VERB-CLASS AS A DETERMINER OF STEM-VOWEL IN THE HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY OF SPANISH VERBS

1. In treatments of the morphology of Spanish verbs in -*er* and -*ir* insufficient attention has been paid to the role of verb-class in determining the nature of their stem-vowel [1].

In the evolution of the stem-vowels of these verbs, five main forces are at work, of which only the first three have been traditionally taken into account [2] :

i) raising of the stem-vowel in anticipation of a yod in the ending of 4th-conj. verbs (a change which presumably occurred in the Vulgar Latin of Spain, since the yod was lost sufficiently early to leave unpalatalized the terminal consonant of the stem, at least in most cases) [3].

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1. Cf. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (Paris, 1956) (1st ed., 1910), § 360 ; A. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum* (Halle, 1897) ; F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), §§ 198, 199, 200, 245 ; H. Lausberg, *Lingüística románica*, vol. II (Madrid, 1966) (1st ed. Berlin, 1962), *passim* ; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española* (Madrid, 1958) (1st ed. 1904), §§ 104, 105, 114 ; id., *Cantar de Mío Cid*, vol. I (Madrid, 1964) (1st ed. 1926), §§ 77, 83 ; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, vol. II (New York, 1923) (1st ed. Leipzig, 1894), § 191. Y. Malkiel, ' Diphthongization, monophthongization, metaphony : studies in their interaction in the paradigm of the Old Spanish -ir verbs ', *Language*, 42 (1966), 430-472, approaches the present problem from a different angle and comes to different conclusions.

2. The data upon which the present article is based are derived from an examination of all the texts which appear in R. Menéndez Pidal's *Crestomatía del español medieval*, 2 vol. (Madrid, 1965-66), from the same scholar's edition of the *Cantar de Mío Cid* (Madrid, 1956), from the verse sections of the *Historia Troyana* (*Historia Troyana en prosa y verso*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal and E. Varón Vallejo, Anejo XVIII (Madrid, 1934) of the *Revista de Filología Española*) and from the *Danza de la muerte* (M. Morreale, ' Para una antología de la literatura castellana medieval : la *Danza de la muerte* ', offprint of *Annali del Corso di Lingue e Letterature Straniere presso l'Università di Bari*, VI (1963), 70 p.).

3. The yod clearly persisted longer in the West of the Peninsula, since in Portuguese the stem-consonant of a number of -*ir* verbs has suffered palatalization : *PETIO > peço*, METIO(R) > *meço*, etc.

ii) paradigmatic analogy, whereby strong forms without yod in Latin come
to have the same stem-vowel as those with yod (a Romance change
occurring before the appearance of the earliest text) [1].

iii) dissimilation /i/.../í/ > /e/.../í/ (a force operative still in OSp., although
not finally victorious until the end of the Middle Ages) [2].

iv) the gradual replacement of the sequence /o/.../í/ by /u/... /í/ in later
OSp., a vowel-harmony which operates with a fair degree of regularity
in nouns and adjectives [3].

v) the preference (for reasons of verbal class distinction) for /o/ in the stems
of -er verbs and for /u/ in the stems of -ir verbs (/a/ is neutral and the
early tendency to prefer stem-vowel /e/ in -er verbs and /i/ in -ir verbs is
increasingly thwarted in OSp. by dissimilation (point iii)).

Inflection by yod and the associated paradigmatic analogy in -ir verbs
(points i and ii) cease to operate with the loss of yod in Vulgar Latin [4]. Sub-
sequently, dissimilation (point iii) eventually establishes itself as more
powerful than the tendency towards stem-vowel /i/ in -ir verbs (point v) and
the tendency to distinguish verb-class on the basis of stem-vowel (point v)
proves more powerful than vowel-harmony (iv).

1. Thus PŭtrES, PŭTRET, PŭTRENT > *pudres, pudre, pudren* on the basis of
PŭTREO, PŭTREAM > *pudro, pudra*, etc.

2. Thus we still find examples of the sequence /i/.../í/ in the 14th and
15th c. : *pidia* (Juan Manuel, *Libro de las Armas*), *syguir* (*Danza de la muerte*,
556).

3. The most frequently occurring words which exhibit this change are *humilde,
humillar, sutil, suspirar* and *ruido*. The usual OSp. forms of these words are
omil(l)/omilde, omillar, roydo, sospirar and *sotil* (in the case of the two verbs
mentioned, the raising of /o/ to /u/ presumably occurred first in the strong forms :
omillo > humillo). Other words which in OSp. frequently have pretonic /o/ under
similar conditions are *escodriñar, tovillo, bollicio, escodilla, Andalozia, covil* (cf.
J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid-Bern,
1954-6). Early examples of /u/ before /í/ are : *humil* (Clemente Sánchez Vercial,
Libro de los enxiemplos, written between 1403 and 1406), *umildança* (Juan de
Mena, *Coronaçion*, 1438), *suspirastes* (Alonso de Cartagena, *Oracional de Fernán
Pérez de Guzmán*, 1454-56), *subtileza* (Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hércules*,
1417), *escrudinnassen* (*Primera Crónica General*, ch. 908), *tuvillo* (*Libro de la
ochava espera*, 1276). It is of course true that pretonic /o/ was occasionally raised
to /u/ under other circumstances ; thus, I have counted 54 cases of *lugar*
(< LOCALE), the earliest dating from the beginning of the 13th c., against
55 cases of *logar* ; from the earliest times, *jugar* (< JOCARE) is common beside
jogar ; *gustar* replaces *gostar* in the 15th c.

4. Cf. C. H. Grandgent, *Introducción al latín vulgar* (Madrid, 1963), § 416 ;
V. Väänänen, *Introducción al latín vulgar* (Madrid, 1968), § 319.

2. Taking into account forces i), ii) and iii), OSp. shows a predominance of the following forms (excluding, for the moment, the strong preterites), classified according to the nature of the stem-vowel in Latin :

-ER :

	I	2	3	4	5	6
Ē/Ĭ	*meter*	*meto*	*metamos*	*metí*	*metió*	*met(e)ré*
Ĕ.	*tender*	*tiendo*	*tendamos*	*tendí*	*tendió*	*tenderé*
ō/Ŭ	*correr*	*corro*	*corramos*	*corrí*	*corrió*	*correré*
Ŏ.	*mover*	*muevo*	*movamos*	*moví*	*movió*	*mov(e)ré*
A.	*caer*	*cayo*	*cayamos*	*caí*	*cayó*	*caeré (cadré)*

-IR :

Ī.	*escrevir*	*escrivo*	*escrivamos*	*escreví*	*escrivió*	*escrb(i)ré*
Ē/Ĭ.	*medir*	*mido*	*midamos*	*medí*	*midió*	*mediré (comidré)*
Ĕ.	⟨ *servir*	*sirvo*	*sirvamos*	*serví*	*sirvió*	*serviré*
	⟨ *sentir*	*siento*	*sintamos*	*sentí*	*sintió*	*sentiré (consintré)* *
ū	*sumir*	*sumo.*	*sumamos*	*sumí*	*sumió*	*sumtrí*
ō/Ŭ	*sobir*	*subo*	*subamos*	*sobí*	*subió*	*sobiré (subré)*
Ŏ.	⟨ *cobrir*	*cubro*	*cubramos*	*cobrí*	*cubrió*	*cobriré*
	⟨ *dormir*	*duermo*	*durmamos*	*dormí*	*durmió*	*dormiré*
A	*abrir*	*abro*	*abramos*	*abrí*	*abrió*	*abriré*

The forms in column I are to be taken as representing not only the infinitive, but also the weak forms of the present indicative (e. g. *metemos, metedes, escrevimos, escrevides*) and the plural imperative (*meted, escrevid*). Similarly the forms of column 2 represent the eight strong forms of the present tenses, plus the singular imperative. Column 3 represents the weak forms of the present subjunctive, and Column 4 those forms of the preterite and imperfect whose tonic vowel is /i/, together with the participle (i. e. *metí, metiste, metimos, metistes, metía (-s, -mos, -des, -n), metido*). Column 5 represents those forms of the preterite and the imperfect whose endings contain /j/, together with the gerund and all forms of the imperfect subjunctive, future subjunctive and pluperfect in *-ra* (i. e. *metió, metieron, metié (-s,* etc.), *metiendo, metiesse (-s,* etc), *metiere (-s,* etc), *metiera (-s,* etc.). Column 6 represents all forms of the future and conditional.

3. The important features, from the present point of view, of the forms listed above are the absence of the vowels /i/ and /u/ from the stems of -*er* verbs and the predominance of /i/ and /u/ in those of -*ir* verbs (alternating with /e/ and /o/ respectively, although the latter vowel has, in more recent times, been eliminated from almost all -*ir* verbs and is now therefore characteristic of the *e*- class ; cf. §§ 4, 7 and 9 below). The historical reasons for the distribution in § 2 are the following :

a) The anticipatory raising of Ē/Ĭ (and Ĕ in the atonic position) > /i/ and of Ō/Ŭ (and atonic Ŏ) > /u/ before the Latin yod present in the 1st pers. sg. of the present indicative and throughout the pres. subj. of the 4th conjugation. From the earliest times in Spanish, this raised vowel was extended analogically to the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and the 3rd pers. pl. pres. ind. and to the singular imperative [1]. This vowel-change affects not only those verbs which belonged to the 4th conj. in Classical Latin, but also those verbs which passed into the *i*-class in Vulgar Latin or in Romance.

By contrast, -*er* verbs show no raising of their stem-vowels. The reason for this disparity probably lies in the fact that a very large proportion of -*er* verbs derives from the Latin 3rd. conj., without desinential yod (e. g. MITTO, MITTAM, MITTAMUS) [2].

b) No verb of the 2nd or 3rd conj. with stem-vowel Ī or Ū appears to have survived as a member of the *e*-class. Almost all such verbs which have

1. Thus, in the tenth-century Silos glosses we find *pitent* (< PĔTUNT) and *tingen* (< TĬNGUNT). In the *Fuero de Valfermoso de las Monjas* (Guadalajara) of 1189 : *pidat* (< PĔTAT).

2. In a count of the Latin verbs which appear in the index of Corominas, *DCELC*, IV, I find 39 which belong to the Latin 3rd conj. and which provide -*er* verbs in Spanish (ABSCONDERE, BIBERE, CADERE, CERNERE, COGNOSCERE, COLLIGERE, COMEDERE, COQUERE, CREDERE, CRESCERE, CURRERE, FINDERE, FUTUERE, INCENDERE, LAMBERE, LEGERE, MOLERE, NASCI, PASCERE, PERDERE, PLUERE, PONERE, PREHENDERE, QUAERERE, RADERE, RODERE, RUMPERE, SOLVERE, TANGERE, TENDERE, TEXERE, TOLLERE, TRAHERE, TRIBUERE, VENDERE, VERRERE, VERTERE, VINCERE, VOLVERE), to which are to be added many compounds of these verbs, the many verbs in -*ecer* and a number of other verbs. Against this total are to be set only 18 verbs of the 2nd Latin conj. which provide -*er* verbs (ARDERE, DEBERE, DOLERE, FOETERE, JACERE, MISCERE, MORDERE, MOVERE, OLERE, PENDERE, *POTERE, RESPONDERE, SOLERE, SORBERE, TENERE, TIMERE, TORQUERE, VALERE), a number of these verbs (MISCERE, MORDERE, OLERE, PENDERE, RESPONDERE, TORQUERE) probably belonging to the 3rd conj. in Vulgar Latin, together with a number of 3rd conj. verbs whose endings contained /j/ (CAPERE, FACERE, PATI, SAPERE) and one verb of the 4th conj. (TUSSIRE).

survived have passed into the *i*-class (DĪCERE, SCRĪBERE, VĪVERE, RĪDERE; DŪCERE, LŪCERE, SŪMERE, RECŪTERE, LŪDERE) [1]. This shift is easily understandable in terms of analogy (*mido* : *río* : : *medir* : *x*; therefore *x* = *reír*).

4. Column I (§ 2) represents the only four forms in which the ending *alone* serves to distinguish *e*-class from *i*-class. However, to take first those verbs whose stem contains a front vowel, it is true to say that whereas verbs of the *e*-class have exclusively /e/ in their stem in OSp., verbs of the *i*-class frequently present /i/, thus displaying the class to which they belong not only in the ending but also in the stem. Historically, this /i/ is to be accounted for either as a reflex of Latin ī (as in the cases DĪCERE > *dizir* etc [2]), or (in the case of verbs with stem-vowel ĭ/ē/ĕ) by analogy with the latter, or by extension of the stem-vowel (exclusively /i/) of the strong forms (columns 2 and 3), or both pressures [3]. But throughout the OSp. period the force of dissimilation (/i/.../i/ > /e/.../i/) makes itself felt, accounting for the predominance of the pattern /e/.../i/ even in the case of verbs whose stem reflects Latin ī [4]. Only a few verbs escaped this dissimilatory tendency [5] and Modern Spanish depends entirely upon the verbal endings to distinguish one class from the other.

1. In some cases, such verbs have passed into the *a*-class : BŪRĔRE > aburar, *TŪRRĔRE (?) (C. L. TORRERE) > turrar.

2. E.g. *dizir* (Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, Ch. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza), against 67 cases of *dezir* ; *dizimos* (Speech of Ferdinand I of Aragon to the Cortes, 1412) against 14 cases of *dezimos, dezides* ; *dizimelo* (*Roncesvalles*, 22) against 13 cases of *dezid*, etc. ; *escrivir* (9 cases, from Berceo onwards) to be contrasted with 9 cases of *escrevir* ; [*vivir*] (7 cases, against 21 of [*vevir*]), *vivimos* (Berceo, *Milagros* 18a) against 3 cases of [*vevimos*], [*vevides*].

3. E.g. *firire* (*Fuero de Madrid*) against 23 cases of *ferir* ; *firid* (*Cid*, 597) against *ferid* (*Cid*, 720) and two like examples ; *pidimos* (*Cid*, 1885) against 16 cases of *pedimos, pedides, pedir* ; *recibir* (*Cid*, 1583) against 35 cases of [*recebir*], many of them in the *Cid* ; *syguir* (*Danza de la muerte*, 556) against 13 cases of (*con-, per-*) *seguir, seguimos*. I have come across no examples of the sequence /i/ .../i/ in the verbs *mentir, sentir, servir, venir* or *vestir* or in the verbs of less frequent occurrence.

4. Of these verbs, only *decir* shows regular dissimilation in OSp., while *escribir* and *vivir* have /i/.../i/ on a half and a third of their appearances respectively ; see note 2, above.

5. I.e. *escribir, vivir* and *recibir*, as well as the learned verbs *admitir, decidir, dirigir, dividir, redimir, remitir*, etc. This distribution leads one to suspect learned influences at work in the case of the first three verbs.

Where the stem-vowel of the forms under consideration belongs to the velar series, one observes from the earliest times a tendency to distinguish verbal class on the basis of the aperture of the stem-vowel, reserving /o/ for the *e*-class and /u/ for the *i*-class [1]. The pressures which lead towards the preference for /u/ over /o/ in the stem of *-ir* verbs are the following : the existence in the *i*-class of a number of verbs whose stem-vowel is the reflex Latin ū (*aduzir, luzir, mugir* ?), whereas there were no such verbs in the *e*-class (cf. § 3) ; imitation of the forms in columns 2 and 3, where /u/ appears exclusively ; and (increasingly in later OSp. and in early MSp.) the vowel-harmony which, in nouns and adjectives as well as verbs, leads to a preference for pretonic /u/ over /o/ where the tonic is /í/ (cf. p. 344, n. 3). Although forms with stem /o/ are to be found up to the early 16th c. [2], /o/ was eventually excluded except in the case of *oír* (presumably /o/ was unaltered here to prevent homonymic collision with the reflex of FUGIRE, at least in Northern Castile [3]) and in that of *dormir* and *morir* (where the presence of /ue/ in the strong forms (column 2) would help to maintain /o/ in weak forms, in line with the frequent alternation /ue/ ∼ /o/ seen in *nueve/noventa, cuenta/contar*, etc.). Since throughout the OSp. period, /o/ alternated with /u/ in the stem of *-ir* verbs, even those verbs whose stem-vowel derived from Latin ū frequently showed stem /o/ in OSp., e. g. *adozir, somir*, etc. [4].

5. In the strong forms of the present indicative and subjunctive (column 2), and for the reasons stated in § 3a), most *-er* verbs have stem-vowel /e/ or /o/

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1. OSp. examples of the sequence /u/.../í/ in verbs whose stem reflects Latin ŭ/ō/ŏ : *descubrir* (*Poema de Fernán González*, 487d) against 9 cases of (*des-, en-*) *cobrir* ; 8 cases of [*cumplir*] (including 4 in the *Cid*) against 15 of [*complir* including one in the *Cid* ; 16 cases of [*fuir*] against 10 of [*foir*] ; 2 cases of *murir* (*Cid* 1179 ; Alfonso de Valladolid, *Libro declarante*) against 34 cases of [*morir* (including *Cid*, 1029) ; 3 cases of *subir* (Berceo, *Santa Oria* 42b ; *General Estoria* ; *Libro de los caballos*) against 8 of *sobir* ; 3 cases of [*sufrir*] (the earliest is *Cid* 3073) against 23 of [*sofrir*] and one of *sofrimos*. I find no examples of the sequence /u/.../í/ in the verb *dormir*, nor in other less frequent verbs.

2. Cf. R. K. Spaulding, ' On the introduction of preterites in *u* (*Hubo* and its congeners) ', *Hispanic Review*, I (1933), 161-7.

3. In one area of Northern Castile, this verb has moved into the *e*-class, becoming *goyer* (cf. my *El habla pasiega : ensayo de dialectología montañesa* (London, 1970), § 123), a shift presumably provoked by the persistence in this verb of stem /o/.

4. *Adozir* (*Los diez mandamientos* ; *General Estoria* ; *Alex.* (ms P) 2576c), *recodir* (*General Estoria* ; Escurial Bible, ms. I-i-6), *somir* (*Primera Crónica General*, ch. 709).

(which do not occur in -*ir* verbs) and most -*ir* verbs have stem-vowel /i/ or /u/ (which do not occur in -*er* verbs). Leaving aside /a/, which is always neutral with regard to verb-class, it is only in those verbs with stem-vowel ĕ or ŏ in Latin that there is identity of vocalic pattern between the two verb-classes (*tiendo* = *siento, muevo* = *duermo*). It is as a reaction against this identity that we must explain the historic tendency away from /ie/ and /ue/ in the stems of -*ir* verbs and towards /i/ and /u/.

In the case of front vowels, a few verbs have retained the etymologically-expected /ie/ (*sentir, herir, hervir, erguir, mentir*, their learned and popular compounds, learned compounds of QUAERERE and VERTERE and a few other learned verbs) while a considerable number of others have avoided the class-ambiguous /ie/ and have adopted /i/ (reflexes of GĔMERE, PĔTERE, RĔDDERE, RĔGERE, SĔQUI, SĔRVIRE, VĔSTIRE, etc.) [1].

In the case of verbs whose Latin stem contained ŏ, the movement away from a diphthongized stem in Sp. is even more marked. Of the many surviving verbs with stem ŏ (ABHŎRRERE, COŎPERIRE, MŎLLIRE, NŎCERE, PŎLIRE, etc.) only two have retained the etymologically expected diphthong (DŎRMIRE, MŎRI), the rest adopting the unambiguous stem /u/ [2].

Only one other verb presents problems in its strong forms, namely *oír*, which retains stem /o/ throughout (OSp. *oyo, oyes, oya, oyas*, etc.). As stated in § 4 above, the reason for this is probably the avoidance of homonymic clash, in the spoken language of Old Castile, with the strong forms of FUGIRE (widely pronounced [úyo, úyes, úya, úyas], etc). In Aragon, where, because of the retention of Latin F-, no homonymic clash was threatened, the verb AUDIRE was enabled to raise its stem vowel to /u/ in order to fall in line with other -*ir* verbs (*huye* « he hears », *huyen* « they hear ») in Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Tucídides Romanceado*.)

6. In the weak forms of the present subjunctive (column 3), verb-class is clearly established on the basis of the stem-vowel. /i/ or /u/ (or /a/) is found

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1. Some of these verbs have diphthongized forms in OSp. (particularly in Aragonese texts) : *rienda* (in a poem of Alvarez de Villasandino), *siegue* (*Libro de las coronaciones*, 1353), *siervo* (in a poem of Juan de Valtierra), *sierve* (*Viaje de Juan de Mandevilla*), *sierben* (Silos gloss 49), *vieste* (*Elena y María* 180), *viesta* (*Libro de las coronaciones*).

2. Some relics of diphthongized forms in verbs other than *dormir* and *morir* are to be found in OSp. : *nueze, nuezen* in the *Alexandre*, *cuebre* in the collection of 14th c. Aragonese sayings (cf. J. Ríus Serra, *Revista de Filología Española*, XIII (1926), 364-72).

in all *-ir* verbs and /e/ or /o/ (or /a/) in all *-er* verbs. The sole exception to
this pattern is the verb *oír* (*oyamos, oyades*) ; see above, §§ 4, 5, 6.

7. In those forms whose ending contains tonic /í/ in both classes (co-
lumn 4), *-er* verbs present only /e/ or /o/ (or /a/) in the stem. Verbs of the
i-class naturally show the same vocalic pattern as the corresponding forms
of column 1 (whose endings also contain /í/). That is to say, /i/ and /e/ alter-
nate freely in Spanish in front-vowel stems (*escreví-escriví, mentist-mintist*)
for the reasons stated in § 4. But as a result of a dissimilatory effect which is
increasingly felt in OSp, the close stem-vowel /i/ has been rejected by the
language, except in the case of some learned verbs (*dividimos, dirigiste, impri-
mía*, etc.) and of three other verbs which have been, presumably, under
learned pressure (*vivisteis, escribías, recibí*). In these latter cases, although
the standard language has rejected the stem-vowel /e/, the Spanish of many
rural areas prefers /e/ before /í/ in all verbs [1]. What we are probably obser-
ving in the case of *-er* and *-ir* verbs whose stem contains a front vowel is a
movement, in OSp., towards distinction of verbal class on the basis of the
stem-vowel (/e/ for *-er* verbs, /i/ for *-ir* verbs), a movement which is frustrated
in later OSp. by the strong dissimilatory effect exercised by tonic /í/ on
pretonic /i/. As a result, MSp. shows no distinction of verb-class in these
forms of column 2, where the stem-vowel belongs to the palatal series (/e/ is
normally the only possibility).

Where the stem-vowel belongs to the velar series, the tendency of Spa-
nish to mark the class to which a verb belongs by means of its stem-vowel
begins in the medieval period and is ultimately successful. The appearance
of /u/ in ŭ/ō/ŏ stems is accounted for in § 4. Far from being frustrated
by dissimilation, the change is aided by the increasing preference of later
OSp. and early MSp. for pretonic /u/ (rather than /o/) before tonic /í/ (cf.
p. 344, n. 3) [2]. The absence of a similar change in the *e*-class [3] shows that either

1. *Recebí, escrebimos, decediste*, etc.
2. There are early examples of the change /o/ > /u/ in this category : 4 cases
of [*cumplido, -a*] (from the *General Estoria* onwards) against 47 cases of [*complido,
-a*], *cunplia* (Juan Manuel, *Conde Lucanor*, Enx. XI) against 3 cases of [*complia,
-n*] ; *durmja* (three syllables) (Berceo, *Santa Oria* 42a) ; *fuyan* (imperfect) (ver-
sion of the story of Troy, 1350), *murja* (*Apolonio* 544b ; also in a *Dezir* of Pero
Ferruz), *murian* (*Crónica de 1344*) against 3 cases of *moria, -n* ; *sufri* (*Danza de
la muerte* 477) against *sofri* (Berceo, *Duelo* 161b). The *Celestina* shows a rough
balance of forms with /o/ and forms with /u/ and by the middle of the 16th c.
only the /u/-forms survive.
3. The forms of column 1 (with tonic /é/) probably exerted some analogical

the language seized upon a phonetic change (vowel-harmony) as a means of marking the class of *-er* and *-ir* verbs or that the need to distinguish one verbal class from another *provoked* the change from /o/ to /u/ in the stem of *-ir* verbs, a change which was eventually, perhaps, aided by vowel-harmony [1].

Again, the only exceptions to the replacement of stem /o/ by /u/ are the verbs *dormir, morir* and *oir* (cf. § 4 for a suggested explanation of the retention of /o/ by these verbs.)

8. Verb-forms whose ending contains a yod (column 5) were more numerous in OSp. than in MSp., since the whole of the imperfect indicative frequently fell into this category (*metie, -s,* etc.), as did also the 1st and 2nd persons plural of the preterite (*metiemos, metiestes,* etc.).

In front-vowel stems, *e*-class verbs present only /e/, but *i*-class verbs again show alternation in OSp. between /e/ and /i/. In this category of forms, however, stem /i/ is much more common than /e/ in *i*-class verbs in OSp. (contrary to what is observed in the forms of column 1 and 4) [2]. The presence of stem /i/ in these forms is usually explained in terms of metaphonic raising of /e/ > /i/ in anticipation of desinential yod. That such an explanation is inadequate is evident from the fact that in *e*-class verbs the same yod produces no such effect upon stem /e/, either in Old or Modern Spanish [3]. Again, we must posit that the motivation for the raising of /e/ to

pressure on the forms of column 4 (with tonic /í/), frustrating the operation of vowel-harmony in the latter forms.

1. The complete absence from OSp. of forms such as **curri, *muvia,* etc., suggests that the latter sequence of events is nearer the historical reality.

2. However, there is a considerable minority of forms showing /e/... /j/ : (ī-stems) : *escrevio* (Clemente Sánchez Vercial, *Libro de los enxiemplos*) ; *reyendo* (*Apolonio* 432c ; *El bonium* ; *Historia Troyana*, I, 99) ; [*veviesse*] (*Calila e Dina* ; *Historia Troyana*, I, 25 ; Alonso de Cartagena, translation of Seneca) ; (Ĭ/Ĕ/Ē-stems) : *arrepentiose* (*Crónica de 1344*), *se rrepentieron* (*Poema de Fernán González* 488b) ; *conquerieron* (*Liber Regum*), *requeriendo* (*Alex.* (ms. P) 2528c) ; *convertio* (*El caballero Plácidas*) ; *enchio* (*Alex.* (ms. O) 2449a) ; *feriendo* (*Historia Troyana*, IV, 52 ; Rodrigo Yáñez, *Poema de Alfonso XI* ; *Amadis*), *ferio* (*Roncesvalles* 76 ; Grail fragments ; *Libro de buen amor* 1102a, b ; etc.), 9 other cases of stem *fer-* ; *mediesemos* (Alonso de Cartagena, speech to Council of Basel, 1434), *comediendo* (*Siete infantes de Salas*) ; *pedio* (*Historia Troyana*, XI (intro.) ; *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, ch. 1046) and 5 other cases of stem *ped-*.

3. The idea that the diphthong was adopted by the *e*-class *after* the inflection of stem /e/ > /i/ and /o/ > /u/ (Hanssen, § 245, Lausberg, § 895) does not bear historical examination. On the one hand, Castilian texts show no difference of ending between *-er* and *-ir* verbs in the preterite, etc., and on the other hand inflection by yod clearly still operates at a fairly late date (hesitation *presion/ prision, morziello/murziello,* etc.).

/i/ in the stems of -ir verbs is the desire to distinguish, by means of the stem-vowel, between one class of verbs and the other. The choice of this feature, rather than any other, as the basis for class-differentiation is surely due to the fact that in the forms of columns 2 and 3 the vowel /e/ is exclusive, for historical reasons, to -er verbs, and /i/ is exclusive to -ir verbs.

The same remarks may be made about verbs whose stem contains a back-vowel : /o/ is exclusively found in the stem of -er verbs, but in the i-class /u/ is very much more frequent than /o/, although there is a considerable body of forms with /o/, even in verbs whose stem contained ū in Latin [1]. Again, the raising of /o/ > /u/, although occurring earlier and more regularly before yod, cannot be *caused* by the yod, but can only be due to the desire to distinguish the stems of -ir verbs from those of -er verbs.

The only exception to the pattern /u/.../j/ in the i-class appears in the verb oír. I would repeat that the reason for the anomalous structure of this verb arises as a reaction to the potential homonymic collision with the corresponding forms of the verb FUGIRE in Northern Castile. This view is supported by the fact that in areas where the -D- of AUDIRE was retained up to the 13th c. (e. g. La Rioja), homonymic clash was thereby not threatened and the reflexes of AUDIRE were able to raise stem /o/ > /u/ in the forms under consideration : *udieron* (Berceo, *Milagros*, 7c), *udie* (*id.*, 272b).

It is to be noted that a number of forms which in OSp. commonly contained desinential /j/ were displaced before the end of the Middle Ages by forms with tonic /i/. This replacement affected the whole of the imperfect indicative (*metie* replaced by *metía*, etc.) and the 1st and 2nd persons plural of the preterite (*metiemos*, *metiestes* replaced by *metimos*, *metiste(i)s*). The consequence of this replacement is that in -ir verbs the relative number of forms with stem /i/ drops and the number of forms with stem /e/ rises, owing to the process of dissimilation dealt with above (§§ 4 and 7).

9. In the forms of the future and conditional tenses (column 6), there was a strong tendency towards syncopation in the medieval period in most -er and -ir verbs. Although only a handful of syncopated forms have survived,

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1. The following forms are attested at least once : (ū-stem) *rrecodie* ; (ŭ/ō/ŏ-stems) : *cobrio, cobrieron, descobrieron, cobrie, cobriendo, conplio, conpliesse, compliessen, compliere, dormieron, adormieron, dormiere, dormien, dormiendo, foye* (imperfect), *morio, morieron, moriendo, moriese, moriere, morieran, sobio, sobieron, sobiere, soffriestes, sofrieve, sofriendo, ordio, ordieron.*

we observe in OSp. both shortened (e. g. *vivre, subria*) and unshortened (*vevire, sobiria*) forms, the one type being more or less as frequent as the other.

In the case of *e*-class verbs, the future and conditional have the same stem-vowel as the infinitive (/e/, /o/ or /a/), but in *-ir* verbs we see the same alternation between high and mid vowels that we have observed in columns 1, 4 and 5. However, in the future and conditional forms of *i*-class verbs it is remarkable that there is a strong preference for the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in syncopated forms, while the mid vowels are much more common in unsyncopated forms. Thus, *conssigra* (*Cid* 1465), *consintria* (*Conde Lucanor*, Enx. V), *pidrán* (*Rimado de Palacio* 300a), *repintra* (Cid 1079), *vistran* (Alex. (P) 2596 c), *adura* (= *aducirá*) (*Elena y María* 66), *fudredes* (Escurial Bible, ms I-i-8), *recudre* (id.), *subria* (Berceo, *Vida de Santa Oria* 50d), etc., are to be contrasted, in the texts I have consulted, with only the following forms : *arrepentrien* (*Primera Crónica General* ch 934), *ferra* (Escurial Bible ms I-i-8), *morre* (*Poema de Fernán González* 547 a, *General Estoria*, *Primera Crónica General* ch 832), *morra* (*Siete Infantes de Salas*, *Danza de la Muerte* 10, *Viaje de Juan de Mandevilla*), *morremos* (*Cid* 2795), *morredes* (*Historia Troyana*, II, 100) [1]. All but one (*arrepentrien*) of these syncopated forms with mid vowels have /r̄/ immediately after the stem vowel, a phoneme which is known to have an opening effect on preceding vowels.

There seems to be no other reason for this strong preponderance of high vowels in syncopated forms than the desire to distinguish *-ir* verbs from *-er* verbs. In unsyncopated forms, the characteristic vowel of the conjugation is of course present and therefore the stem vowel fulfills no classificatory function, appearing either with high or with mid aperture.

From the 15th c. onwards, the syncopated forms of the future and conditional are increasingly abandoned (with a few exceptions) in favour of unsyncopated forms, which conform in each case to the vocalic pattern of the infinitive, whose development has been dealt with in § 4.

10. The strong preterites of OSp. may be classified in the following way, on the basis of their stem-vowel in 1st and 3rd sing :

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1. In non-syncopated forms, there is an approximate balance between forms with stem /i/ or /u/ and forms with stem /e/ or /o/. The forms which occur in the texts examined are : *escriviras, resçibire, consentiran, serviremos, vibire* against *mediran, pedire, rescebiriamos, seguira, sentiran, servire, vestira, veviran ; fuyra, muriredes, sufrira* against *foyria, morire, sofrire, ordire.*

	-ER :	*-IR* :
/i/	*miso, fizo*	*dixo, vino*
/e/	*trexo*	—
/u/	*pudo*	*aduxo, fuxo*
/o/	*ovo, coxo*	—
/a/	*tanxo, traxo*	*remaso*

Stem-vowel /i/ arose either as a reflex of Latin ī (MĪSIT > *miso*, DĪXIT > *dixo* ; thus also *vido, cinxo, tinxo, riso, escriso, visco* and the analogical *quise, conquise, requise*) or of Latin ē, inflected by final -ī in the first person singular and extended analogically (during the historical period of Spanish) to the third person singular and eventually to all other persons (FĒCIT > *fezo* > *fizo*, VĒNIT > *veno* > *vino* ; thus also : *(AP)PRĒSIT > (a)priso, *DISPĒSIT > *despiso*).

Stem-vowel /e/ apparently occurs only in the form given and is the reflex of Latin A combined with the yod which emerged from -X- (TRAXIT > *trexo*) [1]

Stem /u/ is the reflex of Latin ū (ADDŪXIT > *aduxo* ; thus also *conduxo, reduxo, destruxo, fuxo* (< *FŪXIT, for FŪGIT) or of ŏ, combined with [w] metathesized from the following syllable (PŎTUIT > *pudo* ; thus also : *puso, conuvo* (< *CONŎVUIT for CONŎVIT) and the analogical *tudiere, andudo, estudo, respuso*).

Stem /o/ is either the result of Latin A combined with [w] from the following syllabe (HABUIT > *ovo* ; thus also : *sopo, copo, plogo, yogo, troxo* (< *TRAXUI) and the analogical *tovo, sovo, estovo, crovo, atrovo, trogue* [2] or of Latin ŏ (COXIT > *coxo*).

Stem /a/ reflects Latin A (REMANSIT > *remaso* ; thus also the analogical *tanxo, nasco* ; *traxo* presumably reflects the stem /a/ of the non-preterite forms of this verb.

11. For the phonetic reasons noted in § 10, the stem vowels of the 1st and 3rd persons singular of strong preterites show no such distribution as is to be observed in non-preterite and weak preterite forms. Only one stem-vowel (/o/) is exclusive to a single verb-class (the *e*-class) and of the other vowels, /e/ is observed in only a minority of occurrences of a single verb and

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1. In *Fuero General de Navarra* ; *Estoria de España*, ch. 598. Cf. also *trex* (*Primera Crónica General*, ch. 709), *maltrexo* (*Poridat de Poridades*).

2. The latter form appears in Juan Alfonso de Baena, *Respuesta de Juan Alfonso contra Ferrant Manuel*, l. 4.

/i/, /u/ and /a/ occur as frequently in one class as in the other. The stem-vowel of these forms, therefore, cannot serve to mark the class to which a verb belongs, a distinction which we have seen to operate elsewhere. On the contrary, because of the different history of their stem-vowels, strong preterites as a whole lead an existence independent of the corresponding non-preterite and weak preterite forms. This independence is most marked in the e-class, from whose non-preterite and weak preterite stems the vowels /i/ and /u/ were always excluded, but whose strong preterite and related paradigms now contain *only* the stem-vowels /i/ and /u/ (apart from the isolated *traje*).

Because of their basically different vocalic shape, strong preterite forms are not subject to the same forces as other forms. Of the forces noted in § 1, the first is inapplicable and, as we have just seen, the opportunity for the fifth to operate does not arise. Of the other forces, paradigmatic analogy (ii) is more powerful than the dissimilation /i/.../í/ > /e/.../í/ (point iii). Point iv) (vowel-harmony /o/.../í/ > /u/.../í/) operates in all strong preterites, rather than just in the i-class as elsewhere, and will be dealt with in § 12.

So far we have discussed only the truly strong forms of the preterite (1st and 3rd persons singular), but in order to consider the conflicting roles of paradigmatic analogy and dissimilation, we clearly must take into account the other four forms of these paradigms and also the related paradigms of the imperfect subjunctive in -se, pluperfect indicative/imperfect subjunctive in -ra, and the future subjunctive. Among these forms, only the second person singular of the so-called strong preterite regularly contains tonic /í/ in its ending in OSp. (e. g. *ovist(e)*), The first and second persons plural also occasionally have /í/ (*ovimos, ovistes*), but more commonly have /jé/ (*oviemos, oviestes*), like the third person plural (*ovieron*). All the forms of the other three paradigms have /jé/ (e. g. *ovies(se), oviera, ovier(e)*). Since the number of forms with desinential /í/ is small, the dissimilatory effect exercised by this vowel on stem /i/ is correspondingly weaker than in the weak preterites (where it occurs regularly in the first person singular also) and in non-preterite forms (cf. § 2). Because of this lessened dissimilatory effect, the high vowels of the first and second persons singular have been enabled to spread throughout the strong preterite paradigm and the related paradigms.

However, the regularization of /i/ [1] in the stems of strong preterites and related paradigms is a relatively late event. Taking first those preterites

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1. /u/ will be dealt with in § 12.

whose stem-vowel reflects Latin ē, it can be observed, from the texts I have studied, that in OSp. they regularly show /e/ before /i/ : *fezist, fezimos, fezistes, venist, venimos, venistes*. Similar is the verb *querer* : *quesist, quesistes* [1]. Before /jé/, stem /i/ is more common but not exclusive ; in the texts I have examined, I find (in the case of the verb *fazer*) 66 cases of *fez-* against 128 of *fiz-*. Corresponding figures for *venir* are : 34 *ven-*/67 *vin-* ; for *querer* : 30 *ques-*/104 *quis-* ; and for *prender* : 4 *pres-*/17 *pris-*.

In the case of the strong preterites whose stem-vowel reflects Latin ī, stem /i/ is almost universal, Thus, in the verb *dezir* I note only 7 cases of stem *dex-* [2], against 79 of *dix-* [3]. Other verbs are too infrequent to provide significant figures, but those given suggest that the raising of /e/ to /i/ in the preterite stems of *fazer, venir*, etc., is due to an analogy of the type

$$dix(e) : fiz(e) : : dixieron : x$$
$$x = fizieron$$

and not to inflection by /j/ as is frequently suggested. In any case, the dissimilatory force, operative in only a few forms, is unable to prevent the eventual analogical raising of stem /e/ to /i/ or to lower stem /i/ (< ī). And since in the strong preterites there is no distinction between -*er* and -*ir* verbs, there can be no classificatory pressure preventing the raising of /e/ to /i/ in the stems of strong preterites belonging to the *e*-class.

12. Similar problems surround the raising of /o/ to /u/ in the strong preterite stems of some -*er* verbs : the independence of the strong preterite stems from the non-preterite and weak preterite stems and the absence of any stem-distinction between -*er* and -*ir* verbs in the strong preterites. As has already been stated, although the stem-vowel /o/ belongs only to *e*-class strong preterites, the vowel /u/ is shared by strong preterites of both classes (cf. § 10). There are no classificatory forces *preventing* the raising of /o/ to /u/ in the strong preterites of -*er* verbs (such as occur in the weak preterites and elsewhere, cf. § 7), but what are the pressures which *cause* this raising ? They would appear to be the following :

1. Exceptions are rare : *fizist* (*Cid* 3332), *prisist* (Cid 333). Cf. also : *quisist* (*Disputa del alma y del cuerpo* 21), *quisistes* (Alonso de Cartagena, translation of Seneca).

2. Four cases occur before /i/ : *deximos* (*Estoria de España*, ch. 743 ; *Crónica de veinte reyes*, XII) ; and three before /j/ : *dexieron* (Grail fragments), *dexiese* (*Historia Troyana*, IX, 41), *dexiesemos* (*El caballero Plácidas*).

3. However, only one of these occurs before /i/ : *dixiste* (*Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*). The rest occur before /j/.

i) economy in the types of strong preterite, achieved by the conflation of the
   /u/ type (*pude*, *puse*) and the /o/ type (*ove*, *sope*) ;
ii) vowel-harmony /o/.../í/ > /u/.../í/ (cf. p. 344, n. 3) ;
iii) the analogical influence exerted by the verb *poder*.

The first of these forces may or may not be of importance. The second, operating in the late medieval and early modern periods, would have made its influence felt upon the second person singular of the preterite (*oviste*, *sopiste*) and increasingly on the first and second persons plural, as these forms regularized the endings *-imos*, *-istes* and rejected *-iemos*, *-iestes*.

But it was possibly the influence of the verb *poder* which was crucial. A few statistics will help to make this case. Taking the four forms of the « strong » preterite which are stressed on the ending and all six forms of each of the three tenses which are related to the strong preterite, I have examined the frequency of occurrence of the vowels /o/ and /u/ in the stems of the most common verbs. In the texts I have studied (up to mid-15 th c.), the verb *aver* shows 145 cases of *ov-* against only 3 of (*h*)*uv-*. Figures for other verbs are : (*tener*) 53 *tov-*/4 *tuv-* ; (*saber*) 33 *sop-*/9 *sup-*; (*poner*) 16 *pos-*/36 *pus-* ; (poder) 53 *pod-*/73 *pud-* [1].

1. In the truly strong forms, the verb *aver* has /ó/ almost constantly in the texts I have examined : 86 cases of [*ove*]/[*ovo*] and only six cases with /ú/ : *hubo* (*Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 264), *uvo* (Santillana, *Prohemio al condestable don Pedro de Portugal*), *huvo* (Heredia, *Crónica de Morea* ; id., *Crónica de los conquiridores* ; speech of King Martín el Humano to the Aragonese Cortes in 1404 ; *Triste deleytacion* (intro.)). Corresponding figures for *tener* are : 25 *tove*/*tovo* against 5 cases of *tuve*/*tuvo*, etc. : *tuve* (Doña Leonor López de Córdoba, *Memorias*), *tuvo* (*Primera crónica general*, ch. 723 ; speech of King Martín el Humano to Aragonese Cortes in 1404), *retuvo* (Heredia, *Crónica de Morea*), *obtuvo* (Santillana, *Comedieta de Ponça*, 27g). *Saber* : 19 cases of *sope*/*sopo* against seven of *supe*/*supo* : *supe* (Alfonso de la Torre, *Vision deleytable*), *supo* (Alex. (ms P) 1884 c, 2610 b ; *Primera crónica general*, ch. 633 ; *Crónica de veinte reyes*, III ; Heredia, *Crónica de Morea* ; Gutierre Díez de Games, *El victorial*, ch. 82). I find also one example of *anduvo* (Gutierre Díez de Games, *El victorial*, ch. 82) against three examples of *andove* ; two cases of [*estuvo*] (*Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 266 ; Heredia, *Crónica de España*) against three of *estove*/*estovo* ; two cases of *truxo* (*Crónica de veinte reyes*, X ; *Danza de la muerte*, 36) against four of *troxo*. (It is perhaps noteworthy how many of the forms with /ú/ belong to the Aragonese area).

The verbs *poder* and *poner* have only /ú/ in the first and third persons singular of the preterite, with the single dubious exception *poso* (Pedro Ferruz, *Dezir*, 9g). Strong preterites of *-ir* verbs with first-third singular in /ú/ have /u/ in all forms without exception (*adux*, *aduxiestes*, *aduxies*, *aduxiera*, *aduxier*, *fuxo*, *fuxiere*) although these verbs are relatively infrequent in the texts studied.

·The high frequency of the vowel /o/ in the stem of the preterite and related forms of the verb *poder* would appear to be due to the fact that in this verb alone the strong preterite stem ends in the same consonant as the non-preterite stem. A form such as *pudieron*, therefore, would suggest to the hearer a somewhat anomalous weak form, at least in the situation where stem /u/ alternated freely with /o/, as it did in OSp. (although only in the *i-*class, it is true). The anomaly was entirely removed by changing /u/ to /o/ : *podieron* [1]. Constant hesitation between « weak » *podieron*, etc., and « strong » *pudieron*, etc., may well have induced a more general hesitation between stem /u/ and /o/ in strong preterites of other *-er* verbs [2], first of all in the verb *poner* [3] and later in others, on the basis of an analogy of the type

$$podieron \;:\; ovieron \;:\; pudieron \;:\; x$$
$$x = uvieron.$$

A similar hesitation was also involved in the strong/weak alternation of the type *respusieron/respondieron* [4], even where there was a difference of stem consonant, and this may have assisted in the introduction of /u/ into the preterites of *aver, saber, tener*, etc., i. e. into those strong preterites which are characterized by stem /ó/ in the 1st and 3rd persons singular.

/o/ persists in the preterite stem of the verbs *aver, saber, tener*, and similar verbs, up to the end of the 15th c. (in the *Celestina* [5], there is a rough balance of forms with /o/ and with /u/, although one no longer finds forms of the type *podieron*) and into the first quarter of the 16 th c. (Nebrija) [6]. In this case as in others, it is the most common verb (*aver*) which retains the « irregular » /o/ longest.

1. This line of argument is supported by the fact that the verb *poder* is occasionally observed to have an entirely weak preterite in OSp., whereas this is not true of any of the other verbs mentioned. Thus *podio* occurs in a document (of 1190) from Miranda de Ebro and twice in Berceo (*San Millán*, 5 a, and *Santa Oria*, 88 c).

2. /u/ was not introduced into *weak* preterites of *-er* verbs because of the need to keep *-er* stems distinct from *-ir* stems, as far as possible ; cf. §§ 7-8.

3. And in the analogical preterites of *andar* and *estar* : *andodieron* (*Crónica particular de San Fernando*, ch. 1046), *estodieron* (*Historia Troyana*, VII, 98 ; *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, ch. 1044), *estodiera* (*Historia Troyana*, I, 40), *estodiese* (*Crónica particular de San Fernando*, ch. 1046).

4. We find *resposieron* in *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, ch. 1046.

5. Fernando de Rojas, *Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea*, ed. M. Criado de Val and G. D. Trotter (Madrid, 1965).

6. Cf. Spaulding, *op. cit.* (see note 2, p. 348, above).

13. *Conclusions.* The suggestion of this article is that, outside the strong preterites, there is a marked tendency for the stem-vowel of 2nd and 3rd conj. verb-forms to be determined by the class to which they belong. For historical reasons (§ 3), stem /i/ and /u/ were excluded from -*er* verbs and therefore became characteristic of the *i*-class. Of the stem-vowels /e/ and /o/, which were class-ambiguous in OSp., /e/ has remained so in MSp. (because of the dissimilatory effect exercised by desinential /í/) but /o/ has come to belong solely to the *e*-class (and has therefore become characteristic of that class), as a consequence of the avoidance of this vowel by -*ir* verbs (the raising of /o/ to /u/ being aided, before /í/, by vowel-harmony).

There is a tendency for the stem-sequences /jé/ and /wé/ to be associated with the *e*-class, and therefore a historical tendency for -*ir* verbs to avoid this sequence (and to prefer the unambiguous /i/ and /u/ respectively).

In the strong preterites, the presence from the earliest times of stem /i/ and /u/ in *e*-class verbs (*miso, fizo, pudo, puso*, etc.) as well as in the *i*-class made impossible any distinction of verbal class based upon the aperture of the stem-vowel. Strong preterites of the two classes therefore behave alike. /i/, /u/ and /a/ eventually become the only possible stem-vowels in strong preterites as a result of the paradigmatic and other analogies described in §§ 11 and 12.

What we have observed is a case of phonetic change determined by, and subordinate to, morphological pattern.

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