Studies in New Mexican Spanish

Part II, Morphology

by

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(Continuation.)[1]

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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.[2] 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 *-iar* < -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 *-ío,*

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[1] Cf. RDR III (1911), 251-286; IV (1912), 241-256.

[2] *Phonology,* § 83.

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3. *-iar* verbs which remain uninfluenced by the other *-ear -iar* classes but which admit the analogical *y* (sometimes phonetic?).

4. *-iar* verbs, which tho keeping the original *-i̯o* may borrow the *-eo, -eyo* forms by analogy.

5. *-iar* verbs which pass over to the *-ear -eo, -eyo* class *in toto.*

6. *-iar -ío* verbs which have, by analogy passed to the *-iar -i̯o* 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: *api̯ar, arri̯ar. golpi̯ar, mi̯ar, pasi̯ar,* etc.

Inf.		*api̯ar*
Pres. Part.		*api̯ando*
Past. Part.		*api̯au*
Pres. Indic.	1	*apeo, apeyo,*[1] *api̯ó* (rare)
	2	*apeas, apeyas*
	3	*apea, apeya, api̯á* (rare)
	4	*api̯amos*
	5-6	*apean, apeyan*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*apeye, apeyi, apee, apëi, apéi*
	2	*apeyes, apeyis, apees, apëis, apéis*
	4	*apéyenos, apéenos, apéyinos, apëinos*
	5-6	*apeyen, apeen, apeyin, apëin, apéin*

Imperf. Indic.		Pret. Indic.	
1-3	*api̯aba*	1	*api̯é*
2	*api̯abas*	2	*api̯ates*
4	*api̯ábanos, apiáanos*[3]	3	*api̯ó*
5-6	*api̯aban, api̯áan*	4	*api̯amos*
		5-6	*apiaron*

Fut. Indic.[4]		Imperf. Subj.[5]	
1	*api̯aré*	1-3	*api̯ara*

[1] The forms are given in the relative order of common occurrence.

[2] 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.

[3] The fall of medial *b* may occur in any form, *Phonology,* § 178 (2).

[4] 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.

[5] There is no imperf. subj. in *-s,* see § 103.

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

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

Inf.		*alinjar, aliñar*
Pres. Part.		*alinjando, aliñando*
Past. Part.		*alinjau, aliñau*
Pres. Indic.	1	*alineo, alineyo, alinjo, aliño*
	2	*alineas, alineyas, alinjas, aliñas*
	3	*alinea, alineya, alinja, aliña*
	4	*alinjamos, aliñamos*
	5-6	*alinjan, aliñan*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*alineye, alinëi, alinje, aliñe*
	2	*alineyes, alineyis,*[2] *alinëis,*[2] *alinjes, aliñes*
	4	*alinéenos, alinéyenos, alinéinos, alínienos, alíñenos*
	5-6	*alineen, alineyen, alinëin,*[2] *alinien, aliñen*

Imperf. Indic.		Pret. Indic.	
1-3	*alinjaba, aliñaba*	1	*alinjé, aliñé*
2	*alinjabas, aliñábas*	2	*alinjates, aliñates*
4	*alinjábanos, aliñábanos*	3	*alinjó, aliñó*
5-6	*alinjaban, aliñaban*	4	*alinjamos, aliñamos*
		5-6	*alinjaron, aliñaron*

Fut. Indic.		Imperf. Subj.	
1	*aliniaré, aliñaré*	1-3	*alinjara, aliñara*
2	*alinjarás, aliñarás*	2	*alinjaras, aliñaras*
3	*alinjará, aliñará*	4	*alinjáranos, aliñáranos*
4	*alinjaremos, aliñaremos*	5-6	*alinjaran, aliñaran*
5-6	*alinjarán, aliñarán*		

§ 131. Type 3: *criar, confiar, fiar.*

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

[1] *Phonology*, § 150.

[2] The change of *éye* to *ëi* is a regular one in N. M. S., see *Phonology* § 47.

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Pres. Indic.	1	*fío,*[1] *fiyo*	Pres. Subj.	1-3	*fíe, fiye*
	2	*fías, fiyas*		2	*fíes, fiyes*
	3	*fía, fiya*		4	*fíenos, fíyenos*
	4	*fi̯amos*		5-6	*fíen, fiyen*
	5-6	*fían, fiyan*			
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*fi̯aba*	Pret. Indic.	1	*fi̯é*
	2	*fi̯abas*		2	*fi̯ates*
	4	*fi̯ábanos*		3	*fi̯ó*
	5-6	*fi̯aban*		4	*fi̯amos*
				5-6	*fiaron*
Fut. Indic.	1	*fi̯aré*	Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*fi̯ara*
	2	*fi̯arás*		2	*fi̯aras*
	3	*fi̯ará*		4	*fi̯áranos*
	4	*fi̯aremos*		5-6	*fi̯aran*
	5-6	*fi̯arán*			

§ 132. Type 4: *cambiar, copiar.*

Inf.	*copiar*
Pres. Part.	*copiando*
Past. Part.	*copi̯au̯*

Pres. Indic.	1	*copi̯o, copeo, copeyo, copeu̯*			
	2	*copi̯as, copeas, copeyas*			
	3	*copi̯a, copea, copeya*			
	4	*copi̯amos*			
	5-6	*copi̯an, copean, copeyan*			
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*copi̯e, copee, copeye, copëi, copeyi*			
	2	*copi̯es, copees, copëis copeyes, copeyis*			
	4	*cópi̯enos, copéenos, copéyenos, copéyinos, copëinos*			
	5-6	*copi̯en, copeen, copëin, copeyen, copeyin*			
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*copi̯aba*	Pret. Indic.	1	*copi̯é*
	2	*copi̯abas*		2	*copi̯ates*
	4	*copi̯ábanos*		3	*copi̯ó*
	5-6	*copiaban*		4	*copi̯amos*
				5-6	*copi̯aron*

[1] Any *io, ia, ie,* form may shift the accent to *ió, iá, ié,* see *Phonology,* § 9. These forms will not be given here.

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Fut. Indic.	1	*copiaré*	Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*copiara*
	2	*copiarás*		2	*copiaras*
	3	*copiará*		4	*copiáranos*
	4	*copiaremos*		5-6	*copiaran*
	5-6	*copiarán*			

§ 133. Type 5: *lidiar, rociar, variar*

Inf.		*rociar*
Pres. Part.		*rociando*
Past. Part.		*rociau*
Pres. Indic.	1	*roceo, roceyo* (In Albuquerque also, *rocío, rociyo,* etc.)
	2	*roceas, roceyas*
	3	*rocea, roceya*
	4	*rociamos*
	5-6	*rocean, roceyan*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*rocee, roceye, roceyi, rocëi*
	2	*rocees, roceyes, roceyis, rocëis*
	4	*rocéenos, rocéyenos, rocéyinos, rocëinos*
	5-6	*roceen, roceyen, roceyin, rocëin*

Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*rociaba*	Pret. Indic.	1	*rocié*
	2	*rociabas*		2	*rociates*
	4	*rociábanos*		3	*roció*
	5-6	*rociaban*		4	*rociamos*
				5-6	*rociaron*
Fut. Indic.	1	*rociaré*	Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*rociara*
	2	*rociarás*		2	*rociaras*
	3	*rociará*		4	*rociáranos*
	4	*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.	1-3	*vacíe, vaciye*
	2	*vacías, vaciyas*		2	*vacíes, vaciyes*
	3	*vacía, vaciya*		4	*vacíyenos, vacíenos*
	4	*vaciamos*		5-6	*vacíen, vaciyen*
	5-6	*vacían, vaciyan*			

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Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*vaci̯aba*	Pret. Indic.	1	*vaci̯é*
	2	*vaci̯abas*		2	*vaci̯ates*
	4	*vaci̯ábanos*		3	*vaci̯ó*
	5-6	*vaci̯aban*		4	*vaci̯amos*
				5-6	*vaci̯aron*
Fut. Indic.	1	*vaci̯aré*	Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*vaci̯ara*
	2	*vaci̯arás*		2	*vaci̯aras*
	3	*vaci̯ará*		4	*vaci̯áranos*
	4	*vaci̯aremos*		5-6	*vaci̯aran*
	5-6	*vaci̯arán*			

§ 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.[1]

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 *üir* < ULLIR verbs will be considered together with the regular and original *üir* 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

[1] 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.

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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.[1] The two classes have not blended completely. The original *-ear -iar* verbs have always changed *ea* to *i̯a*, as we have already seen, whenever the accent was on the *a*, but the new *ear-ïar* 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 *brïar* < BRILLAR.

		I	II
Inf.		*estrear, estreyar*	*brïar, briyar*
Past. Part.		*estreau̯, estreyau̯*	*brïau̯, briyau̯*
Pres. Part.		*estreando, estreyando*	*brïando, briyando*
Pres. Indic.	1	*estreo, estreyo*	*brío, briyo*
	2	*estreas, estreyas*	*brías, briyas*
	3	*estrea, estreya*	*bría, briya*
	4	*estreamos, estreyamos*	*brïamos, briyamos*
	5-6	*estrean, estreyan*	*brían, briyan*
		Pres. Subj.	
1-3		*estree, estreye, estreï, estreyi*	*bríe, briye*
2		*estrees, estreyes, estreïs, estreyis*	*bríes, briyes*
4		*estréenos, estréïnos, estréyenos, estréyinos*	*bríenos, bríyenos*
5-6		*estreen, estreyen, estreïn, estreyin*	*bríen, briyen*
		Imperf. Indic.	
1-3		*estreaba, estreyaba*	*brïaba, briyaba*
2		*estreabas, estreyabas*	*brïabas, briyabas*
4		*estreábanos, estreyábanos*	*brïábanos, briyábanos*
5-6		*estreaban, estreyaban*	*brïaban, briyaban*

[1] This last problem enters even into the non-verbal forms. The fall of medial *ll* 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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	Pret. Indic.	
1	*estreé, estreyé*	*brïé, briyé*
2	*estreates, estreyates*	*brïates, briyates*
3	*estreó, estreyó*	*brïó, briyó*
4	*estreamos, estreyamos*	*brïamos, briyamos*
5-6	*estrearon, estreyaron*	*brïaron, briyaron*
	Fut. Indic.	
1	*estrearé, estreyaré*	*brïaré, briyaré*
2	*estrearás, estreyarás*	*brïarás, briyarás*
3	*estreará, estreyará*	*brïará, briyará*
4	*estrearemos, estreyaremos*	*brïaremos, briyaremos*
5-6	*estrearán, estreyarán*	*brïarán, briyarán*
	Imperf. Subj.	
1-3	*estreara, estreyara*	*brïara, briyara*
2	*estrearas, estreyaras*	*brïaras, briyaras*
4	*estreáranos, estreyáranos*	*brïáranos, briyáranos*
5-6	*estrearan, estreyaran*	*brïaran, briyaran.*

c) The *-i̯ar* verbs of English source.

§ 138. Verbs of English origin pass over to the *i̯ar* 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.[1] 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-i̯ar* 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:

baqui̯ar < BACK + I̯AR
brequi̯ar < BREAK or BRAKE + I̯AR
cambasi̯ar < CANVASS + I̯AR
craquiar < CRACK + „
cuitiar < QUIT + „

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[1] *Phonology* § 260, note 1.

[2] The Judeo-Spanish verbs of Turkish origin also pass over to the *-ear* class, see M. L. Wagner, B. D. R. I, 59.

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chequiar	< CHECK	+ ɪ̯AR	
chitiar	< CHEAT	+	„
estraiquiar	< STRIKE	+	„
fuliar	< FOOL	+	„
pompiar	< PUMP	+	„
puliar	< PULL	+	„
quiquiar	< KICK	+	„
requiar	< RAKE	+	„
riliar	< DRILL	+	„
roseliar	< RUSTLE	+	„
šainiar	< SHINE	+	„
telefoniar	< TELEPHONE	+	„
trampiar	< TRAMP [1]	+	„

§ 139. Verbs of English origin having the palatal consonants *č, š,* immediately before the *i̯* + accented vowel, absorb the *i̯*, as a rule. The result is that the verb may have three developments side by side, 1. the regular *-i̯ar* 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* < **lonchi̯ar* < LUNCH + IAR.

Pres. Indic.

1 *loncheo, loncheyo* [lõ̜ : čẹọ], [lõ̜ : čẹi̯ọ]
2 *loncheas, loncheyas*
3 *lonchea, loncheya*
4 *lonchamos* [lõ̜ : čamụs]
5-6 *lonchan, lonchean, loncheyan*

Pres. Subj.

1-3 *lonche, lonchee, loncheye, loncheyi, lonchëi*
4 *lónchenos, lonchéenos, lonchéyenos, lonchéinos* [lõ̜ : čéïnọs]

Pret. Indic.

1 *lonché* [lõ̜ : čẹ́]
2 *lonchates* [lõ̜ : čatẹs]
3 *lonchó* [lõ̜ : čọ́]
4 *lonchamos* [lõ̜ : čamụs]
5-6 *loncharon* [lõ̜ : čarọn]

[1] Most of the phonetic changes involved in these forms are discussed in *Phonology,* Ch. V.

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2. *chachar* < **chachi̯ar* < CHARGE < I̯AR.

Pres. Indic.

1 *chacho, chacheo, chacheyo* [čačǫ], [čačẹǫ], [čačẹi̯ǫ]
3 *chachan, chachean, chacheyan*

Pret. Indic.

1 *chaché* [čąčẹ́] 5-6 *chacharon* [čačarǫn]
2 *chachates* [čačatęs]

Imperf. Subj.

1-3 *chachara* [čačarą] 4 *chachárano*s [čačárąnos]

3. *pušar* < *pušiar* < PUSH + I̯AR

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, pušćyinos, pušëïnos*

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*

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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 *áe* (two syllables) to *ai* is probably phonetic. In New Mexico, the law seems to be that *áe* becomes *ai* while *aé* become *e* (see *Phonology* § 62), hence TRAE > *trai,* CAEN > *cain*; but on the other hand CAER > *quer,* TRAER > *trer.*[2] *Caimos* and *traimos* are probably analogical forms, since *ai* and not *aé* 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.[3] *Truje* is from old Spanish *troxe* < Lat. *TRAUXĪ < TRAXUĪ, while *traje* < TRAXĪ.

e) The *-eír* 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.

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[1] See § 115.

[2] This is according to the general N. M. S. law, as RAFAEL > *Rafel,* ISRAEL > *Isrel,* etc. (*Phonology* § 62), and the vowel of the infinitive has nothing to do with the matter.

[3] *Phonology,* § 35.

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a similar development with the analogical (sometimes phonetic? see § 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 *riía, friía* < REÍA, FREÍA are purely phonetic and these with the analogical *y* develop the later forms, *riyía, friyía,* etc. The forms *ri̯eron, ri̯endo, fri̯eron* etc., < RIERON, etc. are also phonetic, being due to the consonantization of *i* before a tonic vowel. *R̈iemos, fr̈iemos* are analogical (see § 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.		*r̈iendo, riyendo, ri̯endo*	*ingri̯endo*
Past. Part.		*rido, riido, riyido*	*ingrido, engrido*
Pres. Indic.	1	*río, riyo*	*ingro*
	2	*ríes, riyes*	*ingres*
	3	*ríe, riye*	*ingre*
	4	*r̈iemos, riyemos*	*ingremos*
	5-6	*ríen, riyen*	*ingren*

analogy to regular conjugation

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

Pres. Subj.	1-3	*ría, riya*	*ingra*
	2	*rías, riyas*	*ingras*
	4	*ríanos, ríyanos*	*íngranos*
	5-6	*rían, riyan*	*ingran*
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*riía, riyía* (*ría rare*)	*ingría, ingriya*
	4	*riíanos, riyíanos*	—[2]
	5	*riían, riyían*	—[2]

ut Pres. Indic.

[1] The forms are given in order of common occurrence. The order of development was REIR > *riir* > *rir* (phonetic), *riyir* (phonetic or analogical).

[2] These forms are not in common use and it is uncertain to determine with precision, the regular usage.

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Pret. Indic.	1	*ri, rií, riyí*[1]	—
	2	*rites, riites, riyites*	*engrites, ingrites*
	3	*rió, riyó, rịó*	*ingrịó*
	4	*rimos, riimos, riyimos*	—
	5-6	*rieron, rịeron, riyeron*	*ingrịeron*
Fut. Indic.		Regular with any infinitive stem, but more commonly with the short stems, *rir, frir.*	
Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*riera, rịera, riyera*	*ingrịera*
	4	*riéranos, rịéranos, riyéranos*	*ingrịéranos*
	5-6	*rieran, rịeran, riyeran*	*ingrịeran*

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.[2] 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, *eé* or *ée* may in some cases remain unchanged.

§ 145. The forms of *crer* are the following:

Infin.		*crer, creyer*[3]
Pres. Part.		*creyendo, creendo* (rare)
Past. Part.		*creído*[3]
Pres. Indic.	1	*creo, creyo, creigo,*[4] *crịó,*[5] *cro*[6]
	2	*creïs, creis, creyes, creyis, cres*
	3	*creï, crei, creye, creyi, cre*
	4	*creemos, creyemos, creimos, cremos*
	5-6	*creïn, creyin, creyen, crein*

[1] The development is REí > *rii* > *rí*, later *riyí* < *rii.*

[2] *Phonology,* §§ 67, 68.

[3] With the infinitive pres. subj. and p. p. forms the prefix *en-* may occur, *encrer, encreído,* § 117.

[4] See § 119.

[5] See § 106 and *Phonology,* § 9.

[6] *Phonology,* § 70.

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Pres. Subj.	1-3	*crea, creya, creiga*[1]
	4	*créanos, créyanos, créiganos*
Imp. Indic.		*creiba* etc. (§ 116). Also *creyía, creyías* etc., and *creiguía, creiguías* etc., both rare.
Pret. Indic.	1	*creí, creyí*
	2	*creítes, creyites*
	3	*creó, creyó*
	4	*creímos, 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.[2] Exactly like *crer* is conjugated *ler*.

g) The *-oer, -oír, -uïr* verbs.

§ 146. The principal verbs to be considered under these classes are the popular verbs ROER; OÍR; HUIR > N. M. S. *royer, ruïr, ru̯ir; oyer, uïr, u̯ir; juïr, juyir, ju̯ir*. 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.		*royer, róir, ruïr, ru̯ir*	*oyer, óir, uïr, u̯ir*
Pres. Part.		*royendo, roendo*	*oyendo, óindo*[3]
Past. Part.		*roído, roido, ru̯ido, royido* *juïr, juyir, ju̯ir* *juyendo* *juído, juyido, ju̯ido*	*óido, oyido, u̯ido* [u̯iðo]
Pres. Indic.	1	*royo, roigo, roo, ro*	*oyo, oigo, oo*
	2	*royes, roïs, rois*	*oyis, oyes, oïs, ois*

[1] See § 119.

[2] It is to be observed that creído > *créido*, but *creí, creímos* do not develop *créi, créimos*. The analogy of preterites with the tonic *i* has no doubt obstructed the development.

[3] Analogy to *óigo, oyo, roigo, ro*, etc.

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Pres. Indic.	3	*roye, roe, royi, roï*	*oye, oyi, oï, oi*
	4	*royemos, roímos* [1]	*oyemos, oímos,* [1] *u̯imos*
	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*	
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*roya, roa, roiga*	*oya, oa, oiga*
	4	*róyanos, róiganos*	*óyanos, óiganos*
		júyanos, júiganos	
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*roía, royía, roïba* [2]	*oía, oyía, oïba,* [2] *u̯ía*
	4	*roíanos, royíanos, róibanos*	*oíanos, oyíanos, óibanos, u̯íanos*
Pret. Indic.	1	*roí, royí, ruí, ru̯i*	*oí, oyí, uyí, u̯í*
	2	*roïtes, royites, ru̯ites*	*oïtes, oyites, u̯ites*
	3	*royó, roó*	*oyó, oó*
	4	*roïmos, royimos, ru̯imos*	*oïmos, oyïmos, uïmos, u̯imos*
	5-6	*royeron*	*oyeron*
	1	*juï, juyí*	
	2	*juïtes, juyites*	
	3	*juyó*	
	4	*juïmos, juyimos*	
	5-6	*juyeron*	

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, u̯iré, u̯irán; ju̯iré, ju̯irás; ru̯irá* 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.[3]

§ 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 > *juïr, ju̯ir*. Most of the forms of TULLIR > N. M. S., *tuïr,*

[1] Analogy to *óigo, oyo, roigo, ro*, etc.

[2] See § 116.

[3] *Phonology*, § 195. *Roer* has in modern literary Spanish, *royo, roigo, roa, roya, roiga*, etc.

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tu̯ir, have been given already in § 110, III. The forms are the same as those of *ju̯ïr*, given above, in all their developments. See also § 138.

h) The *-u̯ar* verbs.

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

Pres. Indic.	1	*gradu̯o, grado*	*continu̯o, contino*
	2	*gradu̯a, grada*	*continu̯a, contina*
	3	*gradu̯amos, gradamos*	*continu̯amos, continamos*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*gradu̯e, grade*	*continu̯e, contine*
	4	*grádu̯enos, grádenos*	*contínu̯enos, contínenos*
	5-6	*gradu̯en, graden*	*continu̯en, continen*

The double development appears all thru, *gradu̯é, gradé, continuaba, continaba* etc.[1] 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:

1. The *e-ie* verbs *pensar*
2. The *o-ue* verbs *rogar*
3. 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. *sintir*
7. The *o-ue-u* verbs *dormir* > N. M. S. *durmir*

[1] See, for the changes *u̯e* > *e*, *u̯o* > *o*, etc., § 77.

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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*	*juego*[1]
	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*
	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 tho regularly developed in Old Spanish with the regular vocalic alternations, lost the diphthongized forms in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, are still regularly con-

[1] 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.

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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* etc.
2	*forzar*	*forza*	*forzan*	*fórcenos* etc.
3	*holgar*	*holga*	*holgan*	*hólgenos* etc.
4	*herrar*	*herre*	*herran*	*hérrenos* etc.[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* [kṳ̈eso̱, kṳ̈eso̱ etc.].[3]

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, ṳ̈elo, güelo*
	2	*oles, ṳ̈eles, güeles*
	3	*ole, ṳ̈ele, güele*
	4	*olemos, golemos,*
	5-6	*olen, ṳ̈elen, güelen*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*ola, ṳ̈ela, güela*
	4	*ólanos, ṳ̈élanos, güélanos*
	5-6	*olan, gṳ̈elan, ṳ̈elan*
Imperf. Indic.		*olía, golía, olíanos, golíanos,* etc.
Pret. Indic.		*olí, golí, olites, golites,* etc.
Imperf. Subj.		*oliera, goliera, oliéranos, goliéranos,* etc.

[1] See also Bello-Cuervo, *Gram.*[11], *Notas* 77, 134.

[2] *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, jerramos, jierran; jierre, jiérrenos,* 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).

[3] In Bogota this same phenomen is found (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 238).

[4] *Phonology,* § 118.

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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* < FREÍR, *rir, riir* < REÍR, 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

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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]

[1] 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* > *sintiá,* DURMIERAN > *durmiean* > *durmián,* etc.; see § 110 and *Phonology,* §§ 85, 185.

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With the verb *dormir*, metathesis is frequent: *drumir, drumía, 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* [męsko̯, męską, męskąn], forms frequent in old Spanish to the end of the XVIIth century, and even later.[1] 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* [bẽ̯:dizgą]
4 *bendíganos, bendíscanos, bendísganos* [bẽ̯:dízgąno̯s]
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.*

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.,* § 112, 3.

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§ 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, húe*
	2	*hubites, hüites*
	3	*hubo, húo*
	4	*hubimos, huímos*
	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	*es*	*esta, 'sta, 'ta*[5]
	4	*semos*[4]	*estamos, stamos*
	5	*son*	*están, stan, tan*
Pres. Subj.		*sea, seya,*[6] *s̨á,*[7] etc.	*esté, sté, te,* etc.
Pret. Indic.	1	*fu̯í, ju̯í*	*estuve, estúe,* etc. as *hube*
	2	*fu̯ites, ju̯ites*	*húe,* etc., § 158[8]

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

[2] These forms include further phonetic developments, fully discussed in the *Phonology.* A complete loss of *he* or *ha*, for example is quite frequent: *nu̯e 'cho nada* [nu̯ęčǫna¹] < NO HE HECHO OR HA HECHO, NADA.

[3] See § 119.

[4] I have already called attention to the probable origin of this form, *Phonology* § 38.

[5] See § 120.

[6] See § 127.

[7] See § 106.

[8] Of the strong preterites all follow these forms. *Andar,* however, has *andé, andates,* etc., forms found also in other dialects, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 252.

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3 *fu̯é, ju̯é*
4 *fu̯imos, ju̯imos*
5 *fu̯eron, ju̯eron*

In the imperf. subj. *haber* may have *huyera, huyeras*, etc., < HUBIERA, 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, teẽr*
Pr. Part.		*teni̯endo, teñendo,*[1] *teyendo* (rare)
Pt. Part.		*tenido, tẽído, tinido*
Prs. Indic.	1	*tengo, tẽo*[2]
	2	*ti̯enes, ti̯ẽes,*[3] *ti̯ees, ti̯és*
	3	*ti̯ene, ti̯ẽe,*[3] *ti̯ẽ, ti̯é*
	4	*tenemos, teẽmos, temos*
	5-6	*ti̯enen, ti̯ẽen,*[3] *ti̯een, ti̯en*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*tenga, tẽa*
	4	*ténganos, tẽanos*
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*

[1] *Phonology,* § 150.
[2] *Ibid.* § 32.
[3] *Ibid.* §§ 31, 32, 209.
[4] *Ibid.* § 148.
[5] For the forms *entengas, entengues,* etc., see § 117.
[6] 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 *dejía, dijía,* etc.

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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:

Infin.		*ir, dir* (rare)[2]
Pres. Part.		*yendo, iyendo, ïendo*
Past. Part.		*ido, ío*
Pres. Indic.	1	*voy, vo*
	2	*vas*
	3	*va*
	4	*vamos, amos*;[3] *vam,*[3] *am*; *vãos*; *ãos*
	5-6	*van*; *vam*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*vaya, vaa,*[4] *vaiga*;[5] etc.[6]
Imperf. Indic.	1-3	*íba, ía* (thru fall of medial *b,* § 110), etc.

§ 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*[7]
Pres. Indic.	1	*quiero, quieo, quió*
	2	*quieres, quiees, quiés*[8]
	3	*quiere, quiee, quié*
	4	*queremos*[7]
	5-6	*quieren, quieen, quién*

[1] *Satisfacer* has a weak pret., *satisfací, satisfació,* etc.

[2] 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.).

[3] *Phonology,* §§ 178, 207.

[4] *Ibid.* § 187.

[5] See § 120.

[6] Tho very rarely, one may hear also, *va, vas, va, vanos, van.*

[7] The *r* seems to remain as a rule when before the accent.

[8] *Phonology,* § 185.

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Pres. Subj.	1-3	*quiẹra, quiẹa, quiẹá*
	2	*quiẹra, quiẹas*
	4	*quiẹ́ranos, quiẹ́anos*
	5-6	*quiẹran, quiẹan*
Imperf. Indic.		*quería, quiría, quirẹ́á*, 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.
		[kędrẹ́, kędríą, etc.]
Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*quisiẹra, quijiẹra, quisiẹa, quisiẹá, quijiẹá*
	4	*quisiẹ́ranos, quijiẹ́ranos, quisiẹ́anos, quisiẹ́ános*
	5-6	*quisiẹran, quijiẹran, quisiẹan, quisiẹán, quijiẹán*

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

Pres. Indic. and Subj. { *veo, veyo, veigo.* / *vea, veya, veiga*, etc.

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.[1] *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. { *quepo, cabo; cabes* etc. / *sé, sabo; sabes* etc.

[1] *Phonology*, § 69, note 1.

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

Saber has also a regular fut. and condit. *saberé, saberás, sabería, saberías,* 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	*pu̯edo, pu̯eo, pu̯ó* (*po,* rare)
	2	*pu̯edes, pu̯ees, pu̯és*
	3	*pu̯ede, pu̯ee, pu̯é*
	4	*podemos, poemos*
	5-6	*pu̯eden, pu̯een, pu̯én*
Pres. Subj.	1-3	*pu̯eda, pu̯ea, pu̯á*
	2	*pu̯edas, pu̯eas, pu̯ás*
	4	*pu̯édanos, pu̯éanos*
	5-6	*pu̯edan, pu̯ean, pu̯án*
Imperf. Subj.	1-3	*pud̯iera, puyera*
	4	*pud̯iéranos, 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.*[1]

Pres. Indic.	1	*pongo, põo*	Pres. Subj.	1-3 *ponga, põa*[2]
	2	*pones, pões*		4 *pónganos, põanos*
	3	*pone, põe*		5 *pongan, põan*
	4	*ponemos, poẽmos*		
	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

[1] *Phonology,* § 28.

[2] This may be analogy to *põo, pões,* but it may be phonetic, see *Phonology* § 32.

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first conjugation *in toto* and that the *-i̯ar* 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, -i̯ar* 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*[2] (< 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 (= *i̯ar*?), see Lenz, *Diccionario Etimolójico,* etc. (1904-1910), *causear, chambonear, champear, chasconear, chicotear* (used also in N. Mex.), *chinear, huancar,* etc., *s. v.*

[2] See *Phonology,* § 104.

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¿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

[1] For more examples, see Cuervo, *Diccionario, s. v.*

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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* < cŏctu 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]

[1] Pietsch, however (*Mod. Phil.* July 1909), shows that *duecho* can be also derived from *dŭctu.*

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