

THE SYNTAX OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE
IN EARLY SPANISH

by

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A.B., University of Kansas, 1909

Submitted to the Department of
Hispanic Languages and
the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University of
Kansas in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

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Sept. 1928

For his interest and assistance in
the preparation of this study I am deep-
ly indebted to Professor Arthur L. Owen.

Preface.

In this study the aim has been to find the correlation between the syntax of the subjunctive of Classical Latin and that of Early Spanish and to point out those usages of the subjunctive in Spanish that are evidently direct developments from the Latin.

Note has been made of the uses of the Spanish subjunctive that do not seem to have a Latin prototype and attention has been called to constructions that occur sporadically or are limited to one or two of the texts studied.

Five texts form the basis of the study. and, since they are representative of the whole period, they no doubt give a fair estimate of the Early Spanish subjunctive constructions.

J.M.C.

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Abbreviations.

Aen.- Aeneid.

Am.- De Amicitia.

Att.- Ad Atticum.

B.G.- Bellum Gallicum.

Brut.- Ad Brutum.

Caes.- Caesar.

Cat.- In Catalinam.

Cic.- Cicero.

Cid- El Cantar de Mio Cid.

Ep.- Epistolae.

Fam.- Ad Familiares.

Fin.- De Finibus.

H.- Horace.

Juan II- La Crónica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo.

Juan Ruiz- El Libro de Buen Amor.

Juv.- Juvenal.

Mil.- Pro Milone.

Ov.- Ovid.

Or.- De Oratore.

Ph.- Phormio.

Phil.- Orationes Philippicae in Antonium.

Pl.- Plautus.

Quintil.- Quintilian.

S.D.- La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos. (Berceo.)

Sen.- De Senectute.

Ter.- Terence.

Tr.- Tristia.

Trin.- Trinummus.

Tusc.- Tusculanae Disputationes.

Ver.- Vergil.

Verr.- In Verrem.

Introduction.

The Latin subjunctive from which the principal constructions of the subjunctive of Early Spanish were derived is made up of remains of two moods for which the Indo-European parent-speech had different forms: the subjunctive, expressing the two distinct ideas of will and anticipation and the optative, expressing the ideas of wish and contingent futurity. Greek and Sankrit kept these two moods distinct from each other, but in Latin they became one mood, the subjunctive.

The Latin subjunctive might be expected to exhibit all four of the original forces, i.e., volitive, pure future, optative and contingent future but the pure future in Latin early came to be felt as indicative. Therefore it includes only three of them, viz: the volitive, optative and contingent future; and from these three primary uses are to be derived all the subjunctive constructions in Latin.¹

¹ See Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar, Chicago 1895, pp. 190-217.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF CLASSICAL LATIN.

Independent Sentences.

I. Volitive Subjunctive. (Willed or wanted.)²

1. Commands.³

"Isto bono utare dum adsit," use this blessing while it is with you; Cic. Sen.10,33.

2. Prohibitions or negative commands.

(Also expressed by cave with a dependent subjunctive.)

"Ne dubitaris mittere," do not hesitate to send; Cic. Att.1,9,2.

"Cave festines," do not be in a hurry; Cic. Fam. XVI,12,6.⁴

3. Hortatory.

(Present subjunctive, first person plural.)

"Residamus, si placet, "we will take seats, if you please (let us take seats); Cic. Fin. 3,2,9.

4. Jussive.

(Present subjunctive, third person singular

² See Hale and Buck, A Latin Grammar, Chicago 1903, p. 239, n.1; (where not otherwise indicated examples are taken from this work.)

³ If addressed to a general second person, commands are expressed by the present subjunctive.

⁴ Gildersleeve and Lodge, A Latin Grammar, New York 1896,271,2.

and plural.)

" Secedant improbi," let the ill-disposed withdraw; Cic. Cat. I,13,32.

5. Proposal or suggestion.

" Vide si hoc utibile magis deputas; ipsum adeam Lesbonicum," see if you think this idea more practical; I will go to Lesbonicus himself; Pl. Trin.748.

6. Resolve.⁵

" Maneam, opinor," I'll stay, I think; Id. 1136.

7. Deliberative.

a Questions or exclamations implying doubt or indignation:

" Quid Romae faciam?" what shall I do in Rome? Juv. 3,41.

b Statements or questions of obligation or propriety:

"Quid ego te invitem ?" why should I urge you ? Cic. Cat. I,9,24.

II. Optative Subjunctive. (Wished or desired.)⁶

1. Present and perfect tenses express a wish

⁵ The regular construction is the future indicative.

⁶ Hale and Buck; Op.cit. 459,b.

that may be realized:

" Sint beati," may they be happy; Cic. Mil. 34,93.

2. Imperfect and past perfect tenses express a wish contrary to fact, i.e., incapable of fulfillment:⁷

" Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset," would that he had led out all his forces with him; Cic. Cat. II,2,4.

3. Imprecations.

(The introductory words are ut and qui.)

" Qui illum di omnes perdant," may all the gods confound him; Ter. Ph. 123.

III. Potential Subjunctive. (Expresses possibility.)

" Cuneo hoc agmen disicias," with a wedge, one could split this line; Livy 22,50,9.

IV. Softened Statements or Questions.

(Velim, Vellem, nolim, and nollem are used.)

" Ego quae in rem tuam sint ea velim facias," I should like you to do that which is for your interest; Ter. Ph. 449

⁷ The imperfect subjunctive refers to present, and the past perfect subjunctive to past time.

Dependent Clauses.

I. Purpose Clauses.

1. Adverbial clauses. (Final clauses.)

a Positive introductory word ut:

"... sin falsus, ut timere desinam, but if false, that I may cease to fear; Cic. Cat. I,7,18.

b Negative introductory word ne:

"Mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne op-primar," free me from fear; if it is well-founded, that I may not be crushed; Id. I,7,18.

c Quo is used with a comparative:

" Id quo maiore faciant animo," that they may do it with greater courage; Caes. B.G. 7,66,6.

2. Relative purpose clauses. ⁸

Introduced by relative pronoun:

" Equitatum qui sustinerent impetum misit," he sent cavalry who were to check the attack; Id. I,24,1.

Introduced by relative adverb:

" Domum, ubi habitaret, legerat," he had se-

⁸ Relative clauses of purpose may be introduced by the relative pronoun qui or by the relative adverbs ubi, unde and quo.

lected a house where he might dwell (that he might dwell in it); Cic. Phil. 2,25,62.⁹

3. A clause of purpose is sometimes used parenthetically:

" Ac ne longum sit,... iussimus," and, to be brief, (in order to be brief),...we ordered; Cic. Cat. 3,5,10.

4. Other ways of expressing purpose in Latin:

a The supine in um after a verb of motion.

b The accusative of the gerund or the gerundive with ad.

c The genitive of the gerund or the gerundive followed by causa or gratia.

d Participles.

e Infinitives in poetry.

II. Result Clauses. (Consecutive Clauses.)

1. Adverbial clauses.

a Positive introductory word ut:

" Tanta rerum commutatio est facta ut nostri proelium reintegrarent," so great a change was made that our men renewed the fight; Caes. B.G. II,27,1.

b Negative introductory words ut non:

⁹ Harkness, Complete Latin Grammar, Chicago 1898, 589, II.

" Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit," no one is so savage that he cannot (be made to) soften; H. Ep. I,1,39. ¹⁰

c Introduced by quin:

" Numquam tam male est Sicilis quin aliquid facete dicant," things never go so badly with the Sicilians that they have'nt some witty thing to say; Cic. Verr. 4,43,95.

2. Relative result clauses: ¹²

" Num quis est tam demens qui arbitretur?" is there anyone so mad (who thinks) as to think; Cic. Mil. 28,78.

3. Ita ut may express a limitation or way by which:

" Ita eludit ut contendat..." he escapes by urging..(in such a way that he urges);

Pliny Ep. I,20,6.

III. Temporal Clauses.

1. Descriptive cum-clauses of situation (called

¹⁰ Gildersleeve and Lodge: Op. cit. 552.

¹¹ Quin is used only after a negative idea, expressed or implied.

¹² The relative clause of result is closely related to the clause of characteristic. It is best to class the clause as one of characteristic, unless the idea of result is clear and unmistakable.

cum-circumstantial) in the past time only: ¹³

" Epistolae tum datae sunt cum ego me non belle haberem," the letters were sent at the time when I was not feeling well; Cic. Att. 5,11,7.

2. Clauses with dum, donec, quoad, until, to represent an act as looked forward to (futurity):

" Dum naves eo convenirent expectavit," he waited till the ships should arrive; Caes. B.G. IV,23,4.

(Ubi, when, dum, donec, quoad, as long as, and postquam, after, take the indicative.)

3. Clauses introduced by antequam, priusquam, before, to denote an act as anticipated, foreO stalled or intended:

" Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obiceretur , velut agmine uno inrumpit," the Romans, before the gated could be closed, rushed in as a single mass; Livy I,14,11.

4. Past-future clauses require the subjunctive:

" Omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret," two days in all

¹³ The cum-clause with the indicative merely fixes the date.

were left (before the time) when rations
would have to be issued to the army; Caes.
 B.G. I,23,1.

5. Iterative- cum clauses sometimes have the
 verb in the subjunctive:

" Vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne
 cum ad arma concurrere oporteret," the flag
 had to be displayed, which was the signal
 when(ever) the soldiers must gather to arms;
 Id. II,20,1.¹⁴

IV. Causal Clauses.

1. Introduced by quod, quia, quoniam, quoted
 reason in the subjunctive:¹⁵

" Supplicatio decreta est, quod Italiam bello
liberavissem," a thanksgiving was decreed,
 because (as the senate said) I had
saved Italy from war; Cic, Cat. 3,6,15.

2. Cum-causal always requires the subjunctive:

" Quae cum ita sint," since these things are
 so; Id. 1,5,10.

3. Rejected reason:

" Non idcirco usum dimiseram, quod iis sus-

¹⁴ The subjunctive implies "indefinite frequency."

¹⁵ The indicative is used when the speaker or the
 writer gives his own reason.

censerem, sed quod eorum me suppedebat," I had given up my intercourse with them (my books) not that I am angry at them, but because I felt somewhat ashamed of myself in their presence; Cic. Fam. 9,1,2.

4. Relative causal clauses:

" Illi, autem, qui omnia praeclara sentirent, negotium susceperunt," and they since they had nothing but patriotic thoughts, undertook the matter; Cic. Cat. 3,2,5.

5. Verbs of emotion:¹⁶

(Causal clauses introduced by quod or quia.)

" Gaudet miles quod vicerit hostem," the soldier rejoices because (as he says) he has conquered the enemy; Ov. Tr. II, 49.¹⁷

(The subjunctive is used in the quoted reason. The indicative is used when the speaker gives his own reason.)

V. Clauses of Proviso.

Introduced by modo, dum or dum modo, only, so long as:

¹⁶ Verbs of emotion may be construed with the accusative and infinitive, inasmuch as these verbs may be considered as verbs of saying and thinking. This construction, outside of a few verbs, is not common, and the use of quod is more general.

¹⁷ Gildersleeve and Lodge: Op. cit. 542.

" Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent aequo satis animo (ferebant);" the Romans were well enough satisfied with this, provided only they might remain inactive; Livy 21,52,4.

VI. Indirect Discourse and Indirect Questions.

1. Indirect Discourse.

a The principal statement is expressed by the infinitive with the subject accusative:

" Dumnorigem designari sentiebat," he was aware that Dumnorix was meant; Caes. B.G.1,18,1.

b Subordinate clauses (unless used merely for explanation by the writer) require the subjunctive:

" Caesar respondit eo sibi minus dubitationis dari quod memoria teneret....," Caesar answered that he felt less hesitation, because he remembered..; Id. I,14,1.

c All imperatives or jussive subjunctives of direct discourse become subjunctives in indirect discourse: ¹⁸

" (Dixit) reverterentur," he said that they should return; Id. I,7,19. ¹⁹

¹⁸ This is essentially the same as the substantive clause of volition, see p. 16, X, 1, a.

¹⁹ Gunnison and Harley, Cicero's Orations, New York, 1926, 215, c.

2. Indirect Questions require the subjunctive:

" Quaesivi quid dubitaret," I asked why he hesitated ; Cic. Cat. 2,6,13.

VII. Adversative and Concessive Clauses. ²⁰

1. An adversative clause states that something is true in spite of something else.

a Cum- clauses take the subjunctive:

" Cum ea ita sint, tamen sese pacem esse facturum," though this is so, yet (he says) that he will make peace; Caes. B.G. I,14,6.

b Adversative relative clause:

"Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid de gladiis ac sicis respondisset, repente conticuit," then Cethegus, although a little before he had made some reply about the swords and daggers, suddenly became silent; Cic. Cat. 3,5,10.

2. A concessive clause states a concession made merely for the sake of argument. It has the force of 'granted that'.

a Concessions of indifference introduced by quamvis take the subjunctive:

²⁰ Bennett (A Latin Grammar, Chicago 1895, 309):

" Adversative clauses while often classed as "Concessive" are essentially different from them as they do not concede anything."

" Senectus quamvis non sit gravis, tamen au-
fert eam viriditatem in qua etiam nunc erat
Scipio," old age no matter though it be not
burdensome, nevertheless takes away the fresh-
ness which Scipio still possessed; Cic. Am.
3,11.

b A subjunctive clause with ut, even though,
may express a concession of indifference:

" Ac jam ut omnia contra opinionem accide-
rent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse," then,
too, even though everything should turn out
contrary to their expectation, (they felt)
that they were very powerful in ships; Caes.
B.G. 3,9,6.

VIII. Relative Clauses. ²¹

1. Characteristic or Descriptive Clauses.

(The subjunctive is used if the clause is
essential to the sentence. The antecedent
is negative or indefinite.)

" At sunt qui dicant," but there are men who
say; Cic. Cat. 2,6,12.

2. Anticipatory clause:

" Nascetur Trojanus, famam qui terminet as-

²¹ For purpose, result, causal and adversative re-
lative clauses see pages 7,9,12, and 14 respec-
tively.

tris," there will be born a Trojan, who shall make the stars the boundary of his fame; Ver. Aen. I, 286.

3. Restrictive relative clause after a superlative:

" Omnium oratorum, quos quidem ego cognoverim, acutissimum," the keenest of all orators, at least of such as I have known; Cic. Brut. 48, 180.

IX. Subjunctive by Attraction.

A dependent clause essential to the thought attached to a subjunctive or an infinitive clause is put in the subjunctive:

" Cum ita balbus esset, ut eius ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam litteram non posset dicere," though he stammered so much, that he could not pronounce the first letter of the very art that he was studying; Cic. Or. I, 61, 260.

X. Substantive Clauses.

1. Volitive.

a After verbs or commanding, begging, imploring, etc.:

" Diviciacus Caesarem obsecare coepit ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret," Divici-

acus began to entreat Caesar not to pass too severe judgment upon his brother; Caes. B.G. I,20,1.

b After verbs of consent, acquiescence, indifference, etc.:

" Huic permisit ut in his locis legionem conlocaret," he gave him permission to station his legion in those parts; Id. III,1,3.

c After verbs of refusal, hindrance, or prevention:

" Deterrere ne frumentum conferant," were deterring them from collecting grain; Id I,17,2.

d With verbs of will or endeavor:

" Vide ne pecces," see that you don't do a wrong; Ter. Ph. 803.

2. Optative.

a After verbs of wishing:

" Optemus ut eat in exilium," let us hope that he is going into exile; Cic. Cat. 2,7,16.

b After verbs of fearing (ne, that, lest; ut, that--not):

" Ne eius supplicio Diviciaci animum offenderet, verebatur;" he feared that by punishing him he should offend Diviciacus; Caes. B.G. I,19,2.

3. Negative verbs of doubting. (quin):

" Non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura,"
he does not doubt that Troy will soon fall;
Cic. Sen. 10,31.

(The infinitive is used after verbs not neg-
atived.)

4. With verb phrases and impersonal verbs meaning
it happens, it is necessary, it is custom-
ary, etc.:

" Accidit ut esset luna plena," it happened
that there was a full moon; Caes. B.G. IV,29. ²²

XI. Conditional Sentences.

1. With nothing implied. The indicative is used
in protasis and apodosis:

" Si occidi, recte feci," if I killed him, I
killed him justly; Quintil. 4,5,13.

2. More vivid future. Protasis and apodosis are
in future or future perfect indicative:

" Si accelerare volent, consequentur," if
they will make haste, they will overtake
him; Cic. Cat. 2,4,6.

3. Less vivid future. Protasis and apodosis are
in the present or perfect subjunctive:

" Quibus ego si me restituisse dicam, minimum mihi sumam," if I should say that it was I that withstood them, I should be claiming too much; Cic. Cat. 3,9,22.

4. Contrary to fact.

a Present. Protasis and apodosis are in the imperfect subjunctive:

" Servi mei si me isto pacto metuerent, domum meam relinquendam putarem," if even my slaves feared me in this fashion, I should think that I ought to leave my home; Id. 1,7,17.

b Past. Protasis and apodosis are in the pluperfect subjunctive:

" Numquam abisset, nisi sibi viam munivisset," he would never have gone, if he had not prepared for himself a way; Cic. Tusc. 1,14,32.²³

c The apodosis in conditional sentences of this type sometimes stands in the imperfect, perfect or pluperfect indicative, with verbs which signify possibility, or power, obligation or necessity:

" Quem, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere

²³ Harkness: Op. cit. 579.

debebas," whom you ought to have honored, if
there was any filial affection in you; Cic.
 Phil. 2,38,99.²⁴

(In conditional sentences in indirect dis-
 course the apodosis becomes an infinitive
 and the protasis is placed in the subjunctive.)

XII. Conditional Clauses of Comparison are intro-
 duced by velutsi, tamquam si, quasi, etc.,
as if. The verb is in the subjunctive.

" Metus cepit, velut si iam ad portas hos-
 tis esset," fear seized upon them, as if the
 enemy were already at their gates; Livy 21,
 16,2.

²⁴ Harkness: Op. cit. 585.

A Comparison of the Syntax of the Subjunctive of
Classical Latin and that of the Subjunctive in Early
Spanish.

Independent Sentences.

I. Volitive Subjunctive.

(For the volitive subjunctive in Latin see pp. 4 and 5.)

The volitive subjunctive represents the action not as real, but as willed, therefore it is used in expressions of demand, intention or endeavor. In Classical Latin in commands the subjunctive and the imperative supplement each other, the imperative being used, as a general rule, in the second person and the subjunctive in the first and third.

Harkness says: ²⁵ "The second person of the present subjunctive may be used for an indefinite 'you', meaning one, any one, and in Early Latin and in the poets, even of a definite person."

In Early Spanish the imperative and subjunctive supplement each other just as in Latin. Menéndez Pidal says: ²⁶ "Con valor de imperativo se usa el presente subj. fuera de las segundas personas. Pero también se usa en las segundas per-

²⁵ Harkness: *Op. cit.* 560,1.

²⁶ Menéndez Pidal: *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Madrid 1908, Gramática, vol. I, 156,1.

sonas para atenuar la fuerza imperativa como en latín cautus sis."

1. Commands in the second person:

"Lieves el mandato a castiello al rey Alfons."

Cid 2093

" Solamente en ello cabeza non tornamos,

Sepades que en esto duramente erramos."

S.D. 203d

" Lo que non puede ser nunca lo porfiedes,

Lo que facer se puede, por ello trabajedes."

Juan Ruiz 782d

The imperfect subjunctive is used in Spanish for commands in the second person when the time is present. This construction has no Latin prototype. Probably this was felt as more deferential than the present (or the imperative).

Relative to this use of the imperfect Hanssen says:²⁷ "Antiguamente, el subjuntivo de pretérito podía reemplazar al imperativo," and Menéndez Pidal,²⁸ "El imperfecto de subjuntivo se usa también alguna vez como imperativo, para dar al mandato tono de ruego cortés." This use of the imperfect is limited to El Cantar de Mio Cid²⁹

²⁷ Hanssen: Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Castellana, Halle 1913, 585.

²⁸ Menéndez Pidal: Op.cit. vol. I, 156, 2.

²⁹ Id. vol. III.

where it occurs twice:

" Fossedes mio huesped, si vos ploguiesse, señor."

Cid 2046

" Dexássedesvos Cid de aquesta razon."

Cid 3293

2. All prohibitions, i.e., negative commands, which may or may not be preceded by cave, are expressed in the subjunctive in Latin. In Spanish this is the regular construction:

" Lo que yo dixiero non lo tengades a mal."

Cid 530

" Non juredes mentira, por quanto vos amades."

S.D. 472a

" Non digas mal de amor en verdat nin en juego."

Juan Ruiz 432c

3. The hortatory subjunctive, limited to the first person plural, follows the Latin construction:

" Nos sigamos el curso, tengamos nuestra via."

S.D. 8d

" Vayamos oir misa, señor, vos e yo ambos."

Juan Ruiz 1181b

" Pasemos luego la puente

Antes que más daño cresca."

Santillana 32,367

4. While in Latin the jussive subjunctive is limited

to the present tense third persons, in Early Spanish the present tense is used and apparently occasionally in the Cid the imperfect:

a Present tense as in Classical Latin:

" Comigo non quisieron aver nada e perdieron mi amor;
Denme mis espadas quando mios yernos non son."

Cid 3158

" Qui sacar los quisiere, busque escrividores."

S.D. 386d

" Quien quisier saber los, estudie do son puestos."

Juan Ruiz 1151b

b Imperfect tense:

" Quien quiere perder cuenta e venir a rritad,
Viniessea mio Cid que a saber de cavalgar."

Cid 1190

" Elle lo merece e de mi abra perdón:

Viniéssem a vistas si oviesse dent sabor."

Id 1899b

" Non creciés varaja entre nos e vos."

Id 3295

5-6. No examples were found in Early Spanish of the Latin use of the subjunctive in statements of proposal and resolve. The indicative was the more usual construction even in Latin.

7. The deliberative subjunctive in Latin, besides being used in questions or exclamations imply-

doubt or indignation, is used in the present or imperfect tenses in statements or questions of obligation or propriety.³⁰

Hale and Buck say:³¹ "In statements this construction seems to be less frequent in the tenses of the present than in the tenses of the past."

Gildersleeve and Lodge call such statements of obligation or propriety the 'imperative of the past.'³²

This last construction in the imperfect seems to occur once in Juan Ruiz:

" Vos Veniessedes templano e trobariades corde."

Juan Ruiz 484d

Summary.

Spanish volitive constructions.

1. Commands-2nd. person present subj. (As in Latin.)
-2nd. person imperfect subj.(Occasionally.)
(Not in Latin.)
2. Prohibitions-present subj..(As in Latin.)
3. Hortatory-present subj.. (" " ")
4. Jussive- Present subj.(As in Latin.)
- imperfect subj. (Not in Latin.)
5. Proposal or suggestion-does not occur.

³⁰ Bennett: Op.cit.277.

³¹ Hale and Buck: Op. cit. 513 a.

³² Gildersleeve and Lodge: Op. cit. 272,3.

6. Resolve- does not occur.
7. Deliberative - in questions or exclamations implying doubt or indignation. - does not occur.
 -in statements of obligation or propriety.(1 example.) (As in Latin.)

II. Optative Subjunctive.

(For the optative subjunctive in Latin see pp. 5 and 6.)

1. Wishes capable of fulfillment are regularly expressed with the present subjunctive as in Latin:

" Aun vea la hora que vos meresca dos tanto."

Cid 2338

" Rey, Dios te defienda que non fagas tal hecho."

S.D.145 d

" Señor, sea como Vuestra Merced mandare."

Juan II 417,2

This construction offers rare examples of the imperfect tense: ³³

" Vino el malo y dixo: ¡ya te viere colgar!"

Juan Ruiz 1467c

" Diz: ¡ya llevase el verco a la vieja Risoña
 Que por ella con vusco fablar ome non osa!"

Id 828 a

³³ For two additional examples of the imperfect tense see the Cid 1351 and 3379.

también cosa frecuente en el optativo usar la forma simple por la compuesta, cuando la segunda por referirse a tiempo pasado hubiera sido la más propia."

" ¡Ay muerte! ¡muerte seas, muerte e mal andante!

Mataste a mi vieja, ¡matasses a mi ante!"

Juan Ruiz 1520 b

" Dixo Trota Conventos: A la vieja pepita,

¡Ya la Cruz la levase conl agua bendita!"

Id. 845 d

" ¡Estos casamientos non fuesen aparecidos,

Por consagrar con mio Cid don Rodrigo!"

Cid 3355

2. Imprecations.

In Latin this construction is introduced by ut and qui. In Spanish there is no special introductory word and an imprecation is identical with the wishes that are capable of fulfillment in the present:

" Repuso Búcar al Cid: ¡Confonda Dios tal amistad!"

Cid 2142

" ¡Dios confonda mensajero tan presto e tan ligero!"

Juan Ruiz 120

" ¡Maldito sea aquel día

Arquiles en que naciste!"

Santillana 142,125

Summary.

Spanish optative constructions.

1. Wishes capable of fulfillment-

Present subj. (As in Latin.)

Imperfect subj. rare. (Not in Latin.)

2. Wishes incapable of fulfillment-

In present time- imperfect subj. (As in Latin.)

In past time- imperfect subj. (In Latin the pluperfect tense is used.)

3. Imprecations-present subj. (As in Latin.)

III. Potential Subjunctive.

(For this construction in Latin see p. 6.)

The use of the subjunctive does not occur in the texts examined. It is however not an uncommon construction in the modern language.³⁵ It is not obligatory as in Latin but optional. The following example taken from Juan Ruiz shows the use of the indicative:

" Pensando los peligros podedes estorcer,

Quizá el grand trabajo puede vos acorrer,

Dios e el uso grande fazen los fados bolver."

Juan Ruiz 793 c

³⁵ Hanssen (Op.cit. 588): "El subjuntivo potencial se halla en frases independientes cuando se asocian los adverbios tal vez, acaso, quizá: esta noticia acaso no sorprenda a mis lectores."

Summary.

Potential subjunctive in Spanish.

Potential subj.- does not occur.

Indicative is used. (Not in Latin.)

IV. Softened Expressions.

(For softened expressions in Latin see p. 6.)

In this construction only the -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive occurs and this is apparently rare. This form is developed from the Latin pluperfect indicative and in Early Spanish it commonly has that force:

" E Ortun Velasquez quisiera mucho tornar por Corregidor a Sevilla, e no le fué consentido."

Juan II 373,1

" E sabido esto por el Doctor Franco, quisiera una vez cavalgar en un rocín e irse más fuyendo que de paso."

Id. 507,1

" En otros tiempos quisiera Que de mí non se nembrara."

Santillana 249,5.

Summary.

Softened expressions in Spanish.

Softened expressions- -ra form of the imperfect subj. used. (In Latin the present and the imperfect are used.)

Dependent Clauses.

I. Purpose Clauses.

(For purpose clauses in Latin see pp. 7 and 8.)

1. The adverbial purpose clause appears frequently in the texts examined. In Latin the final adverbial conjunction is determined by the nature (whether positive or negative) of the purpose clause, i.e., ut, positive, ne, negative, but in Spanish this factor does not affect the conjunction. In Early Spanish negative purpose clauses are introduced by the usual conjunctions plus no or non:

" Que li venia mensaje del buen Rey de Gloria
Que sopiese que era cerca de la victoria."

S.D. 491d

" Yo iré convusco, que adugamos los marcos."

Cid 168

" El rey a los de mio Cid de noche los envió,
Que no les diessen salto nin oviessen pavor."

Id 3699

a Que is the most commonly used final conjunction. Other conjunctions used are: como, por amor que, para que, por que, a fin que, a fin de que and de manera que:

" Adúgamelos a vistas o a juntas o a cortes
Como aya derecho de infantes de Carrión."

Cid 2915

" Por amor que creades esto que es verdat,
 Quiero vos dar a esto una auctoritat."

S.D. 261a

" Muchas cosas avras primero de aprender,
 Para que ella te quiera en su amor querer."

Juan Ruiz 430 o

" E por que mejor de todos sea escuchado,
 Falar vos he por tobras e cuento rimado."

Id. 15 a

" Quedaba por Capitan en la frontera, a fin que
fuese puesto por Rey en Granada por la mano
 del Rey como su vasallo."

Juan II 502,2

" Se interponia por tratar entrel Rey de Francia
 y él la paz e concordia, a él placiendo, a fin
 de que estas tres cosas fuesen en una confor-
 midad e confederacion."

Id. 482,1

" E por eso hablaron con los Moros que esa noche
 se fuesen por una puerta falsa que tenian, de
 manera que los Christianos no lo viesen."

Id. 332,1

Spanish purpose clauses containing a comparative
 do not differ in form from the regular adverbial
 construction. See above Juan Ruiz 15 a.

2. Relative purpose clauses occur in Spanish as in Latin. In Latin it is easy to distinguish the adverbial from the relative clause because the adverbial conjunctions ut, ne and quo cannot be confused with the relative pronoun qui. In Spanish the final adverbial conjunction que and the relative pronoun are alike in form. Although the Spanish grammarians Hanssen and Bello do not treat of the relative purpose clause the following sentences seem to parallel the Latin construction:

Introduced by the relative pronoun:

" Envió dos cavalleros que sopiessen la verdad."

Cid 1495

" Álvar Fáñez adelantel enbió

Que besasse las manos al rey so señor."

Id. 3017

" Señor, onde que sea, envia nos pastor

Que ponga esta casa en estado mejor."

S.D.194 b

Introduced by the relative adverb. Latin employs the relative adverbs ubi, unde and quo in this same construction. Spanish use is limited to do and donde..:

" E tenían un forado hecho en la boveda por

donde saliese el fumo."

Juan II 329,2

" Mandó poner tres bancos: el uno enfrente dél
donde se asentasen los embaxadores."

Id. 468,2

" Dieronli do viviesse un pobre logareio."

S.D. 170a

3. No example occurs in the works examined of a purpose clause used parenthetically.
4. In Classical Latin there were a number of ways to express purpose. Some of these carry over into the Spanish, especially the use of the infinitive, viz:

" Exien lo ver mugieres y varones."

Cid 16

These constructions are not included in this study and no check has been made of them. The supines and participles are not used to express purpose in Spanish.

Summary.

Spanish purpose clauses.

1. Adverbial clauses- present and imperfect subj.

(As in Latin.)

2. Relative clauses-

Introduced by pronoun-subj. (As in Latin.)

Introduced by relative adverb- subj.

(As in Latin.)

3. Clause of purpose used parenthetically- does not occur.
4. Other ways of expressing purpose- the infinitive is used. (As in Latin.)

36

II. Result Clauses.

(See result clauses in Latin pp. 8 and 9)

1. Adverbial result clauses.

a-b In these clauses in Latin the subjunctive is always used. The Latin result clause states the actual result of the action of the main verb. In Spanish the clauses that state an actual fact are put in the indicative and those that contain an element of design or wish are expressed with the subjunctive.

37

" Rey, dixo el Monge, si tal es mi ventura
Que no pueda contigo aver vida segura."

S.D. 180b

" Porque con la benedicion de nuestro señor

36 Ramsey (A Text-Book of Modern Spanish, New York 1894, p. 304, n. 1): "When the result is spoken of as a fact, the dependent verb is indicative."

37 In the Cid the subjunctive result clause does not occur. In this text the indicative is used a few times in the result clause. For example: "Tanto son de traspuestas que nada decir non pueden." Cid 2784.

podamos partir en tal manera que la guerra se haga con la diligencia que debe."

Juan II 280,2

" Pero no fué tanto que pudiese suplir a las grandes necesidades suyas."

Id. 327,2

c The Spanish result clause introduced by sin que (without) follows the Latin construction introduced by quin: These clauses are common in Juan II but do not occur in the other texts examined:

" E porque esto no se podia hacer sin que algunos de la corte e de la casa de Alvaro de Luna lo supiesen."

Juan II 390,1

" Que no pudiese salir gente de la ciudad sin que fuese sabido."

Id. 521,2

" Que no vernian en ningun partido de aquellos sin que primeramente el Condestable saliese de la Corte."

Id. 573,1

2. Relative result clauses.

These clauses follow their Latin prototype:

" Yo le respondi que le daría una tal puñada

Que en tiempo de su vida nunca la vies vengada."

Juan Ruiz 63 b

" De lo qual se podia seguir daño tan grande que no se pudiese jamas reparar."

Juan II 306,2

" Y entendia de hacer en ello tal castigo que a otros fuese ejemplo."

Id. 408,2

3. The way by which is not expressed by a result clause in the texts examined.

Summary.

Spanish result clauses.

1. Adverbial clauses-

Subjunctive (As in Latin.)

Indicative (Not in Latin.)

After a negative introduced by sin que.

(As in Latin.)

2. Relative clauses- subj. (As in Latin.)

3. Way by which-does not occur.

III Temporal Clauses.

(For the temporal clauses in Latin see pp. 9-11.)

1. Temporal clauses introduced by como do not occur in the texts examined. In Latin this type of clause is introduced by cum and is called the descriptive cum clause.

2. In Latin clauses introduced by dum, donec, quoad, until, to represent an act as looked forward to, take the subjunctive. This same construction occurs in Spanish. The introductory expression is hasta (fasta) que:

" Non sea descubierta fasta otra sozon

Fasta que mi almo salga desta carnal prision."

S.D. 247 d

" Fasta que pase el año de los lutos que tien."

Juan Ruiz 759 c

" El Infante respondió que él no partiría de allí por cosa del mundo, hasta que el Rey saliese del castillo."

Juan II 394,2

(One example is found in the Cid introduced by hasta do where a place element is added to that of time. This seems to have no counterpart in Latin:

" Hasta do lo falássemos buscar lo iriemos nos."

Cid 1820)

In Latin the conjunctions ubi, when, dum, donec, quoad, while or as long as, and postquam, after, take the indicative. In Spanish the subjunctive is used when uncertainty is implied: ³⁸

" Mientra que vivades non seredes menguados."

Cid 158

" Elle quando la viesse abria della dolor."

S.D. 296c

" Despues que vos ayas fecho este sacrificio,
Ofrezer vos los he yo en gracias e en
servicio."

Juan Ruiz 777a

3. Clauses introduced by ante quam, priusquam, before, take the subjunctive in Latin to denote an act as anticipated, forestalled or intended. This same construction occurs in Spanish:

" Yo iré convusco, que adugamos los marcos
Ca a mover a mio Cid, ante que cante el gallo."

Cid 169

" Mas ante que podiesse la iornada doblar,
Recibio tal mensage que ovo de tornar."

S.D. 516 c

" Pero ante que vayades quiero vos yo castigar."

Juan Ruiz 719d

4. Past-future temporal clauses occur sporadically in the texts examined:

" Ca mientra que visquiessen refechos eran amos."

Cid 173

" E quando esto se hubiese de hacer, debia el Infante primero nombrar los contrarios."

Juan II 412,1

" E quando la hubiese de dar, decia que seria para el Infante."

Id. 412,1

5. In the iterative temporal caluse the subjunctive is used as in Latin. This construction is limited to one text, i.e., Juan II:

" E a Pero Gomez Barrosa con hasta mil e quinientas lanzas, porque quando quiera que los amigos del infante hubiesen menester ayuda, la hubiesen presto."

Juan II 337,1

" E por quitar la discordia destes officios acordóse entre la Reyna y el Infante quando algun officio vacase, que lo diese..."

Id. 340,2

" La gente que estaba en Real estuviese siempre presta, e los calallos ensillados para venir en socorro quando fuese menester."

Id. 521,2

Summary.

Spanish temporal clauses.

1. Cum-circumstantial clause - does not occur.
2. Clauses introduced by until-subj. (As in Latin.)
 " " " when, while and after-
 subj. to denote uncertainty. (In
 Latin they require the indicative.)
3. Clauses introduced by before- subj. (As in Latin.)
4. Past-future clauses- subj. (As in Latin.)
5. Iterative temporal clause - subj. (As in Latin.)

IV. Causal Clauses.

(For causal clauses in Latin see pp. 11 and 12)

1. Causal clauses introduced in Latin by quod, quia, quoniam and containing the quoted reason in the subjunctive do not occur in the texts examined.
2. Latin cum causal clauses are introduced in Spanish by como:

" Commo yo ledo viviese
 E sin fatiga ninguna."

Santillana 67,25

" E como el Infante fuese de todos mucho amado,
 y conosciesen la gran necesidad que tenia,
 cada uno prestó que pudo."

Juan II 327,2

" E como el Rey don Enrique, que Dios haya,
fuese muy deseoso de tener estos reinos en

gran justicia, mandó quitar todos los oidores."

Juan II 282,2

3. The rejected reason occurs once in Juan II:

" Lo qual se hizo más por la necesidad del tiempo
que por voluntad que hubiesen de lo asi hacer."

Id. 283,1

4. The relative causal clause does not occur.

5. Verbs of emotion.

In Latin verbs of emotion are followed by the subjunctive. It is really a causal clause which contains a quoted reason. The Spanish construction follows the Latin prototype:

" Dixieron todos: Plazenos que venga al
convento."

S.D. 116 a

" Que era muy contento que ambos se juntasen
para en ello entender."

Juan II 351,2

" E que le placia que el Rey le castigase
como a quien era."

Id. 419,2

Summary.

Spanish causal clauses.

1. Quoted reason 0 does not occur.

2. Introduced by como (Latin cum causal) - subj.

(As in Latin.)

3. Rejected reason - subj. 1 example (As in Latin.)

4. Relative causal clause - does not occur.

5. Verbs of emotion - subj. (As in Latin.)

V. Clauses of Proviso.

(See Latin clauses of proviso p. 12.)

These clauses require the subjunctive both in Latin and in Spanish:

" Davos tres vent medida de farina cernuda
En dado que non sea mudada nin venduda."

S.D. 457 d

" Dizia que lo levassen al confesor ornado,
Solo que y llegasse luego seria folgado."

Id. 599 d

" Soltariemos la ganancia, que no diesse
el cabdal."

Cid 1434

Summary.

Spanish clauses of proviso.

Clauses of proviso - subj. (As in Latin.)

VI. Indirect Discourse and Indirect Questions.

(For indirect discourse and indirect questions in Latin see pp. 13 and 14.)

1. In Latin in indirect discourse the principal

statement is expressed by the infinitive with the subject accusative. In Spanish principal statements are expressed by a que clause. The indicative is used to express a fact and the subjunctive, an uncertainty. In Spanish the subjunctive usually occurs after negated and interrogative words of mental action:

"La ví tan graciosa,
 Que apenas creyera
 Que fuese vaquera
 De la Finojosa.

Santillana 292,19

"Non creo las rosas
 De la primavera
Sean tan hermosas."

Id. 292,26

"E yo no creo ni podria creer que sea verdad
 lo contenido en estas cartas."

Juan II 417,1

The subjunctive is found sporadically after a positive verb of mental action when there is no uncertainty expressed:

"E creo que la causa dellas sea porque a
 estos que nombráis parecieron mal los
 movimientos."

Juan II 414,2

" Porque pensaban quel Rey tuviere dellos enojo."

Juan II 434,2

" Desque se vido encerrada diz: - los gallos furtados

Desta creo que sean pagados e escotados."

Juan Ruiz 1413 d

b Subordinate clauses in Latin require the subjunctive. This construction does not occur in Spanish in the texts examined.

c All imperatives or jussive subjunctives of the direct discourse become subjunctive in indirect discourse.³⁹ Sentences belonging to this class must not merely make a statement but they must direct something to be done:

" Mis fablas e mis fasañas, ruego te que bien las mires."

Juan Ruiz 908 d

" E dixieron que viniese allí alguno que fuese del linage del Infante."

Juan II 330,2

³⁹ This is essentially the same construction as the substantive volitive clause. See p. 16,X,1,a.

" E rogo a los Jueces que la oyesen."

Juan II 442,2

2. Indirect questions in Latin require the subjunctive. In Spanish verbs of mental action when in the interrogative or negative require a subjunctive in the dependent clause if they in any way imply uncertainty or doubt. If they state a fact the indicative is used.

" Cansado soy de hablar

E no sé que más te diga."

Santillana 175,90.

"No es sabido en Inglaterra, e mucho menos acá, quien haya seydo su padre."

Juan II 513,2

" Non sabian quel fiziessen amigos nin parientes."

S.D. 295b

Summary.

Indirect discourse and indirect questions in Spanish.

1. Indirect discourse.

a In the principal statement -

-Subj. for uncertainty. (Not in Latin.)

-subj. sporadically when no uncertainty is implied. (Not in Latin.)

b Subordinate clauses in subj.- do not occur.

c Imperatives of direct discourse in indirect-subj. (As in Latin.)

2. Indirect Questions- subj. to express doubt after negative verbs. (In Latin the subjunctive is required.)

VII. Adversative and Concessive Clauses.

(For adversative and concessive clauses in Latin see pp. 14 and 15.)

1. A Latin adversative clause states that something is true in spite of something else.

a Cum was the regular introductory word in Latin. In Early Spanish como is not used to introduce the adversative clauses but these clauses appear introduced by other conjunctions:

" Aun de lo que diessen oviessen grand ganancia.

Cid. 520

" Los puedan executar e cumplir, no embargante que el lugar en que se hubiere de hacer la dicha execucion sea en la provincia de la administracion de la dicha Reyna mi madre."

Juan II 285,1

" Ambos yazian travados como presos en cueva Si los fiziessen reyes non irian a

Burueva."

S.D. 603 d ⁴⁰

b The relative adversative clause does not occur in the texts examined.

2. A concessive clause states a concession merely for the sake of argument. It has the force of 'granted that'.

(Latin and Spanish grammarians, as a rule, do not make any clear distinction between concessive and adversative clauses. Most grammars recognize only the concessive clause. The division here of Spanish sentences is subjective following the Hale and Buck Latin grammar.)

Concessions of indifference:

" Que aunque el Infante se concordase con el Rey, siempre su trato estaria seguro con el Rey de Granada."

Juan II 417,1

" Que dixo en público que aunque la tercia parte de la gente que pensaba llevar le

⁴⁰ D. Rufino Lanchetas (Gramática y Vocabulario de las Obras de Berceo, Madrid, 1900, p. 988.) classifies the quoted sentence as adversative introduced by si and not as conditional or concessive.

falleciere."

Juan II 289,2.

" E maguer te presiese, crey que te non martaria."

Juan Ruiz 214 b

(Hale and Buck do not treat of the relative concessive clause. But the following Latin sentence containing a relative concessive clause is given by Harkness:⁴¹

" Ego qui leviter Graecas litteras attigissem, tamen cum venissem Athenas complures ibi dies sum commoratus," although I had dabbled but slightly in Greek, nevertheless, having come to Athens I stayed there several days; Cic. Of. 1,18,82.

The following Spanish sentence seems to contain a relative concessive clause. It is the only one found.

" El Cid que bien nos quiera nada non perderave."

Cid 1389

Summary.

Spanish adversative and concessive clauses.

1. Adversative clauses.

⁴¹ Harkness: Op. cit. 593,2.

a Adversative clauses- subj. (As in Latin.)

b Relative adversative clause- does not occur.)

2. Concessive Clauses.

Concessions of indifference- subj. (As in Latin.)

Concessive relative clause- subj. 1 example.

(As in Latin.)

VIII. Relative Clauses.

(For relative clauses in Latin see pp. 15 and 16.)

1. Characteristic or descriptive clauses.

In Latin the subjunctive is used if the clause is essential to the sentence. The antecedent of the characteristic clause is either indefinite or negative. This same construction occurs in Early Spanish:

After "an indefinite antecedent:

" Dat me un abogado que fable por mi vida."

Juan Ruiz 329 c

" Prometio al que lo sacase thesoros e grand riqueza."

Id. 253a

" E dixieron que viniese allí alguno que fuese del linage del Infante."

Juan II 330,2

After a negative antecedent:

" Non ay cosa escondida que acabo de tiempo

non sea bien sabida."

Juan Ruiz 90 'b

" No hay cosa que nasca que tu red non enlase."

Id. 1550 a

" No habria quien contradixiesse su voluntad."

Juan II 394, 2

2. Anticipatory subjunctive.

This construction does not occur in Spanish.

3. Restrictive relative clause.

A subjunctive relative clause is used in Latin after a superlative to restrict the application of the antecedent. This same use of the subjunctive appears in Spanish and seems to be more frequent than Hanssen thought.⁴²

" El aparto lo menudo para el leon que comiese
E para si la canal, la mejor que ome viese."

Juan Ruiz 84 c

" Suplicaba a Su Sefioria que muy prestamente
le mandase embiar la mas gente que pudiese."

Juan II 479,2

" E les daria el mas suficiente poder que

⁴² Hanssen (Op. cit. 588): "El subjuntivo combinado con el superlativo se usa poco en castellano. Existen ejemplos antiguos, y el empleo de la construccion aumenta en la época moderna por influencia del francés."

letrados pudiesen ordenar."

Juan II 581,1

(For relative clauses of purpose, result and concession see pp. 33,36, and 49 respectively.)

Summary.

Spanish relative clauses.

1. Characteristic clauses - subj. (As in Latin.)
2. Anticipatory subjunctive - does not occur.
3. Restrictive relative clause - subj. (As in Latin.)

IX. Subjunctive by Attraction.

(For the Latin construction see p. 16.)

The Latin rule states that a dependent clause essential to thought attached to a subjunctive is put in the subjunctive.

In the Spanish texts examined there seems to be only one example of this use of the subjunctive by attraction:

"Mugier, seed en este palacio, en el alcácer
No ayades pavor porque me veades lidiar."

Cid 1653

In the sentence just quoted the causal clause introduced by porque has its verb in the subjunctive following the subjunctive no hayades.

Menendez Pidal says (Gramática del Cantar de mio Cid): "La proposición causal lleva

siempre indicativo; se exceptúa la oración
prohibitiva."⁴³

Summary.

Subjunctive by attraction in Spanish.

Subjunctive by Attraction - 1 example. (As in Latin.)

X. Substantive Clauses.

(For substantive clauses in Latin see pp. 16-18.)

1. Volitive.

a After verbs of commanding, begging, imploring, etc., both Latin and Spanish require the subjunctive."⁴⁴

" Mándot que vayas con ellas fata dentro en
Carrión."

Cid 2620

" Quando oyo el Rey juicios desacordados,
Mando que los maestros fuesen muy bien
Guardados."

Juan Ruiz 132 b

" Suplico a Vuestra Señoría que quiera dar a
mí el cargo de las fronteras."

Juan II 465, 2

b After verbs of consent, adquiescence, indif-

⁴³ Menéndez Pidal: Op. cit. vol. I, 155,5.

⁴⁴ This is essentially the same construction as the subjunctive in indirect discourse which is derived from the imperative or jussive subjunctive of direct discourse. See pp. 45 and 46.

ference, etc., the subjunctive is used in Spanish as in Latin:

" Al qual el Rey dió licencia que en alta voz leyese los dichos capítulos."

Juan II 568,1

" E como quiera que desto el Rey rescibió algun enojo,

Permitió que fuesen presos."

Id. 613, 2.

" Serrana, tal casamiento

Non consiento que fagades."

Santillana 295,2

e After verbs of refusal, hindrance or prevention, the Spanish construction follows the Latin prototype:

" Rey, Dios te defienda que non fagas tal fecho."

S.D. 145,b

" E como aquella tierra es muy fragosa, no los podia resistir que no saliesen a robar e a hacer daños en aquella comarca."

Juan II 651,1

" E los otros quedaron en comienzo del escala por defender que no subiese mucha gente, porque no quebrasen el escala."

Id. 329,2

d After verbs of will or endeavor.

In Latin the main verb is generally an imperative. This same use of the subjunctive after an imperative is found in Early Spanish:

" Cata que las non nierdas quando las as ganadas."

S. D. 238 c

" Curia te quennon peques e non fagas folia."

Id. 350 c

" Mas catad non le digades chufas de pitoflero."

Juan Ruiz 1495 c

2. Optative.

a After verbs of wishing Latin and Spanish require the subjunctive:

" Yo deseo mucho que él sirviесе a Vuestra Merced sobre todas cosas."

Juan II 413,2

" Quiero que lo sepades luego de la primera."

S.D. 3 a

" Dixo Santo Domingo: Señor yo al querria que aquí vos fincassedes fastal tercero dia."

Id. 514 d

b After verbs of fearing:

In Latin after verbs of fearing the conjunctions are ne, lest or that, and ut, lest not.

or that not and the subjunctive is required.

In Spanish verbs of fearing may be followed by the subjunctive or the future indicative.⁴⁵

In the Cid verbs of fearing are regularly followed by the future indicative and in Santo Domingo the use of the future occurs once:

" Miedo iva aviendo que mio Cid se repintrá."

Cid 1079

" Miedo han que i verná mio Cid el Campeador."

Id. 2987

" Si en mi peccare otri, temo sere culpado."

S. D. 52 b

In the other texts examined the subjunctive appears after verbs of fearing:

"Mas temome e recelo que mal engañada sea."

Juan Ruiz 1369 a

"Temiendo que algunos de los grandes despues de su partida quisiesen mover algunas cosas que no cumpliesen al bien de estos reynos."

Juan II 346,1.

⁴⁵ Menéndez Pidal (Op. cit. vol. I, 155, 1): " Es de notar ante todo el empleo del futuro de indicativo en oraciones dependientes."

" Salvo por una puerta que el Rey mandaba muy bien guardar de noche e de dia, con recelo que el Conde saliese de la ciudad."

Juan II 353,2

3. Negative verbs of doubting require the subjunctive in Classical Latin. This construction is limited to the chronicle of Juan II among the texts examined:

" E pues él no dudando ningun trabajo ni peligro que venir le pudiese, era allí venido por servicio de Dios."

Juan II 367,1

" A la qual no dubdo muchos otros mejores de mi antes de agora en lo semejante hayan escripto."

Id 573,1

" E todos sabemos así del un cabo como del otro haber mucho a Dios ofendido, porque no dubdo quiera tomar muy dura venganza."

Id. 574,1

The subjunctive occurs after positive verbs of doubting. This construction has no Latin prototype. Examples of this use of the subjunctive in Spanish seem to occur only in Juan II among the texts reviewed:

" E por esto hubo en el Consejo grandes opi-
niones, haciendo gran duda si el Rey
hubiese derecho alguno de hacer guerra en
Portogal."

Juan II 501,1

" Y estaba en Castilla tan trabajado que se-
ría duda si pudiese venir a cumplir las ar-
mas en que era obligado."

Id. 523,2

" E el martes siguiente, el Rey dudaba si se
pudiese hacer lo que había pensado."

Id. 679,1

4. With verb phrases and impersonal verbs meaning
it happens, it is necessary, etc., Spanish fol-
lows the Latin prototype:

" Conviene que lo sufiras maguer lazerio tra-
yas."

S.D. 432 c

" E unos decian que era bien que la paz se hi-
ciese para siempre."

Juan II 335,2

" Era necesario que para bien regir hubiese
consejo."

Id. 377,1

Summary.

Spanish substantive clauses.

1. Volitive.

a After verbs of commanding, etc. -subj- (As in Latin.)

b After verbs of consenting, etc.-subj. (As in Latin.)

c After verbs of refusing, etc. - subj. (As in Latin.)

d After verbs of will or endeavor - subj.
(As in Latin.)

2. Optative.

a After verbs of wishing - subj. (As in Latin.)

b After verbs of fearing - subj. (" " ")
Future indicative. (Not" ")

3. Negative verbs of doubting - subj. (As" ")

Positive verbs of doubting - subj. (Infinitive used in Latin.)

4. Impersonal verbs - subj. (As in Latin.)

XI Conditional Sentences.

For conditional sentences in Latin see pp. 18-20)

1. With nothing implied. In Spanish protasis and apodosis are in the indicative as in Latin:

" Si nos cercar vienen, con derecho lo fazen."

Cid 1105

" Si oya razon buena bien la sabia tener

Recordabala siempre, non la queria perder."

S. D. 16 a

" Si mucho la amades, mas vos tiene amado."

Juan Ruiz 798 d

2. More vivid future. The protasis and the apodosis in Latin require the future or the future perfect indicative. In Spanish more vivid future conditions use the present indicative in the protasis and the future indicative in the apodosis:

" Ca si non comedes, non veredes cristianos."

Cid 1033

" Si del Prior parlero derecho me non dades,
levare los thesoros, aun las heredades."

S. D. 166 b

" Si mis dichos fazes non te dira muger non."

Juan Ruiz 425 d

3. Less vivid future. In Latin the present or the perfect subjunctive is required in the protasis and apodosis. In Spanish the less vivid future conditions are identical in form with the contrary to fact condition, i.e., in the protasis either form of the imperfect subjunctive and in the apodosis the -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive or the conditional:

" E si se diesen, que él les daria lugar que

se fuesen en salvo con lo suyo."

Juan II 295,1

" Y aunque sueldo no les diesen, si necesidad ocurriese tal en que fuesen menester, so-
correrles ian con todo su poder."

Id. 300,1

" Grand locura serie si la desenparás."

Cid 1471

4. Contrary to fact.

a Present.

Protasis and apodosis in Latin are expressed in the imperfect subjunctive. In Spanish the protasis of contrary to fact conditions in the present is regularly expressed with either form of the imperfect subjunctive and the apodosis with the -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive or the conditional:

" Amigos, diz, daria si touiesse que dar."

S.D. 363 b

" Si tu por mi dennasses una missa cantar,
Yo sano e guarido cuidaria tornar."

Id. 476 c

" Si no lo dexás por mio Cid el de Bivar,
Tal cosa vos faría que por el mundo sonás."

Cid 2677

b Past.

In Latin the pluperfect subjunctive is required in condition and conclusion. In the Early Spanish texts examined the contrary to fact condition in the past is identical with the contrary to fact condition in the present since the simple form of the subjunctive are used and not the compound:

The Latin "si habuissem dedissem" should be in Spanish "si hubiese tenido, habría dado" but we find in the Early texts "si oviesse daría" and at times "si oviesse diera."⁴⁶

"Serie Cañas por siempre rica e arribada,
Si elli non oviesse la seyia cambiada."

S. D. 45 d

" Si durasse el libro, nos aún durariemos."

Id. 752 a

" Qual ventura serie si assomas essora el Cid
Roy Diaz."

Cid 2753

The -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive is used in the apodosis. Hanssen says:⁴⁷ " El

46 Hanssen (Op. cit. 592): "Si oviesse daría" es la forma usual de las cláusulas hipotéticas irreales en castellano antiguo."

47 Id. 592

pluscuamperfecto puede ser condicional ya en latín: ET SI FATA DEUM, SI MENS NON LAEVA FUISSET, IMPULERAT FERRO ARGOLICAS FOEDARE LATEBRAS: Virg. Aen. II, 54."

The Early Spanish uses the -ra form:

" Sabed bien que si ellos le vidiessen, non escapara de muort."

Cid 2774

" Si vos non uñas, el moro te jugara mal."

Id. 3319

" Si Dios, quando formó el ome, entendiera que era mala cosa la muger, non la diera Al ome por compañera nin del non la feciera."

Juan Ruiz 109,b

e In Latin the apodosis in conditional sentences of this type sometimes stands in the indicative. The imperfect, perfect or plus-perfect are used with verbs that signify possibility or necessity. The use of the indicative in the apodosis occurs in Early Spanish:

" Si ami oy fallase quien fallar me devia, Si aver me podiese el que me conocia."

Juan Ruiz 1389 a

" Que viesen lo que les parecia qué debía

hacer, si el Rey de Aragon quisiese entrar en sus reynos por la manera que decia."

Juan II 430,2

" Que si el Rey de Granada viniese dar en uno dellos, que ante que fuese del otro acorrido, podia rescebir gran daño."

Id. 317,2

(In conditional sentences in Early Spanish the future subjunctive is often used in the protasis. Latin has no future subjunctive.

" Si en estas tierras quisiéremos durar, firmemente son estos a escarmentar."

Cid 1120

" Si esso plougriere al Cid, non gelo vedamos nos."

Id. 3225

" Si decir non lo quisiere, a muerta non maldiga."

Juan Ruiz 1578 d)

In the following sentences the -se form of the imperfect subjunctive is used in the apodosis. The apodosis regularly admits the -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive or the conditional but the -se form is used provided the apodosis is in a construction that requires the subjunctive.

Bello says:⁴⁸ " Si el verbo de la apódosis depende de una proposición que rija forzosamente subjuntivo, admite tanto la forma en -se como la forma en -ra del subjuntivo, y desecha las formas indicativas."

The following sentences have the -se form in the apodosis:

" Embió mandar a Pedro de Estuñiga hijo mayor de Diego Lopez Destuñiga, Justicia mayor de Castilla, que estaba en Olvera, que fuese a Ayamonte por le tomar si podiese."

Juan II 295,1

" Escribió sus cartas a Cordova e a Sevilla que todos estuviesen presos, si lo tal acaeciese, para ir socorrer a Pruna."

Id. 288,1

" E todos sos parientes con ellós acordados

son

Que si los pudiessen apartar a los del

Campeador

Que los matassen en campo por desondra de so señor."

Oid 3541

48 Bello: Op.cit. 699

Sometimes the -se form is used in the apodosis, although it does not conform to the preceding rule, viz:

" E él fuese carcelero que non lo vies alguno;
Si no fuese doliente o confesor alguno
E á comer le diesen al día manjar uno."

Juan Ruiz 1127 d

" Por miedo del rey Alfons, que assí lo pararan:

Que si non la quebrantás, que non gela abriessen por nada.

Cid 34

" Sospirando ques viesse con moros en el campo:
Que sis fartás lidiando e firiendo con sus
" manos,

A los días del sieglo non le llorassen
cristianos.

Id. 1295

Summary.

Spanish conditional sentences.

1. Nothing implied - indicative. (As in Latin.)
2. More vivid future - " " " "
3. Less vivid future - Subj.

Tenses-imperfect subj. and conditional
in Spanish.

Tenses- present or perfect subj. in Latin.

4. Contrary to fact.

a Present- imperfect subj. (As in Latin.)

b Past-

In Spanish- imperfect subj. either form and the conditional; or the imperfect subj. either form and the -ra form of the imperfect subj.

In Latin - the pluperfect subj. in protasis and apodosis or the subj. in the si clause and the pluperfect indicative in the conclusion.

(In Spanish the -se form appears in both clauses.)

5. Use of the future subj. in the si clause -

(Not in Latin.)

XII. Conditional Clauses of Comparison.

(For the Latin construction see p. 20.)

Spanish follows the Latin prototype. The two introductory expressions found in the texts examined are como si and que si:

" Vistieron lo muy bien paños de gran valia
Como si fuese doctor en la filosofia."

Juan Ruiz 53 b

" Todos fuyen del luego como si fuese araña."

Juan Ruiz 1526 d

" Non me val mas la mano que si fuesse agena."

S. D. 618c

* Summary

Spanish conditional clauses of comparison.

Conditional clauses of comparison- subj - (As in
Latin.)

Conclusion.

The preceding discussion has given examples of the Subjunctive Mood in Classical Latin and Early Spanish and has shown, wherever possible, that the Spanish subjunctive was an historical development from the Latin. It is clear that, in general, the main constructions follow the Latin prototype.

As each division has been previously summarized, in conclusion attention is called to a few constructions that offer peculiarity or that do not exactly parallel the Latin construction, viz:

a Result clauses:

All result clauses in Latin require the subjunctive. In Spanish result clauses that state a fact take the indicative, and those that denote an uncertainty take the subjunctive. This no doubt shows that Spanish tends to treat of the subjunctive more subjectively than the Latin which is based upon syntactical usage, and that in Spanish a feeling of uncertainty requires the subjunctive.

⁴⁹ See pp. 35 and 36.

b Temporal Clauses:

Latin temporal clauses introduced by ubi, when, dum, donec, quoad, as long as, and postquam, after, require the indicative. Similar constructions in Spanish introduced by quando, mientras que, despues que, etc. take the subjunctive when uncertainty is implied. ⁵⁰

c Verbs of Fearing:

Verbs of fearing are regularly followed by the subjunctive in Latin. In the Cid and La Vida de Santo Domingo verbs of fearing are followed by the future indicative. In the other texts examined the construction conforms to the Latin prototype. ⁵¹

d Indirect Discourse:

Main clauses in indirect discourse in Latin are expressed by the infinitive with the subject in the accusative. In Spanish in like constructions the subjunctive is used after negative verbs of mental action and is found sporadically after positive verbs, particularly the forms of creer and pensar. ⁵²

50 See pp. 38 and 39
51 " " 55 and 56
52 " " 43-45

e Conditional Sentences:

Of interest in this construction is the frequent use of the future subjunctive, as tense that was lacking in Latin. The Spanish future subjunctive was an etymological development from the Latin future perfect indicative. ⁵³

f Imperfect Tense Subjunctive:

The Cid employs the imperfect subjunctive for commands in the second person. These commands are felt to be more courteous than those expressed in the present. This use of the imperfect has no Latin prototype. ⁵⁴

The Cid and Juan Ruiz offer a few examples of the imperfect subjunctive used in wishes capable of fulfillment. This construction in Latin requires the present subjunctive. ⁵⁵

Since variations do occur from the syntax of Classical Latin one may presume that these changes developed during the Vulgar Latin period or are of origin entirely independent from the Latin.

53 See pp. 64.
54 " " 22.
55 " " 26 and 27.

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