

## The -ra verb form in the conditional sentences of the *Estoria de Espanna*

Aengus Ward  
*University of Birmingham*

### ABSTRACT

The survival of the -ra verb form in Castilian was contingent on a range of syntactic modifications in the system. Its preservation was due, in great part, to the possibilities offered by the form in dislocated, counterfactual contexts. An example of such a context is provided by conditional sentences. This paper examines the function of the -ra form in the conditional sentences of the *Estoria de Espanna*, with a view to establishing, how the usage of the verb form came to be modified.

**Key words:** (i) -ra verb form (ii) conditional sentences (iii) temporal dislocation

The -ra verb form provides philologists with a syntactic change both enormous in scope and (almost) unique to Castilian. Despite the prime material within their grasp, few scholars have ventured more than the barest of explanations for the range of uses enjoyed by the verb form. The few who have addressed the issue generally agree on a number of salient points. Thus, the Latin future perfect indicative and present perfect subjunctive (identical in all but the first person singular) are said to have combined to form a future subjunctive. Because of its formal similarity to this new tense the Latin imperfect subjunctive fell, to be replaced by the former Latin pluperfect subjunctive, *AMAVISSEM*<sup>1</sup>. Subsequently, by some act of syntactic sleight of hand, probably involving counterfactual or unreal conditional sentences, the Latin *AMAVERAM* (formerly pluperfect indicative) form at first replaced the -se

---

Data de Aceptación: Outubro de 1996

1 The reasons for this change in use of the -se form, i.e. did it fall or was it pushed (by the new compound forms)?, remain unclear.

form in its “pluperfect” role and subsequently became equated with the -se form in all of its functions<sup>2</sup>. Certain scholars, most notably Klein-Andreu, have preferred to seek a pragmatic explanation, but the structural view, outlined briefly here is widely accepted<sup>3</sup>. The role of conditional sentences in this change, while often recognised, has only rarely been examined in any great detail. The present study aims to begin to address this omission by detailing the change in usage of the -ra form visible in the various sections of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

The syntax of conditional sentences has been the target of many studies to date. The debate over the most appropriate system of classification (i.e. links with reality-bipartite or tripartite-and temporal reference) has provoked the spilling of much ink, however, the tripartite system proposed for Latin by Vairel and subsequently examined in the case of Spanish by Rojo and Montero and, more recently, Porcar Miralles, has proven to be the best manner of assessing Spanish conditionals<sup>4</sup>. In fact, the temporal and reality divisions are closely linked; real sentences are marked (in Castilian) by the use of the indicative mood, non-reals

- 2 There have been many contributions to the debate as to whether or not the -ra and -se forms are completely equivalent in contemporary Castilian. See for example F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Buenos Aires: 1945; Emilio Alarcos Llorach, *Estudios de gramática funcional del español*, Madrid: 1970; Samuel Gili Gaya, *Curso superior de sintaxis española*, (5a. ed.) Barcelona: 1955; Diego Marín, “El uso moderno de las formas en -ra y -se del subjuntivo”, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* LX (1980), pp.197-230; Vidal Lamíquiz, “Cantara y cantase”, *Revista de filología española*, LIV (1972) pp.1-11; Vidal Lamíquiz, *Morfosintaxis estructural del verbo español*, Sevilla: 1972; Dwight Bolinger, “-ra, -se...Free variation?”, *Hispania* XXXIX (1956), pp.345-348
- 3 Flora Klein-Andreu, “Losing ground: a discourse-pragmatic solution to the history of -ra in Spanish”, in Suzanne Fleischman and Linda Waugh (eds.), *Discourse Pragmatics and the verb: the evidence from Romance*, London and New York, Routledge: 1991. The following works advocate a structural view in one form or another: Leavitt Olds Wright, *The -ra verb form in Spain*, The University of California Publications in Modern Philology XV, Berkeley: 1932; Chris Pountain, *Structures and transformations: the Romance verb*, London, Croom Helm: 1983; Martin Harris, *The evolution of French syntax: a comparative approach*, London, Longman: 1978; John Martin, “Some uses of the Old Spanish past Subjunctive”, *Romance Philology* XII (1958-59), pp.52-67; Emilio Ridruejo Alonso, “La forma verbal en -ra en español del siglo xiii”, in *Introducción plural a la gramática histórica*, Francisco Marcos Marín (Coord.) Madrid, Cincel: 1987, pp.170-185. Certain of the works dealing with conditional sentences also refer to the shift of the -ra form, see below, footnote 4.
- 4 Guillermo Rojo and Emilio Montero Cartelle, *La evolución de los esquemas condicionales (Potenciales e irreales desde el poema del Cid hasta 1400)*, Verba Anexo 22, Santiago de Compostela: 1983; Hélène Vairel, “Un modèle d’analyse linguistique des conditionnelles: si di sunt, si di sint, si di essent”, *BSLP* 76/1 (1981), pp.275-326; Margarita Porcar Miralles, *La oración condicional*, València, Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1993. It is not the purpose of this article to deal in any great depth with the theoretical issues raised by the syntax of conditional sentences. In addition to the aforementioned works, such issues have been aired at considerable length in Lidia Contreras, “Las oraciones condicionales”, *Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile* XV (1963); José Polo, *Las oraciones condicionales en español*, Granada: 1971; Henry Mendeloff, *The evolution of the conditional sentences contrary to fact in Old Spanish*, Washington: 1960; Francisco Marcos Marín, “Observaciones sobre las construcciones condicionales”, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* XXVII (1979), pp.86-109, and also in a polemic in the pages of *Archivum Linguisticum*: Martin Harris, “The history of the conditional complex from Latin to Spanish: some structural considerations”, *Archivum Linguisticum* II (1971), pp.25-33; John Green, “Spanish conditionals, systems or rules?”, *Archivum Linguisticum* III (1972), pp.75-86, and Martin Harris, “Systems or rules, a false dichotomy?”, *Archivum Linguisticum* III (1972), pp.87-94.

by the subjunctive, but within the non-reals the difference between unreal or counterfactual sentences and those which are potentials is not marked by a difference of grammatical mood, but rather by a difference in tense (i.e. grammatical time). Thus, unreal sentences employ what Rojo and Montero term “dislocación temporal”, that is, a syntactic device by which a verb form is employed one step forward in grammatical time reference to give a nuance of unreality<sup>5</sup>. In consequence, past tense forms are used for present unreality and pluperfect forms for past unreality, etc. This is, of course, by no means new. However, the notion of temporal dislocation is obviously an important one when it is considered that the temporal reference of the -ra form was a past anterior one, and that the -ra verb form was therefore available for use in dislocated form in conditional sentences<sup>6</sup>.

The corpus chosen for the study is taken entirely from the *Estoria de Espanna* using the microfiche edition of the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies<sup>7</sup>. The text has been divided into three, chronologically distinct, sections, as outlined by Diego Catalan<sup>8</sup>. The first section consists of all of Escorial manuscript Y-i-2 (E1) and the first 17 folios of X-i-4 (E2) and can be dated at or before 1270. The second section consists of folios 23-198 and 257-320 of E2, which were compiled around 1289. The final section employed here comprises folios 18-22, 200-257 and 320-359 of E2 which are believed to have been written in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is therefore hoped that the three distinct section will demonstrate different usage of the -ra form in conditionals, and thus cast some light on the shift in usage of the -ra form<sup>9</sup>. The system of classification used is that established by Rojo and Montero, thus, for example, type 12 has a protasis and apodosis simultaneous to a reference point anterior to the origin (or speech point)<sup>10</sup>.

5 “La dislocación es un fenómeno general que consiste en utilizar una forma verbal determinada para expresar una relación que no corresponde con la que le corresponde según su valor básico”, Rojo and Montero, *Op. Cit.* pp.42-43. This phenomenon had already been identified by Nutting, who called it an “upward shift”. Herbert Nutting, *The Latin conditional sentence*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 8, p.122.

6 The terms “anterior” and “posterior” are carefully chosen as they add an extra dimension to the traditional past, present and future temporal scheme, while getting away from tense names which carry particular nuances. Thus, “future-in-the-past” and “pluperfect” become “past posterior” and “past anterior”.

7 *Concordances and texts of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscripts of Alfonso X el Sabio*, John Nitti and Lloyd Kasten (eds.), Madison, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies: 1978

8 *Diego Catalán Menéndez Pidal, De Alfonso X al conde de Barcelos: cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*, Madrid, Gredos: 1962, pp.19-93

9 That is, conditionals introduced by *si*.

10 Rojo and Montero, *Op.Cit.* pp.11-40 and especially pp.39-40. I have modified Rojo and Montero’s system slightly, thus here 11: protasis and apodosis simultaneous/posterior to speech time; 12: protasis and apodosis simultaneous/posterior to reference point anterior to speech time; 21: protasis and apodosis anterior to speech time; 22: protasis and apodosis anterior to reference point anterior to speech time; 31: protasis anterior and apodosis simultaneous/posterior to speech time; 32: protasis anterior and apodosis simultaneous/posterior to reference point anterior to speech time; 41: protasis simultaneous/posterior to and apodosis anterior to speech time; 42: protasis simultaneous/posterior and apodosis anterior to reference point anterior to speech time.

## ANALYSIS

It is proposed here to examine in detail the conditional sentences containing -ra verb forms with a view to observing possible changes in the use of the verb form. Statistics for sentences not containing -ra forms are also given in order to compare and contrast the usage of the -ra form with that of other verb forms in conditional sentences.

### SECTION I:

Of the 23 conditional sentences containing -ra forms three can be classified as real, two as potential and eighteen as unreal. This preponderance of unreal sentences is significant in itself, and even more so when the temporal references of the sentences in question are taken into account.

Figure 1.1. Section I conditional sentences containing -ra forms

	12	22	32
<b>A. Reals</b>			
si fuera/fue			2
si fuera/era			1
<b>B. Potentials</b>			
si fuese/fuera	1		
si fuera/sería			1
<b>C. Unreals</b>			
si fuese/fuera	13		
si ouiese sido/fuera	2		
si fuera/fuera	2	1	

Figure 1.2 Section I conditional sentences not containing -ra forms

	11	12	22	31	32
A. Reals		1	1		
B. Potentials	1	94	1		1
C. Unreals	7	6		1	

### A. Reals

All three real sentences contained -ra forms in the protasis and forms readily associated with the indicative mood in the apodosis. In addition, each sentence fitted into temporal category 32, a form of “past anteriority” which suggests that the -ra forms in question have retained their etymological “pluperfect” nature<sup>11</sup>. Two of the examples have a preterite in the apodosis:

<sup>11</sup> By past anteriority we mean a temporal category anterior to the past reference time of the speaker.

“et si antes fueran maravillados por lo del buey, fueron muy mas por lo del cauallo”  
25r9

“et si de la primera vez lo recibieran bien, muy mayor fue recibida daquela” 66v84

Classification of these examples as conditional sentences is somewhat problematical in any case. The third real conditional sentence differs somewhat:

ca si algunos ouiera, eran ya muertos 29v78

The role of the -ra form is, however, identical to that of *fueran* and *recibieran* in the first examples, one which shows precious little change from Latin usage.

## B. Potentials

There are just two sentences containing -ra forms which can be said to be potential. The first of these is assigned to temporal category 32:

dixo que si alexandre tan pequenno fuera de cuerpo e tan feo e tan grandes fechos e  
tan buenos fiziera, el que era tan fermoso e tan grand porque no farie tan grandes fe-  
chos o mayores 5v16

The reported speech with anterior reference time makes it plain that there is a degree of anteriority to the reference point implied here. However, it is doubtful that this protasis usage represents a new departure for the -ra form; rather, the -ra form in question is fulfilling a perfective role similar to that of its Latin predecessor. The perfectivity is made necessary by the past tense reported speech, and while there is clearly an element of doubt or incredulity associated with the *fuera* in question it would be unwise to see this as being evidence of a shift in usage of the -ra form.

Perhaps more significant is the remaining potential example:

...alarigo...ouo a crebantar las posturas que auie glodoueo...& quisiera a matarle por  
arte si pudiesse 154r64

here we find the -ra form fulfilling an apodosis role for the first time, and in the context of temporal category 12, that is, with both protasis and apodosis simultaneous to a reference point anterior to the moment of speech. This particular sequence, *si fuese/fuera*, is important for reason outlined by Harris, as it represents the continuation of a little used Latin sequence employed precisely to indicate past unreality<sup>12</sup>. In addition, the use of “modal” verbs in the sentence is also significant, as these verbs appear to have been the first to change in usage<sup>13</sup>.

12 See below, footnote 16.

13 Wright notes the importance of *poder*, *querer* and *deber* stating that “these same verbs went ahead of the rest in the shift from -ra indicative to -ra subjunctive”, and also quotes Grandgent’s comment with regard to the change in temporal reference of the -se form in Vulgar Latin that the shift “apparently began with *debuisset*, *potuisset*, *uoluisset*, used freely for the imperfect by Gregory the Great and others”. Wright, *Op. Cit.* p.17.

However, it could equally be said that all of the -ra forms cited to date are employed in usage which do not depart from those familiar in Latin.

### C. Unreals

Conventional wisdom would hold this to be the category of greatest importance, for it is within this grouping, and more specifically within the apodosis, that the -ra form is reputed to have made its debut in the non-indicative system. Bearing this in mind, it is no surprise to find the -ra form in the apodosis of all 18 examples here. Further, no less than 13 have the -se form in the protasis, three have -ra forms in both protasis and apodosis, while the remaining two have compound forms in the protasis.

The most frequent temporal category to be found here is, by a considerable majority, number 12; that is to say, both protasis and apodosis are simultaneous or posterior to a reference point anterior to the moment of speech. This accounts for 16 of the 18 examples, 12 of them of the *si fuese/fuera* type such as the following:

ca de tod esto no sopieramos nada...si no fuessen escriptas 2v9  
 mostro lo allj luego por sus palavras bravas e mostrara lo muy mas si el todo su poder y touiesse 42v102  
 e endereçara mucho si uisquiesse mas uisco poco en el sennorio 87r47  
 perdidas las huestes de roma que pudiera alli fazer mucho de su pro si se guiasse de la fe de xpristo 146r16

In the course of such examples one salient fact should be noted; the presence of a -se form in the protasis. This fact demonstrates that the -se form in conditional sentences has retained a usage which, to all intents and purposes, it appears to have outgrown elsewhere by this time<sup>14</sup>. The -ra form, unlike the -se form, however, shows no sign whatsoever of the equivalent adaptation of compound forms to indicate perfectivity at this early stage. Thus, the following examples, while demonstrating the usual presence of the -ra forms in anterior counterfactual conditional sentences serve to show the beginnings of a shift in form of the -se verbs only:

tan quebrantado yua el cesar que si ponpeyo tras el ouiesse ido alcançaral & ol matara ol prisiera 50v14  
 si los ponpeyos...ouiessem sabudo ell estado a que fue aducho julio cesar en esta batalla uencieran ellos & fuera julio cesar...desfecho para siempre 58r57  
 si ponpeyo...sopiesse cuemo estaua julio cesar quando se uencio & en pos el ouiesse ido alli fuera julio cesar desfecho & perdudo para siempre 58r45

14 That is, the past anterior role into which the compound forms were steadily encroaching.

The last of these is, of course, doubly significant as it involves both a synthetic and compound -se form in the protasis. However, such uncertainty between compound and synthetic forms as there is is generally confined to the -se rather than the -ra form. The final two examples from temporal category 12 are more revealing with regard to the -ra form:

contescieron por el mundo sennales por que pudiera ell entender su muerte si de es-  
 capar ouiera 60v66  
 gouernaua noble mientras ell imperio si fuera su uentura que mucho uiuiera 122v19

These represent the first usage of the -ra form in the protasis of unreal conditional sentences, and, as such, serve as evidence for the beginning of the movement of the -ra form, via the clauses of conditional sentences, towards the widespread usage it enjoys today. Thus, there are more than twice as many -ra sentences as non-ra ones in this crucial unreal category 12, for as the -se form falls out of this protasis usage, its replacement, in one manifestation or another, is the -ra form. Equally significant is the fact that all fourteen of these examples contain so-called “pluperfect” tense forms. Thus, in the apodoses of these sentences, as indicated by Rojo and Montero, the notion of temporal dislocation is more important in conveying the unreality of the sentences in question than is the notion of grammatical mood. The first use of the -ra form in the protasis is significant however, as it has always seemed necessary to employ a “subjunctive” verb form in the protasis of counterfactual protases, as Vairel and Rojo and Montero note<sup>15</sup>.

The remaining two examples show differing temporal reference:

ca si xpristo non fuesse el dios que nos fizo no pudiera el sanar lo que otro fiziera  
 113v41  
 e dizien en este logar los romanos en so estoria que si assi fiziera jouiniono que que-  
 brantasse aquellas pazes luego que fuera salido daquel periglo & nol fuera tan amal-  
 tenida la pleytesia como fue 123r78

The first of these allows for a present unreal interpretation. It is highly relevant that there is another, clearly indicative -ra form in close proximity to the apodosis verb. There was presumably no difficulty in the thirteenth-century Castilian mind of using a “pluperfect indicative” form in the apodosis. In other words, the -ra form was employed because it was felt capable of expressing unreality in the “simple past”.

The final example serves to show that the use of temporal dislocation must inevitably cause difficulties at the bottom end of the system, in that it becomes impossible to bring forward a verb form to fill the role of unreality in past anterior time, for the simple fact that no such tense exists in Spanish. The use of “pluperfect” forms, as in modern Spanish, appears to be the natural solution, although this particular example is further complicated by

15 See above p.2.

the use of reported speech. Attention must be drawn to the use of the -ra form here in both the protasis and apodosis, and there may be grounds for belief that it is here, in the category 32 types that the -ra form first began to assume its protasis role. The paucity of examples impedes so general a conclusion, however appealing it may be.

Two principal conclusions spring to the attention. The first concerns the division between the vast majority of examples containing -ra forms, which appear in counterfactual sentences, and the remaining small minority which do not. Of the unreal sentences all but two appear in the dislocated temporal type 12. Comparison with the non -ra conditionals shows that the majority of such anterior counterfactual sentences employ the -ra form which is apparently becoming the anterior unreal form supreme. Second, the fact that there are just three different sequences to be found, and the majority of them of the *si fuese/fuera* type, suggests that the only modification of the Vulgar Latin system which has taken place is that the *si fuese/fuera* type has become the principal anterior counterfactual sequence (rather than a "little used" one)<sup>16</sup>. By comparing the usage of the -se and -ra forms within and without conditionals however, it is noticeable that while the -ra forms are employed here in the dislocated usage appropriate to counterfactual sentences, the -se form, due to the modification of its usage elsewhere, is no longer dislocated. We may assume that it is this inequality in protasis and apodosis forms which gave rise to the subsequent changes, as the loss of the -se form in this usage required its replacement by a dislocated form, and, as shown above, the -ra form has already proven its value in a similar context: the counterfactual anterior apodosis.

## SECTION II

The most apparent point of interest in the second section of the text is the comparative paucity of sentences containing -ra forms; 13 of the total of 145. However, while the non -ra sentences remained broadly unchanged in profile<sup>17</sup>, the -ra sentences showed a decline in the use of the *si fuese* protasis; and an increase in -ra compound forms. Although few in number, the -ra sentences once more accounted for the vast majority of anterior counterfactual examples.

16 Harris describes the -ssem/-ram type as "a less frequent alternative" for the -ssem/-ssem type. Harris, *The evolution...* p. 238. Therefore, when Ridruejo describes the first stage in the shift of -ra as "el parcial funcionamiento de la forma en -ra como correlato anterior de cantarfa", he has missed the fact that the -ra form always had this value (in the form of Harris' less frequent alternative), and it is only with the loss of the -se form in the protasis that the role of the -ra form is truly altered.

17 That is, principally potentials, and the few unrels being almost entirely type 11 (simultaneous speech and reference points).

Figure 2.1 Section II conditional sentences containing -ra forms

	12	32	41
<b>C. Unreals</b>			
si fuese/fuera	1		
si ouiese sido/fuera		1	
si fuera/fuera	6		
si es/fuera			1
si ouiera sido/fuera	1		
si fuese/ouiera-sido	1		
si ouiese sido/ouiera sido	1		
si Ø/fuera	1		

Figure 2.2 Section II conditional sentences not containing -ra forms

	11	12	32
A. Reals	1	2	
B. Potentials	19	92	1
C. Unreals	12	5	

**C. Unreals**

The most obvious point to be made, and also one of the most important, is that all of the conditionals containing at least one -ra form were of the unreal type. Of these, all but one were of anterior temporal sequences, re-inforcing the impression that the -ra form had become the anterior counterfactual form supreme. Once more, the -ra form was the exclusive apodosis form, however, the frequency of the -se form, in both simple and compound form, had declined in the protasis to just four of the thirteen examples.

The most common sequence to be found is the si fuera/fuera type. This is highly significant in that a large proportion of the counterfactual sentences show the migration of the -ra form from its previous solely apodosis usage to the protasis where it has taken over from the -se form. The examples involved are all of temporal category 12, and so the -ra form is now equally at home in a dislocated usage in the protasis, which, for reasons outlined elsewhere, is of considerable importance. Thus, the -se form has been replaced in many cases by an already existing dislocated verb form rather than the newly arriving compound subjunctive forms. The following examples are typical:

fiziestes muy mal en tornar uos aca tan ayna ca si uos nos dierades un poco mas de uagar ganaramos tan grandes riquezas que siempre fueros ricos & abondados 36r56  
 el moro quando uio al conde quisieral foyr & desuiar se dell si pudiera...mas... 62r22

ca si te fueras yo non lo sabiendo de ti antes tu non escaparas de muerte...mas...  
157r37

The relative importance of the *si fuera/fuera* sequence is highlighted by the remaining sequences, none of which have more than one example each:

ca si la muerte non fuese nunqua yo regnara 38v32  
ca si non alcancar fuera muerto o preso 98r30  
si yo tal cosa so como tu dizes no ouiera yo a nascer 156r11

The first of these recalls the majority of types encountered in section I, but it differs from them in its very uniqueness. This one examples of the *si fuese/fuera* type is no more than a vestige of the previous *-se protasis* usage. The second example above is also of category 12, but in the absence of a protasis verb any speculation as to its utility in the current study would be unwise. The third sentence, once more with a simple *-ra* form in the apodosis is rather more curious, as it is attributable to temporal category 41 in which the apodosis precedes the protasis. The role of the *-ra* form is unchanged here however, and it is rather the usage of present indicative in an unreal context which draws most attention.

The final four examples all involve compound forms:

et si ell antes me lo ouiesse enuiado dezir nunca me yo en el parara nin me ouiera el  
por enemigo 261r31  
ca o los ouieran presos o muertos si el tan ayna non llegasse 61v78  
et fizieramos meior seso si nos ouieramos tornados 54v33  
et ouiera y muerto a el si las espuelas ouiesse tenidas...mas... 154r56

The first of these, temporal category 32, again demonstrates the “perfectivity” of the simple *-ra* form in that it is capable of filling the role of unreal past anteriority, a role in which, in this case at least, the simple *-se* form appears to have been supplanted by its compound equivalent. The final three examples, all from temporal category 12 are something of a mixed bag of compound forms. The first sees the *-ra* form in the apodosis (albeit in a sentence which could equally be described as being of the *si fuese/fuera* type), but it is the second (54v33) which is of greater interest. Here we see the first evidence of a compound *-ra* form in the protasis, in a role we might otherwise have expected the compound *-se* form to fill. Although it is dangerous to draw conclusions on the basis of one example, the first presence of a compound *-ra* form is of considerable significance. The final example is also of interest in that it is the first occasion on which compound forms are to be found in both apodosis and protasis, this is doubly significant when it is considered that it is a *compound -ra form*, presumably formed by comparison with the compound *-se* form, which appears in the apodosis. This then provides evidence of the coming identity, if not of the *-ra* and *-se* forms, then at least of their compound equivalents.

Although it may appear that the number of -ra forms has declined by comparison with section I, this is not, in fact, the case as the second section is not as extensive as the first. Section II highlights a number of important points: (i) the -ra form is exclusively found in anterior counterfactual sentences, in evident contrast to other verbs forms which cover all conditional sentence types with the exception of the anterior counterfactual type; (ii) it has replaced the -se form in the protasis of most examples, thereby extending its role from the anterior apodosis; (iii) compound forms have begun to appear in small numbers in anterior counterfactuals, but of most significance is the evidence that it is a *-ra auxiliary verb* rather than a -se form which fulfils this role as often as not.

SECTION III

The proportion of conditionals containing -ra forms increases in section III, and the trends from previous sections towards the anterior counterfactuals being the exclusive domain of the -ra form and towards the increasing use of -ra compound forms are continued in the final section. the disappearance of the -se form from the protasis is almost complete, with just two such examples to be found.

Figure 3.1 Section III conditional sentences containing -ra forms

	12	22	41
<b>C. Unreals</b>			
si fuese/fuera		1	
si fuera/fue	2		
si fuera/era	1		
si fuera/fuera	6		
si es/fuera			1
si ouiera sido/fuera	1		
si fuera/ouiera sido	2	1	
si fuese/ouiera sido	1		

Figure 3.2 Section III conditional sentences not containing -ra forms

	11	12	32
A. Reals	3	1	
B. Potentials	10	49	
C. Unreals	4	1	1

### C. Unreals

As was the case in section II, there were no sentences which could be classified as anything other than unreal<sup>18</sup>. The verbal sequences with the highest representation is again the *si fuera/fuera* type, and again this is little room for doubt that the *-ra* form has become the anterior counterfactual form *par excellence*, both in the protasis and apodosis. Once more all the examples are of the unreal, dislocated type. The following are typical:

et si estonce se tornaran mucho ploguyera al cid mas... 222v78  
 ...si les tardara el acorro un poco fueran muertos o presos mas... 353r48  
 & lo fuera mas si uisquiera 359v1

It is noticeable that most of these examples appear in close proximity in what is a rather short section, however, given that the equivalent non *-ra* sentences appear in comparatively fewer numbers, this can be taken as an indication of the increasing importance of the *-ra* form in anterior counterfactual conditionals.

Another difference from traditional usage is to be found in the sole *si fuese/fuera* type. This sentence in fact is attributable to temporal category number 22 and represents an undislocated *-ra* usage:

...dezia que si alexandre al quisiesse creer non uinieran atanto mal nin estidieran...  
 209r68

Such a usage of the *-se* form would appear to be no more than a dying reflex of a previous usage in which it had been all but superceded by the *-ra* form. Indeed, to add to the confusion, the Menéndez Pidal edition of the *Primera Crónica General* gives *quisieran* for *quisiessen*. Although this would appear to be a more acceptable form in such a role, it must be stated that the microfiche edition, being a direct transcription of the manuscripts in question, is generally more faithful to the original codex and suffers from less editorial intervention.

Two sequences which do not appear in section II are to be found here. Both of them continue the trend towards the use of the *-ra* form in the protasis and both employ indicative forms in the apodosis:

et podieron lazrar los moros si seles non enbarraran tales... 353r68  
 mas non uisco nin conquerio silo dios por bien touiera 357r68  
 ca por el non fincaua njn punto delo auer muy a coracon sil dios la uida mas alonga-  
 ra 357r70

18 Comparison with the sentences not containing *-ra* forms reveals that the association *-ra* form/unreality has become almost complete at this point.

The first of these contains a modal verb which is, for reasons outlined above, problematical with regard to differing time references. The remaining two are similar in many respects. In both cases the apodosis verb is negative, this negativity presumably had a similar value to that of a dislocated form in the indication of unreality in the apodosis.

A further example also shows the presence of an indicative form, this time in the protasis:

...et sennor rey don alfonso si ellos esforcados son aquel dia que se solto el leon lo ouieran mester 240v19

This is a similar example to that of 156r11 in section II above. The same commentary therefore applies here, that is, that the unreality of the clause is patent, and the fact of being "esforcado" (or not, as the case may be) is a general truth best expressed by a present tense. From this derives the curious verbal sequence and the, at first sight, apparently impossible temporal category.

The remaining three sequences, accounting for five examples between them, all contain compound forms. First, there is a *si fuese/ouiera sido* sequence. The sole such example belongs to category 12 and, by its uniqueness, demonstrates the loss of the *-se* form from such a usage, while also giving a further glimpse of the future use of the compound *-ra* form. Equally, the sole example of the *si ouiera sido/fuera* type, also in the dislocated category 12, serves to demonstrate the ability of the *-ra* form, in both its simple, and gradually increasing, compound manifestations, to fill what is essentially the same purpose. Of course, the use of the compound *-ra* form in the protasis is of particular importance.

...ouiera la presa sy non fuese por la traycion que fizo... 19v50  
et si lo que agora fiziestes ouierades fecho antes non legarades a lo que llegastes nin comprarades el trigo 217v57

Three formally quite similar examples (albeit one in temporal category 22) in close proximity to each other in the text bear out the above statements on the subject of the simple and compound forms. On this occasion the simple *-ra* form is to be found in the protasis and the compound form in the apodosis. Once more, the anterior unreality of the sentences in question is not in doubt, nor indeed, in two of the three cases, is the dislocated nature of the protasis verbs involved. The gradual takeover of such a role by the compound forms in these anterior counterfactual conditionals would appear to be well under way.

ca cierta mientras ouieran le muerto o leuado sy non fuera por esos... 348r25  
et sin falla ouieran leuado a diego sanchez si non fuera por esos que... 353r33  
...que ante se ouiera benido para el sy non fuera en que estaua punando... 346r33

By comparison with the previous sections, there is no room for doubt that the *-ra* form, in both simple and compound manifestations, is taking over the anterior counterfactual

conditionals to the exclusion of all other verb forms. It is equally significant that most of the examples involved belong to temporal category number 12. Thus, by the time of compilation of the final section of the *Estoria de Espanna* almost all counterfactual conditionals with a degree of anteriority in the reference point have a -ra form in the protasis or apodosis or both. The loss of the -se form from such a pluperfect dislocated role has led to the extensive anterior counterfactual usage of the -ra form seen here. It must also be noted that the only compound form which appears to be encroaching on the role of the simple -ra form is that which has an -ra form in the auxiliary verb, for, unlike section II, there are no compound -se forms in section III. The fact that the simple -se form has lost its “pluperfect” associations in all but the rarest of cases and has been replaced by the -ra form, has left the -ra form as almost the only anterior unreal verb form. For this reason the compound -ra (rather than compound -se) form develops in such a context. As a direct result it eventually achieves equality with the compound -se form outside conditionals.

## CONCLUSION

It is plain that there is a definite progression visible in the counterfactual conditionals of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Whilst at the outset there was a predominance of -ra form in anterior unrels, it was by no means clear that the -ra form was the exclusive anterior unreal form, as it was confined mainly to the apodosis in a sequence already existing for that purpose, albeit in lesser numbers, in Vulgar Latin. However, in later stages, the loss of the -se form from the anterior unreal protasis provided the -ra form with a niche in the protasis, and it was in this role, to the exclusion of the compound -se form that it was to find its route to survival. The adoption of the -ra form in the protasis was made possible for the reasons outlined by Vairel: a *dislocated* form was necessary to replace the -se form in the protasis, and the one already to hand in the apodosis of the anterior counterfactuals was the -ra form<sup>19</sup>. The transition to the anterior unreal protasis, making it the anterior unreal form above all others, led to the subsequent development of compound -ra forms for pluperfect dislocated and undislocated usages, and the anomalous situation whereby the compound form of *fuese* was *ouiese sido* except in anterior counterfactuals in which it was *ouiera sido*, would eventually lead to the equality of the compound forms, and subsequently of the simple forms. This, of course, did not happen in conditional sentences only. When Ridruejo states of the -ra form: “por su localización temporal anterior a un pasado, tal proposición [that is, one containing an -ra form] es fácilmente contradicha por elementos contextuales, con lo cual se convierte cantara en la forma ideónea para expresar la irrealidad”, he is not referring directly

19 It bears emphasis that it is dislocation, rather than verbal mood which is evidently the key to counterfactual conditionals.

to conditionals<sup>20</sup>. However, the nature of conditionals provides the “elementos contextuales” he speaks of in many cases, and while it is not suggested that the process outlined here occurred solely in conditionals, it is undeniable that they provide a significant body of evidence to illustrate the mechanism of the changes undergone by the -ra form<sup>21</sup>.

---

20 Ridruejo, *Op. Cit.*, p.184

21 It might also be noted that the present study could lend some credence to Diego Catalan's division of the *Estoria de Espanna* into three chronologically distinct sections. However, the evidence as presented here can be taken as re-inforcing his division of the chronicle only as it does not appear to conflict with Catalan's analysis, for there is no manner of assessing how the data would look if the text were to be divided in different ways. What can be said, however, is that the results presented here certainly appear to be in line with what might be expected if Catalan's theory were to be correct.