Studies in New Mexican Spanish

Part II, Morphology

by

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(Continuation.)[1]

Chapter V. Verbs.

I. General Changes.

a) Preliminary Remarks.

§ 103. In popular New Mexican Spanish the Spanish verb has lost many forms. The imperfect subjunctive in *-s-* and the future subjunctive have been lost *in toto*. There are therefore only two subjunctive forms, the present and the *-r*-form of the imperfect.

§ 104. The second person plural is lost in all tenses. The plural of *tú* is *ustees, ustés,* and the corresponding third person plural of the verb is used. A New Mexican father says to his child: *anda con él,* and to his children: *anden con él.*[2]

§ 105. On account of the loss of the second person of the plural the number of conjugations has been reduced to two, in regular as well as in the radical changing verbs of the third conjugation the first person of the plural following the stem and ending of the singular and 3d plural by analogy:

1. *digo decimos* > *digo dicemos.*[3]
2. *dices dicen* > *dices dicen.*
3. *dice dicen* > *dice dicen.*

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[1] Cf. RDR III (1911), 251-286.

[2] The loss of *vosotros* is found in the popular language in nearly all America and many parts of Spain, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 307.

[3] Such forms have, in my opinion, nothing to do with the old Spanish *dicemos,* etc., cf. Gassner, *Das Altspanische Verbum* (Halle 1897), p. 27, forms which were etymological in many cases. See also Hanssen, *Sp. Gram.* p. 76.

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1. *parto partimos* > *parto partemos.*
2. *partes parten* > *partes parten.*
3. *parte parten* > *parte parten.*

It is even possible that the analogy of the present subjunctive may have helped in such verbs which have like vowels in stem and ending. Just as *pida, pidas, pida, pídanos, pidan, pidan* (*i-a,* thruout), likewise *pido, pides, pide, pidemos, piden, piden* (*i-e,* thruout). Analogy within the single tense, however is sufficient as is clear from such forms as *sienta, sientas, sientas, siéntanos, sientan, sientan*; *duerma, duermas, duerma, duérmanos, duerman, duerman.* One form could not struggle and maintain its existence against five.

The second and third conjugations are therefore only one, except in the infinitive. All such verbs as *pidir, midir, vistir,* etc. have fallen together with the regular verbs of the second and third conjugation, and *escrebir, recebir, almetir* (*admitir*) which in the infinitive may be archaic forms,[1] likewise were assimilated to these, the result being a new regular second conjugation with verbs of the second and third and the *e-i* class of the third. It is to be observed that in all this second conjugation the verbs of the original third conjugation with *i* in the present subjunctive, have made the *i* general in the indicative, while those that have *o-ue, e-ie* have followed a different development see §§ 148, 149.

b) Accent.

§ 106. A number of changes in accent have taken place in the N. M. S. verb, some by phonetic processes others by analogy.

A. The pureley phonetic changes are the following:

1. Unemphatic verb forms ending in *eo, ea, ean, eas, ae, aen, aes,* may shift the accent to the strong vowel, the dissyllabic endings becoming monosyllabic:[2] PASEO > *pasió,* PASEAN > *pasián,* LEA > *liá,* VEO > *vió,* CREO > *crió,* VEAS > *viás*;[3] CAEN > *cain,* TRAES > *trais,* CAERÁ > *cairá,* etc.

2. For the same reason as in 1. the imperfect ending *ía, ías,* etc. may become *iá, iás,* etc., in popular speech: PARECÍA > *pareciá,* DEBÍA > *debiá* or *deyá,* VENÍA > *veniá* or *viniá,* etc.

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[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.,* § 105, 2.

[2] *Phonology,* § 9.

[3] The development of *y* to break the hiatus or analogical occurs when the forms are emphatic, *paseyo, creyo,* etc., see §§ 125-130, etc.

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3. Likewise all *íe, ío,* may become *ié ió*: FÍO > *fió,* FÍES > *fiés, ensiye* or *ensíe* (ensille) > *ensié,* etc.

4. Thru the fall of an interovocalic consonant the accent may shift as in 1. above: TRAJERON > *trajéon* > *trajión,* COMPRARON > *compraon* > *comprón,* VINIERON > *viniéon* > *vinión,* etc. All the above changes are not always found but they are by no means rare.

B. Analogical changes:

1. By the analogy of the accent of the singular and the 3d person of the plural (in N. M. S. also a second person plural) the accent of the first person plural of the present subjunctive is shifted back one syllable:

compre	*cómprenos*	*vaya*	*váyanos*
compres	*compren*	*vayas*	*vayan,*
compre	*compren*	*vaya*	*vayan,* etc.[1]

c) M > *n.*

§ 107. One of the distinguishing changes of the N. M. S., is the presence of *n* for *m* in the first person plural of the imperfect and conditional indicative and thruout the subjunctive (observe also the change of accent in the present subjunctive, § 106, B.):[2] HABLEMOS > *háblenos,* COMPRÁRAMOS > *compráranos,* ESTARÍAMOS > *estaríanos,* ÉRAMOS > *éranos.*

The change here involved is not clear. Hills, *op. cit.* sees an analogy with *vámonos* > VAMOS + NOS and like forms. Such an explanation seems attractive, but is not entirely satisfactory. It is to be observed that the change takes place only when the accent falls on the antepenultima, and therefore not in the present indicative, future indicative, preterite indicative. There is no change in, *vemos, damos, estaremos, dijimos, queremos.*

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[1] This is a change found in Columbia, Castile, Andalucía, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 282 and also in Mexico, Ramos y Duarte, 294. The analogy of the singular alone, however, could not change the 1st person plural without the help of the 3d plur. It is even possible that the accent of *vámonos* may have had its influence, since this may also explain the *n* < M, see Hills, N. M. S., page 730. The last change, however is not clear, see § 107.

[2] See *Phonology,* § 142. According to Ramos y Duarte, 247, this change is found also in Chihuahua and Michoacán (Mexico), but from the examples given, it apparently occurs only in the imperfect indicative. A more extended study may reveal the fact that the phenomenon is general in all the Mexican territory.

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Furthermore the change seems to be limited, even in the cases mentioned above, to the proparoxytonic forms. There is no change in *demos, estémos,* but there is in *dábanos* < DÁBAMŌS. The accent when immediately before the *m* does not favor its change.

The presence of *n* in all these forms is doubtless analogical, but the reason for the difference of development which favors the change in proparoxytonic 1st person plurals, and not in others is not clear. The analogy seems to be subject to another fixed law. No doubt, the analogy comes from the pronoun *nos* in its various uses. New Mexicans use the reflexive and other pronouns very frequently and redundantly. The use of reflexives after certain verb forms is as common as before the verb form: *Se querían ir* or *querían s' ir, nos estábanos vistiendo, estábanonos vistiendo* or *estábanos vistiéndonos, estábanos helándonos de frío* etc. Such forms as *queríamonos ir* < QUERÍAMOS + NOS IR, *vámonos* > VAMOS + NOS (cf. Hills, *op. cit.*), and also such juxtaposed forms as *nos estábamos, estábamos nos* and *estábamos helándonos, nos estábamos helando,* favor the change in question. The exact source of the analogy is difficult to find, and the reason why the analogy is not complete is much more so.

d) The ending of the peterite 2nd pers. sing.

§ 108. Another distinguishing characteristic of N. M. S. is the ending *-tes* instead of *-ste* in the second person singular of the preterite: *comprates, comites, vites* < VISTE, etc.[1] Cuervo observes (see note) that in Spain *tú dijistes, tú hablastes* are due to the analogy of other second person singulars, while the same form in America he thinks may be the old plural ending in *stes* < Latin-STĪS. There is no reason for such a difference. The form in *-stes, comistes, vivistes,* etc., was used up to the end of the 17th century as a regular plural. It was replaced by the analogical *-steis* after Calderón and after him rarely used. It was not regularly used for the singular at any time. The singular form is of independent development and originated in Spain in the XVth century. The analogical *s* was added from the other second person singulars as Cuervo states, and that is the source of the forms, *comistes, dijistes,* as second person singulars

[1] The form is also found in Arizona und California. In Columbia is used also *-stes, dijistes,* etc., a form Cuervo believes, borrowed from the old plural, *Apuntaciones,* § 267. The form *-tes* which Cuervo also finds in popular poetry, he leaves unexplained.

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both in Spain and America.[1] As long as the plural of similar form lasted there may have been a feeling of confusion which helped the gradual development of the analogical plural *-steis*. The form lasted as a second singular, however, and in the popular language became the regular form.

The further development of the fall of the *s* before *t*, *pegates* < PEGASTES, *dites* < DISTES, *vites* < VISTES, etc., which is also very old (see note, below), is the regular one in Mexico, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California. The fall of the *s* here is left unexplained by Menéndez Pidal and Cuervo. There may be here a phonetic reason, namely dissimilation before final *s*, a change which may have taken place in both the singular and plural forms in the popular language long ago, but as a plural it has practically died out in any form, everywhere.

e) The final vowel.

§ 109. The changes which any word may undergo, subject to the general N. M. S. phonetic laws, have been many times explained. The laws will not be repeated here, but the verbforms will be given as affected by these changes.[2] Following these laws the N. M. S., verb may have the various forms given below:

I. Pres. Indic. HABLO > *hablo, hablu̯, habl'*; HABLA > *habla, habl'*; COMO > *como, comu̯, com'*; COME > *come, comi̯, com'*; VIVO > *vivo, vivu̯, viv'*; VIVE > *vive, vivi̯, viv'*; SÉ > *se, si̯, s'*; SABE > *sabe, sabi̯, sab'*; HA > *ha, h'*, etc. etc.

II. Imperf. Indic. COMPRABA > *comprába, comprab'*; ERA > *era, er'*; VIVÍA > *vivía, viví'*, etc. etc.

III. Preterite Indic. COMPRÉ > *compré*; *compri̯, compr'*;[3] COMPRÓ > *compró*; *compru̯, compr'*;[4] PARTÍ > *partí*; *parti̯, part'*;[5] DIÓ > *dió*; *diu̯, di'* (before *u̯* also *di̯*);[6] HUBE > *hube, hubi̯, hub'*; DIJO

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[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 107. In literature, Pidal gives examples of *tú dijistes* from Cañizares 1676-1750, but in Jewish Spanish is found *cogites* < COGISTES.

[2] The majority of these laws were treated in *Phonology*, §§ 84-93, and their application has been seen in the treatment of the articles, pronouns, etc.

[3] Only when the following *e* or *i* is tonic: *compr' ése* < COMPRÉ ÉSE; *compri̯ úno* < COMPRÉ UNO (notice the shift of accent to *u*).

[4] Only when the following *o* or *u* is tonic: *compr' un libro* < COMPRÓ UN LIRRO; *compru̯ álgo* < COMPRÓ ALGO.

[5] Ut supra.

[6] *Le di̯ ún líbro* < LE DÍ UN LIBRO.

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> *dijo, dijų, dij'*; FUÉ > *fué, fų', f'* (or *jué, jų, j'*);[1] FUÍ > *fuí, fų', f'* (or *jui, jų, j'*).[1]

IV. Future Indic. SERÉ > *seré, serį, ser'*; SERÁ > *será, ser'*, etc., etc.

V. Cond. Indic. DARÍA > *daría, darí*, etc., ut imperf.

VI. Imperative. DA > *da, d'*; VE > *ve, vį, v'*.

VII. Pres. subj. DÉ > *de, dį, d'*; VIVA > *viva, viv'*; VAYA > *vaya, vaa, va, v'*; VEA > *vea, viá; ve', vį'*; PUEDA > *pueda, pued'* or *puá, pų'* (when *d* falls).

VIII. Imperf. subj. FUERA > *juera, juer'*; SUPIERA > *supiera, supier'*, etc.[2]

IX. The participles. HACIENDO > *haciendo, haciendų, haciend'*; DANDO > *dando, dandų, dand'*; AMADO > *amao, amau, ama'*;[3] DADO > *dao* > *dau, da'*; PARTIDO > *partido, partío, partíų*; DICHO > *dicho, dichų, dich'*; ESCRITO > *escrito, escritų, escrit'* (also *escribido*).

X. Infinitives. There are two infinitives which may end in vowels in N. M. S., *cai* < CAER, *trai* < TRAER.[4] *cai* > *cai, ca', cay* (before accented *e, o, a*); *trai* > *trai, tra', tray* (before accented *e, o, a*).

f) Medial and final consonants.

§ 110. Medial consonants. Medial *d* (intervocalic) falls as a rule in N. M. S.[5] Intervocalic *b, v, g, r, n,* may also fall, tho not always,[6] and intervocalic *ll* falls under certain fixed laws.[7] Such developments have brought about a large number of changes in the N. M. S., verb system, which have, in the main, been seen already in the *Phonology*. The fall of the intervocalic consonant may frequently cause a further development required by the juxtaposition of vowels. A complete record of the numerous forms which one may find in the N. M. S., verb as a result of the phenomena in question is not necessary, as it would involve various repetitions. A brief list of some forms involving the fall of *d, r* and *ll* will be given. The reasons for the

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[1] See *Phonology*, § 94.

[2] Here also the fall of *r* would give, *supiea, supie', supiá, supį'*: *si yo supié onde sta* < SI YO SUPIERA DONDE ESTÁ, etc.

[3] The fall of *d* in *-ado* is regular, *Phonology*, 180 (2).

[4] These infinitives have various forms. *Cai* and *trai* are the regular forms in Southern Colorado. For all the forms see §§ 140-141.

[5] *Phonology*, §§ 180.

[6] *Ibid.* § 178, 183, 185.

[7] *Ibid.* § 158.

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change of accent from the weaker to the stronger vowel, the change of *e* to *i̯* and of *o* to *u̯*, of *ao* to *au*, *ea* to *a*, etc., will no longer be explained or even referred to.

I. Changes due to the fall of intervocalic *d*:

a) AMADO > *amau*, estado > *estau*.
b) PUEDO > *pu̯eo* > *pu̯ó*.
c) PUEDAN > *pu̯ean*, *pu̯án*.
e) ME DIÓ > *me yó*.
f) PUEDE IR > *pué ir*.
g) LE PEDI > *le peí*.
h) NO SUDÓ > *no sŭó* > *no su̯ó*, etc., etc.

II. Changes due to the fall of intervocalic *r*. These are for the most part the endings of the 3d plural of the preterite and the endings of the imperfect subjunctive:

a) COMPRARON > *compraon* > *comprón*.
b) DIJERON or DIJIERON > *dijiéon*, *dijión*.
c) SUPIERA > *supiea*, *supiá*.
d) FUERA > *juera*, *juea*, *juá*.
e) COMPRARA > *compraa*, *comprá*.
f) HUBIERAN > *hubiean*, *hubián*, etc., etc.

The fall of *r* is also frequent in:

g) QUIERO > *quieo* > *qui̯o*; QUIEREN > *quién*; QUIERES > *quiés*, etc.

III. Changes due to the fall of intervocalic *ll*. These changes are different from those mentioned in I and II above, in that they are the general rule and not possibilities. Numerous examples are given in *Phonology*, § 158. As there explained, its complete fall or its change to *y* varies with different groups, and also with locality. The verbs *callar*, *trillar* and *tullirse* when conjugated will give us most of the groups:

CALLO > *cayo*
CALLAS > *cayas*, *caa*
CALLE > *caye*, *cae*
CALLÉ > *cayé* (*caé* rare)
CALLARON > *cayaron*, *caaron*
CALLARÉ > *cayaré*, *caaré*
CALLARÍAMOS > *cayarían*os, *caarían*os
CALLAR > *cayar*, *caar*
etc. etc.

TRILLO > *trío* (also *triyo* etc.)
TRILLAN > *trían*
TRILLABA > *trïaban*
TRILLEN > *tríen*
TRILLÉ > *trïé*
TRILLARÁN > *trïarán*
TRILLANDO > *trïando*
TRILLAR > *trïar*
etc. etc.

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ME TULLO > *me tuyo* (also *tuigo*, see § 118)
TE TULLES > *te tuyes, túes*
SE TULLA > *se tuya, tüa* (rare)
ME TULLÍ > *me tüí, tuyí*
SE TULLÓ > *se tuyó*
SE TULLERON > *se tuyeron*
TULLIDO > *tüído, tuyido*
TE TULLITES > *te tüítes, tuyntes.*[1]

§ 111. Final consonants. The final consonants in the N. M. S., verb are *l, n, r, s, z* > *s*. Of these, *n, r, s,* deserve special mention.

I *n*. For the changes of final *n* and its effect on preceding and following vowels, see *Phonology,* §§ 20 fol.

a) When final before a vowel it may remain unchanged: *están aquí.*

b) When followed by a guttural consonant it becomes velar nasal [ŋ]: ESTÁN BUENOS > *estaŋ güenos* [ęstaŋgu̯ęnǫs]; SON GATOS > *soŋ gatos*; COMPRAN CAFÉ > *compraŋ café.*

c) When before the labials the *n* becomes *m*: HAN PERDIDO MUCHO > *ham perdido muncho*; DABAN VOCES > *dabam boses* [davə̂ᵐbǫsęs].

Any verb form ending in *n* undergoes the above changes regularly. Furthermore, other less frequent changes may occur, involving the developments mentioned in *Phonology,* §§ 22-30.

II *r*. Final *r* in the verb occurs only in the infinitive.

a) It is usually silent in the verbs, *cai*; *trai* < CAER; TRAER, in any position: SE ESCAPÓ DE CAER > *s' escapu̯ e cai*; NO LO QUIERE TRAER > *no lo quié trai.*

b) The *r* of the infinitive is regularly silent before a postpositive pronoun beginning with *l*: HE DE VERLO > *he de velo*; DESEO ESCRIBIRLES > *desi̯ó 'scribiles*; ANDA Á VERLAS > *anda velas*; VOY Á COMPRARLE > *voy á comprale.*[2]

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[1] In *Phonology* § 157 I have given a general statement about the fall of medial *ll* in the Spanish dialects. It should be added that in some localities of Mexico (Chihuahua, Sonora), Ramos y Duarte, 148, 219, etc., the fall of *ll* is also found especially in the groups, *ello, ella, illo, illa.* It seems that the complete loss of *y* < LL, in the modern Spanish dialects is everywhere following a parallel development, and very similar to what has already happened in the French dialects.

[2] This phenomenon is found in the modern dialects of Asturias, Santander, Miranda, Extremadura, Andalucía, Aragón, *Phonology,* § 285. The change of RL > *ll* by assimilation as found in the Classic poets and in some modern dialects does not take place in N. M. S.

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III *s*. Final *s* becomes usually *h* (a slight aspirate, see *Phonology*, §§ 111, 153, 154, 186) in N. M. S.

a) Before *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, it usually falls completely: ESTÁS SIEMPRE AQUÍ > *stá jiemprį aquí*; TÚ ERES RICO > *tų ere' rico* or *erez rico*.

b) Before *į*, or rather combined with a following *į* (< LL, Y, I, E, see *Phonology*, § 163), *s* becomes š, ž: ES YA TIEMPO > *eš a tiempo*; ESTARÍAS LLENO DE SOQUETE > *estaríašenų e soquete*; TÚ NO VES LLOVER > *tu no veš* (or *vež*) *over*.

All verb forms ending in *s* may undergo the above changes. The change to *h* is frequent in all other positions.

g) Analogical developments.

§ 112. In the third person plural of the present subjunctive, when used as an imperative with a following enclitic pronoun ending in *e*, the final *n* of the verb leaves its position and appears finally, by analogy to third person plurals, the verb and pronoun appearing in the minds of the vulgar folk as a single verbal form: VÁYANSE > *vayasen*, DÍGANME > *dígamen*, DENME > *demen*, DENLE > *delen*, HÁGANME > *hágamen*, etc.[1] Less frequently one may also hear both *n's*: *háganmen*, *díganlen*, *síentensen*, *pónganlen*, etc.

§ 113. The historical present of any verb whose imperative singular ends in a consonant is of like form, dropping the final *e*, etc. The analogy results from the fact that the imperative singular is like the historical present (third person singular) in all regular verbs:

Imperative	Hist. pres.	Imperative	Hist. pres.
habla	*habla*	*pon*	*pon* (= *pone*)
come	*come*	*sal*	*sal* (= *sale*)
parte	*parte*	*ven*	*ven* (= *viene*)
		haz	*haz*
		ten	*ten*

The analogy is limited, of course to such form as have such resemblances. The imperative could have no influence in such different forms as, *es-se*, *va-ve*.

§ 114. By analogy to the indicative, the singular imperatives (there is no plural imperative in N. M. S. see § 104) of *entretener*,

[1] *Phonology*, § 214. These phenomena are also found in Columbia, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 325.

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contradecir, componer, are *entretiene, contradice, compone.* The change here is exactly the contrary to § 114. In the following verbs both the regular and the new analogical forms are used: *decir-dí* or *dice, hacer-haz* or *hace, prevenir-preven* or *previene, oponer-opón* or *opone, detener-detén* or *detiene.* This confusion is also found in Columbia and some parts of Spain.[1]

§ 115. Analogical futures and conditionals.

1. By analogy to futures and conditionals in *-dr, r = dr* in the future and conditional of *traer, caer > trair, trer, trayer*; *cair, quer, cayer* (see § 148): *caidré, caidrás, caidrá*; *traidré, traidrás, traidrá*; *caidría, traidría*; *tredré* (rare), etc.

2. By analogy to futures and conditionals in *-dr, rr = dr* in these tenses in the verb *querer*: *quedré, quedrás*; *quedría, quedríanos, quedrían,* etc.[1]

3. In *poner, venir, tener, salir,* the future and conditional may have *nr* [r̄] > *ndr,* apparently by analogy with the older *rr* of *querré* (= *dr,* however in N. M. S.), or by a phonetic process of assimilation, which is less probable.[2]

§ 116. Analogical imperfect indicatives.

The imperfect indicative of the first conjugation has attracted a number of imperfect indicatives from the other conjugations both from the regular and from the irregular verbs.

The most common are the following:

1. *cai(r)* < CAER : *caiba, caibas, cáibanos, caiban.*
2. *trai(r)* < TRAER : *traiba, traibas, tráibanos, traiban.*
3. *crer* < CREER : *creiba, creibas creíbanos, creiban.*
4. *ler* < LEER : *leiba,* etc. (rare, usually *leía* etc.).
5. *oyer, u̯ir* < OIR : *oiba, oibas,* etc. (also *oyía* etc.).[3]
6. *royer, ru̯ir* < ROER : *roiba, roibas,* etc. (also *royía,* etc.).[3]

(h) Varia.

§ 117. Prosthesis.

a) Vowels: Prosthetic *a* occurs regularly in the following verbs: *aprobar, apariar, amontar, apodar, arrentar, afigurarse, arremedar, acon-*

[1] Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 262.

[2] *Phonology,* § 148.

[3] *Caiba, creiba, oiba,* are also found in Mexico, Ramos y Quarte, *s. v.* See also § 145.

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formarse. The large majority of these forms are doubtlessly analogical forms.[1]

b) Consonants: By analogy and thru confusion of prefixes, prosthetic *d* appears in the prefix *es* < EX (cf., *des* < DE + EX) in the following verbs: *destender, desaminar, destornudar, desagerar.*[2]

c) Syllables: The prefixes *em, en* are found thruout the conjugation of some verbs. *Emprestar* occurs with the prefix thruout, *encrer* < *en* + *creer,* only in the infinitive, present subjunctive (*encreiga,* etc., see § 119) and in the past participle, *encreido.* These two developments are regular only in Santa Fé. In southern Colorado they are rare and in northern N. Mex, these are used side by side with the regular forms.[3]

A more interesting phenomenon is found in the forms *entenga, entengas, entengan,* also *entengue, entengues, entenguen.* Tho only these forms have the prefix *en,* they are general thruout the N. M. S., territory. The forms are not the regular subjunctive forms of *tener.* These are *tenga, tengas,* etc. *Entenga, entengas,* etc., are used as mild commands or rather to repeat a command in the sense of, 'please, will you not', etc. *Ven pronto, entengas?* = be careful to return soon, or return soon, won't you? The semasiology of the problem is, therefore, interesting. The fact that the forms *entengue, entengues, entenguen* have developed (by analogy to subjunctives of the first conjugation), shows that the connection with *tener* is no longer felt.

§ 118. Dittology. This phenomenon appears in the following regular N. M. S., forms thruout the conjugation: *titiritar* < TIRITAR, *cacaraquiar* < *CACACARIAR < CACAREAR.

§ 119. Epenthetic *g* by analogy. By analogy to *traiga* (also *traya* in Old Spanish), *traigas,* etc., *caiga, salga, valga,* etc., in N. M. S., are found the following forms with parasitic *g* : *haiga, haigas,* etc., *vaiga, vaigas,* etc., *veiga, creiga,* etc. Also *tuigo, juigo* (*huyo*), *creigo, veigo,* occur for the same reason. These developments are found in many modern dialects.[4] In old Spanish such verb forms went thru one or more analogical developments. In Vulgar Latin medial *dy* and *gy* had become *y,* so that in old Spanish AUDIO > *oyo,* CADĔO > *cayo,*

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[1] See *Phonology,* § 188.

[2] The modern dialects have often the double forms, and even the literary language has accepted a few, *Phonology,* § 189.

[3] *Emprestar* was a frequent form in Old Spanish, e. g. *F. Juzgo,* I, 11, 20, 90, 91, etc. and is found in Spanish literature also later.

[4] Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 257.

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SEDEA(T) > *seya*, etc., regularly.[1] *vaya* < VADAM, *trayo* < TRAHO, *creyo* < CREDO, are analogical forms, or due to the presence of a *y* to break the hiatus. However that may have been, all such forms were later influenced by the forms where the *g* was original and etymological, and this is the same development now continued in the popular speech of New Mexico, Bogotá, etc. It is also to be observed that *roer* has in the modern language all the forms of these developments existing side by side: *royo, roigo*; *roa, roya, roiga*, etc.

§ 120. Apheresis. Apheresis of *a* occurs in the following verbs: *rebatar, veriguar* (only in Albuquerque), *puñaliar*.

Apheresis of *e* occurs in the following: regularly in *nojarse*, sometimes in *namorarse*, and under certain conditions in *'star*.[2]

§ 121. Metathesis. The following cases of metathesis are not all regular, but may be frequently heard in all the forms of the verb: *graudar* < GRADUAR, *presistir* < PERSISTIR (confusion of prefix), *perferir* (rare), *sevrir* < SERVIR, *frabicar, reditir* < DERRITIR (regular, everywhere), *redamar* < DERRAMAR (regular), *patronisar, cacaraquiar* (§ 117).

§ 122. Contracted stems. Thru the results of vowel contraction and the general developments of vowels juxtaposed within a word (see *Phonology*, §§ 56-70 and 77-92), the following verbs have contracted stems:

1. AU > *u* : *uyar* (< AULLAR).
2. EU > *iu* : *riunir* (< REUNIR).
3. AHI > *i* : *hijar* (< AHIJAR), *hincarse* (< AHINCARSE).
4. AI > *i* : *islarse* (< AISLARSE).
5. AHO > *o* : *hogar* (< AHOGAR), *horcar* (< AHORCAR), *horrar* (< AHORRAR), *deshogar* (< DESAHOGAR).

Contraction was prevented in *ajuyentar, ajondar, ajumar* thru the aspirate character of the old *h* (now *j*) which was strongly felt by the analogy of the common and popular forms, *juir* (< *FUGĪRE), *jondo* (< FŬNDU), *jumo* (< FŪMŬ), etc.

Desafuciarse (< old Sp. *desafuciarse*) < Latin DESAFĪDŪCIĀRE, is an archaic form. The preservation of the original *f* is a characteristic of the Galician and Asturian dialects.[3]

For the results of vowel juxtaposition in the verb endings, the *ear-iar* verbs etc., see III. Verbs like *jŭir* < HUIR, *cai(r)* < CAER, etc., where the endings have blended with the stem are also treated there.

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 113a.
[2] *Phonology*, § 202.
[3] *Ibid.* § 139.

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II. Regular Verbs.

§ 123. Strictly speaking there are only two conjugations in N. M. S. Thru the total loss of the second person plural (§ 104), the second and third conjugations came to differ only in one form, besides the infinitive, namely the first person plural of the present indicative, which in the second conjugation was of the same vocalic stem ending as the other four forms of the present tense, but in the third had an isolated vocalic ending in *i*. This *i* was therefore lost in favor of the *e* of the second conjugation which had other analogies in its favor.[1] With the exception of the infinitive forms, therefore, the second and third conjugations are one.

§ 124. Without taking into account the numerous developments which the New Mexican verb forms may suffer as a result of the changes mentioned in §§ 110-112, the three regular Spanish conjugations have come to the following development in N. M. S.:

I *-ar*	II *-er* III *-ir*
|	∨
I	II

Pres. Indic.	
-o	*-o*
-as	*-es*
-a	*-e*
-amos	*-emos*
-an	*-en*
-an	*-en*

I *-ar*	II *-er* III *-ir*
|	∨
I	II

Imperf. Indic.	
-aba	*-ía*
-abas	*-ías*
-aba	*-ía*
-ábanos	*-íanos*
-aban	*-ían*
-aban	*-ían*

Pret. Indic.	
-é	*-í*
-ates	*-ites*
-ó	*-ió*
-amos	*-imos*
-aron	*-ieron*
-aron	*-ieron*

Fut. Indic. (with infinitive as stem)	
-é	
-ás	
-á	
-emos	(The same)
-án	
-án	

Cond. Indic. (with infinitive as stem)
-ía
-ías
-ía

Pres. Subj.	
-e	*-a*
-es	*-as*
-e	*-a*

[1] See § 105.

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-íanos		*-ęnos*	*-anos*
-ían	(The same)	*-en*	*-an*
-ian		*-en*	*-an*

I *-ar* II *-er* III *-ir*
| ∨
I II

Imperf. Subj.

-ara	*-ięra*
-aras	*-ięras*
-ara	*-ięra*
-áranos	*-ięranos*
-aran	*-ięran*
-aran	*-ięran*

Imperative	*-a* (Singular only)	*-e*
Pres. Participle	*-ando*	*-iendo*
Past. Participle	*-ado, au*[1]	*-ido*

The new formations, *comprates, comites,* the change of *m* to *n* in the first person plural of all tenses except present indicative and future, the shift of the accent in the present indicative and future, the shift of accent in the present subjunctive by analogy, etc., have all been fully explained in §§ 106-109.

§ 125. Comparing the New Mexican conjugation, numerically, with the literary academic conjugation of the modern language, it is at once evident that the New Mexican Spanish verb system has become much impoverished. The literary academic Spanish verb has now a maximum of 59 forms (leaving the compound tenses and periphrastic conjugations aside), while the New Mexican by dropping the second person plural and using only the present and *r* imperfect of the subjunctive has been reduced to a maximum of 39 forms, or about two thirds of the number of the former. The variety of pronunciation and other changes which one may often find in the same form are not taken into consideration in our numerical comparisons, since those would be just as numerous in the academic Spanish when put in the mouths of the uneducated.

III. Vowel juxtaposition in the terminations.

§ 126. Tho hiatus is rare in N. M. S. (*Phonology,* §§ 80-81), it may remain when it is of recent origin and brought about thru the

[1] See § 110, I and *Phonology,* § 180.

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fall of certain intervocalic consonants.[1] Where the hiatus is old it has been destroyed generally. In the verbal system the juxtaposed vowels have not remained, but the hiatus has been destroyed in various ways. In § 122 we have seen, how by contraction, the change of *e* to *i*, etc. hiatus has been destroyed in the verb stems. In *Phonology*, §§ 81-97 we have seen how juxtaposed vowels have developed. Like vowels contract, CREER > *crer*, LEER > *ler*, etc; REÍR > *riir* > *rir*, FREÍR > *friir* > *frir*, etc. In these same verbs, however *y* may be introduced to break the hiatus,[2] CREER > *creyer*, LEER > *leyer*, etc., also *friyir, riyir*. With unlike juxtaposed vowels the development may also be different. CREO > *crio*[3] or *creyo* (*creo* is very rare), also *creigo* (purely analogical, § 118), SEA > *seya, sia*, CAE > *cai, cayi*, TRAER > *trai(r), trayer*, etc.; FÍO > *fiyo*, EMPLEO > *impleyo*, CAÍ > *cayí*, etc. In the verb system, therefore, the presence of *y* to break the hiatus is the rule, tho other developments may also occur. For this reason it is well to treat separately the verbs, both regular and irregular, which have juxtaposed vowels in the terminations. Indeed, the presence of *y* to break the hiatus has come to work with a regularity which brings many otherwise widely separated classes of verbs into the same category, and the *ear-iar* verbs have blended together to the extent that it is hardly possible to keep them apart.

§ 127. Whether the developments which admit the presence of *y* to break the hiatus in the majority of the verb forms thruout the classes which will now be treated separately, are phonetic or analogical, is not always easy to determine with certainty. Most of the developments are analogical, but some may be phonetic. Some may be cases of sound analogy, i. e. analogy not from the verbal inflection of the same verb. The imperfect indicative *creiguía*, etc. (*crer, creyer*), may not have the stem from the analogy of *creigo, veigo*, but may be a mere sound analogy to such imperfects as *seguía, distinguía*, etc. In the forms *creyer, leyer, creye, seya*, etc. they may be analogical in all cases, but the phonetic development is also admissible, since the presence of *y* between such juxtaposed vowels is a general law in N. M. S., in all parts of speech, some cases admitting no analogical explanations.[4] In *cambeyo, copeo, copeyo*, the analogy of course is evident, since not only the *y* but the *eo, eyo*, prove the confusion as we shall soon see.

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[1] See § 111.
[2] *Phonology*, § 97.
[3] *Ibid.* §§ 9 and 83.
[4] *Ibid.* § 97.

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As general types to illustrate the interesting developments found in the N. M. S., verbs which have juxtaposed vowels in the terminations we shall now take up the following verbs, dividing them into seven different classes: a) the *-ear* (in N. M. S. *i̯ar*) *-i̯ar* verbs, b) the *-ear* (< -ELLAR) *-iar* (ILLAR) verbs, c) the *-iar* verbs of English source, d) the *-aer* verbs, e) the *-eír* verbs, f) the *-eer* verbs, g) the *-oir, -üir, oer* verbs, h) the *u̯ar* verbs. These classifications are all based on the original Spanish infinitive endings, which furnish in all cases the point of departure and the basis for the resulting various developments.

(To be continued.)

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