secondary, and that of 'impatient pressing' even tertiary (with a shift of meaning comparable to the one undergone by OSp. priesa 'pressure' > 'hurry, haste'). Of special interest is the frequent occurrence of transitive quezar in certain literary genres and authors and its absence from other, contemporary writings (cf. its scarceness in epics written in the cuaderna via). This indicates a need for refinement in our methods of dating; in the Middle Ages, a given genre had its own peculiar lexicon, and, say around 1260, a word may have been acceptable in chronicles but obsolete in 'elegant' epics of non-traditional stock; whether it was used colloquially, is in most cases a matter of speculation. These circumstances must also be taken into account in attacking an intricate etymological problem.

12. The reflexive variety of quezar can be dealt with summarily, because it has largely survived into the modern language and is also less likely to represent the original function of the word. In Old Spanish the emphasis was placed on the outward manifestation of discontent (vociferation, gesticulation, down-hearted appearance), whereas nowadays the interest centers around the motivation of the dissatisfaction and unrest. In other words, OSp. quezar meant mainly (not exclusively) 'to cry, to weep, to wail, to sob', whereas its modern counterpart signifies pre-eminently 'to complain'. In view of its connotation the ancient verb was usually not followed by any complement, except for an

---

154 J. Oliver Asín, Origen árabe de rebato, arrobada y sus homónimos: contribución al estudio de la historia medieval de la táctica militar y de su léxico peninsular, BRAE 15.347–95, 496–542.


156 A priesa 'fast' was not unknown to Old Spanish, cf. Alex. O, quatrains 1046b, and P, quatrains 1074b, but the prevailing meaning was that of 'hand-to-hand fight, mêlée'.

157 See Old French soutif 'Solitary', MLQ 3.621–46.

158 See Dicc. Aut. 5.463 for illustration from Lope de Vega, Arcadia; J. de Valdivielso, El Sagrario de Toledo (1616); D. de Saavedra Fajardo, Empresas políticas (1640). Dicc. Enc. quotes F. M. Samaniego (1745–1801); Pagés 4.649 cites M. de Jovellanos and J. de Letamendi. C. de las Casas (1570) translates 'querelarsi, ramaricarsi, rimbrottarsi, rientrarsi', and Franciosini lists the expression quezar de vicio 'lamentarsi di gamba sana (come si dice), cioè dolersi senza causa'.

159 On the juridical sense of quezar as used in the Fuero Juzgo, see the examples collected by Fernández Llera (notice the interesting graphs queyser, quyesar, reminiscent of Berceo); cf. Canc. de Baena 622: E desito te quezas e tomas por y a mi por jues 'and of this you are complaining and taking me as a judge therefor'.
occasional qualification of the intensity (mucho, tanto, gravemente, quanto podierdes), of the outward effect, or of a special circumstance attendant upon the lamentation. The motive of the complaint, if indicated at all, was linked to the verb mostly by means of por (followed by a substantive or an infinitive) or a clause introduced by porque, less frequently by que; con, and de were likewise applicable, and the latter became customary in the 15th century, preceding the name of the person credited with calling forth the grief or else the circumstance to which this effect was attributed. Quejarse por 'to yearn' was used as late as Góngora. Quejarse linked directly with an infinitive is unusual; one example has been discovered in Guevara. The person who witnessed the outburst or to whom the complaint was directed was introduced by means of either a or contra. As parallelism is a stylistic device characteristic of medieval literary languages, redundant constructions may be used to determine the semantic shadings of a given word. In our case, the combinations quejarse e dar grandes voz…, quejarse e quebrantar, quejarse e
querellarse,
ester muy cuytado e quexarse,
quezarse e gemir (gemen),
quexarse e llorar,
quexarse e entrar en bollicio,
quexarse e dolerse,
aver alguna cosa por
mal e quexarse

clearly delimit the range of meanings of the ancient verb.

The subject of the construction was normally a human being, but advocates of
the coazáre theory can point out that sometimes it was a bird (e.g. a falcon or a
nightingale).

More noteworthy is the combination el coraçon se me quezo (and its variant he or
tengo el coraçon quezado) 'it breaks my heart', because it
presumably perpetuates the oldest use of quexarse and provides a bridge between
the transitive and the reflexive varieties of the verb. Similar constructions are:
el coraçon me quebra;
quebrantar coraçoes;
quiebrarse el coraçon;
quiebrantase el coraçon;
quiebrantado;
quebrantado also means 'miserable, wretched' (like quezado) and
quebranto in the sense of 'ruin, misery, woe, grief' is definitely reminiscent of quezoo.

13. Various nouns have been developed from quexar. Among these quezido and
quezadura, both signifying 'complaint', figure prominently in the language
of the Golden Age, but appear absent from the older texts. Because of the product-
itivity of -ido and -adura, there is no reason to doubt that they were coined
at a late date, well within the literary period. Their synonym quezamiento

178 GEst. 1.392a, line 8; Sátira de fel. e inf. vida 74.
179 El Cavallero del Ciane 330.
180 Prim. Crón. Gen. 96b, line 40.
181 Prim. Crón. Gen. 192a, line 42; Gen. Est. 1.302b, line 5.
182 Gen. Est. 1.756b, line 18.
183 El Corbacho 176.
184 Confisión del Amante, fol. 54vo.
185 J. Manuel, El Libro de la Caza 62; H. R. Lang, Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano
(Yale Univ. Press, 1902).
186 La Dança de la Muerte, stropeh 18, line 7.
187 Grail Fragments, fol. 267ro.
188 See Alex. O, quatrains 624b (P 652b); Alex. P, quatrains 1215c; HTRPol. 142; cf. OPtg.
quebrar coraçoes Dom Rodrigo 169.
189 PAlfOnc., quatrains 1880b.
191 Leomarte, Sumas de Historia Troyana 177.
192 HTRPol., poem No. 2, lines 111-2.
193 Alex. P, quatrains 1284d, 1307c; Cav. Zifar 27, 107, 183.
194 On the various shadings of quebranto, see Alex. O, quatrains 378b (P 386b), 519b (P
531b), 843b (P 871b); Alex. P, quatrains 1412b; HTRPol. 125 and poems No. 1, line 119; No.
2, line 61; No. 3, line 20; No. 8, line 74; Leom. 174, 177; Cav. Zifar 114; PAlfOnc., quatrains
863c, 1876c, 1865b, 2008c; LMis., quatrains 104d, 232b. The figurative use of quebrantar
appears in HTRPol., poem No. 2, line 74; Leom. 119; Cav. Zifar 392; PAlfOnc., quatrains 885c;
LMis., quatrains 40a, 179c.
195 Quevido appears patterned after penido 'sigh', current in the courtly lyrics of the 15th
century. The word is listed in Oudin² (1616), Franciosini (1636): 'querela, lamento, rammarico',
La Porte (1659), Sobrino³ (1721), Pineda (1740). Pagés 4.649 quotes the word from
Malón de Chaide (1588), and Dicc. Aut. from A. Pérez, Cartas (1598), and from La Picara
Justina (1605). To find out whether quejito, quejijo are genuine variants or ghost-words,
we must await a critical edition of the works of Lucas Fernández.
196 Vittori (1606) 'lamentamento, dolenza', Oudin1 (1607) 'plainte, complainte, doléance',
Le grand dict. de trois langues (1640) 'plainte et complainte', La Porte (1659) 'beclaginhe'.
has been discovered only in a few texts. Of far greater interest are quezo, quexa, and quexumbre, because they have been objects of exchange and loan between the ancient peninsular dialects. Quezura belongs to a more recent stratum and illustrates a peculiar development of the suffix -ura in Castilian. Quexedad is quite unusual, while quexadumbre, quexadumbre may be mere errors of a copyist.

14. Quezo and quexa, largely interchangeable as shown by variae lectiones of the same document, followed by and large a similar course, experiencing a significant extension of meaning in the course of the 14th century; quexo was from the outset the far less common variant. Whether the feminine variant originally had an augmentative-collective-iterative connotation (as in riso vs. risa 'laughter'), we do not know.

Quezo can be documented from the older literature in the following significations, recalling corresponding meanings of transitive quexar: 'military pressure', 'peril, torture' (of hunger, thirst, sickness), 'ailment', 'predicament', 'emergency, unforeseen situation', 'affliction, grief'. An offshoot of the latter branch is the meaning 'agony, anguish of heart, pangs' in the language of the

197 Libro de Buen Amor, quatrains 887b. However, pan de quexamiento is found in an old Bible translation; see Biblia medieval romanceada (Buenos Aires, 1927), Deuter. 16.3, 31.17.

198 Alex. O, quatrains 1153d: ovioron ende todos grant quezedat 'everybody was grieved by this' (?); P 1182d has mortandad instead. Yet I find another example of quezedat, with the meaning of 'predicament', in Vida de San Ildefonso, BAE 57.330a.

199 Flores de Filosofia, fol. 36vo: Porende la cobdicia trahe abaxamiento presente e quexadumbre e laserio con verguenca 'therefore greed immediately entails debasement, misery, and wretchedness with shame'; variant readings include quezadumbre and queza durable.

200 PCG 134b, line 36; LBA, quatrains 855b; Barlan, fol. 104ro.

201 The older dictionaries do not list quezo, except Pineda (1740), who claims that the word is used in cant for 'lashes, whipping'; the connection with OSp. quezo 'torture' is obvious. On queja, see Dicc. Aut. for illustration from N. Recopilación, Lope de Vega, J. Martínez de Jáuregui (1583–1641), and A. de Salas Barbadillo; Dicc. Enc. quotes Sanamiego and Mir y Noguera offers documentation from A. de Guevara; F. Aguado, Perfecto religioso (1629); P. de Rivadeneira (1527–1611), B. L. de Argenso (1562–1681), A. de Solis (1610–1686), F. de Moncada (1586–1635), Fr. M. de Melo (1608–1666), Baren (1527–1591), Fr. L. de León, and A. de Salas Barbadillo. Bilingual dictionaries liken queja to 'querella' (Nebrija, 1492); 'querella, ramaricamento, ramarichio, ramario, rimbrotto' (C. de las Casas, 1570); 'incusatio, expostulatio, quaestus, querela, querimonia, lamentatio, angustia' (Sánchez de la Ballesta, 1587); 'lamento, querela, rammarico' (Franciosini, 1636). The latter also discusses constructions like formar quezas de uno, dar queza, bazarse de la queza; romper en quejas is illustrated in Cejador y Frauca, Fraseología o estilística castellana s.v. (Madrid, 1921–5).

202 In the texts studied by Singleton the ratio is 8 : 39.


204 PCG 228a, line 18; HTrPol. 36, 37, 38.

205 PCG 134b, line 36; 184a, line 2; El Libro de la Caza 8 (see VMC). Cf. El libro de los caballos, fol. 7 vo.

206 PCG 193a, line 25; 221a, line 12; HTrPol. 148.

207 PCG 137b, line 10.

208 PCG 130b, line 54; HTrPol. 59; Leom. 183; ConfAm., fols. 75vo, 125vo, 131ro; Crónica de don Pero Niño and Juan del Encina (VMC).
cancioneros, while the expression *con (grand) quexo* 'reluctantly' is peculiar to Alphonsine style. Only from Juan Ruiz and with increasing frequency throughout the 15th century does the second basic meaning of 'complaint' develop.

The semantic development of *quexa* arrested the attention of Menéndez Pidal when he studied the manuscript tradition of the Crónicas Generales. In the older literature the word also reflects the uses of transitive *que'xar*, meaning '(military) pressure'; 'torture, physical pain, peril'; 'predication, tribulation'; 'affliction, grief, trouble'; 'desire' (a shift in meaning recalling Engl. *anxious, anxiety*); 'rancor, grudge'. At a late date again the secondary meaning of 'complaint' crystallizes. *Quexa* 'love's moaning of a lover' became a conventional literary expression coincident with the rising prestige of the Galician-Portuguese lyrical school. The stylistic device of parallelism again yields a clue to the semantic shadings of both *quexo* and *quexa*.

For instance, Canc. cast. 2.700a (Fr. Gauberte); 738b, 742a, 746b (D. López de Haro), and passim.

In reference to thirst: PCG 75b, line 33; 76b, line 29; GEst. 1.386a, line 40; in reference to hunger: PCG 537b, line 28; GEst. 1.225b, line 15; 266b, line 24; in reference to general lack of food supplies: PCG 487a, line 39; GEst. 1.550a, line 12; in reference to a wound: PCG 517a, line 32; 518b, line 9 (compare CavEsc., fol. 13c: *la queixa del corazón* to 'the bleeding heart'); in reference to death: PCG 75b, line 44; GEst. 1.31a, line 26.

In reference to thirst: PCG 341d, line 28; Alex. P, quatrains 29b, 30a, 626a (cf. O 599a); PCG 555a, line 43; 659a, line 46; GEst. 1.18b, line 17; 92b, line 24; 154a, line 46; 224b, line 42; 242a, line 29; 372a, line 16; 372b, line 8; C. Luc., see Ford, *OSp. Read.* 55, line 28; ConfAm., fol. 190r.

In reference to thirst: PCG 341d, line 28; Alex. P, quatrains 29b, 30a, 626a (cf. O 599a); PCG 555a, line 45; 555b, line 23; 614a, line 41; GEst. 1.475a, line 25; HTrPol. 127 and poem No. 2, line 61; RimPal., quatrains 190a, 271b, 413a, 716d, 780b, 783b, 870d, 895c, 1087a, etc.

219 For a very early instance, in reference to the love of Potiphar's wife for Joseph, see GEst. 1.214a, line 40. Furthermore, LBA, quatrains 211d, 639d, 662a, 703c, 853d; Canc. cast. 2.698a (Fr. Gauberte), 749b (Alonso de Cardona), and passim.

220 F. Sánchez Calavera, *CBA* 599; D. Martínez de Medina, *CBA* 368; Canc. cast. 2.651b (Puerto Carrero), 743b (López de Haro), 756a (Alonso de Cardona), and passim.

221 H. R. Lang, Cancionero Galego-Castelhano: The Extant Galician Poems of the Galego-Castilian Lyric School (1350-1450), glossary, shows that *queixa*, *queixar-se*, *queixoso*, and *queixura* were used by poets like A. Álvarez de Villasandino, G. Ferrández de Gerena, P. de Quiñones, A. Montoro.

222 *Quexa* beside *priesa*: PCG 248a, line 27; GEst. 1.145b, line 33. *Quexa* beside *dolor*: PCG 555a, line 45. *Quexa* beside *duelo*: Cav. del Cisne 399; *Quexa* beside *cuyta*: GEst. 1.360a, line 55.
The turning point in the development of both words is the demonstrably late attraction of two original offshoots of transitive quezar ‘to press, to squeeze’, by reflexive quezarse ‘to complain’. Postverbal nouns normally reflect the semantic shifts of the corresponding verbs, but with a certain delay. This delay contributes notably to the clarification of our main problem: the relative chronology of the two branches of quezar, with widely divergent meanings. The fact that the (retarded) nouns, well within the literary period, register ‘pressure’ as the original connotation makes it highly probable that in the system of the underlying verb, stabilized in the pre-literary period, the sense of ‘pressing’ was fundamental.

15. Quezura, apparently absent from the oldest poetry and from Alphonsine prose, is found in some 14th- and 15th-century writers, including Juan Ruiz, Fr. Diego de Valencia, J. A. de Baena, and A. de Palencia in a variety of meanings (‘hardship, anxiety, insistence’). The formation was listed by Nebrija and P. de Alcalá, also by subsequent lexicographers as late as the middle of the 17th century, but was later specified as obsolete. Quezura was presumably coined from queza in imitation of priessa : pressura, used promiscuously e.g. in the Libro de Alexandre; cf. MPtg. apressar-se beside MSp. apresurarse ‘to hasten’. Quezura reflects the variety of the suffix -ura which was not interchangeable with -or; this variety, peculiar to Castilian, sprang up at a late date.

The dictionaries list a number of diminutives of queja and quejido. Terreros (1786–93) translates el amor crece con las quejillas ‘levibus risis amor augescit’. The derivative quezilloso ‘querulous’ is encountered in Fr. J. de Pineda (1589), see Rodriguez Marin, Dos mil quinientas voces s.v. Its counterpart quejicoso, stemming from quejica, occurs in the Epistolae of J. E. de Nieremberg (1595–1658), see Dicc. Aut. 5.463.

LBA, quatrains 365a, 594a, 605d, 652a, 659d, 675d.

Cancionero de Baena 648.

Ibid. 477: La sentencia / Que me demandades con mucha quezura ‘the verdict which you are asking from me so insistently’.

Dos tratados 1.59.


Compare priessa as used Alex. O, quatrains 982a (P 1010a), 1049c (P 1077c), 1196c (P 1336c), 1236c (P 1377c), HTrPol. 83, PAlfOnc., quatrains 351d, with pressura as used Alex. O, quatrains 500b (P 512b), 974c (P 1002c), 1202a (P 1342a), 1215c (P 1356c), also much later, e.g. by J. Tallante, Canc. cast. 2.699a. Cf. bramura ‘groan’, LBA, quatrains 100d, 633a, 1091b.


-Ura -ur represents a Pan-Romanic type; invariable -ura is a Castilian innovation, the individual formations having in all likelihood been derived in imitation of strong participles related by meaning (thus, locura follows transura, hromosura follows hechura, and so forth).
16. *Quejumbre* is infrequent in the older language and not documented prior to the *Vida de San Ildefonso* (early 14th century). By way of contrast, *quezume* occurs in the Old Leonese *Libro de Alexandre*, and *queixume* was currently used in Old Portuguese. Discovery of *que(i)xume* in Old Leonese fueros and charters, also in the Sayagués dialect as used by early dramatic writers, the comparative isolation of *quejumbre* with regard to other Spanish derivatives in -umbre contrasting with the visible connection of *queixume* with Portuguese words like *azedume* 'sourness', *ciume*('jealousy', *negrume* 'somber weather'—all tend to prove that the Spanish word has been imported from the West, with a subsequent adaptation of suffixes. That words suggestive of emotional reactions should have been absorbed by Castilians from Galician-Portuguese on quite a considerable scale becomes increasingly clear with the progress of Hispanic dialectology and is justifiable on cultural grounds; compare cases like *echar (de) menos* 'to miss', *soledad* 'solitude, nostalgia', *pendencia* 'grief, quarrel', *cariño* 'tenderness, affection', *coita* beside *cuita* 'grief' and *coitado* 'miserable, wretched'. *Quejumbre*, antiquated in the 18th century, occurs occasionally in poetry; it has been survived by *quejumbroso, quejumbrosico, and quejumbrosidad*.244

235 J. M. Aguado quotes an example from the (notoriously inadequate) edition by F. Janer in BAE 51 (p. 323b).

236 Alex. O, quatrain 61d: *todas tus quexumes* 'all thy complaints' (notice the gender). There is no equivalent in MS P.


239 Lucas Fernández, *Églogas 60*.

240 For a survey of the development of -men in Latin, see M. Leumann in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik* 242 (München, 1926): -men is an archaic suffix, no longer productive in literary Latin, with numerous formations traceable to IE etyma, frequently linked to the stem without any intervening vowel (ag-men, car-men, cul-men, seg-men), largely supplanted by the variant form -mentum. For the survival of -men, -men, -men, -men, see Rom. Gr. 2.484–8; more complete lists of reflexes will be found in REW §§31a, 115, 128, 242, 328, 358, 389, 1138, 1504, 2122, 3191, 3248a, 3427, 3574, 4845, 4972, 4998, 5022, 5030, 5123, 5407, 5456, 6005, 6372, 6499, 6817a, 9436. On Sp. -umbr*- -edumbre* and its connection with -amine and -tiáume, see Almenamy Bolufer, *Tratado de la formación de palabras* 128 (cf. also 13–5 and 81–2); Hansen, *Gramática histórica* 137–8. On -tiáume outside of Spanish, see Rom. Gr. 2.538–9. On the secondary -mn-cluster in Old Leonese, see Staaff 244–7; on legámine > legunde, see G. Sachs, *El Libro de los Caballos* 135 (Madrid, 1936); on dialectal traces of forámen and lóruámen, see D. Alonso, RFE 27.30–4. Vacillation in gender is shown by lumbre (Alex. O, quatrain 956d vs P 984d) and e(n)zambre (Alex. O, quatrain 747b vs P 774b and fragment B). A list of Old Spanish formations in -(d)umbr* is included in UCPL 1.208. On -ámen, -ámen, -ámen in Gallo-Romance, see Gamillscheg, *Bibl. dell’ Arch. Rom.* 2.2.48.


243 *Quejumbre* is labeled as obsolete by Dice. Aut., where it is documented from the *Crónica General* [of Ocampo, 1543] and by Terreros. But the Colombian poet A. Silva (late
17. Among adjectival, participial, and related derivatives from the *quezar* stem, *quezante* 'plaintiff' was extremely rare,\(^{246}\) while *quezador* 'complainant' is repeatedly recorded in dictionaries of the 17th and even the early 18th century.\(^{246}\) *Quezado* 'angry, irritated, unhappy' had a vogue especially in the older period, before the rise of *quezoso*.\(^{247}\) It could be linked to a following noun or pronoun by means of *de*, *por*, *sobre*, or *contra*.\(^{248}\) Among the writers showing a marked predilection for this word is the Chancellor López de Ayala.\(^{249}\) *Quezoso* 'querculous, scolding, complaining' was rare in the 13th but increasingly frequent in the following two hundred years.\(^{250}\) It is easiest to class it as developed from the nouns *quezó*, *quezra*, but it may be a derivative from the verb on the analogy of certain synonyms.\(^{252}\) Occasionally, through attraction by

19th century) wrote: *Misterio de aquellas quejumbres que pueblan el aire*. An interesting occurrence in Old Spanish in Biblia med. rom., Deuter. 28.53.

\(^{244}\) *Quejumbrososo* (called 'voz de poco uso' by the Dicc. Aut.) occurs in F. de Amaya, Desenganos de los bienes humanos (1681), see Dicc. Aut.; Jovellanos and E. Blasco (1844–1903), see Pagés 4.649; and A. de Ovalle, Histórica relación del Reino de Chile (1646), see P. Pineda. G. M. Vergara Martín, Diccion. hispanoam. de voces sinónimas y análogas (Madrid, 1930), paraphrases it by means of 'pelilloso, vidrioso, caviloso, melindroso'. The modern poet Mesa wrote: *El quejumbroso balido de una oveja*. *Quejumbrosico* is documented from E. Pardo Bazán by Pagés 4.649, and *quejumbrosidad* from Fernán Caballero by R. Barcia.

\(^{246}\) See Gómez Manrique, Canc. cast. 1.118b. Gassner, who knows of synonymous *querellante*, fails to quote it. Much more common was *pesante* 'grieved': Alex. O, quatrains 603a (P 630a), 1248a (P 1389a); Calila e Dimna 61; Leonarte, Sumas 183.

\(^{247}\) Loores, quatrains 36b; Milagros, quatrains 226c; Alex. O, quatrains 139c (P 138c has *quezoso*), 158b (*quezado*); HTrPol., poem No. 7, line 86; PCG 749b, line 27; GEst. 1.524b, line 50; Barlan, fol. 104ro; LMis., quatrains 234d.


\(^{249}\) RimPol. N, quatrains 152d, 296c, 494c, 729a, 749a, 802a, 868d; E, quatrains 695a, 1108b, 1141a, 1579a, 1613b, 1649b. Variant readings include *quezado*, *achacado*, *penado*. In 596c, 67% the word stands for 'resentful, bitter, peevish' (Zeitlin).

\(^{250}\) Libro de la Caza 8; Leon. 153; CavEsc., fol. 13c; Zifar 231 ('insistent'), 319 ('unbalanced'), 473; LBA, quatrains 786a, 852c, 854c; RimPal., quatrains 379d, 442a; ConfAm., fols. 36ro, 125ro, 129ro, 131vo, 411ro; Villasandino, CBAena 20; Pérez de Guzmán, CBAena (Puerto Carrero), 710b (L. de Bivero), 730b (H. de Ludueña), and passim; La Celestina 292, 363, 376; Canc. de Urrea 79, 235, 263, 342; Torres Naharro, ed. J. E. Gillet, 1.159. 169, 220; cf. also Glossarios latino-espaoles E44: *apinador* 'mercador quexoso'.

\(^{252}\) This is suggested by the state of affairs in Old Portuguese. Pertinent formations in Old Spanish include: *congozoso* (Canc. cast. 2.679b, 736a, 745b), *cuydoso* (Calila 32, 60, 63, 69), *enojoso* (CavEsc., fol. 10d), *lloroso* (Leon. 88, 89, 177), *manzelloso* (Leon. 74, 89, 146, 188), *penoso* (Canc. cast. 2.742b), *querellosso* (Cal. Zifar 284, 285, 289, 378), *renzilloso* (CastDotr., fol. 101vo, Canc. cast. 2.708b, 729a), *sannoso* (Calila 66, Leon. 186). In a similar way, *quezado* was supported by *afanado* (Canc. cast. 2.662b), *amanzellollado* (Cal. 93), *cuytado* (HTrPol. 51, 76) beside *cuytado* (Cal. 47; HTrPol., poem No. 8, line 73; CavEsc., fol. 18b; Cav. Zifar 86; PAlfOnc., quatrains 813ab), *lazrado* (Cal. 47, 71; CavEsc., fol. 10d) beside *lazerado* (Canc. cast. 2.755b, 759b), *querellado* (Alex. P, quatrains 164c).
(a) *quexar* ‘to press’, it meant ‘rash, thoughtless’; when substantivized, it meant ‘plaintiff’.

18. The material so far presented probably suffices to demonstrate the correctness of the theory that *que(i)xar* ‘to oppress, to squeeze’ is related to *que(i)xo* ‘jaw’. The normal semantic shift in Latin and Romance words expressing ‘predicament’ or ‘complaint’ is from the material to the figurative connotation: witness *plangō* ‘to strike (oneself)’, subsequently ‘to complain’; and archaic *flīgō* ‘to hit’, *flīctus* ‘stroke’, underlying *affīlō*, *affīctō*. *Angō* ‘to choke, to crush’ preceded *angustiā*, *anxiā*, *anxiētās*, *anxītūdō*; *stringō* ‘to squeeze, to press’ paved the way for Fr. *dētrēsse*. Within the Old Spanish domain we may adduce the case of *angostura*, *estrecho*, *estrechura* ‘hardship’. *Apretar* ‘to press’, lit. ‘to press against the chest’ < *appectorāre* is of especial interest because of the graphic description and the localization, in terms of anatomy, of the process of squeezing, just as in the case of *quexar*, here interpreted as ‘to crush between the jaws’. A systematic study of the synonyms of *quexar* would doubtless provide further parallels.

253 On confusion between ‘violence’ and ‘suddenness’, see D. Alonso, RFE 27.44, in reference to Ptg. *de sotaque* ‘all of a sudden’.

254 For an example from Cervantes, see R. Menéndez Pidal, Antología de prosistas españoles 266. *Quejoso* is illustrated in the Dicc. Aut. from Lope de Vega, Arcadia (1595); in Mir y Noguera from A. de Solís, P. de Sandoval (1553-1630), and J. E. de Nieremberg; in Pagés from La Gran Conquista de Ultramar (‘delicado, sensible’) and from Calderón (‘el que tiene quejas de otro’). The following renditions are of interest: Nebrija (1492) ‘querellosus’; Oudiné (1607) ‘plaintiff, complaignant, douloureux, hastif’; Percival–Minshew (1623) ‘complaining, given to quarrel or complaint’; Dict. de trois langues (1640) ‘complaignant’; Franciosini (1636) ‘lamentevole, che si rammarica e duole’; La Porte (1659) ‘claegähltigh’; Sobrino (1721) *esté quejoso de usted* ‘il est mécontent de vous’. *Quejosísimo* is found in Sandoval (Dicc. Aut.).

255 My authority for Latin is Ernout–Meillet, Dict. étym. 2

256 For the figurative use of *angostura*, see Calila 12, 13, 14, 20, 94; Canc. cast. 2.695b, 696b (Fr. Gauberte); for ‘narrowness’ suggestive of ‘hardship’, see HTrPol. 103. *Angustia* was well-known in Old Spanish (Barlan, fols. 107r, 152v, 156v; ConfAm., fol. 300v; Canc. cast. 2.650b (Sánchez de Badajoz), 666b (J. Tallante), 697b (Fr. Gauberte), 744b (López de Haro), 754a (A. de Cardona), 783a (Vizconde de Altamira), side by side with vernacular *congoxa* (ConfAm., fol. 353v; Canc. cast. 2.646a) < *co-angustiare*. In the 13th century *anxiā* (Alex. O, quatrains 1101c – P 1129c), later *ansias* (Canc. cast. 2.653a, 714a, 741b, 758b) prevails. For substantivated *estrecho* ‘predicament’ see LMis., quatrains 246a, and G. Sánchez de Badajoz, Canc. cast. 2.651a. More common was *estrechura* in the older period: Alex. O, quatrains 974a, 1102d (cf. P 1002a, 1130d), Calila 13, Leonmarte 85.

257 Notice the semantic development of *aprieto* ‘pressure’ > ‘hardship’. *Apretar* (los dientes, las gargantas, la ferida, la llaga) was frequent in Old Spanish: HTrPol. 41, 47, 91, 104; Barlan, fol. 164r; Leonmarte 116; Crescentia, chapter 34; Ottas, chapter 24; C. Maynes, chapters 3, 25, 39; see also Dicc. Hist. The original meaning is transparent in Leon. 118: Apretándolo que lo tovo con los pechos entre los braços ‘pressing him between his arms against his chest’. For *apretamiento de dientes* ‘gnashing one’s teeth’ see Barlan, fols. 120v, 123r, 168v. On Judeo-Spanish *apretar* ‘to oppress, to threaten’, see MPhil. 1.208.

258 Only a hint can be made here at the resources available to the speaker of Old Spanish to express the ideas inherent in *quexar* and its cognates: *acoïtar* (Alex. O, quatrains 1139a; Calila 60; HTrPol., poems No. 2, line 68, and No. 8, line 96), cf. *acuytado* (PALfOnc. quatrains 445c); *afíncar* (CavEsc., fol. 11a; Zifar 205; Barlan, fol. 182v; Crescentia, chapter 33), cf. *afíncamiento* ‘insistence’ (CavEsc., fol. 11a; SCat., fol. 15b); *afígir* (also *aféigir*, *afriqir*):
THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *que(i)xar*

However, the facts thus far stated do not yet permit us to express an opinion on the circumstances attending the genesis of the Hispanic verb. In what corner of the peninsula did it originate? What is the approximate date of its coinage? Through what channels was it transmitted? In order to give an answer, however tentative, to these questions, we must collect additional evidence from the study of the other branches.

IV. *The aquexar branch in Old Spanish*

19. The growth of *aquexar* largely parallels that of *quezar*, except that throughout the Old Spanish period it was used much more commonly as a transitive than as a reflexive verb; no case of its occurrence as an intransitive verb seems to be on record. At the bottom of the individual significations is again the idea of ‘pressing’. In reference to warfare the word signified ‘to close in on, to press hard upon, to hammer (the enemy)’. With the rise of a conventional style in courtly lyrics, the lady, likened to a foe, was pictured by means of *aquexar* as tormenting her lover. Also, *aquexar* served to picture the oppression of...
slaves. Secondary senses include ‘molesting, annoying, reproaching’ and ‘urging, prompting’.

In all the cases so far indicated, both the agent and the object acted upon are persons. From this norm there are several deviations. The rarer patterns include: *aquexar una cavalgadura* ‘to drive on a horse’, *aquexar el venado* ‘to hunt game’, *aquexar bestias* ‘to chase wild animals’, *el perro aqueza al omne* ‘the dog attacks the man’ and *la tigre aqueza al cordero* ‘the tiger chases the lamb’. In the following set of types, incident especially to Alphonsine style, the emphasis is on ‘torturing’ rather than on ‘pursuing’: *el sol aqueza* ‘the sun scorches’, *el dolor aqueza* ‘the pain aches’, *la enfermedat aqueza* ‘sickness wears down’, *la fanbre aqueza* ‘hunger pinches’, *la set aqueza* ‘thirst tortures’, *la guerra aqueza* ‘war ruins’. Further ramifications, with love, desire, fear, and sleep acting as stimulants, are not common in the oldest language and can thus hardly be of any help in reconstructing the etymon. Equally late is the combination *aquezar su camino (su viaje)* ‘to hasten one’s steps’. The status of *aquezar* has been marginal since the 16th century.

---

263 GEst. 1.346a, line 36.
264 D. de Cañizares, Los Siete Sabios 39; Sátira 68.
266 Aguado quotes the Libro de los Enxemplos por a.b.c. 131; for an implicit reference to this use, see LBA, quatrains 90c.
267 For a quotation from Amadis de Gaula, see the Dicc. Hist.
268 For the usage of H. del Pulgar, see the Dicc. Hist.; cf. Correas 61 and the quotations from La Celestina and Los Baños de Argel supplied by Spitzer in his etymological note.
269 Documentation from La Celestina, act 12, and from Guillén de Castro, respectively, is supplied by the Dicc. Hist.
270 HTrPol., poem No. 2, line 63; LMis., quatrains 46c; Sátira 55; Canc. cast. 2.715b (L. de Bivero), 756ab (A. de Cardona), and passim.
271 PCG 541a, line 2; 717b, line 41; GEst. 1.762a, line 3; Cav. Zifar 243; for an example from Mariana, see the Dicc. Hist.
272 PCG 684a, line 38; 706b, line 23; 746b, line 28; Juan Manuel, see the Dicc. Hist.; LMis., quatrains 105c; Barlan, fol. 205ro; D. de Cañizares, Los Siete Sabios 34. The related construction *uno aqueza a otro con fanbre* is found PCG 234a, line 34.
273 PCG 76a, line 7; GEst. 1.656b, line 48; CBaena 254 (M. Fr. Imperial); D. de Cañizares 34. For the related construction *uno aqueza a otro con set*, see PCG 54a, line 41; 74b, line 53.
274 PCG 733a, line 55.
275 Oldest example showing the transition to the figurative sense is PCG 717b, line 9. The further development is illustrated with: *el amor e deseo aqueza* (LBA, quatrains 662b); *el amor aqueza* (El Corbacho 7); *la solicitud aqueza* (A. de Palencia, Dos tratados 2.13); *el cuidado aqueza* (ConfAm., fol. 229vo); *la razon aqueza* (Fr. Lope de Monte, CBaena 356); *las palabras aquezan* (Sátira 84); *el sueno aqueza* (L. de los Enx. por a.b.c., quoted by Aguado).
276 Documentation from Marqués de Santillana, Rodríguez de la Cámara, and Díaz de Toledo in the Dicc. Hist.; add Palencia, Dos tratados 2.58 and La Celestina 76 (Vigo, 1899).
277 The Dicc. Hist. offers examples from Ángeles, Moratín, and Zorrilla; the Dicc. Aut. provides attestation from Cervantes and Mariana; the Dicc. Enc. cites the Romancero del Cid and Luis de León; Fagés quotes Fernando de Rojas and Luis de León; the Dicc. de la RAceEsp. 9 (1770) offers additional documentation from Las Partidas, Juan de Mena (1411-
The reflexive variety, of which Singleton failed to find a trace in two of the longest Alphonsine texts, signified either ‘to mourn, to grieve’ (thus in the Cantar de Mio Cid and in Berceo), or else ‘to hurry’ (thus preeminently in 14th- and 15th-century monuments).

20. A number of derivatives from aquexar have been recorded. Aquexado is found at an early date for ‘sorrowful, downhearted’, subsequently the word appears with the indubitably secondary meaning ‘hasty’, only occasionally does it assume the sense ‘torturing’. The corresponding adverb aquezaadamente ‘hurriedly, impetuously’ has not been encountered prior to the 15th century. Even more distinctly late and of artificial coinage is aquezador ‘torturing’. The postverbal noun aquejo ‘affliction’ was used sporadically in Renaissance literature, while the much older derivative aquezamiento, standing originally for ‘oppression’, was subsequently exposed to the influence of the increasingly numerous connotations of the underlying verb, hence it came to mean ‘anxiety, affliction, violence, haste’. Aqueja and aquejadura, listed in 1456), the Crónica del Rey D. Juan II, and M. Molinos (1628–1696). In classical usage the subject of the verb is hardly ever a person, but rather a word like esperanza, temor, pensamiento, dolor, cuidado, voluntad, also hambre (as late as Cervantes). Nebrija: ‘propero, festino; maturo; stimulo’; Las Casas (1570): ‘affrettare’: Vittori (1606) ‘sollicitare, spingersi’; Oudin (1607) ‘haster, presser’; Percival–Minshew (1623): ‘to hasten, to make speed, to make haste, to urge forward’; Franciosini (1636): ‘addolorare, affiggere, tormentare’; La Porte (1659) ‘(sich) haesten’.

27a Cantar, line 1174: Mal se aquezan los de Valencia que non sabent qué far ‘sorely grieved are the people of V., for they don’t know what to do’; Loores, quatrain 14b; Santa Oria, quatrain 17b. For a late example, see ConfAm., fol. 389r. See also Zifar 323, line 12 var.


281 As early as Alex. P, quatrain 1309c; cf. Leom. 158; Diego de Valera, Epistolario 16.


283 Quotations from Enrique de Villena, Juan de Mena, and Rodríguez de la Cámara in the DICC. Hist.; add A. de Palencia, Dos tratados 1.47. Nebrija: ‘prooperanter, properatim, festinanter; mature’; Vittori: ‘sollicitatamente, frettolosamente, prestamente’; Oudin: ‘hastivement, promptement, meurement’; Percival–Minshew: ‘hastily, speedily, quickly, nimbly, with expedition’; La Porte: ‘haesteljycken, rûpelyjycken’. Labelled as antiquated throughout the 18th century. Relatively early is the occurrence in Glosarios, ESC. 98, 142, 195, 283.

284 For two examples from Ercilla, see the DICC. Hist.

285 The DICC. Hist. quotes Fr. A. Álvarez, Silva espiritual, ed. 1596. A quite isolated instance in Old Spanish is Alex. O, quatrain 1216d.

286 Apol., quatrain 131b; PCG 770b, line 14; GEST. 1.346a, line 46; C. Luc. 50; Cav. Cisne 318; GrCUltr., see the DICC. Hist. Also in aljamiado texts; see Yáqub, B (ed. Schmiz), quatrain 244d.

287 To the illustration provided by the DICC. Hist. (Villena, Arte Cisoria; translation of the Aristotelian Ethics by the Conde de Viana; Crónica de D. Juan Segundo) add Leomarte 96; Sátira 70.
dictionaries, failed to occur in the texts subjected to analysis.289 Aquezoso
came into existence even later than quezoso, that is to say, somewhere during
the 15th century,290 because of the wide range of meanings of transitive and reflexive
(a)quezar at that late date, it is small wonder that the adjective should display
a multitude of shadings ('sorrowful, plaintive, lamenting, torturing, speedy').291
The equally late adverb aquezosamente shares this feature of vagueness; it stands
for 'violently, anxiously'292 and 'hurriedly'.293 By the 18th century at the latest,
these two formations had become obsolete.294

V. The (ar)quezar branch in Old Spanish

21. This is to all appearances an old branch, with a sizeable set of formations
in the 13th century, but only vestigial reflexes after 1300. As a consequence it
was almost unknown to the ancient lexicographers.295 This archaic character
makes the branch an important piece of evidence: certain uses tending to obscure
the basic meaning of the stem failed to develop in this word group, as they did
in those previously described.

In the Primera Crónica General, requezar refers once to the oppression of a
tribe by a king,296 and twice to the hardships endured by a besieged army;297
requezamiento serves as the corresponding noun.298 In Old Spanish there is also
requexo, dissociated (arbitrarily, in our opinion) from the rest of the quex- family
by Menéndez Pidal, Bertoldi, and Singleton, though not by García de Diego
and Spitzer.299 In toponymy requexo seems to signify 'slope, ravine'.300 In

289 The Academy Dictionary lists aqueja 'queja'; aquejadura is given by J. Caballero4
(1882).
290 The oldest occurrences recorded in the Dicc. Hist. are from early-16th-century texts
(Cancionero de Encina, Gordonio). These are antedated by Glosarios latino-espainoles,
T 1569: subitus 'cosa aquecosa'.
291 For passages from Pineda, Vida de S. Juan Baptist and Agricultura Cristiana (ed.
1589); Fr. B. Pacheco, Sobre el Pater Noster (ed. 1594), and Arredondo, Castillo inexpug-
nable, see the Dicc. Hist.
292 Díaz de Toledo, Rodríguez de la Cámara, and F. Villalobos (ibid.). Glosarios, Esc.
386: 'vehementer'.
293 D. de Cañizares 32, 40: ir, venir muy aquezosamente 'to go, to come very hurriedly'.
Glosarios, Esc. 84: 'ciciter' (i.e. cito); Esc. 259: 'ocius'.
294 Thus they are not listed in the dictionary of Fr. Francisco Cañes (1787), Terreros
1786-93) calls them 'de poco uso', Cormon (1776) comments: 'peu usité'.
295 Requejamiento, requejar emerge from oblivion in the dictionaries of Cormon and
Terreros. The glossary of Sánchez, which may have been instrumental in spreading
knowledge of the existence of this branch, is not available to me for consultation.
296 PCG 104a, line 35; 198b, line 30.
297 PCG 211a, line 45.
298 See Singleton, op.cit.
299 See Orígenes del espanol5 93-5: Villa Kezida (1154, Elonzona), Requezolo (1105, Saha-
gún), Rekesoso (1094, Sahagún), Rekesciolo (1068, Burgos). Add carrera de Rrequeyzo
from E. Staaff, L'ancien dialecte léonais d'apres les chartes du XIIIe siècle (Upsala, 1906),
No. 88, line 6 (A.D. 1247). Caballeros quotes the PN Quejana in Álava; Pagés 4.648 lists
Queiza in Orense; Pineda knows of Queza, a cape on the coast of Asturias. Bertoldi thinks
of a pre-Latin rekk- stem; see Fonema basco-guascone attestato da Plinio AR 15.400-10,
especially 407. For the correct classification (based on modern dialectal, not on ancient
iterary forms), see García de Diego, Contribución 43, and Spitzer, AR 15.596.
reference to the sea it means ‘straits’. Speaking of a fortress, chroniclers appear to have used it for ‘ditch, rampart’. Krüger has observed that in toponymy requexo is restricted to the northern (Cantabrian-Pyrenaeic) zone. This fact must interest the etymologist, because most toponymic patterns traceable to a pre-Latin substratum are scattered over the entire territory of the peninsula, with special areas of concentration in the North. Thus the geographic distribution of requexo, if this word be linked to quezar, would favor the view of a comparatively late spread of the stem, say between the 8th and the 10th centuries, when there was no real center like Toledo under the Visigoths, but instead a number of smaller focal points all along the Northern line of resistance against the Moors.

The use of this verb for ‘to squeeze in (between the sea and some rocks, or between the mountain range and a ravine)’ is interesting; this meaning should be remembered in evaluating the suggested etymology. Normally arrequexar was employed in describing oppression, military pressure, and, with striking consistency, the beleaguering of an enemy, emphasis being placed on crushing the resistance by cutting off a fortress and starving it into surrender. This calls to mind operations called by modern tacticians ‘pincer movements’, ‘nutcracker’, and the like; notice the prevailing idea of ‘crushing between two sharp edges’, justifying the etymology here advocated. Un omne arrequexado is tantamount to ‘a man in a state of predicament, in a plight’, the (rather unusual) construction ser arrequexado de fazer alguna cosa comes close to ‘being obliged to do something’, and arrequexamiento signifies either ‘plight, misery’ in general or, specifically, ‘famine, thirst, starvation, cutting off from food supplies’. The last example of arrequexar collected by the writer is from the Cavallero del

That the same word should be suggestive of ‘high’ and ‘low’ is not striking; cf. Lat. altus.

PCG 255a, line 14.
On these intricate and not yet fully clarified questions, see R. Menéndez Pidal, Sobre las vocales í y ñ en los nombres toponímicos, RFE 5.225–55, and Sobre el substrato mediterráneo occidental, ZRPh. 59.189–206.
There is no need here to elaborate on the relation between re- and arre-, debated ever since the publication of J. Cornu, L’a prophétique devant rr en portugais, en espagnol et en catalan, Rom. 11.75–9. Assumption of Iberian or Arabic influences is not necessary to account for the case under study.

PCG 679a, line 15; GEst. 1.79a, line 22.
PCG 79b, line 13.
PCG 489a, line 15; 362a, line 46; 729a, line 28; 743b, line 28; 750a, line 3; 754a, line 23.
PCG 546a, line 21.
PCG 404a, line 33.
PCG 670a, line 77.
PCG 580a, line 15; 717b, line 16.
PCG 223b, line 21; 707a, line 35; GEst. 1.375b, line 2; 378b, line 26; 556b, line 19.
Cisne, where it stands for ‘cornering a game’.\textsuperscript{315} *Arrequezamiento* is documented in the Dicc. Hist. from La Gran Conquista de Ultramar, traceable to the 14th century.\textsuperscript{316}

VI. The *queixar* family in Old Portuguese

23. The situation in Old Portuguese deserves attention for three reasons: (1) the literary genres best represented in ancient Portugal (love songs, hagiography) yield abundant information on word material centering around the idea of ‘lamentation’; (2) the formations found in the Western and in the Central dialects are not at all identical: thus, with two different sets of reflexes at his disposal, the etymologist is more likely to succeed in reconstructing the original situation in Ibero-Romance; and (3) these initial differences between the two offshoots of the same Latinity have been blurred in the historical period. A discussion of our problem is apt to shed light on the interpenetration of the vocabularies of the two leading peninsular dialects.

In Old Portuguese we find reflexive *queyxar-se* ‘to lament, to complain’,\textsuperscript{317} which, in the finite forms, may but need not be used without the reflexive pronoun.\textsuperscript{318} It is constructed like its Spanish counterpart, except that occasionally *queixar-se a algun* appears to mean ‘to be angry at somebody’, presumably in imitation of the synonymous *assanhar-se a*.\textsuperscript{319} This use extends to *aqueyxar-se*.\textsuperscript{320} The first major divergence from Old Castilian usage is seen in the absence of transitive (*a*)queyxar, (*ar*)requeyxar. For the meaning ‘to torment, to oppress, to press hard upon’, speakers of Old Portuguese used a variety of other verbs.\textsuperscript{321}

24. The word family of *queyxar* shows considerably fewer ramifications in Old Portuguese than in Old Spanish. There is only vestigial evidence of the existence of the *requeyxar* branch; this evidence is important as a link in our reconstruction because of the absence of transitive (*a*)queyxar. In a document from Lamego (A.D. 1352) *requeyxado* stands for ‘acanhado, estreito, oprimido e...

\textsuperscript{315} Cuydando que algum venado tenian arrequezado en algun lugar ‘thinking that they had somewhere cornered a game’ (3).

\textsuperscript{317} En tan grand arrequezamiento nunca fueron como nos agora somos ‘they have never experienced such misery as we do at present’.

\textsuperscript{318} CAjuda fols. 95b, 102b, 106a, 123a, 125b, 144a, 148ab, 154ab, 161a, etc.; Cant. d’amigo, Nos. 1, 2, 73, 143, 181, 195, 208, 256, etc.; Eufros. fols. 46ro, 49ro; Barlan, fol. 33ro; SAnt. 230; SBento, fol. 22; DRodrigo 153, 158; Graall fol. 47; Cr. Joao I 270, 278, 319; CGeral 1.55, 57, 158, 246. The verb is normally connected with de or ende, infrequently with contra: MPaulo, fol. 9ro; Graall, fol. 31.


\textsuperscript{320} Graall, fols. 11, 29, 39, 45; Canc. Geral 1.194, 409.

\textsuperscript{321} These words include: aficar Cant. d’am., No. 303; DRodr. 148; Mar. Eg. A fol. 51ro; Barl. fol. 1vo; anajar Barl. fol. 17ro; apremar Barl. fol. 1ro; atormentar ibid., fol. 11ro; britar ibid., fol. 7ro; coytar CAjuda, fols. 90b, 100b, 107b beside cuytar ibid. 82a and acotyar, Hist. de Abrev. Test. Velho in Flor. Lit. Arc. (acotyar-se ‘to despair’ Vita Christi, ibid.); fazer nojo a Barl., fol. 11ro; penar Cant. d’am., No. 66; quebrantar: SBento, fol. 56, Barl., fol. 20vo; tribular Barl., fol. 16vo.
THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *que(i)xar* 175

também despovoado' (Elucidário s.v.), a use which suggests the existence, at an earlier date, of transitive *requexzar* comparable to OSp. *(ar)requexzar.* From *aqueyxar* the derivative *aqueyxamento* has been recorded.

Very common from the outset and found in many styles was *queyxume.* As previously pointed out, Sp. *quejumbre* is a belated adaptation of Lusoleonese *queyxume.* On the other hand, the two current Old Castilian postverbal nouns *quexo* and *queixa* had no equivalents in Old Portuguese. Significantly enough, *queixa* appears a few times in the Cancioneiro Geral in poems written by Portuguese authors in Spanish, this indicates the channel through which it was ultimately absorbed, not without being reshaped to resemble the native stem *queixer* another of those disguises which eluded the attention of the older school of phonologists. For ‘pain, torment, hardship, lamentation’, writers of Old Portuguese had a wide variety of expressions at their disposal, including *afam,* *choro,* *cuydado,* *cuyta* beside *cuyta,* and similar formations, mostly known from Old Spanish.

---

222 On *requéijitos* in the Transmontano dialect see footnote 343.
224 CAjuda, lines 3147, 10065, 10077; Cantigas d'am., Nos. 58, 103, 113, 127, 159, 201, 202, 268, 288, 289, 380, 393, 453; Carta d'El-Rei D. Dinis (A.D. 1279), Elucidário 2.171; Foral de Tomar, ibid.; Fabulário Português, ed. Leite de Vasconcelos, fol. 30vo; Livro de Falcoaria 51; Marco Paulo fol. 25vo; Fernão Lopes, Cron. João I 4, 7, 94, 43, 78, 79, 84, 106, 108, 109, 110, 176, 200, 237, 252, 258, 324, 325, 334, 360; Docum. A. D. 1563, ed. A. d'Azevedo, RL 15:115. The current constructions were: *aver queyxume de* 'to complain of'; *fazer queyxume de* 'to express one's anger at'; *perder queyxume* 'to become cheerful again'. The suffix -ume in Old Portuguese was either masculine or feminine, as is true also of -agem; cf. *a mansedume* CAjuda, fols. 214b, 217b; *as chorumes* Amaro, fol. 116vo; *legumes molhados* Mar. Eg. B 187 beside *legumes molhadas* Mar. Eg. A, fol. 53ro. *Costume* was preeminently masculine: Graall, fols. 3 (three times), 19; Mar. Eg. B 188, 190, 199; DRodr. 142; SBento 91; Eufr., fols. 42vo, 43ro; Barl., fols. 20ro, 20vo; CGeral 1.220, 224, 226. *Ceume(s)* 'jealousy' and *queyxume* were hardly ever accompanied by a word that would permit identification of their gender.
225 E.g. in Dom Joam de Meneses (1.138), Duarte de Brito (1.381).
226 CAjuda, fols. 99b, 100a, 115a, 156b, 165b, 183a, 190b, 191b, 219a, 227a, 242b; Cant. d'Am., Nos. 7, 243; Graall, fol. 69.
227 Cod. Alc. 200, fol. 198ro; Amaro, fols. 116ro, 120ro; Ant. 67, 68; Graall, fol. 13; Mar. Eg. A, fol. 63vo B, 194; CGeral 1.73, 344.
228 Cuydado Barl., fols. 2ro, 3ro. *Cuydado* CGeral 1.24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 38, 39, 44, etc. O cuydár CAjuda, fol. 97a.
229 *Coyta* CAjuda, fols. 87b (three times), 88a (twice), 88b (twice), 89b, 90a (twice), 90b (three times), 91b (twice), 92a, 92b, 96a, 99b, etc.; Cant. d'am., Nos. 1, 9, 10, 26, 44, 55, 85, 119, 129, 130, 138, etc.; Graall, fols. 1, 2, 8, 12, 15, 24, 27, 52; Ant. 70; DRodr. 149; Barl., fols. 1ro, 2ro, 3ro, 10vo, 22vo, 34vo. *Cuyta* CAjuda, fols. 8ib, 82a (twice), 82b, 84a, 88a (three times), 89b, 90a (three times), 91b, 93b, 96a, 97b, etc. *Coyta* Amaro, fol. 116ro. Cf. *moimento* 'tomb' (Graall, fol. 19; Barl., fol. 6ro) beside *muimento* (Graall), fol. 19.
A point of special interest is the existence in Old Portuguese of *queyxoso and *queyxsamente in the face of the absence of *queyxo and *queyxa. That -oso in Latin and Romance is a nominal suffix cannot be questioned. Three explanations suggest themselves: the intermediary links *queyxo, *queyxa may have existed in the West prior to their disappearance in the preliterary period; *queyxoso may have been borrowed from the East, while no need was felt for the absorption of OSp. queixo, queixa (at least, not until the 16th century); or queyxoso may have been, by way of exception, developed directly from the verb in imitation of such sets as chorar : choro : choroso; querelar : querela : quereloso; coytar : coytia : coytoso. A decision cannot easily be reached on the basis of the available material; it would seem that the last interpretation is the most plausible.

Because of the archaic character of the Old Portuguese lexicon, it is not unimportant that queyxar-se was by no means the standard word for ‘wailing, complaining’. There existed a host of competing expressions, many of which go back to well-known Latin bases. This would favor the view (although it cannot serve as a positive proof) that queyxar-se, in contrast to those traditional words and combinations of words, is a comparatively recent newcomer to the semantic area under study. Synonyms of queyxar-se include: braadar and its variants, carpir(-se), chorar, fazer chanto (planto), fazer doo (or door) querellar-se; 1.339. 


336 Cant. d’am., Nos. 1, 8, 13, 68, 117, 128, 140, 142, etc.; Amaro, fols. 112vo, 113ro, 116ro, 116vo, 117ro, 117vo, 118ro, 119vo, 120ro, 121ro; Barl., fols. 7vo, 8vo, 9vo, 11ro, 24ro; Graall, fols. 1, 2, 10, 13, 15, 19, 23, 36, 53, and passim. In most of these instances chorar refers to the crying and wailing of men. Characteristic combinations are: chorar mui fortemente, chorar mui de coração, chorar feramente, chorar doerosamente, chorar amargosamente, chorar muito dos seus olhos.

337 SNic. 583, 586; Tr. dévé., fol. 149vo; Eufr., fol. 46ro; Ant. 66. 338 SNic. 583; Amaro, fols. 116ro, 116vo; Ant. 66; Graall, fols. 11, 13, 26, 27, 34, 37, 44, 47, 53, 59.
in addition to some rarer circumlocutions. Most of them are represented in other Hispanic dialects as well, and many of them are Pan-Romanic or at least extend over a vast coherent area of Romance speech.

VII. THE que(i)xar FAMILY IN PENINSULAR, AMERICAN, AND JUDEO-SPANISH DIALECTS

25. The record of que(i)xar in the ancient literary languages may be supplemented by the evidence supplied by modern dialects. In Asturias and adjacent areas the medieval requezo 'straits, ravine, slope' is continued by requejá 'poor terrain in a slope', listed by García Lomas, and by requezada 'rincón escondido', listed by Rato y Hevia. The latter is also familiar with arrequezaú 'arrinconado, escondido', a relic of a verb extinct in standard Spanish long before 1400. Aqueixar and aqueixo are supposedly extant in Galician.

In the nearby Transmontano dialect there is requejito 'mexericos, murmurações'; the Portuguese provincialism queixagens 'guelras de peixe' has presumably branched off from queixo in its anatomic acceptation. Quejumbre and quejume are both extant on Galician ground; quejumbrarse 'to complain' has been encountered in Cuba, while quejambre 'complaint' and quejambroso 'plaintive' (derived through suffix-change) are found in Colombia and possibly other American territories. Quejizo has been recorded in the Northwest of the Peninsula; the same suffix (or possibly -to < -tivo as explained in Lang. 17.110) and the prefix re- suggestive of intensity and repetition appear in Salam. requejio 'deep moaning indicating sharp pain'. A facetious effect may be ascribed to queixón 'querulous person, croaker', extending from Western Asturias to Upper Ara

---

239 Trat. de Teol. 38; Ant. 66; CGeral 1.436.
241 Out of many dozen glossaries consulted, the following have yielded information. For Asturias, A. de Rato y Hevia, Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables (Madrid, 1891); for La Montaña, G. A. García Lomas y García Lomas, Estudio del dialecto popular montañés (San Sebastián), and for Western Asturias, B. Acevedo y Huelves and M. Fernández y Fernández, Vocabulario del bable de occidente (Madrid, 1932). For Modern Galician, J. Cuveiro Piñol, Diccionario gallego (Barcelona, 1876) and M. Lugris Freire, Gramática do idioma galego (La Coruña, 1922). For Leonese, J. de Lamano y Beneite, El dialecto vulgar salmantino (Salamanca, 1915). For Latin America, F. J. Santamaría, Diccionario general de americanismos; C. Gagini, Diccionario de costarricenseos (San José, 1919); A. Batres Jáuregui, Vicios del lenguaje y provincialismos de Guatemala (Guatemala, 1892).
242 Galician glossaries are notoriously inaccurate in distinguishing between the ancient and the modern language.
243 See C. de Figueiredo, Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa.
244 Quejambre, labeled as 'vulgar' by Santamaría, is localized by Alemany in his dictionary. Concerning the use of quejambre, Gagini informs us that 'dicese de una que es muy quejumbres cuando se queja por el más leve motivo o dolor'.
245 In the same area quejio is said to stand for 'quejigo'.
gon,” and to queixudo in the West, with -ón and -udo serving to characterize an individual by a salient feature. Quejoso has survived in Western Asturias; in Mexico it exists as the name of a bird ("saltator atriceps"). A presumably ancient type quejizu, quejizoso, involving the -iceu suffix, prevails in Eastern Asturias. Quejita is used in Guatemala: ‘Entre niños, y aun entre adultos, se oye mucho decir quejititas por quejumbroso’.

26. Very few pertinent data have been discovered in Judeo-Spanish dialects, ancient or modern. The reason may be that in expressing emotions, Spanish Jews used in part Hebrew words (as has been shown with regard to oinar ‘to lament’ by L. Feiler Sachs348), in part Latin and Romance formations of very old date, in accord with their pronounced conservatisim.349 Quezarse and quexa are recorded, and aquezar continues in individual dialects.

VIII. THE NUCLEUS OF THE ETYMOLOGICAL PROBLEM

27. The considerable body of references so far given on the occurrence of que(y)xar and its congeners in various offshoots of Ibero-Romance can be organized so as to justify the proposed etymology.

(a) Transitive quezar, unknown to Old Portuguese, is found in 13th-century Castilian texts as a military term meaning ‘to press, to hammer’. It survived for two or three more centuries in various figurative senses.

(b) Reflexive que(i)xar, meaning both ‘weeping, wailing’ and ‘complaining’, has existed since the Middle Ages from the Atlantic up to Aragon.

(c) The postverbal nouns quexo and quexa are characteristic of Old Castilian. They are absent from Old Portuguese, where queixo stands for ‘jaw, chin’, as does queix in Catalan; their Old Castilian counterpart has been overlaid by que-x-ada. MPtg. queixa is a late Castilianism. At the outset quexo and queixa reflect the meanings of transitive quezar, thus suggesting its relatively high age. Quejo has survived in the Antilles (and in cant).

(d) Queixume is current in Old Portuguese and Old Leonese from the 13th century. It exhibits a use of -ume familiar from azedume, ciúme. OSp. que-jambre is rare, late, and abnormal in its use of -umbre; it may be classed as a Lusitanism along with pendencia, cariño, soledad, echar de menos. Quejambre is a Spanish American variant.

348 See Kuhn, Der hocharagonesische Dialekt 46. But Tilander, Los Fueros de Aragón (Lund, 1937), records only quellerar and its cognates, not quezar.
349 For the sources used, see footnote 358.
350 See her note on oinar ‘endear’, RFE 23.192-3.
351 See the various writings of D. S. Blondheim on this subject.
360 Here are some of the findings: MS Esc. I-j-3, Gen. 19.15 aquezar ‘to urge’. Prov. Mor. MS Esc., quatrains 63d, 457d: quezarse; 437b, 527d: queza; 191d: dar vozes aquezadas; 654a: quezoso. Proverbs: Besso, No. 154: quezarse, Foulché-Delbosc, No. 395: quejarse, No. 756: queja (Nos. 324, 659: quejada ‘mandíbula’). Biblia de la Casa de Alba, Jes. 7: aquezar la tierra ‘to oppress the land’. On aquíjar see RH 79.452. For the use of apretar, see MPH. 1.208; Coplas de Yócef, line 138. In this last poem, notice los kuerpos kuitados, line 44; tyorar de los ojos, line 149; tomar kordosis ‘to be distressed’, line 150; ir (or ser) manziliyado ‘to feel compassion for’, line 162.
(e) Que(i)xoso was incident both to the West and to the Center; so was the corresponding adverb. The formation persists in Northern Spain. The situation in Old Portuguese, where postverbal nouns are lacking, leads to the belief that que(i)xoso was patterned directly on que(i)xar in imitation of sets like chorar : choro : choroso, but other explanations are possible. Quejiz(os)o is found in Asturias.

(f) OSp. aque'znar ‘to press upon, to hunt, to pursue’ is a common transitive verb; a few instances of aque'zarse ‘to wail’ are recorded. In Old Portuguese only the reflexive type exists. Aquexnar, as a transitive verb, outlived quezxnar, both in the literary language and in dialects. Derivatives from aque(i)xar are mostly late and etymologically irrelevant.

(g) The ancient branch requeznar has left scattered reflexes in Alphonsine monuments, conservative dialects, and place names all along the line of the Cantabrian Mountains. In Asturias requez-o, -ada at various points mean ‘slope, ravine, corner’. In ancient texts the word stands also for ‘straits’. The basic idea is ‘squeezing in’. In the West we find requeixado (Lamego, 14th century). An equally old sub-branch with derivatives of its own and dialectal remnants, again in Asturias, is arrequeznar.

28 On the basis of these data the following interpretation suggests itself In contrast to llurar, plañir, querez-zarse, the word under study belongs to a comparatively recent stratum: it did not originate in the Imperial Latinity as a consequence of what Jud calls the ‘nova provincialis superbia’ reacting against the ‘remedium Italicum’ nor is there reason to surmise that it came into

Planh'ere shows a very complex development in Ibero-Romance. There exist two verbal types: plañir, -er (S. M. Eg., fol. 8d; C. Maynes, chapter 41; Ottas, chapters 24, 42, 45; Apol., quatrains 244; Alex. P, quatrains 1217e; RimPal. N, quatrains 819, 969c, 1465b; E, 1472a, 1477d; Bibl. Alba, Jes. 30; CBAena 41; Sátira 57, 59, Canc. cast. 2.751a), still applicable in poetical language nowadays; and plañer (Zifar 480, Plác., fol. 26c, Cresc., chapter 22). Accordingly, there exist two nouns, llanto and planto, but with an inverse ratio of frequency: the former occurs Zifar 45, 66, 154, 385; Leom. 106, 107, 147, 148, 162, 168, etc.; Guill., fol. 35b; Cresc., chapters 11, 29; Ottas, chapters 25, 33; Grail, fol. 235vo; Barl., fols. 132ro, 204ro; ConfAm., fols. 35vo, 47ro, 112ro, 119ro, 156ro, 378vo; Sátira 58; Canc. cast. 2.700a; the latter is used rarely, e.g. Alex. P, quatrains 1216a (not conclusive, since Aragonese); ConfAm., fols. 46vo, 67ro, 95ro, 156vo, 163vo, 184vo, 375vo; El Corbacho, see BRAE 10.172; CBAena 621; Canc. cast. 2.653a. Actually the form that has survived is llanto, not planto. The situation is even more intricate in Old Portuguese, where the three forms chant'ero (SANt. 198; SBERN., line 129), plant'ero (SBERN., line 145), and pranto (MPaulo, fol. 9ro) seem to coexist. In the East, where pl- was preserved, there is no such multiplicity of reflexes. It would seem that planh'ero was the traditional, vernacular verb in Ibero-Romance for ‘to weep, to complain’ (cf. Fr. se plaindre, It. piangere) long before que(i)xar had come into existence. Phono logical trends led to the form *plañ'her, beside *plan'to < planctu. In the former case there was a sequence of two palatal groups, in the latter there was none. So there was a tendency to give preference to the regressive form plañir in the case of the verb and at the same time to accept the fully developed variant llanto in the case of the noun. Influence of Church Latin may have further complicated the case. Plañir was ultimately displaced through the success of que(i)xar-se and because of the unpopularity of all verbs terminating in -ñir due to their inflexional complexity. For occasional vacillation in Old Aragonese, cf. in El cuento de Tristan de Leonis, ed. Northup, plañer (fol. 29 vo) beside plañer (fols. 33 vo, 58 ro, 70 ro, 75 vo) and planto (fol. 81 ro).

existence under the Visigoths, when military terms were largely Germanic, and when linguistic neologisms reached the entire peninsula from Toledo as the radiation center. Before the invasion of the Moors, presumably only *queixo ‘jaw’ < capsu existed in an area extending from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Subsequently this area was interrupted by a central zone in which quex-ada evicted the older formation.

It is among the warriors of Christian Spain, between the 8th and the 10th century, that que(i)xar ‘to press between the jaws’ and subsequently ‘to squeeze, to crush, to smash’ must have sprung into existence. Whether que(i)xar or aque(i)xar represents the older variant can no longer be determined. Aque(i)xar resembles in its structure such Hispanic derivatives as apear, apretar, abraçar, with bases denoting parts of the body (pede, pectore, bracchio). The reque(i)xar branch is also traceable to the first millennium and disintegrated at an early date. The connection between the new verbal derivatives and the underlying noun que(i)xo < capsu was not immediately forgotten, as is demonstrated by the reluctance of Western speakers to admit the postverbal nouns, which were freely used in the Center, after *que(i)xo ‘jaw’ had been suffered to submerge in that area.

The shift from the transitive to the reflexive use must have preceded by centuries the beginning of the literary era. As bridges between the two branches we may single out: (1) quexado, combining, as similar formations do in Ibero-Romance, active and medio-passive-reflexive functions; (2) expressions like tengo el corazón quexado, quézaseme el corazón, reminiscent of English heart-breaking, heartrending, heartbroken; Germ. herzzerreissend, herzzeklemmen, herzzeukommen; Fr. avoir le coeur serré; Russ. u mena serdce zheimets (ot boli, ot užasa), and similarly figurative expressions in other languages. That querellar, through the identity of the first syllable, may have accelerated this shift, just as, according to Gilliéron, grossus and grassus helped grandis to prevail over magnus, is readily granted; attention is also drawn to quexdar < quaesitāre, preserved in Mozarabic, which may have exercised a potent influence on the semantic development of our word, conceivably in the 11th century, when the Christians overran Toledo, merging with the Mozarabs.

29. The further development is perfectly transparent. Only one phase seems to require elaboration. Since Portuguese in so many respects is more conservative than Castilian, it is surprising that the original function of the word should have been maintained in the Center over a longer period of time than in the West. For this anomaly only a tentative explanation, transcending the limits of technical linguistic analysis, can be offered here. It appears from a study of the available Alphonsine material that transitive quezar and its variants are more commonly found in the second part of the Primera Crónica General, dealing with the history of Spain, than in the first part, concerned with Greece and Rome, or in the General Estoria, based on the Old Testament. We know from Menéndez Pidal that this second part of the chronicle, while written toward the end of

---

293 This is indeed the normal syntactic development. For cases of the reverse shift, see H. Schuchardt, ZRPh. 32.231-3 (alapári, admíráři).

294 This explanation has been endorsed by Meyer-Lübke,RLiR 1.26.
the 13th century, contains prose renderings of early epics, mostly no longer extant. That an epic tradition did exist in Castile and failed to develop in Portugal, is accepted by all students of medieval Hispanic literature. On this statement we are inclined to elaborate by adding that the epic tradition may have carried with it certain characteristic words and expressions, among them several pertaining to military operations. These words, then, counter to the general trend, were more faithfully preserved in Castile than in the peripheral dialects; witness the history of \( (a)sossegar < subsecäre \) ‘to emasculate’, then ‘to tame, to conquer (an enemy)’, finally ‘to appease’, perhaps \( omne nado > nadi(e) \) is also traceable to a Castilian epic tradition. Literary historians and etymologists can collaborate fruitfully in the reconstruction of this lost epic tradition, provided each group prepares its documentation independently, without premature mutual interference, and without recourse to technically dubious criteria. Only then can the results of their separate researches claim genuine scientific value.

355 On the stratification of the chronicle, see Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia en la recepción de D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1916).
356 See PhilQ 23.297–306.
358 The following Old Spanish sources have been used (arranged in an approximately chronological order): Cantar de Mio Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1908–11); El Libro de Alexandre: Texts of the Paris and the Madrid Manuscripts, ed. R. S. Willis Jr. (Elliott Monographs 32; Princeton-Paris, 1934); Gonzalo de Berceo, Obras, ed. F. Janer in Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV (BAE 57; Madrid, 1864); idem, Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, ed. J. D. Fitz-Gerald (Paris, 1904); idem, Veintitrés Milagros, ed. C. Carroll Marden (RFE Anejo 10; Madrid, 1929); idem, Cuatro Poemas, ed. C. Carroll Marden (RFE Anejo 9; Madrid, 1928); El Libro de Apolonio, ed. C. Carroll Marden (Elliott Monographs 6, 11–2; Princeton–Paris, 1917–22); Poema de Fernán González, ed. C. Carroll Marden (Baltimore, 1904); Elena y María (Disputa del Clérigo y el Caballero), ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, RFE 1.52–96; Razón de Amor, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, RH 13.602–18; L’ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, ed. C. G. Allen (Macon, 1906); Alfonso el Sabio, Primera Crónica General de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (BAE 5; Madrid, 1906) idem, General Estoria, Primera parte, ed. A. G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1930); Flores de Filosofia, ed. H. Knust, in Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas 11–83 (SBE 17; Madrid, 1878); Historia Troyana en prosa y en verso, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal and E. Varón Vallejo (RFE Anejo 18; Madrid, 1934); D. Juan Manuel, El Libro de la Caza, ed. G. Baist (Halle, 1880); idem, El Libro del Cavallero e del Escudero, ed. S. Gräfenberg, RF 7.427–550; idem, El Libro de los Enximpios del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio, ed. H. Knust and A. Birch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1900); Juan Ruiz, Libro de Buen Amor, ed. J. Ducamin (Toulouse-Paris, 1901); El Libro del Cavallero Zifar, ed. C. P. Wagner (Ann Arbor, 1929); Poema de Alfonso Onceno, ed. F. Janer (Madrid, 1863); Leomarte, Sumas de Historia Troyana, ed. A. Rey (RFE Anejo 15; Madrid, 1932); Spanish Grail Fragments, ed. K. Pietsch (Chicago University Press, 1924–3); La Vida de Santa Catalina and La Estoria de Santa María Epíceica, ed. H. Knust, in Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca (Halle, 1890); Un noble cuento del Emperador Carlos Maynes de Rroma, ed. J. Amador de los Rios, in Historia crítica de la literatura española 5.344–91 (Madrid, 1864); El cuento muy fermoso del Emperador Ottas de Rroma, ibid. 391–468; Fermoso cuento de una sancta Enperatriz que ovo en Rroma, ed. A. Mussafia, in Eine altspanische Prosadarstellung der Crescentiasage, Sitzungsbl. Wien 53.508–62; La Leyenda del Cavallero del Cisne, ed. E. Mazorriaga (Madrid, 1914); Estoria del Rrey Guillelme, ed. H. Knust, in SBE 17.123–57; El Libro de la Vida de Barlan e del Rey Josapha, ed. G. Moldenhauer, in Die Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat auf der iberischen Halbinsel (Halle, 1929); Vida e Costumbres de
los Antiguos Filósofos, ed. H. Knust, in Gualteri Burlaei Liber de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum nebst einer altspanischen Übersetzung (LVS 177; Tübingen, 1886); La Flor de las Ytorias de Orient by Hayton Prince of Gorigos, ed. W. R. Long (University of Chicago Press, 1934); El Libro de Marco Polo, ed. H. Knust and R. Stübe (Leipzig, 1902); Revelación de un Hermitiano, ed. O. de Toledo [and A. Morel-Fatio], ZPh. 2.45-9, 63-9; Poesías del Canciller P. López de Ayala, ed. A. F. Kuersteiner (New York, 1920); Poema de José, ed. M. Schmitz, RF N.315-411, 623-7; C. Sánchez de Vercial, Libro de los Enemigos por a.b.c., ed. P. de Gayangos, in Escrctores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV (BAE 51; Madrid, 1860); La Danza de la Muerte (Bibl. Hisp., 1907); Confisión del Amante por Joan Goer, ed. H. Knust and A. Birch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1909); A. Martínez de Toledo, El Arcipreste de Talavera o sea El Corbacho, ed. L. B. Simpson (University of California Press, 1939); El Cancionero de Baena, ed. E. de Ochoa and P. J. Pidal (Madrid, 1851); El Condestable de Portugal, Sátira de felicè infelice vida, ed. A. Paz y Mèlia, in Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI 45-101 (SBE 29; Madrid, 1892); Castigos e doctrinas que un sabio dava a sus fíjitos, ed. H. Knust in SBE 17.255-93; M. Diego de Valera, Epístolas enbiadas en diversos tiempes e a diversas personas, ed. J. A. de Balenchana (SBE 16; Madrid, 1878); Diego de Cañizares, Libro de los siete sabios de Roma, ed. A. Paz y Mèlia, in SBE 29.3-44; Alfonso de Palencia, Dos tratados, ed. A. M. Fabié (Libros de antaño 5; Madrid, 1976); Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (NBAE 19; Madrid, 1912-5); Lucas Fernández, Élogos y farsas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano, ed. M. Cañete (Madrid, 1887).

Further information was obtained from the Diccionario Histórico, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1933); from J. Cejador y Frauca, Vocabulario medieval castellano (Madrid, 1929); V. R. B. Oelschläger, A Medieval Spanish Word List (Madison, 1940); J. M. Aguado, Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz (Madrid, 1929); H. B. Richardson, An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor (Yale University Press, 1930); J. Keller, Contribución al vocabulario del Poema de Alixandre (Madrid, 1932); M. A. Zeitlin, A Vocabulary to the Rimado de Palacio de Canciller López de Ayala (Berkeley, 1931; typescript, Library of the University of California); J. Mir y Noguera, Frases de los autores clásicos españoles (Madrid, 1899); E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gómez, and E. Iñaya, Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua castellana; A. de Pagés, Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana. There is no reference to aquejar in Cuervo’s Diccionario de construcción y régimen. The writer has finally consulted word-lists prepared by Mrs. C. G. Ross, Miss R. D. House, and Mr. E. J. Webber, of the Graduate Division of his university.


The Etymology of Hispanic que(i)xar
Yakov Malkiel
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0097-8507%28194507%2F09%2921%3A3%3C142%3ATEOHQ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W

This article references the following linked citations. If you are trying to access articles from an off-campus location, you may be required to first logon via your library web site to access JSTOR. Please visit your library's website or contact a librarian to learn about options for remote access to JSTOR.

[Footnotes]

30 More about *Questiare > Quezar
Américo Castro
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193904%297%3A2%3C169%3AMA*Q%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C

31 Spanish Etymologies
Mack Singleton
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193807%296%3A3%3C206%3ASE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F

55 Spanish Caja, Quejar, Quijada
Edwin H. Tuttle
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193710%295%3A4%3C349%3ASCQQ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H

62 Spanish Caja, Quejar, Quijada
G. G. Nicholson
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193901%297%3A1%3C72%3ASCQQ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N

NOTE: The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.
66 SP. quejarse 'complain.': OS. quexar 'constrain'
C. C. Rice
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28194104%29%3A9%3A2%3C309%3ASQ%027%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y

67 Quexar
Lawrence Poston, Jr.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193901%29%3A7%3A1%3C75%3AQ%027%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y

70 More about *Questiare > Quexar*
Américo Castro
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193904%29%3A7%3A2%3C169%3AQA%027%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C

90 Designations of the Cheek in the Italian Dialects
Henry R. Kahane
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0097-8507%28194107%2F09%29%3A17%3A3%3C212%3ADOTCT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R

111 Spanish Caja, Quejar, Quijada
Edwin H. Tuttle
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193710%29%3A5%3A4%3C349%3ASACQ%027%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H

144 The Etymology of Portuguese deixar, Spanish dejar, Sicilian dassari
C. C. Rice
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193810%29%3A6%3A4%3C351%3AETOPDS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W

NOTE: The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.
Review: [Untitled]
Reviewed Work(s):
   Storia della lingua di Roma by Giacomo Devoto
Urban T. Holmes, Jr.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0097-8507%28194101%2F03%2917%3A1%3C67%3ASDLDR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W

Spanish Etymologies
Mack Singleton
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193807%296%3A3%3C206%3ASE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F

The Great Patriotic War and the Russian Exiles in France
Robert H. Johnston
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0036-0341%28197607%2935%3A3%3C303%3ATGPWAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7

On the Language of the Spanish Grail Fragments-(Continued)
K. Pietsch
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0026-8232%28191603%2913%3A11%3C625%3AOTLOTS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T

Spanish Etymologies
Mack Singleton
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2176%28193807%296%3A3%3C206%3ASE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F

Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula. I
Leo Wiener
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0026-8232%28190306%291%3A1%3C205%3ASOTSJI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-D

NOTE: The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.
The Ferrara Bible.
L. Wiener
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0149-6611%28189502%2910%3A2%3C41%3ATFB%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M

Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula. II
Leo Wiener
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0026-8232%28190310%291%3A2%3C259%3ASOTSJI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X

NOTE: The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.