THE SYNTAX OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE
IN EARLY SPANISH

by

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For his interest and assistance in the preparation of this study I am deeply 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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S.D.- La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos. (Berceo.)
Sen.- De Senectute.
Ter.- Terence.
Tr.- Tristia.
Trin.- Trinummas.
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 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.)

1. Commands.

"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 dubitatis mittere," do not hesitate to send; Cic, Att. I, 9, 2.

"Cave festines," do not be in a hurry; Cic. Fam. XVI, 12, 6.

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.


(Present subjunctive, third person singular

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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.

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.

"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:


II. Optative Subjunctive. (Wished or desired.)

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:
"Utinam ille omnes seenum 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.)
"Cuno 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

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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. 1,7,18.
   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.C. 7,66,6.

2. Relative purpose clauses.
   Introduced by relative pronoun:
   "Equitatum qui sustinerent impetum misit," he sent cavalry who were to check the at-
   tack; 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 ad-
verbs ubi, unde and quo.
lected a house where he might dwell (that he might dwell in it); Cic. Phil. 2.25.62.

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 pos-
sit," no one is so savage that he cannot (be
made to) soften; H. Ep. I,1,39.

1. Introduced by quin:

"Numquam tam male est Sicilis quin aliquid
facete dicant," things never go so badly with
the Sicilians that they haven't some witty
thing to say; Cic. Verr. 4,43,95.

2. Relative result clauses:

"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);

III. Temporal Clauses.

1. Descriptive cum-clauses of situation (called

11 Quin is used only after a negative idea, ex-
pressed or implied.
12 The relative clause of result is closely relat-
ed to the clause of characteristic. It is best
to class the clause as one of characteristic,
unless the idea of result is clear and unmis-
takable.
cum-circumstantial) in the past time only:

"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 (fut-
urity):

"Dum naves eo conveniente exspectavit," 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, fore0
stalled or intended:

"Romanus, priusquam fores portarum ob-
iceretur, velut agmine uno inrumpit," the
Romans, before the gates 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

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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 concurri oporteret," the flag had to be displayed, which was the signal when(ever) the soldiers must gather to arms; Id. II,20,1.  

IV. Causal Clauses.

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

"Supplicatio decreta est, quod Italian 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 suppeditabat," 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 praecella sentirent, negotium susceperunt," and they since they had nothing but patriotic thoughts, undertook the matter; Cic. Cat. 3.2.5.

5. Verbs of emotion:
(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. (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.

"Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent aequo sa-
tis 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:
"Dumnorixem designari sentiebat," he was a-
ware that Dumnorix was meant; Caes. B.G. 1.18.1.

b. Subordinate clauses (unless used merely for
explanation by the writer) require the sub-
junctive:
"Caesar respondit eo sibi minus dubitationis
dari quod memoria teneret..., "Caesar answer-
ed that he felt less hesitation, because he
remembered...; Id. I,14.1.

Cc. All imperatives or jussive subjunctives of
direct discourse become subjunctives in in-
direct discourse:
"(Dixit) reverterentur," he said that they
should return; Id. I,7,19.

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18 This is essentially the same as the substan-
tive clause of volition, see p. 16.X,1.a.
19 Gunnison and Harley, Cicero's Orations, New York,
1926,215.e.
2. Indirect Questions require the subjunctive:
"Quaesivi quid dubitaret," I asked why he hesitated; Cic. Cat. 2,6.13.

VII. Adversative and Concessive Clauses.

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 seae pacem esse facturum," though this is so, yet (he says) that he will make peace; Caes. B.C. 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:

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20 Bennett (A Latin Grammar, Chicago 1895, 209):
"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.

1. Characteristic or Descriptive Clauses.

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

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

2. Anticipatory clause:

"Nascetur Trojanus, famam qui terminet as-

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21 For purpose, result, causal and adversative re-
relative 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 fratem statueret," Divici-
acutus began to entreat Caesar **not to pass too** severe judgment upon his brother; Caes. B.C. I,20,1.

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

"Hunc permisit ut in his locis legionem **con-locaret,**" 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 peccas," **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 **offen-
deret, verebatur;" he feared that by punishing him he should offend Diviciacus; Caes. B.C. 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 negated.)

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

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

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 restitisse 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, dum meam relinquendum 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 muniwisset," he would never have gone, if he had not prepared for himself a way; Cic. Tusc. 1.14.32.

a 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 uUa in te pietas esset, colere

debebas," whom you ought to have honored, if there was any filial affection in you; Cic. Phil. 2, 38, 99.

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

XII. Conditional Clauses of Comparison are introduced by velut si, tamquam si, quasi, etc., as if. The verb is in the subjunctive. " Metus cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset," fear seized upon them, as if the enemy were already at their gates; Livy 21, 16, 2.

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: "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: "Con valor de imperativo se usa el presente subj. fuera de las segundas personas. Pero también se usa en las segundas per-

sonas para atenuar la fuerza imperativa como en latín cautos sit."

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: "Antiguamente, el subjuntivo de pretérito podía reemplazar al imperativo," and Menéndez Pidal, "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 Cid

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27 Hanssen: Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Castellana, Halle 1913, 585.
29 Id. vol. III.
where it occurs twice:

"_Fossades mio huesped, si vos ploguiesse, señor._"

*Cid* 2046

"_Dexássedesvos Cid de aquesta razón._"

*Cid* 3293

2. All prohibitions, i.e., negative commands, which may or may not be preceded by *caue*, 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 _dicas_ mal de amor en verdad 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 5158

" 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, 
Viniéssea mio Cid que a saber de cavalgar."

Cid 1190

" Elle lo merece e de mi abra perdón: 
Viniésem a vistas si oviese 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.

Hale and Buck say: "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.'

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

"Vos venissete des 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.

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:
   " Vino el malo y dijo: ¡ya te viese colgar!"  
       Juan Ruiz 1467 o
   " Diz: ¡ya llevase el verco a la vieja Risorna 
      que por ella con vusco fablar omne non osa!"  
       Id 828 a

33 For two additional examples of the imperfect tense see the Cid 1351 and 3379.
"Por amor de Rey Alfonso, que de tierra me ha echado,
"Min entrarie en la tijera, ni un pelo non avie trajado
"E que fablassen desto moros y christianos."

2. Wishes incapable of fulfillment follow the Latin construction, viz:
Wishes incapable of fulfillment in present time are expressed with the imperfect subjunctive:
"Dios, que buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!"

"Si quier el casamiento fecho non fosse oy!"

"Ay dios! ¡E yolo fuese aqueste pecador Que fesiase penetrencia desto fecho error!"

Wishes incapable of fulfillment in past time.
In Latin these wishes would have been stated in the pluperfect subjunctive. In the texts reviewed the imperfect has taken the place of the pluperfect which nowhere appears. In the optative subjunctive the simple form is frequently used for the compound in the modern language. Bello says: "Es

34 Bello and Cuervo: Gramática de la Lengua Castellana, Paris 1908,702.
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. 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,
Quiza el grand trabajo puede vos acorrer,
Dios e el uso grande fazen los feodos volver."

Juan Ruiz 793 a

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 lo fué consentido."

Juan II 373,1

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

Id. 507,1

"En otros tiempos quisiera
Que de mi non se rembrara."

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 adúgamos 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, nor que, a fin que, a fin de que and de manera que:

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

Cid 2915
"Por amor que creades esto que es verdad,
Quiero vos dar a esto una autoridad."
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,
Faltar 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:

"Envío dos cavalleros que *sapiessan* la verdad."

*Cid* 1495

"Alvar Fáñez adelantel enbió

Que *besassen* 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 del donde se asentasen los embaxadores."

Id. 466.2

"Dieronle 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 var 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.)

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.

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

S.D. 180b

"Porque con la bendicion 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 fue tanto que pudiese suplir a las grandes necesidades suyas."

Id. 327,2

a 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 podía 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 respondí que le daría una tal puñada"
Que en tiempo de su vida nunca la vies vengada.

Juan Ruiz 63 b

"De lo cual se podía 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 falásemos buscar lo iríemos 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:

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"Mientras que vivades non seredes menguados."

Cid 158

"Elle quando la viessse abria della dolor."

S.D. 296c

"Después que vos ayas hecho este sacrificio,
Ofrecer 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 jornada doblar,
Recibo tal mensaje 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 mientras 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 menuester ayuda, la hubiesen presto."

Juan II 337,1

"E por quitar la discordia destos oficios acordose entre la Reyna y el Infante quando algun oficio vacase, que lo disese..."

Id. 340,2

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

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:
   " Como yo le do viviese
   E sin fatiga ninguna."
   Santillana 67,25
   " E como el Infante fuese de todos mucho amado,
   y conociesen 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 oídores."

Juan II 282,2

3. The rejected reason occurs once in Juan II:

"Lo cual se hizo más por la necesidad del tiempo
que por voluntad que hubiesen de lo así 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 junten 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 disse
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 fermosas."

_Id._ 292,26

"E yo no creo ni podía 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 de las sea porque a estos que nombrais parecieron mal los movimientos."

_Juan II_ 414,2
"Porque pensaban quel Rey tuviese 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. 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 sido 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.)
Subordinate clauses in subj. do not occur.

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 ejecucion 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 fiziesen reyes non irian a
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
Juan II 289.2.

" E maguer te presiesse, 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:

" Ego qui leviter Graecas litteras attigissem, tamen cum venisset Athenas complures ibi dixi sum commoratus," although I had dabbled but slightly in Greek, nevertheless, having come to Athens I stayed there several days; Cic. Of. 1.13.82.

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.

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 quelo sacase thesoros e grand riqueza."

Id. 253a
"E dixieron que viniese allí alguno que fuese del linage del Infante."

Juan II 230,2
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 d

"No habria quien contradixiesse su voluntad."

Juan II 594, 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.  

"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 Señoría que muy prestamente le mandase embiar la mas gente que pudiese."

Juan II 479, 2

"E les daría el mas sufiiciente poder que

42 Hanssen (Op. cit. 586): "El subjuntivo combinado con el superlativo se usa poco en castellano. Existen ejemplos antiguos, y el empleo de la construcción 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, sead 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.

Menéndez Pidal says (Gramática del Cantar de mio Cid): "La proposición causal lleva
siempre indicativo; se exceptúa la oración prohibitiva."

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.
   "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, acquiescence, indif-

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 fussen presos."

Id. 613, 2.

"Serrana, tal casamiento Non consiento que fagasen."

Santillana 295,2

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 subiesse mucha gente, porque no qubrasen el escala."

Id. 329,2
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 pierdas quando las as ganadas."

S. D. 238 c

"Curia te que non peques e non fagas felia."

Ii. 250 c

"Mas cadad non le digades chufas de pitofero."

Juan Ruiz 1495 c

2. Optative.

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

"Yo deseo mucho que él sirviese 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 fincasses fastal tercerio día."

Ii. 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. 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 viendo que mio Cid se repintrá." Cid 1079

"Miedo han que iver mó no Cid el Campeador." Id. 2987

"Si en mi pecare otro, temo será 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 después de su partida quisiesen mover algunas cosas que no cumpliesen al bien de estos reynos." Juan II 346,1.

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

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 ningún trabajo ni peligro que venir le pudiese, era allí venido por servicio de Dios."

Juan II 367,1

"A la qual no dudó muchos otros mejores de mí antes de agora en lo semejante han escrito."

Id. 573,1

"E todos sabemos así del un cabo como del otro haber mucho a Dios ofendido, porque no dudó 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 opiniones, haciendo gran duda si el Rey hubiese derecho alguno de hacer guerra en Portugal."

Juan II 501,1

"Y estaba en Castilla tan trabajado que sería duda si pudiese venir a cumplir las armas 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 follows the Latin prototype:

"Conviene que lo sufras mague razon tras yas."

S.D. 432 c

"E unos decían que era bien que la paz se hiciese 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 fazan."

_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 1023

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

S. D. 166 b

"Si mis dichos fahes 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 diessen, que el les dara lugar que
se fuesen en salvo con lo suyo."

Juan II 295,1

"Y aunque suelto 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, daría si tuviese que dar."

S.D. 363 b

"Si tu por mi dennesse una misa cantar, Yo sano e guarido cuidaría 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
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 oviessse daría "and at times "si oviessse diera."

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

S. D. 45 d

"Si durasse el libro, nos aún duraríamos."

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 Id. 592

The Early Spanish uses the -ra form:
"Saben bien que si ellos le vidiessen, non escapara de muort."

**Cid** 2774

"Si vos non uvías, 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

In Latin the apodosis in conditional sentences of this type sometimes stands in the indicative. The imperfect, perfect or pluperfect 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 quél debía
hacer, si el Rey de Aragon quisiesse 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 recibir 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 ploguiere 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 a-
podosis. The apodosis regularly admits the
-ra form of the imperfect subjunctive or the
conditional but the -se form is used pro-
vided the apodosis is in a construction that
requires the subjunctive.
Bello says: "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 Destúñiga, 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 ellos acordados son Que si los pudiesen apartar a los del Campeador Que los matassen en campo por desondra de so señor."

Cid 3541

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 diessen al día manjar uno."

Juan Ruiz 1127 d

"Por miedo del rey Alfons, que así lo paran:
    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 más la mano que si fuese agena."

S. D. 618e

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.

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.

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*.

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

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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