

## THE ENIGMA OF THE LIZARD IN ARAGONESE DIALECT

THE selection of a title which shall not be a paragraph in itself is to the philologist an ever-recurring problem. Let us therefore explain, lest in the above instance clarity should have been sacrificed to the sister virtue of brevity, that in speaking of the lizard we include the two common species, the little grey lizard (*Lacerta agilis*)<sup>1</sup> and the large green lizard (*Lacerta viridis*); further, that the district comprised by our investigations is chiefly Upper Aragon, bounded on the north by the French frontier, on the south by the line Huesca-Barbastro, and to the east and west, linguistically speaking, by Catalan and Basque respectively. As for the enigma, we refer the reader to Prof. G. Rohlfs.

In his recent book, *Le Gascon, Études de Philologie Pyrénéenne* (Halle, 1935), this scholar writes (p. 22):

Parmi les noms du petit lézard gris il y a en Gascogne plusieurs dénominations qui offrent un certain rapport phonétique avec les noms basques du reptile. Comme au point de vue de leur étymologie les noms sont tout à fait énigmatiques, rien n'est plus vraisemblable qu'ici encore il s'agisse des dernières survivances de l'ancienne langue ibérique.

There follows a list of names of the little grey lizard in south-west France, and then we read:

Au même groupe appartiennent peut-être les formes aragonaises, *sargantana*, *sagardana*, *changardana*, *sangardana*, *zirgandana*, *lingardana*, cat. *sargantana*, roussill. *singlantana*. Il n'y a aucun mot basque qui corresponde directement à ces formes. Pourtant on peut constater une certaine parenté entre les formes romanes et les formes basques dans le rythme des mots. En basque aussi, les dénominations du petit lézard sont presque toujours de quatre syllabes, cf. *sangongillu*, *surangilla*, *sumandilla*, *sugandela*, *suskandera*, *sigulinda*, *sugalinda*, etc.

The Castilian name of the small grey lizard is *lagartija*; though possessing the same rhythm as the Basque and Pyrenean forms, this term derives manifestly from the Latin *LACERTA*. In Aragon its names are numerous, but they fall readily into certain groups, and the aim of the present article is to demonstrate that they too, without exception, derive from *LACERTA*;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or *muralis*? cf. G. Bertoni, *Rom.* XLII, 161: 'Con la *lacerta muralis* il volgo confonde la così detta *lacerta agilis*.'

<sup>2</sup> We should recall that *sangartana* has already been associated by scholars with *LACERTA*. Thus in the work of G. Bertoni (*Romania*, XLII, 166) we read: 'il tipo *LACERTA* (-US) . . . prese la via del mare sotto l'aspetto di \**LACERTUS* (-A), come è manifesto per lo spagn. *lagarto*, *lagartija*, arag. *sangartana*, catal. *llagardaix*, port. *lagartixa*.' We are unable, however, to discover any previous attempt to explain the evolution by which *LACERTA* could produce the Aragonese form; M. Rohlfs does not mention the possibility of such a derivation.

consequently, that no theory of Iberian influence is necessary to explain them.<sup>1</sup>

Our first task must be to recapitulate the Aragonese forms in greater detail. In doing so we will divide them into groups, as follows:<sup>2</sup>

- (a) *sagardana* (3), *ċagardana* (2), *šagardana* (1).
- (b) *sargatana* (1), *ċargatana* (2).
- (c) *sargantana* (7), *ċargantana* (1), *šargantana* (2),  
*sargandana* (1), *šargandana* (1), *ċargandana* (1).
- (d) *sangardana* (1), *ċangardana* (1).
- (e) *šardagana* (3), *šardangana* (1), *sandangrana* (1).
- (f) *singardana* (1), *šingardana* (1), *ċingardana* (3),  
*singartata* (1), *ċingalantera* (1).
- (g) *lingardana* (1), *lingardayšina* (1).
- (h) *engardiša*, (1), *engardayšina* (2).

The types (f)–(h) are found in a region comprising the former county of Ribagorza, and the eastern parts of Sobrarbe; as is well known, changing political conditions have resulted in the creation here of an area of very mixed speech. Types (a)–(e) are localized in the more characteristically Aragonese districts of the north-west and north-centre: we should observe, however, that *sargantana* is the form of literary Catalan, while the ALF. (No. 766) shows *sergantana* side by side with *singlantana* in Roussillon. Essentially similar to the types (a)–(e) are the forms of the south and south-west: *sagardiana* (1), *sargardiana* (2), and *sagwardiana* (1).<sup>3</sup> The only forms we discovered in the entire region which do not fall into the above classification are: *salardana* (1), in the north-centre, *ċuryagana* (1), in the extreme south, and *kolembriana* (1), in the north-east.

<sup>1</sup> From the Gascon and Bearnese forms we are unable to lift the veil: some, as we shall attempt to show, would appear to have the same source as those of Aragonese and a similar development; others may have nothing more in common than certain consonants which are universally 'serpentine'. As for the Basque forms quoted by M. Rohlfs, we can only observe that the influence, if influence there has been, has probably acted in the direction usual in this region: as has been shown by M. Gavel, the influence of the neighbouring Romance on Basque has been far more considerable than that of Basque, or of the presumed Iberian substratum, on the Pyrenean dialects.

<sup>2</sup> The basis of this classification is Map no. 23 of our thesis (*De Quelques Affinités Phonétiques entre l'Aragonais et le Béarnais*, Droz, 1938), a reference to which will indicate the localities in which each form is used. The figures in brackets after each name show the number of villages, among the forty-eight of our original investigations, in which the different forms were noted, and thereby give some idea of their relative frequency. In the transcription *ċ* = zeta [θ], *š* = Eng. *sh*, *ċ* = Cast. *ch*, *t* = Cast. *ll*. Except where indicated, the tonic accent falls on the penultimate syllable.

<sup>3</sup> The ending *-yana* is probably due to the analogy of the names of the large green lizard, some of which, as will be observed, end with the augmentative suffix *-aċo*, while others show the Aragonese form *-yaċo*, which derives from *-ellum*, but would seem to have lost its original diminutive force.

To explain these many forms we would first postulate that in early Aragonese the little grey lizard was called *\*lagartana*, a name deriving like the Cast. *lagartija* from LACERTA, but with the characteristic Pyrenean suffix *-ana*; used with the article the term would be *\*la lagartana*. It would be small wonder that the Aragonese should shorten this to *\*la gartana*: examples of the loss of initial *l* of LACERTA, through deglutination, are quite common in the Romance speeches (cf. G. Bertoni, *loc. cit.*). Let us now further suppose—a point to which we shall return later—that in Old Aragonese there also existed an article *so*, *sa*, (< IPSUM, -A). Then side by side with *\*la gartana* we should have *\*sa gartana*; is it not very feasible that when the article from IPSUM ceased to be used *\*sagartana* should be construed as a single word?

If this be conceded, then type (a) cited above, *sagardana*, etc., is simply *\*sagartana*, with the voicing of *t* after *r* which is usual in Aragonese, while type (b), *sargatana*, etc., is the same form with anticipation of the *r*. In type (c), *sargantana*, etc., we have type (b) with an additional *n* due to anticipation of the *n* of the suffix—the voicing of *t* after *n* to be observed in many of the Aragonese forms is another feature of the dialect, as is also the passage of initial *s* to *š* or *č*. Type (d), *sangardana*, etc., is type (c) with metathesis of the *r* and the first *n*. Type (e), *sardagana*, etc., shows the various phenomena illustrated in the previous types, together with metathesis of the *d* and the *g*. In types (f), *singardana*, etc., (g), *lingardana*, etc., and (h) *engardiša*, etc., we find a change in the quality of the initial vowel—this may be explained as a dissimilation, but we recall that the instability in Aragonese of the unstressed initial vowel was observed by the earliest writers on the subject. Type (g) is interesting as showing the only examples of the survival in this word of the *l* of either ILLUM or LACERTA to the detriment of the *s* of IPSA; in the isolated form *salardana* both forms of article have been incorporated, while the *g* from LACERTA has been lost. The change of suffix to be observed in *singartata*, classified under type (f), extends further west into Pallars, for which district M. J. Corominas records *sengatalla*, *singuetalla* (*Bull. de Dial. Cat.*, XXIII, 309). Influence of another word may account for the form *čuryagana*, but in all probability it is simply another phonetic variation. Only in the one remaining form do we find a word which cannot be explained by LACERTA; it is *kolembrina*, which obviously derives from COLUBRA (cf. Sicil. *culuxerta*, *coluxerta*, < COLUBRA + LACERTA, G. Bertoni, *loc. cit.*), though the present form may have been modelled on an earlier word similar to the neighbouring *lingardana*.

The plausibility of the above theory now depends on our proving the former existence in Aragon of an article deriving from IPSUM.

That this is probable is at once apparent. In medieval MSS. from all parts of the Peninsula IPSE is frequently used as an article, without demonstrative force. It is moreover well known that the article *es (so) sa sos sas*, still used in the archaic Catalan of Majorca, was current on the Catalan mainland as late, at least, as the thirteenth century (A. Grier, *Gramàtica Històrica del Català Antic*, p. 77). In the fourteenth century these forms were proscribed as 'barbarisms' by the *Leys d'Amors*. Relics of their former use are also to be found in Gascony in such names as *Sacase* (La Maison), *Sarrieu* (La Rivière), *Sapène* (Le Rocher), etc.; similar forms are to be found in the oldest Latin MSS. of the Abbaye de l'Escale Dieu in the province of Bigorre: *ecclesia de sa Lana*, *ecclesia de sa Caubera*, *Santius des Bosc* (quoted from A. Luchaire by G. Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, p. 118). It would therefore not be in any way surprising should we discover survivals of the same kind in Aragonese: whether these be due to the primitive use of the article IPSUM in the Aragonese region, or to the long period of Catalan influence consequent upon the alliance of the two states in the Middle Ages, is difficult, if not impossible, to determine, but the problems surrounding the evolution of Aragonese have no particular bearing on the question at present under consideration.

We have therefore to ask: what other relics of the use of IPSUM as an article can we discover in modern Aragonese? Admittedly, few; yet the small harvest which our researches have yielded should prove to be of sufficient quality to convince all but the most sceptical.<sup>1</sup>

The villagers of Upper Aragon distinguish carefully, in their speech, between a mountain-flank facing the sun, and one which is usually in the shade; the former is called the *solano* or the *solanero*, while the latter, over the greater part of the region, is the *pako*, and in the eastern valleys, the *ubago* or *obago* (< OPACUM). The exact distribution of these forms is shown by Map no. 16 of our thesis. At Benasque alone there exists a form *sobago*; while one should not forget the possibility of the influence in this case of some other word (we have suggested the Arag. *soba*, 'cavern', *op. cit.*, p. 96), it seems highly probable that the initial *so-* is

<sup>1</sup> One should observe that according to the example of *sagardana*, etc., if the proposed etymology is correct, the -rs- of IPSUM may be represented in Aragonese by either *s*, *š*, or *č*. The first of these developments is the normal form of Castilian (cf. *ese*); the second is that of Catalan (cf. *matez*, *mateix*); the equivalence *s-č* is frequently found in Aragonese (cf. A. Kuhn, 'Der Hocharagonische Dialekt', *R.Li.R.*, XI, in which a chapter, p. 99, is entitled 'Der Wechsel θ-s'). In two of the examples given below we also find the form *č*: this may be explained by the phonetic proximity of *č* and *š*, both of which sounds correspond in Aragonese to the *jota* of Castilian (e.g. Cast. *junco*, Arag. *čungo*; Cast. *quejigo*, Arag. *kašiko*).

simply the former article *so*, deriving from *IPSUM*; incidentally, it is by no means unlikely that the disappearance of the initial *o* in the more widespread form, leaving *pako*, is due to the death of the definite article in the expression *\*so opako*, reduced to *\*so pako*.

This isolated example from Benasque may seem to lose in value from the fact that the village in question is situated in Eastern Aragon, near the Catalan border. We are able, however, to produce another example, similarly isolated, from the extreme west of Aragon.

Near the Basque Country, in the small town of Hecho, the '*vertedero de aguas sucias*' is known as *sokanitato* (A. Kuhn, *Der Hocharagonesische Dialekt*, p. 177). Now the usual terms in Aragonese for any form of spout or gutter to carry water are *kanal*, *kanalera*. The antiquity of the use of this radical in Aragonese is proved by its very frequent appearance in place-names; thus we find springs bearing the names *kanaleta* (Biescas) and *kananeta* (Morcat); a ravine at Osia is called the *barranco de a kanaleta*; numerous small fields have similar names, e.g. *a kanaleta* (Ascaso), *kananito* (Banaston), *as kanaliças* (Fanlo), *kanalaço* (Biescas). Despite the dissimilation of the second *a* it would seem very probable that *sokanitato* has the same origin, and that the initial *so* is the former article.

A further example is suggested by the Aragonese names of the mountain-goat. On the northern slope this animal bears such names as *isart*, *isar*, *idart*, *sarri* (G. Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, p. 21), whence the French *isard*, accepted by the Academy in 1878. The origin of this term is mysterious, and it is generally considered to be of pre-Romance stock, although there is no equivalent term in modern Basque. According to M. W. Giese it is probably cognate with the Basque *izar*, 'star'; thus the names would be due to the white patch on the animal's forehead. However that may be, what is of more immediate interest to us is the presence in Aragon of a number of forms obviously similar in origin, some of which commence with *i*, and others with *i* preceded by the consonant *s*, *š* or *č*. The most widespread term in Aragon is *sarrio*. This form is quoted by Borao and defined thus: *cabra montés; quizá del francés Isard* (*Diccionario de Voces Aragonesas*, 2nd ed. Zaragoza, 1908); in the same work, however, we find the term *sisardo*, with the brief definition: *cuadrúpedo; capra rupicapra*. Unfortunately Borao does not indicate the source of the words he collected, but, having never heard mention among the Pyrenean peasants of more than one kind of mountain goat, we may assume that his *sarrio* and his *sisardo* are one and the same animal. This assumption is moreover justified by the presence in certain villages of Upper Aragon of types

similar to *sisardo*. At Benasque the current form is *išarso*, while at Bielsa our informant pronounced *čičarčé*, pl. *čičarčes* (the final *č* of the singular form represents an earlier *ts*, and thus conceals a plural, cf. *kweba del esforač*, in which *forač* represents *forats*, 'holes'—*De Quelques Affinités* . . ., p. 43 n.). To this latter locality, as well as to Plan, M. Rohlfs attributes the form *čičardo* (*loc. cit.*); at Espuña he recorded a form *šišardo*, resembling more closely the *sisardo* of Borao.

While a derivation from IPSUM would seem to be the most acceptable explanation of the initial consonant in the above forms, one might suggest that it is due to anticipation of the *s* of '*isard*'. No such explanation is possible, however, in the case of the following example.

The common nettle is known generally in Upper Aragon by the name *šordika*, side by side with which we find the variants: *ordika*, *ordiga*, *sordika*, *šordiga*, *sordiga*, *čordika*, *čordiga*, *išordika*, *išordiga*, *eyšordiga*; the last three of these forms are limited to the Eastern valleys. In Bearn the most usual forms are *urtiko*, *urtigo*, but within a restricted area one also finds *hurtiko*, *hurtigo* (*De Quelques Affinités* . . ., Map no. 19).

It is manifest that the basis of all these forms is the Latin URTICA, but Pyrenean researchers have been considerably puzzled by the variety of initial phonemes. Thus the pioneer, J. Saroïhandy, writes of them: 'C'est un type \*EX-URTICA qui a prévalu dans presque tout le Haut-Aragon' ('Vestiges de phonétique ibérienne en territoire roman', *Revue Internat. des Études Basques*, VII, 1913, p. 491 n.). One may well wonder, however, why the prefix EX should have attached itself to a substantive of this type. The improbability of such an explanation has prompted later researchers to seek elsewhere, and most of them have been led to connect the *šordika* form of Aragon with the *hurtiko* form of Bearn. That the latter derives from a former \*FURTICA is proved by the widespread use of forms with initial *f*- in Southern Italy, but \*FURTICA offers no satisfactory explanation of *šordika*. M. Alwin Kuhn suggests two possible analogies, both ingenious but neither going beyond the stage of hypothesis (*op. cit.*, p. 59). M. Rohlfs remarks that certain of the Aragonese forms seem to derive from a type \*JURTICA, but refrains from any attempt to explain this type. The simple explanation which we offer is that the mysterious initial consonant represents the -PS- of IPSA; the forms *išordika*, *eyšordiga*, etc., would thus suggest, for the Eastern region, a former article *iša*, *eyša*.

Another example is probably to be found in the word *čurikera*, which, at Banastón, near the Catalan frontier, is the name of the rabbit-



hole. In the western half of the region this meaning is expressed by the form *olikera*, but in the neighbourhood of Banastón we find such forms as *lorikera*, *lodrikera*, *dolikera*, *forikera*, which seem to suggest that the initial syllable of this word has been involved in difficulties arising from the variety of definite articles. The form *čurikera* may be compared with one of the names of the little grey lizard, *čuryagana*. All these forms probably have their origin in a type \*LAURICARIA, formed on the classical LAUREX (*De Quelques Affinités...*, p. 98 and Map no. 17).

It is difficult to find any certain example of the alternative masculine singular form *es* (representing an IPSE accented on the first syllable), on account of the many sources from which an initial *es* may derive. The difficulty is increased in Aragon by the existence of a masc. plur. *es*, which is still used in the district of Bielsa (cf. J. Saroihandy, *op. cit.*, p. 488, n.). This *es* is probably a reduction of *els* (<ILLOS), the plural form of the neighbouring valley of Benasque. We will, however, quote one word as showing a probable survival of *es* (<IPSE): in Castilian the wild thyme is called *tomillo*; at Benasque we find the name *tremonsito*, at Bielsa *tremončito*, at Torla *estremončito*.

A survey of place-names provides us with a few more possible examples. M. Alwin Kuhn gives the name of a mountain-sector at Hecho as *divisoria de la sokarrač de lenito* (*op. cit.*, p. 232); at Torla he found the name as *karračinas* (*op. cit.*, p. 209). The *karrač* in these two forms is almost certainly one and the same word, in which case *sokarrač* offers another example of IPSUM. M. Kuhn attempts to explain the form *karračinas* by KARR-, 'rock', (REW. 1696a) or CARRASCA, 'oak-tree', (REW. 1718a). We have a simpler explanation to suggest: *karrač* is in all probability a disguised plural of *karrač* (<QUADRATUM), an example of an evolution -ts > -č mentioned previously, and which must have taken place at an early date; semantically this explanation presents no difficulty.

A mountain near Linás de Broto is called *Soaso*, and another, some distance to the south-west, at Ayerbe, bears the name of *Saso*. We find no trace on the map of Aragon of a place called *Aso*, but *José Aso* was the name of our informant at Biescas, and since a large proportion of the surnames of our informants are identical with the names of neighbouring villages and hamlets, it seems very likely that *José Aso* derives his name from the same source. A similar example is to be found in the name of the hamlet *Sasé*, which may be compared with that of the neighbouring village *Burgasé*.

The sum of the above examples should suffice to persuade us of the former vitality in Aragon of an article derived from IPSE, and thereby

confirm, so far as confirmation is possible, the etymology by which we explain the Aragonese names of the small grey lizard. Before we conclude, however, there is a last example to be adduced, and perhaps the most revealing: it concerns the names of the large green lizard.

Although the two commoner types of lizard are so easily distinguished, literary Latin has but one name, *LACERTA* (*LACERTUS*), for both. Thus it is that in some Romance dialects the two closely-related reptiles have names of entirely different origin. In standard Italian the little grey lizard is *lucertola*, due to the influence of *LUCE* on *LACERTA*, whereas the name of the large green lizard is *ramarro*, the source of which is obscure. Similarly, on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, the present forms by which they are designated and distinguished would appear to have little in common.<sup>1</sup>

Not so in Spain. The Castilian forms *lagarto* and *lagartija* show that the two reptiles have always been closely associated in the minds of Castilian speakers. In Aragon, too, there is obviously a strong natural tendency to adjust the two names in such a way that the one shall be a diminutive of the other, or more precisely, to maintain the original relationship in face of the disturbance due to phonetic evolution and analogical influences. In some villages this tendency has completely succeeded. Thus at Aragüés del Puerto, in the western area, the small grey lizard is the *čargatana*, and the large green lizard is the *čargatačo*, while at Laspuña, to the

<sup>1</sup> In Bearnese the large green lizard is variously called *linčér*, *linčerno*, *linkér*, *linkerno*, *linšér*, *lawšér*, *lawzér*, *lüzérp*, *lüzér*, *lansérp*, *landér* (*De Quelques Affinités* . . ., Map No. 24). These forms in all probability have a common basis *LACERTU*, influenced by *LUCE* and by *SERPE*, and showing also the types *\*LICERTA* and *\*LANCERTA* by which M. G. Bertoni explains a number of Italian dialect varieties; it may be noted that an almost exactly similar form to the Bearnese *linčerno* is used in the Upper Engadine, a fact which is sufficient to dispose in this case of any question of Iberian influence.

In order to facilitate a comparison with the Bearnese names of the small grey lizard we will here recapitulate them, according to the results of our own investigations; reading our map from west to east we have: *šingardana*, *šisanglo*, *sanguzio*, *segundino*, *kawziyo*, *sindá*, *sendá*, *sentá*, *séndo*, *séndro*, *sinawlo*, *singrawteto*, *sengrawteto*, *sarnato*, *sernato*, *sernqto*. Of these, *šingardano*, found only at Montory, near the Basque frontier, is almost identical with certain of the Eastern Aragonese forms, and would thus appear to derive from *LACERTA*; *segundino*, peculiar to Lescun, suggests a similar origin. From the forms *singrawteto*, *sengrawteto* we may deduce that in certain villages the Bearnese have felt the need of strengthening an earlier *séndo* (perhaps on account of reduction of *-nd-* to *-n-*, which may have taken place much later in some localities than in others), for *grawto* is none other than the usual Bearnese name for the frog (< *RANUNCULA*). Although we find it impossible to offer any sound etymology for *sentá*, *sendá*, etc., we strongly suspect that they are in reality mutilated forms of *\*SAGERTANA*, for the intervocalic *-n-* commonly disappears in Bearn, and so does, in many words, the intervocalic *-g-* (G. Rohlf, *op. cit.*, p. 83). If this were so, then the Aragonese and Bearnese forms would have a common basis, and this theory is strongly supported by the fact that in central Bearn and western Aragon the common suffix is *-ANA*, while in the east of Bearn and in Bigorre the suffix is *-ACULA*, as in eastern Aragon and Pallars. These forms would thus offer an example of a very early Romance word-frontier, crossing the Pyrenees from north to south, a frontier of which we gave other examples in our thesis, and which, to our gratification, was deemed by one of the reviewers to be of particular interest.



east, their names are respectively *engardayšina* and *engardayšo*. But such an appropriate balance between the two names is, in the modern dialect, the exception rather than the rule. In many villages they have lost contact completely, although it is still apparent to the philologist that they derive from the same source.

We explain this position by the fact that the tendency to create forms *semantically* logical was opposed, in this case, by an equally strong, and sometimes stronger, tendency to the creation of forms *grammatically* logical. The conflict arose thus: Everywhere in Upper Aragon, as most usually in Castile, the names of the little grey lizard are feminine, whereas those of the large green lizard are masculine. It follows that in the names of the little grey lizard the initial *la* of LACERTA could be detached and used as the article, side by side with the alternative *sa*, without any loss of grammatical consistency; but when the Aragonese sought to adapt the names of the large green lizard to this development (the little grey lizard being much the commoner of the two species, its names would naturally serve as model), they were confronted by the fact that *la*, or *sa*, could not be employed as article with a substantive having a masculine termination. The result of this conflict of divided loyalties is seen in the fact that, while by far the greater part of the names of the little grey lizard begin with *sa* (*ša* or *ča*), the variety in the names of the large green lizard is most noticeable in the initial syllable.

Certain of these names, in all ten out of the forty-eight noted, have followed faithfully the course set by the names of the little grey lizard. The most frequent is *sagardačo*, found in four localities; elsewhere we recorded one example each of *čargatačo*, *čargaračo*, *čargargačo*, *šagardyačo*, *čargadačo*, *sangrandačo*. It should be observed that the most widespread form is the one which, according to our etymology, is the basis of the others.

The remaining forms differ considerably, but they have a common feature in that they seem to reflect a general reluctance to use an initial syllable which might be a feminine article. We present them for the contemplation of the reader: *gardačo* (1), *largandačo* (1), *tagardačo* (1), *lingardayšo* (4), *engardašo* (1), *singardayšo* (1), *engardayšo* (2), *alagarto* (1), *algardačo* (6).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The total of forty-eight is completed by *lagarto* (10), *langarto* (4), and *fardačo* (2). The Castilian form is used not only in the southern region most exposed to Castilian influence, but also in certain of the most remote villages; its ready adoption in these places would seem to indicate a very comprehensible 'dissatisfaction' with the previous local name. The *n* of *langarto* is most probably due to influence on *lagarto* of the local names of the small grey lizard (*čangardana*, *čingardana*), but it must be noted that a type \*LANCERTA is also found in Italy. With regard to *fardačo*, our first impulse was to attribute to it an

Certain of these words invite further comment. Thus in the form *gardačo*, used in a village on the western frontier of Aragon, we have proof of the reality of deglutination in the derivatives of *LACERTA* in Spain, which hitherto we have only postulated. Most curious of all, however, is the form *algardačo*, used in no less than six of the localities explored, comprising the neighbourhood of Jaca, and a considerable area north and south of that centre, bordering moreover on the district in which we find *gardačo*. It would appear from this form that the inhabitants, having rejected (one would imagine with a certain despair!) both initial *la-* and initial *sa-* (*ša-* or *ča*), and recoiling before the more drastic method of suppressing the initial syllable completely, have ingeniously and most effectively solved their problem by a metathesis of the initial *la-*, thereby obtaining the Arabic *masculine* article; this solution is manifestly well supported by the presence in literary Castilian of a number of words to which the Arabic article has been agglutinated. One may even wonder whether the name *algardačo* did not thus enter, at least partially, into the psychological orbit of such words as *alguacil*, *alcalde*, *alcázar*, etc. To anyone familiar with the large green lizard in its natural surroundings, who has suddenly become aware of it, squatting firmly on a rock, fixing the intruder with a rigid aggressive stare, this suggestion will surely not appear too fanciful. There is, moreover, evidence of a very similar play of the popular imagination in the form *sangrandačo*, used at Panticosa; this form has obviously been influenced by *san* (< *SANCTUM*) and *grande*, an association which is admirably supported by the augmentative value of the suffix.

The full significance of the other forms can only be apprehended by a comparison between the names of the two species as used in each individual locality. As typical examples of the extreme degree of detachment reached between them we may mention that in the village where the large green lizard is *tagardačo* the little grey lizard is *čagardana*, while in another locality the forms used are respectively *alagarto* and *salardana*.

It is in the eastern region that a compromise has been most successfully established. Here the difficulty provoked by the identity of the initial syllable with the feminine article has been circumvented by a change in

origin similar to that of *gardačo*, explaining the present form by associative etymology, rather than by an unusual phonetic evolution—the French *farder* and the Spanish *fardar*, ‘to dress out’, might very aptly be associated with a reptile so brightly coloured; on reference to the *Diccionario de la Academia*, however, we find that *fardacho* is given as a name of the large green lizard in Castilian, and an Arabic *ferdej* is quoted as its origin. We are unaware of the source of this etymology, as of the extent to which *fardacho* is used in the Peninsula.

the quality of the initial vowel, and the same change has taken place in the names of both species, thus permitting of a retention of contact.

The bearing of this analysis of the names of the large green lizard on our attempt to establish the etymology of the names of the little grey lizard has now doubtless become apparent. On the one hand, we have names of the little grey lizard beginning with *sa-* (*ša-* or *ča-*), the substitution of which syllable by *la* would give us a type obviously deriving from *LACERTA*; on the other hand, we have advanced ample testimony to the previous existence in Aragon of an article *sa*; but the names of the little grey lizard conform so generally to a type in *sa-* that one might still view with suspicion a theory deriving them from *LACERTA*. The names of the large green lizard supply the missing evidence: they show us side by side *gardačo*, *sagardačo*, *tagardačo*, which must surely derive from a common source, which can scarcely be any other than *LACERTU*; moreover, they bear eloquent witness to an early period of confusion in the forms of the article, when the form *sa* could have been generalized with the names of the little grey lizard, to be firmly agglutinated as its grammatical function became extinct.<sup>1</sup>

W. D. ELCOCK.

SHEFFIELD.

<sup>1</sup> We have unfortunately not been able to consult the following works in which the names of the lizard are studied: E. Klett, *Die Romanischen Eidechsennamen unter bes. Berücksichtigung von Frankreich u. Italien*, Tübingen, 1934, and A. Giera, 'Entorn de l'Atlas Linguistique de l'Italie et de la Suisse méridionale', *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica*, 1, Barcelona, 1928. It is, however, very unlikely that they have anticipated our theory, since both are previous to the work of Professor Rohlfs to which we have referred, while M. Klett is the latter's pupil.