# Studies in New Mexican Spanish

Part II, Morphology
by

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(Continuation.)1

### a) The ear-iar verbs.

§ 128. These verbs have been confused to the extent that it is almost impossible to keep them apart. From the view point of the infinitive there are no original -ear verbs in N. M. S., since they are all -iar, a change purely phonetic in its beginning.<sup>2</sup> All -ear and -iar verbs are therefore one class in N. M. S., the -iar class. For the modern N. M. S., ear verbs < Spanish -ellar as well as the -ïar < -illar verbs see b) below. These are of later development and are already being confused with the original -ear, -iar verbs. -Ear and -iar verbs had many forms in common, a cause for further confusion. Even the infinitive form, however, may be made -iar by analogy, if it did not change earlier than PASEAMOS > pasiamos, etc. To settle some of these points definitely is well nigh impossible in many cases.

All the important developments which the -ear -iar (all -iar in N. M. S.) may suffer in the New Mexican conjugation are extremely important. All are verbs of the first conjugation and in many of the tenses are exactly identical in their terminations, to whatever class they may belong. The starting point of divergence is the present tense, where the original terminations are having a hard struggle for their existence in the face of the leveling influences of analogy.

In the midst of all these confusions, a few types, either because they have undergone a complete transformation or because there is clearly a methodical and regular analogical development, can be definitely and profitably classified. The most important developments may be classified in the following six classes of the -ear -iar verbs:

- 1. -ear verbs which had a present in -eo, may keep the -eo but also admit -eyo.
- 2. -ear verbs which had a present in -eo, may keep the -eo and also admit -eyo and -\( \d io, \)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. RDR III (1911), 251-286; IV (1912), 241-256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Phonology, § 83.

- 3. -iar verbs which remain uninfluenced by the other -ear -iar classes but which admit the analogical y (sometimes phonetic?).
- 4. -iar verbs, which the keeping the original -'io may borrow the -eo, -eyo forms by analogy.
  - 5. -iar verbs which pass over to the -ear -eo, -eyo class in toto.
- 6. -iar -io verbs which have, by analogy passed to the -iar -io class.

The complete conjugation of a verb of each type will now be given, together with a list in each case of the important verbs which belong to each type.

§ 129. Type 1: apiar, arriar. golpjar, mjar, pasjar, etc. Inf apiar Pres. Part. apjando Past. Part. apjau Pres. Indic. 1 apeo, apeyo, 1 apió (rare) 2 apeas, apeyas 3 apea, apeya, apiá (rare) 4 apiamos 5-6 apean, apeyan Pres. Subj. 1-3 apeye, apeyi, apee, apëi, apéi 2 apeyes, apeyis, apees, apëis, apéis 4 apéyenos, apéenos, apéyinos, apéinos 5-6 apeyen, apeen, apeyin, apëin, apéin Imperf. Indic. Pret. Indic. 1-3 apiaba 1 apié 2 apiabas 2 apiates 4 apiábanos, apiáanos 3 3 apió 5-6 apjaban, apjáan 4 apjamos 5-6 apiaron Fut. Indic. 4 Imperf. Subj. 5 1 apiaré 1-3 apiara

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The forms are given in the relative order of common occurrence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since the 2nd and 3d person plural are of like form only one is given. The same method is followed when the 1st and 3d person are identical as in the sing. of the imperfect, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The fall of medial b may occur in any form, Phonology, § 178 (2).

<sup>4</sup> The conditional indic. does not show any changes different from those of the future, so it will not be given. The imperatives also are of the same form as the pres. ind. or subj.

<sup>5</sup> There is no imperf. subj. in -s, see § 103.

2 apiaras
3 apiará 4 apiáranos
4 apiaremos 5-6 apiaran
5-6 apiarán

§ 130. Type 2: aliniar (also aliñar) deliniar (also deliñar) 1

Inf. aliniar, aliniar
Pres. Part. aliniando, aliniando
Past. Part. aliniau, aliniau

Pres. Indic. 1 alineo, alineyo, alinio, aliño 2 alineas, alineyas, alinias, aliñas 3 alinea, alineya, alinia, aliña

4 aliniamos, aliñamos

5-6 alinjan, alinan

Pres. Subj. 1-3 alineye, alinei, alinee, aline

2 alineyes, alineyis, 2 alineis, 2 alines, alines

4 alinéenos, alinéyenos, alinéïnos, alínienos, alínenos

5-6 alineen, alineyen, alinëin, alinen, alinen

Imperf. Indic.
1-3 alinjaba, aliñaba
2 alinjabas, aliñábas

4 aliniábanos, alinábanos

5-6 alinjaban, alinaban

Pret. Indic.

1 alinié, aliné

2 aliniates, aliñates

3 alinió, alinó

4 alinjamos, aliñamos

5-6 alinjaron, alinaron

Fut. Indic.

aliniaré, aliñaré
 aliniarás, aliñarás

3 alinjará, alinará

4 aliniaremos, aliñaremos

5-6 aliniarán, alinarán

Imperf. Subj.

1-3 aliniara, aliñara

2 aliniaras, alinaras

4 aliniáranos, alináranos

5-6 aliniaran, alinaran

§ 131. Type 3: criar, confiar, fiar.

Inf. fiar
Pres. Part. fiando
Past. Part. fiau

1 Phonology, § 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The change of éye to éï is a regular one in N. M. S., see Phonology § 47.

		Dettailed in the	Transfer of the state of the st		
Pres. Indic.	2 3 4	fío,¹ fiyo fías, fiyas fía, fiya fiamos fían, fiyan	Pres. Subj.	2 4	fie, fiye fies, fiyes fienos, fiyenos fien, fiyen
Imperf. Indic.	2 4	fiaba fiabas fiábanos fiaban	Pret. Indic.	2 3 4	fié fiates fió fiamos fiaron
Fut. Indic.	2 3 4	fiaré fiarás fiará fiaremos fiarán	Imperf. Subj.	2 4	fiara fiaras fiáranos fiaran
§ 132.		Type 4: co	ambiar, copiar.		
Inf. Pres. Part. Past. Part. Pres. Indic.	1	copiar copiando copiau copio, copeo, co			
	2 3 4	copias, copeas, copia, copea, c copiamos copian, copean	copeyas opeya		
Pres. Subj.	2 4	copies, copees, cópienos, copée	peyc, copëi, copeyi copëis copeyes, cop nos, copéyenos, cop copëin, copeyen, c	peyis péyind	
Imperf. Indic.	2 4	copiaba copiabas copiábanos copiaban	Pret. Indic.	2 3 4	copié copiates copió copiamos copiaron

¹ Any io, ia, ie, form may shift the accent to io, ia, ie, see Phonology,  $\S$  9. These forms will not be given here.

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Fut. Indic.	2	copiaré copiarás copiará	Imperf.	Subj.	1-3 copiara 2 copiaras 4 copiáranos
	4	copiaremos			5-6 copjaran
	5-6	copiarán			
§ 133.		Type 5: lidio	ar, roc <u>i</u> ar, ve	ariar	
Inf.		rociar			
Pres. Part.		rociando			
Past. Part.		rociau			
Pres. Indic.	1	roceo, roceyo (]	In Albuquero	que als	so, rocio, rociyo, etc.)
	2	roceas, roceyas			
	3	rocea, roceya			
	4	rociamos			
	5-6	rocean, roceyan	ı		
Pres. Subj.	1-3	rocee, roceye, r	ocevi. rocëi		
rros. Subj.		rocees, roceyes,		ëis	
	4				océinos
		roceen, roceyen			
T C T., 32.					1
Imperf. Indic.			Pret. In	naic.	1 rocié
		rociabas			2 rociates
		rociábanos			3 roció
	9-0	rociaban			4 rociamos
					5-6 rociaron
Fut. Indic.		rociaré	Imperf.	Subj.	1-3 rociara
		rociarás			2 rociaras
	3	rociará			4 rociáranos
		rociaremos			5-6 rociaran
	5-6	rociarán			
§ 134.		Type	6: vaciar.		
Inf.		vaciar			
Pres. Part.		vaciando			
Past. Part.		vaciau			
Pres. Indic.	1	vacío, vaciyo	Pres. Subj.		vacíe, vaciye
		vacías, vaciyas			vacíes, vaciyes
	3	vacía, vaciya			vacíyenos, vacíenos
	4	vaciamos		5-6	vacien, vaciyen
	5-6	vacían, vaciyar	ı		

Imperf. Indic.	1-3	vaciaba vaciabas	Pret. Indic.		vacié vaciates
	_	vaciábanos			vació
	5-6	vaciaban			vaciamos
				5-6	vaciaron
Fut. Indic.	1	vaciaré	Imperf. Subj.	1-3	vaciara
	_				
	2	vaciarás			vaciaras
	3	vaciará		4	vaciáranos
	3 4	~		4	

§ 135. These are the principal types of the original -ear -iar verbs with their various developments thruout the conjugations. It is at once evident that the confusion between the different types is very natural, since many forms and even entire tenses (the pret. and imperf.) are of the same formation in all, or nearly all. The greatest confusion exists in the present tense where we see how some N. M. S., verbs have even passed to an entirely different present type, 6. The reasons for the presence of the y, and the other numerous and interesting changes both phonetic and analogical, have already been explained. The analogical processes here involved and the confusions between the types, especially with respect to the present tense are for the most part found in many other Spanish dialects and even in the literary language double forms have not been rare. The developments, however, are to various and complicated to be profitably subjected to a comparative study.

### b) The ear < -ELLAR, iar < -ILLAR verbs.

§ 136. The frequent fall of intervocalic ll in N. M. S., has been many times referred to and in § 111 (III) we have given a few verb forms to illustrate some of the effects of its fall in the verb system. The -ear < ELLAR, -iar < ILLAR verbs will now be treated more in detail. The iiir < ullia verbs will be considered together with the regular and original iiir verbs. The most interesting problem which the N. M. S. -ear, -iar verbs derived from original -ellar, illar verbs, present, is the question of the origin of the y. We have seen that in the original -ear -iar verbs, a), the presence of y, breaking the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a brief historical outline of the -ear -iar verbs in Spanish see Menéndez Pidal, Gram. Hist. § 106. The modern dialect forms are also treated by Cuervo, Apuntaciones, §§ 273-284.

hiatus was in the majority of cases analogical, in some cases probably phonetic. In the verbs which we are now considering, the fall of ll has made them similar and often identical with the original -ear -iar verbs, and the problem is complicated by 1. the analogy of the regular -ear -iar verbs, 2. the specific -ear or -iar classes which are lending the later verbs their forms, and lastly 3. the question as to whether the y represents the ll or is of later analogical or phonetic development. The two classes have not blended completely. The original -ear -iar verbs have always changed ea to ia, as we have already seen, whenever the accent was on the a, but the new ear-iar verbs keep as a rule the original syllabication e-a, i-a, thruout the conjugation. The complete conjugation of a verb of each one of these classes will now be given.

§ 137. Conjugation of estrear < ESTRELLAR and briar < BRILLAR.

	I	II
Inf.	estrear, estre	yar brïar, briyar
Past. Part.	estreau, estre	ryau briau, briyau
Pres. Part.	estreando, es	treyando briando, briyando
Pres. Indic.	1 estreo, estrey	brío, briyo
	2 estreas, estre	
	3 estrea, estrey	bría, briya
	4 estreamos, es	
	5-6 estrean, estr	
	p	res. Subi.

### Pres. Subj.

1-3	estree, estreye, estreï, estreyi	brie, briye		
2	estrees, estreyes, estreïs, estreyis	bríes, briyes		
4	estréenos, estréinos, estréyenos, estréyinos	brienos, briyenos		
5-6	estreen, estreyen, estrein, estreyin	brien, briyen		

### Imperf. Indic.

	_	
1-3	estreaba, estreyaba	briaba, briyaba
2	estreabas, estreyabas	briabas, briyabas
4	estreábanos, estreyábanos	briábanos, briyábanos
5-6	estreaban, estreyaban	brïaban, briyaban
- 0	correction, corregionality	Translating or tywown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This last problem enters even into the non-verbal forms. The fall of medial  $\mathcal{U}$  in N. M. S., is not modern, and in some groups, e. g. illo, illa, ello, ella, the forms with y of some localities (see *Phonology* § 158) may be of very recent development, i. e. ELLOS > eyos (18th century?) > eos (early 19th century?) > eyos (of very recent development). In the verb the forms with y are less frequent.

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1	estreé, estreyé	brïé, briyé
2	estreates, estreyates	briates, briyates
3	estreó, estreyó	brïó, briyó
4	estreamos, estreyamos	briamos, briyamos
	estrearon, estreyaron	brïaron, briyaron

	rut. Inuit.	
1	estrearé, estreyaré	briaré, briyaré
2	estrearás, estreyarás	briarás, briyarás
3	estreará, estreyará	briará, briyará
4	estrearemos, estreyaremos	briaremos, briyaremos
6-6	estrearán, estreyarán	briarán, briyarán

	Imperf. Subj.	
1-3	estreara, estreyara	brïara, briyara
2	estrearas, estreyaras	briaras, briyaras
4	estreáranos, estreyáranos	briáranos, briyáranos
	estrearan, estreyaran	briaran, briyaran.

### c) The -jar verbs of English source.

§ 138. Verbs of English origin pass over to the jar conjugation, class 1. apiar < APEAR, etc., in N. M. S. This is indeed a significant fact when one considers that the Germanic verbs which passed over into old Spanish, fell in the first conjugation, tho not always in the -ear class. The Germanic -jan verbs usually passed into the 3d conjugation. That the first conjugation should also attract in New Mexico the verbs of English origin is also very natural, but why they should all pass to the -iar class is not clear.2 These verbs are conjugated thruout like the -ear-jar verbs of class 1. already discussed, having the double forms -eo, eyo, ea, eya, etc.

The following is a brief list of the more important verbs of English origin in common use in New Mexican Spanish:

baquiar	< BACK + IAR
brequiar	< BREAK OF BRAKE + MAR
cambasiar	< CANVASS + LAR
craquiar	< CRACK + "
cuitiar	< QUIT + "

<sup>1</sup> Phonology § 260, note 1.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Judeo-Spanish verbs of Turkish origin also pass over to the -ear class, see M. L. Wagner, B. D. R. I, 59.

chequiar	<	CHECK	+	ĮAR
chitiar	<	CHEAT	+	"
estraiquiar	<	STRIKE	+	"
fuliar	<	FOOL	+	"
pompiar	<	PUMP	+	99
puliar	<	PULL	+	"
quiquiar	<	KICK	+	22
requiar	<	RAKE	+	22
riliar	<	DRILL	+	22
roseliar	<	RUSTLE	+	22
šainiar	<	SHINE	+	22
telefoniar	<	TELEPHONE	+	22
trampiar	<	TRAMP 1	+	33
				.,

§ 139. Verbs of English origin having the palatal consonants  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{s}$ , immediately before the i + accented vowel, absorb the i, as a rule. The result is that the verb may have three developments side by side, 1. the regular -iar conjugation class 1, with the i absorbed when before an accented vowel, 2. the verb being classed as an -ar verb, 3. a mixture of both developments often with one development in one tense and one in another. The following verbs will show the most important of these developments

### 1. lonchar < \*lonchiar < lunch + iar.

Pres. Indic.

- 1 loncheo, loncheyo [lõ: čeo], [lõ: čejo]
- 2 loncheas, loncheyas
- 3 lonchea, loncheya
- 4 lonchamos [lõ : čamųs]
- 5-6 lonchan, lonchean, loncheyan

## Pres. Subj.

- 1-3 lonche, lonchee, loncheye, loncheyi, lonchëi
  - 4 lónchenos, lonchéenos, lonchéyenos, lonchéinos [lõ: čéïnos]

#### Pret. Indic.

- 3 lonchó [lõ: čó]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Most of the phonetic changes involved in these forms are discussed in *Phonology*, Ch. V.

# 2. chachar < \*chachiar < CHARGE < LAR. Pres. Indic.

- 1 chacho, chacheo, chacheyo [čačo], [čačeo], [čačejo]
- 3 chachan, chachean, chacheyan

#### Pret. Indic.

1 chaché [čačé]

5-6 chacharon [čačaron]

2 chachates [čačates]

Imperf. Subj.

1-3 chachara [čačara]

4 chacháranos [čačáranos]

3. pušar < pušjar < push + iar

#### Pres. Indic.

1 pušeo, pušeyo

4 pušamos

2 pušeas, pušeyas

5-6 pušean, pušeyan

#### Pres. Subj.

1-3 pušee, pušeye, pušeyi, pušëi

4 pušéenos, pušéyenos, pušéyinos, pušéinos

#### Pret. Indic.

1 pušé

4 pušamos

2 pušates

5-6 pušaron

3 pušó

### d) The -aer verbs.

§ 140. The only important popular verbs which fall under this class are caer, traer > N. M. S., cair, cai, cayer, trair, trai, trayer (rarely also quer, trer).

The conjugation of these verbs is as follows:

Infin.		cair, cai, cayer, quer	trair, trai, trayer, trer
Pres. Part.		caindo, cayendo	traindo, trayendo
Past. Part.		caido	traido
Pres. Indic.	1	caigo	traigo
	2	cais	trais
	3	cai	trai
	4	caimos	traimos
	5-6	cain	train
Pres. Subj.	1-3	caiga	traiga
	2	caigas	traigas
	4	cáiganos	tráiganos
	5-6	caigan	traigan

Imperf. Indic. 1-3	caiba, queiba	traiba, treiba
2	caibas, queibas	traibas, treibas
4	cáibanos, quéibanos	tráibanos tréibanos
5-6	caiban, queiban	traiban, treiban
Pret. Indic. 1	caí, cayí	truje
2	caïtes, cayites	trujites
3	cayó	trujo
4	caïmos, cayimos	trujimos
5-6	cayeron	trujieron
Fut. Indic.	caidré, etc.1	traidré, etc.1
Imperf. Subj. 1-3	cayera	trujiera
2	cayeras	trujieras
4	cayéranos	trujiéranos
5-6	cayeran	trujieran

§ 141. The presence of y in cayer, trayer may be either phonetic or analogical (see § 126), while in cayí, cayites, cayimos it is purely analogical.

The change  $\acute{ae}$  (two syllables) to  $\acute{ai}$  is probably phonetic. In New Mexico, the law seems to be that  $\acute{ae}$  becomes  $\acute{ai}$  while  $\acute{ae}$  become  $\acute{e}$  (see Phonology § 62), hence trae  $\gt trai$ , caen  $\gt cain$ ; but on the other hand caer  $\gt quer$ , traer  $\gt trer^2$  Caimos and traimos are probably analogical forms, since  $\acute{ai}$  and not  $\acute{ae}$  occurs in the other five forms of the present. Cayemos trayemos, are forms also found in N. M. S.

The imperfects caiba, traiba, are purely analogical forms (see § 116). Queiba and treiba are likewise analogical but with the stem of the infinitives quer, trer.

As to the forms truje, etc., these are archaic, frequent in the XVth and XVIth centuries and also in old Spanish.<sup>3</sup> Truje is from old Spanish  $troxe < \text{Lat.}^* \text{Traux} = \text{Traxu}$ , while traje < Trax.

### e) The -eir verbs.

§ 142. Here belong the verbs engreïrse; freïr; reïr; sonreïr > N. M. Sp. ingrirse; frir, friir (rare friyir, freyir); rir, riir (rare riyir); sonrir, sonriir (rare sonriyir, sonreyir). These verbs have in N. M. S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See § 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is according to the general N. M. S. law, as RAFAEL > Rafel, ISRAEL > 1srel, etc. (Phonology § 62), and the vowel of the infinitive has nothing to do with the matter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Phonology, § 35.

a similar development with the analogical (sometimes phonetic? see  $\S$  126) y here and there for reasons already explained in the other classes of the verbs with juxtaposed vowels in the terminations. Other developments such as riia, friia < Reia, freia are purely phonetic and these with the analogical y develop the later forms, riyia, friyia, etc. The forms rightarrow ieron, rightarrow ieron, rightarrow ieron, etc. are also phonetic, being due to the consonantization of i before a tonic vowel. Riemos, friemos are analogical (see  $\S$  105).

The verb *ingrirse* < ENGREIRSE, however, has followed in many respects a different development. Its trisyllabic form has apparently separated it from the more common *frir*, *rir* and it has become in many of its forms a regular verb of the 3d (New Mexican 2nd) conjugation.

§ 143. The conjugation of the two types will show where the developments agree and where *ingrir* has departed from its primitive type to follow a more general analogical development.

Infin.		rir, riir, riyir 1	ingrir	
Pres. Part.		riendo, riyendo, riendo	ingriendo	
Past. Part.		rido, riido, riyido	ingrido, e	ngrido
Pres. Indic.	1	río, riyo	ingro	
	2	ríes, riyes	ingres	analogy to
	3	ríe, riye	ingre	regular
	4	riemos, riyemos	ingremos	conjugation
	5-6	rien, riyen	ingren	

The question of the y aside, the forms riyemos, ingremos follow the general N. M. S., analogical developments indicated in § 105.

Pres. Subj.	2 4	ría, riya rías, riyas ríanos, ríyanos rían, riyan	ingra ingras íngranos ingran	ut Pres. Indic.
Imperf. Indic	4	riía, riyía (ría rare) riíanos, riyíanos riían, riyían	ingría, in - -	griya _ 2 _ 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The forms are given in order of common occurrence. The order of development was REIR > riir > rir (phonetic), riyir (phonetic or analogical).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These forms are not in common use and it is uncertain to determine with precision, the regular usage.

Pret. Indic. 1 ri, rii, riyi 1 — 2 rites, riites, riyites engrites, ingrites 3 rii, riyi, riio ingriio 4 rimos, riimos, riyimos — 5-6 rieron, rieron, riyeron ingrieron

Fut. Indic. Regular with any infinitive stem, but more commonly with the short stems, *rir*, *frir*.

Imperf. Subj. 1-3 riera, riera, riyera ingriera
4 riéranos, riéranos, riyéranos ingriéranos
5-6 rieran, rieran, riyeran ingrieran

### f) The -eer verbs.

§ 144. To this class belong the verbs LEER, CREER > N. M. S. ler, leyer, crer, creyer.

In these verbs we have two laws in operation thruout the conjugation, a) EE > e, when the 2nd e has the accent, and b) EE > ei when the first e has the accent. To these important developments is to be added the presence of y to break the hiatus, a phenomenon already fully discussed as it appears in all the verbs involving vocalic juxtaposition in the terminations. It is also to be remarked that the phonetic laws a) and b) do not hold with absolute uniformity, as in some cases ÉE > e and EÉ > ei, different developments from the normal and probably also phonetic in some cases, tho as a rule analogical. Furthermore,  $e\acute{e}$  or  $\acute{e}e$  may in some cases remain unchanged.

§ 145. The forms of crer are the following:

Infin.

Pres. Part.
Past. Part.

Pres. Indic.

1 creo, creyo, creigo, 4 crió, 5 cro 6
2 creis, creis, creyes, creyis, cres
3 creï, crei, creye, creyi, cre
4 creemos, creyemos, creimos, cremos
5-6 creïn, creyin, creyen, crein

<sup>2</sup> Phonology, §§ 67, 68.

<sup>6</sup> Phonology, § 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The development is REÍ > rii > ri, later riyi < rii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> With the infinitive pres. subj. and p. p. forms the prefix en- may occur, encrer, encreido, § 117.

<sup>4</sup> See § 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See § 106 and Phonology, § 9.

Pres. Subj. 1-3 crea, creya, creiga 1

4 créanos, créyanos, créiganos

Imp. Indic. creiba etc. (§ 116). Also creyía, creyías etc., and creiquía, creiquías etc., both rare.

Pret. Indic. 1 crei, creyi

2 creites, creyites

3 creó, creyó

4 creimos, creyimos

5-6 creeron, creyeron.

The future and conditional indic. are usually formed from the shorter form crer, as in the other classes of the verbs already given. The rest of the forms do not present any new phenomena. The forms with the inorganic medial y, here and in all other places are found when the form is in an emphatic position.<sup>2</sup> Exactly like crer is conjugated ler.

### g) The -oer, -oir, -uir verbs.

§ 146. The principal verbs to be considered under these classes are the popular verbs ROER; of R; HUIR > N. M. S. royer, ruir, ruir; oyer, uir, uir; juir, juir, juir. While many of the developments of these verb forms are parallel and the phenomena involved are largely due to phonetic and analogical processes already observed, there are a few changes which appear only in these verbs and under conditions somewhat different. The conjugation of the three verbs will show these differences:

Infin. Pres. Part.	royer, róir, ruïr, ruir royendo, roendo	oyer, óir, uïr, uir oyendo, óindo³
Past. Part.	roído, roido, ruido, royido juïr, juyir, juir juyendo	óido, oyido, uido [uido]
T 11	juído, juyido, juido	and the same of the same

juído, juyido, juidoPres. Indic.1 royo, roigo, roo, ro<br/>2 royes, roïs, roisoyo, oigo, oo<br/>oyis, oyes, oïs, ois

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See § 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is to be observed that creido > créido, but crei, creimos do not develop créi, créimos. The analogy of preterites with the tonic i has no doubt obstructed the development.

<sup>3</sup> Analogy to óigo, oyo, roigo, ro, etc.

Pres. Indic.	3 roye, roe, royi, roï	oye, oyi, oï, oi
	4 royemos, roimos 1	oyemos, oimos, 1 uimos
5-	6 royen, royin, roïn	oïn, oin, oyen, oyin
	1 juigo, juyo	
	2 juyes, juïs, juyis	
	3 juye, juyi, juï	
	4 juyemos, júemos	
5-	6 juyen, juyin, juïn	
	3 roya, roa, roiga	oya, oa, oiga
1105. Oubj. 1	4 róyanos, róiganos	óyanos, óiganos
		oganos, organos
	júyanos, júiganos	
Imperf. Indic. 1-	3 roía, royía, roiba 2	oía, oyía, oiba,² uía
	4 roíanos, royíanos, róibanos	oíanos, oyíanos,
		óibanos, yíanos
Pret. Indic.	1 roi, royi, rui, rui	oí, oyí, uyí, uí
	2 roïtes, royites, ruites	oïtes, oyites, uites
	3 royó, roó	oyó, oó
	4 roimos, royimos, ruimos	oimos, oyimos, uimos,
		uimos
5-	6 royeron	oyeron
	1 juï, juyí	
	2 juites, juyites	
	3 juyó	
	4 juïmos, juyimos	
	6 juyeron	
	0 7: (7 0 1	

In the imperf. subj. the y forms prevail.

The future indic. and conditional may have any of the infinitive stems, but the short forms are preferred: oiré, wiré, wirán; jwiré, jwirás; rwirá etc. The infinitive forms óir-, róir- are used almost exclusively as future stems only.

The majority of the above developments occur in many of the modern dialects and some date from the Old Spanish period.<sup>3</sup>

§ 147. Verbs ending in -ullir like tullirse, have fallen together, on account of the fall of medial ll or its presence as y, with verbs like Huir > juir, juir. Most of the forms of Tullir > N. M. S., tuir,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Analogy to óigo, oyo, roigo, ro, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See § 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Phonology, § 195. Roer has in modern literary Spanish, royo, roigo, roa, roya, roiga, etc.

tuir, have been given already in § 110, III. The forms are the same as those of  $ju\ddot{i}r$ , given above, in all their developments. See also § 138.

### h) The -uar verbs.

§ 148. These verbs have generalized the diphthongal forms everywhere, depriving u of its syllabic value, or a further development of ua > a, uo > o, and less frequently ue > e may take place. The most common of these verbs are graduar, continuar:

Pres. Indic.	1	graduo, grado	continuo, contino
	2	gradua, grada	continua, contina
	3	graduamos, gradamos	continuamos, continamos
Pres. Subj.	1-3	gradue, grade	continue, contine
	4	gráduenos, grádenos	contínuenos, contínenos
	5-6	graduen, graden	continuen, continen

The double development appears all thru, gradué, gradé, continuaba, continuaba etc. <sup>1</sup> In addition graduar may have metathesis, graudo, graudó etc.

#### IV. Verbs with vocalic alternations.

§ 149. These suffer less changes in N. M. S. than any other class of verbs. This is generally true of all the modern Spanish dialects, a general levelling by analogy like the one which has taken place in French being unknown in modern Spanish and its dialects. In spite of all the general phonetic and analogical changes common to all classes of verbs in N. M. S. (see §§ 103-120), the vocalic alternations in the verbs which we are now discussing, have suffered very little. On the other hand, the regular old vocalic alternations persist in many verbs which have lost them in the modern literary language, thru the levelling influences of analogy, and others preserve no sign of these differences.

The principal classes of verbs with vocalic alternations which are worthy of consideration here, are the following:

- The e-ie verbs pensar
   The o-ue verbs rogar
   The u-ue verbs jugar
- 4. The e-i-i verbs pedir > N. M. S. pidir
- 5. The o-u-u verbs podrir > N. M. S. pudrir
- 6. The e-ie-i verbs sentir > N. M. S. <math>sintir
- 7. The o-ue-u verbs dormir > N. M. S. <math>durmir

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, for the changes  $\mu e > e$ ,  $\mu o > o$ , etc., § 77.

All these different classes can be conveniently studied under three general classes:

I classes 1, 2, 3. II classes 4, 5. III classes 6, 7.

The different verbs under each of these three general classes have identical developments.

#### Class I.

§ 150. These verbs suffer practically no changes at all, other than the general changes already referred to. Even the general analogical development which has destroyed the 3d. conjugation in N. M. S., does not occur here, for this class has only verbs of the 1st and 2nd conjugation. The important forms of these verbs in N. M. S. are the following:

Pres. Indic.	1 pienso	ruego	iuego <sup>1</sup>
	4 pensamos	rogamos	jugamos
	5-6 piensan	ruegan	juegan
Pres. Subj.	1-3 piense	ruegue	juegue
	4 piénsenos	ruéguenos	juéguenos
	5-6 piensen	rueguen	jueguen
Pret. Indic.	1 pensé	rogué	jugué
100	2 pensates	rogates	jugates
	4 pensamos	rogamos	jugamos

Thus it is seen, that other than the changes found in all verbs, there is only one new development. Such analogical forms as juegamos, piensamos, ruegó etc. are very rare and when used at all they are errors made by children.

The new development is the presence of the accent and vowel of the singular and 3d (and 2nd, in N. M. S.) plural in pres. subj. 4. This is general in all verbs (see § 106 B) but the difference in the vowel brought about by the change of accent appears only in the verbs with vocalic alternations.

§ 151. The following verbs, which the regularly developed in Old Spanish with the regular vocalic alternations, lost the diphthongized forms in the XVIIth and XVIIth centuries, are still regularly con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since we are concerned with the question of the vowels only, no account is here taken of the possible fall of g- jueo, rueo, etc., see § 110.

jugated in N. M. S.: anegar-aniega etc.; entregar-entriega etc., templar-tiempla etc. 1

The following verbs which have the regular vocalic alternations in modern Spanish do not have them in N.M.S.:

1	asolar	asola	asolan	asólenos e	etc.
2	forzar	forza	forzan	fórcenos e	tc.
3	holgar	holga	holgan	hólgenos e	tc.
4	herrar	herre	herran	hérrenos e	tc. 2

Coser and cocer are in N. M. S., identical, following the regular alternations of cocer. The c (e, i) z = s has helped this confusion: cueso, cuezo, cosemos, cocemos, cuesen, cuecen [kueso, kueso etc.].<sup>3</sup>

Sorber is conjugated also like coser and cocer: suerbo, suerbes, suerbe, sorbemos, suerben etc.

§ 152. The verb *oler* presents several interesting developments worthy of consideration. In most of the forms a spirant g [g] precedes the diphthong, 4 and furthermore in many of the forms the diphthongized and the non-diphthongized vowel are found side by side. The following forms will illustrate the important developments:

Infin. oler, goler
Pres. Indic. 1 olo, velo, güelo
2 oles, veles, güeles
3 ole, vele, güele
4 olemos, golemos,
5-6 olen, velen, güelen
Pres. Subj. 1-3 ola, vela, güela
4 ólanos, vélanos, güélanos

Imperf. Indic. olía, golía, olíanos, golíanos, etc.

Pret. Indic. olí, golí, olites, golites, etc.

Imperf. Subj. oliera, goliera, oliéranos, goliéranos, etc.

5-6 olan, guelan, yelan

<sup>1</sup> See also Bello-Cuervo, Gram. <sup>11</sup>, Notas 77, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Errar, however, has the alternations, yerro, yerras, yérrenos, etc. Strangely enough, however the N.M.S., uses this with the meaning, 'to err', 'to offend', but never with the meaning, to miss (as a mark). For this last meaning, there is employed the verb jerrar (< fĕrrāre? > herrar?), with regular alternations also: jierro, jierras, jierra, jierramos, jierran; jierre, jierrenos, etc. In herrar, however the h is silent in N.M.S. This N.M.S., phenomenon is different from the other dialects, where there is no such form as jerrar and errar is often, erra, erras, etc. (Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 236).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Bogota this same phenomen is found (Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 238).

<sup>\*</sup> Phonology, § 118.

#### Class II.

§ 153. The developments found in the verbs of this class do not differ essentially from those of the I class. It is only to be observed that here the levelling which changes the vowel of the 1st person plural together with the termination, follows a general analogy not found in class I, for the lack of verbs of the 3d conjugation. In addition we may have in these verbs a change of e to i and o to u for phonetic or analogical causes, which may also occur with any verb with stem vowels e or o whether of this or any other class.

The majority of the changes above mentioned can be observed from the following forms:

Infin.	pedir, pidir	podrir, pudrir
Past. Pt.	pedido, pidido	podrido, pudrido
Pres. Indic. 1	pido	pudro
4	pidemos	pudremos
Pres. Subj. 1-3	pida	pudra
4	pídanos	púdranos
Imperf. Indic. 1-3	pedía, pidía	podría, pudría
4	pedíanos, pidíanos	podríanos, pudríanos
Pret. Indic. 1	pedí, pidí	podrí, pudrí
2	pedites, pidites	podrites, pudrites
3	pidió	pudrió

The future and conditional indicative have either of the infinitive stems.

In the same way are conjugated escrebir, recebir, which in all forms, infinitive included, have preserved the old forms, which the modern literary language has reformed. The verbs frir < frefr, rir, riir < refr, etc., which originally belonged to this class, have been already discussed in § 142.

#### Class III.

§ 154. The developments found in this class are in practically all respects the same as those of the two former classes. The vowel and accent of the singular and 3d plural is found in the pres. subj. 4 as in class I. In the pres. indic. however, an entirely new phenomenon occurs. In class I there was no irregularity in this respect, while in class II we saw how the other forms influenced 4 and the stem vowel is i or u. In class III we meet here the same vowels, but the

analogy does not come from the other forms of the same tense where ie, ue, occur and not i, u. Since the verbs in question are all of the 3d conjugation, the change in the pres. indic. 4 is partly due to the adjustment of conjugation (§ 105). In addition, the form conformed with the development of the verbs in class II.

A phenomen found only in this class is the occasional presence of o where u would be more regular, dormió, etc., a change not found in the other classes.

§ 155. The conjugation of the more important forms of the two types of class III will show the new developments. It will also be noticed that the changes often due to umlaut are here identical with those of class II.

Infin.		sentir, sintir	dormir, durmir
Pres. Part.		sintiendo	dormiendo, durmiendo
Past. Part.		sentido, sintido	dormido, durmido
Pres. Indic.	1	siento	duermo
	2	sientes	duermes
	3	siente	duerme
	4	sintemos	durmemos, dormemos (rare)
	5-6	sienten	duermen
Pres. Subj.	1-3	sienta .	duerma
	4	siéntanos	duérmanos
	5-6	sientan	duerman
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	sentía, sintía	dormía, durmía
	4	sentíanos, sintíanos	dormíanos, durmíanos
Pret. Indic.	1	sentí, sintí	dormí, durmí
	2	sentites, sintites,	dormites, durmites
	3	sentimos, sintimos	dormimos, durmimos
	5-6	sintieron	dormieron, durmieron

In the future and conditional any of the infinitives may be used as a stem.

Imperf. Subj.	1-3	sintiera	durmiera, dormiera
	2	sintieras	durmieras, dormieras
	4	sintiéranos	durmiéranos, dormiéranos
	5-6	sintieran	durmieran, dormieran 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fall of intervocalic r is very frequent. So common is its fall everywhere, that new developments may frequently result from the juxtaposed vowels: SINTIERA > sintiea > sintiea > sintiéa, DURMIERAN > durmiean > durmián, etc.; see § 110 and Phonology, §§ 85, 185.

With the verb dormir, metathesis is frequent: drumir, drumia, drumieron, but never when the accent falls on the stem: duerma, etc.

#### V. Irregular Verbs.

§ 156. Inchoative verbs. The majority of these verbs do not suffer important changes other than the general ones already discussed (§§ 103-120). As is the case in a few of the verbs with vocalic alternation, some inchoatives have been preserved in N. M. S., tho now regularized in literary speech. *Mecer* has in N. M. S. *mezco*, *mezca*, *mezcan* [męsko, męską, męskąn], forms frequent in old Spanish to the end of the XVIIth century, and even later. In placer, the N. Mexicans say always plazca, plazco, never plegue, etc. In the pret. indic. placer has always plació, placites, etc., never plugo.

The verb toser has also taken inchoative endings side by side

with the regular forms:

toso, toses, tose or tosco, toses, tose tosa, tosas, tosa or tosca, toscas, tosca.

On the other hand crecer has also the regular forms:

crezco, creces, crece or crezo, creces, crece crezca, crezcas, crezca or creza, crezas, creza.

§ 157. Bendecir and introducir. These verbs present many new and interesting phenomena. In the pres. indic. and subj. the first has -ga, -sga, -sca (sp. -zca), while the second has -sga, -sca. Bendecir has even a form bendisco:

Pres. Indic. 1 bendigo, bendisco; introdusco

Pres. Subj. 1-3 bendiga, bendisca, bendisga [beedizga]

4 bendíganos, bendíscanos, bendísganos [beedizganos]

1-3 introdusca, introdusga, etc.

It is clear that all the forms are analogical, the confusion of the forms usually following the more frequent verbs. The -sga is interesting, since asir, asga, asgas, etc. is not used at all in N. M. S. Agarrar is used everywhere for asir. The forms with -sga, are therefore old in their development, since a phonetic change is not probable.

In the pret. indic. both verbs have weak forms: bendecí, bendicí, bendicites, bendició, bendicimos, bendicieron, introducí, introducites, introdució, introducimos, introducieron.

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, Gram. Hist., § 112, 3.

§ 158. Haber. The forms of haber are the following:1

Pres. Part. habiendo, hayendo

Pres. Indic. 1 he, ha (analogical)2

2 has

3 ha

4 hemos, hamos (analogical)

5-6 han

Pres. Subj. 1-3 haiga, 3 haya, haa

4 háiganos, 3 háyanos, áanos

Imperf. Indic. había, haïa, etc.

Pret. Indic. 1 hube, hue

2 hubites, huïtes

3 hubo, húo

4 hubimos, huimos

5-6 hubieron, hubieon, huyeon

§ 159. Ser and estar. The conjugation of these vers is the following:

Past. Part.	sido, sío	estau, estao	
Pres. Part.	siendo	estando	
Pres. Indic. 1	soy, so, ero	estoy, esto, 'sto	
2	eres	estas, 'stas, 5 'tas	
3	3 es esta, 'sta, 'ta 5		
4 semos 4		estamos, stamos	
5	son	están, stan, tan	
Pres. Subj.	sea, seya, 6 siá, 7 etc.	esté, sté, te, etc.	
Pret. Indic. 1	fuí, juí	estuve, estue, etc. as hube	
2	fuites, juites	húe, etc., § 1588	

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, only the forms not previously treated will be given. Some forms of the irregular verbs have been included in treating of general phenomena.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These forms include further phonetic developments, fully discussed in the *Phonology*. A complete loss of *he* or ha, for example is quite frequent: nue 'cho nada [nuečona'] < no he hecho of ha hecho, nada.

<sup>8</sup> See § 119.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; I have already called attention to the probable origin of this form, Phonology § 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See § 120.

<sup>6</sup> See § 127.

<sup>7</sup> See § 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Of the strong preterites all follow these forms. Andar, however, has andé, andates, etc., forms found also in other dialects, Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 252.

3 fué, jué

4 fuimos, juimos

5 fueron, jueron

In the imperf. subj. haber may have huyera, huyeras, etc., < HUBIERAS, HUBIERAS, etc.

§ 160. Tener. The behavior of n and other developments make the forms of this verb very important and interesting. The following are the principal forms:

Infin. tener, teer

Pr. Part. teniendo, teñendo, tevendo (rare)

Pt. Part. tenido, téido, tinido

Prs. Indic. 1 tengo, teo2

2 tienes, tiees, ties, ties

3 tjene, tjee,3 tjé, tjé

4 tenemos, teemos, temos 5-6 tienen, tieen, tien, tien

Pres. Subj. 1-3 tenga, tea

4 ténganos, téanos

Imperf. Indic. tenía, tinía, etc., rare teñía, tiñía, etc. Future and cond. tenré, tendré, tenría, tendría, etc. 4

Imperf. Subj. tuviera, tuvieras, etc. or tuyera, tuyeras, etc. 5

§ 161. Hacer and decir. The principal forms of these verbs naturally follow parallel changes:

Infin.	hacer	decir, dicir 6	
Pres. Part.	haciendo	diciendo	
Past. Part.	hecho, hacido	dicho	
Pres. Indic.	1 hago, hao	digo, dío	
	2 haces	dices	
	4 hacemos	dicemos	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phonology, § 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. § 32.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. §§ 31, 32, 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. § 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the forms entengas, entengues, etc., see § 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The changes of medial or final consonants, vowels etc., are not always treated here as these changes have been fully discussed in other places, especially in the *Phonology*. Medial c, s, g = j often, hence dejir, ajer, etc., also dejia, dijia, etc.

Pres. Subj. 1-3 haga, haa diga, día
4 háganos, háanos díganos, díanos
Imperf. Indic. hacía, hacías, etc. decía, dicía, etc.

The pret. indic. presents no new phenomena. The 3d plural of decir is usually dijieron, dijieon, an archaic form. There is also a rare form dijén used in the districts east of Albuquerque where there also occurs trajén (Phonology § 83, 2). The imperf. subj. of decir is likewise, dijiera, dijieras, etc. 1

§ 162. Ir. The frequency of use in this verb has brought about a larger variety of forms than any other verb in common use in N. M. S. The following are the principal forms:

Imperf. Indic. 1-3 iba, ia (thru fall of medial b, § 110), etc.

 $\S$  163. Querer. Altho this verb belongs with the verbs discussed in IV, the regular fall of medial r and other phenomena require a special treatment here.

Infin. querer
Pr. Part. queriendo
Past. Part. querido, quirido <sup>7</sup>
Pres. Indic. 1 quiero, quieo, quió
2 quieres, quiees, quiés <sup>8</sup>
3 quiere, quiee, quié
4 queremos <sup>7</sup>
5-6 quieren, quieen, quién

<sup>1</sup> Satisfacer has a weak pret., satisfació, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This form is the result of the use of de before ir as in tengo ganas d'ir; hence also quiero dir (rare in N. M. S.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Phonology, §§ 178, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. § 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See § 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tho very rarely, one may hear also, va, vas, va, vanos, van.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The r seems to remain as a rule when before the accent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Phonology, § 185.

Pres. Subj. 1-3 quiera, quiea, quiá

2 quiera, quieas4 quiéranos, quiéanos

5-6 quieran, quiean

Imperf. Indic. quería, quiría, quiriá, etc.

Pret. Indic. 1-2 quise, quije, quisites, quijites, etc.

5-6 quisieron, quijieon, quisión, quijión

Fut. Indic. and Condit. quedré, quedrás, quedrá etc. (§ 115) quedría, quedrías, quedría, etc.

[kedre', kedria, etc.]

Imperf. Subj. 1-3 quisiera, quijijera, quisiea, quisiá, quijiá

4 quisiéranos, quijiéranos, quisiéanos, quisiános

5-6 quisieran, quijieran, quisiean, quisián, quijián

§ 164. Ver. Some of the developments of this verb are the same as those of the -ear -jar verbs. The following forms, however, deserve special mention:

Pres. Indic. and Subj.  $\begin{cases} veo, \ veyo, \ veigo. \\ vea, \ veya, \ veiga, \ \text{etc.} \end{cases}$ 

Similar forms have been already discussed. In the imperfect indicative the following forms are used:

vía, vías, vía, víanos, vían viya, viyas, viya, víyanos, viyan veiguía, veiguias, etc.

vía, vías, etc. may be forms made regularly from ver, but a phonetic development is also possible and even probable since vía occurs early when veer was perhaps more common than ver. The form is found in Juan de Mena, Calisto e Malibea, Don Quixote, Lazarillo, etc. Veiguía is a curious form developed from the present veigo.

In the pret. indic. the archaic forms vide and vido persist: vide, vites, vido, vimos, vieron.

§ 165. Caber and saber. These two verbs have parallel developments in most of the new changes. These are limited to the present indic. and subj.:

Pres. Indic.  $\begin{cases} quepo, \ cabo; \ cabes \ \text{etc.} \\ sé, \ sabo; \ sabes \ \text{etc.} \end{cases}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phonology, § 69, note 1.

Pres. Subj. { quepa, caba, quepas, cabas, etc. capa, capas, (rare) sepa, sepas, etc.

Saber has also a regular fut. and condit. saberé, sabería, sabería, etc., used side by side with sabré, sabría, etc.

§ 166. Poder. The regular fall of d (see § 110) causes a large variety of new forms in this verb, which have been studied in the *Phonology* in different places. In the present tenses, especially the fall of the d is regular:

Pres. Indic. 1 puedo, pueo, puó (po, rare)

2 puedes, puees, pués

3 puede, puee, pué 4 podemos, poemos

5-6 pueden, pueen, puén

Pres. Subj. 1-3 pueda, puea, puá

2 puedas, pueas, puás

4 puédanos, puéanos

5-6 puedan, puean, puán

Imperf. Subj. 1-3 pudiera, puyera

4 pudiéranos, puyéranos

In the other forms the fall of d is less frequent.

§ 167. Poner. The possible fall of medial n and its nasalization of the neighboring tonic vowel, as we have seen in tener (§ 157) has brought about similar developments in the verb poner.

Pres. Indic. 1 pongo, põo

Pres. Subj. 1-3 ponga, põa 2

2 pones, pões

4 pónganos, pốanos

3 pone, põc

5 pongan, põan

4 ponemos, poemos

5-6 ponen, põen

In the fut. and condit. the development is identical with tener.

#### VI. New Forms.

§ 168. Here belong all verbs and verb forms of entirely new formation. The new verbs of English source have all been mentioned in §§ 138, 139. We saw there how the English verbs passed to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phonology, § 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This may be analogy to põo, pões, but it may be phonetic, see Phonology § 32.

first conjugation in toto and that the -jar ending was preferred, a tendency found also in other modern dialects which are admitting foreign words in their vocabulary. To what is said in § 138 about the Jewish Spanish verbs of Turkish origin, should be added that the tendency in Spanish to make new formative verbs with the -ear, -jar ending dates from the Old Spanish period and even from Vulgar Latin times. 1

- § 169. Of Spanish origin, the following verbs or verbal expressions call for special attention:
- 1. From the adverb meramente, a series of independent verb forms has developed, as if the infinitive were meramenter, menter, enter. The meaning of this new verb is 'parecerse' or 'parecer'. The extension of the independent meaning is very natural arising perhaps from such expressions as es meramente así, etc., also meramente así, etc. The forms are all developed primarily from meramente. The shorter forms arise from frequent use and do not follow any fixed phonetic laws, other than the fall of medial r and perhaps dissimilation and haplology. The forms used are only the following:

Pres. Indic. 1 meramento, meento, mento, ento

2 meramentes, meentes, mentes, entes

3 meramente, meente, mente, ente

4 meramentemos, mentemos, entemos

5-6 meramenten, menten, enten

Imperf. Indic. 1-3 meramentía, mentía, entía

2 meramentías, mentías, entías

4 meramentíanos, mentíanos, entíanos

5-6 meramentían, mentían, entían

Pres. Subj. 1-3 meramenta (menta, etc., rare)

2 meramentas

4 meraméntanos

5-6 meramentan

Other forms are used, but very rarely.

2. Quese<sup>2</sup> (< QUE ES DE) is used generally for where is? where are?

¹ Menéndez Pidal, Gram. Hist., § 125 (2). The American-Spanish verbs of Indian origin also seem to prefer the -ear-ending (= iar?), see Lenz, Diccionario Etimolójico, etc. (1904-1910), causear, chambonear, champear, chasconear, chicotear (used also in N. Mex.), chinear, huanear, etc., s. v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Phonology, § 104.

¿ Quèse tu papá? ¿ Quese las tijeras? ¿ Ques' eos? < ¿ Qué ES DE ELLOS?

3. ¿Onde güeno? (< donde bueno) is used for ¿Adónde va or van?

¿Dónde bueno? ¿Adónde bueno? ¿De dónde bueno? are used in the Spanish of the XVth; XVIth and XVIIth centuries with the ellipsis of the verbs venir or ir:

¿ Adónde bueno, condesa? — Señor, voy á Santiago, (Primavera y Flor de Rom. 18, 22). ¿ Dónde bueno, hija mía? (Lope de Rueda I, 118).

¿ Adónde bueno ó malo por el prado?

(Tellez, Don Gil I, 7).1

4. With the meaning of 'es posible que' or 'es probable que' and of similar use and formation the New Mexicans also say, 'es fácil que', and this has been shortened to 'fácil que' and extended to 'facilmente que' = es probable or posible que:

fácilmente que vaya mañana = es posible que vaya mañana fácil que no venga = es probable que no venga.

5. Esque, isque (< ES QUE + DIZ QUE?), is used generally, especially in questions:

¿Isque ya se fué tu tío? ¿Isque ya se van?

In use this is very similar to the French 'est-ce que'. The Spanish es que, however is not used thus, so that I believe 'dis que' + es que has given the N. M. S. forms. For the conjunction quisque < QUE DIZ QUE, see § 91.

#### VII. Verbal nouns.

§ 170. Of the regular Spanish post-verbals which have the vowel of the 3d sing. of the present indicative, the following considerations are important here:

The postverbal which is of old formation persits with the older Spanish form, together with the older verb in cases where the modern literary language has changed both, by losing the diphthongal forms or vice versa (see § 148). In N.M.S. the following apparently irregular

<sup>1</sup> For more examples, see Cuervo, Diccionario, s. v.

post-verbals occur: a) aniego, aniegue; entriega, entriegue, entriego; destiemple. b) asole, asolo; holgo, holgue. It can also be seen that the choice in the final vowel is not fixed in N. M. S., the popular language having a (feminine) and o, e (masculine) for the same form in many cases. This triple development is also found in the literary language, altho in some cases the difference in the vocalic ending is accompanied by a difference of meaning. This is seldom the case in N. M. S., where any of the three vocalic endings may be used indiscriminately: deguello, deguelle; desuello, desuelle; reclamo, reclame; desempeño, desempeñe; desengaño, desengañe; desato, desate, desquito, desquite; toco, toque, etc.

§ 171. Of the verbal nouns made by adding suffixes, those ending in -dera are the most common, used regulary in the plural:

correr correderas cantar cantaderas hablar habladeras, etc.

The mixture of suffixes and their use is unlimited. The verbal nouns may vary in meaning, of course, with the suffix used, but not always. Hablar has habladeras (= loud or quick talk), hablatorios (= confidential or long eloquent talk), hablados (ugly or boisterous talk). Jugar has jugada (play or trick) jugaderas (amusing and persistent playing or gambling), jugatorios (loving or love making games or conversations), jugueteos (romping or frolicsome play), etc., also jugutoneos, jugueteaderas, etc.

§ 171. The past part of cocer appears in N. M. S. as a substantive in the form cuecho, the regular past part of the verb being cocido. This substantive is not a common form, but appears only in the following proverb in ryme:

Donde hay cuecho - hay derecho.

This form cuecho is derived, in my opinion, from cŏctu, which adds another case to the diphthongization of ŏ before ct > ch. That the case in question is a real old Spanish diphthongization is clear from the ryme. Cocho < cŏcru is of course well known, e.g. Berceo Duelo 59d. Just as cŏctu gives cuecho or cocho, so dŏctu could give duecho by the side of docho or ducho.  $^1$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pietsch, however (Mod. Phil. July 1909), shows that duecho can be also derived from ductu.

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