

*Guillermo Rojo*

## On the Evolution of Conditional Sentences in Old Spanish

0. In a long paper published some years ago (Rojo 1974), I tried to show that temporal values of tense forms in the Spanish verb consist in the expression of a chronological relation<sup>1</sup> (i.e. simultaneity, anteriority or posteriority) with respect to a central point (which I called origin) or with respect to a reference which is in turn orientated towards the origin. These values can be reflected in a set of labels (e. g. 'copreterit,' 'postpreterit,' in Bello 1847) or -and this is the way I chose- in a set of formulae. Tables 1 and 2 (from Rojo 1974:83-84) present the various forms grouped in columns and rows on the basis of a common factor in their temporal meaning, as well as the formula that defines the value of each one. So, for instance, llegaba (whose formula is (0-V) oV) refers to an event seen as simultaneous with a reference previous to the origin. Habré llegado (whose formula is (0+V)-V) refers to an event that is previous to a reference posterior to the origin, and so on.

TABLE 1

	-V	oV	+V
0	llegué	llego	llegaré
0-V	había llegado hube llegado	llegaba	llegaría
0oV	he llegado	∅	∅
0+V	habré llegado	∅	∅
(0-V)+V	habría llegado	∅	∅

TABLE 2

	V	o V	+V
O	llegara llegase	llegue	llegue
O-V	hubiera llegado hubiese llegado	llegase llegara	llegase llegara
OoV	haya llegado	∅	∅
O+V	haya llegado	∅	∅
(O-V)+V	hubiera llegado hubiese llegado	∅	∅

My understanding of the Spanish verb has very important links with the theories of Andrés Bello (1847) and William Bull (1960).<sup>2</sup> There are also some major differences with the latter. The first of them deals with the consideration of the origin and the references. Bull speaks of a present point (PP), a retrospective point (RP), an anticipated point (AP), and a retrospective anticipated point (RAP). It means that these four points have a certain independence and also that the central point is related to the speech time. In my system, the references are defined only through their orientation towards the origin, and, as a consequence, they lack the autonomy they have in Bull's theory. In other words, all the tenses are 'relative forms.' On the other hand, the origin is only a central point, not always coincident with the speech time. This view gives a coherent explanation for narrative speech, very different from that given by Weinrich (1964), and for uses like the so-called 'historical present' (cf. Rojo 1974: 96-100).

The third difference is of greater importance here. Bull calls 'nonsystemic functions' the uses of tense forms not coincident with the value expressed in their formulae. Contrary to this view, I tried to show that these uses are based on some general principles, and, as a consequence, they are also

systemic functions or systemic uses.

1. Tense form uses can be direct or dislocated. Direct uses are those in which the form is employed for the expression of a temporal relation coincident with its formula. Dislocated uses consist in the utilization of a tense form for the expression of a temporal relation different from that reflected in its basic formula. The main point here is that dislocation affects every form with a given factor and, furthermore, does it in the same way.

There are two types of dislocation. In the first one, tenses with a +V vector (i.e. a meaning of posteriority to a given point) are used for expressing a relation of simultaneity to that point. The effect of this dislocation is the addition of a modal value of probability:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Las elecciones serán la semana próxima.  
O+V  
'The elections will take place next week.'
- (2) Dijo que las elecciones serían la semana próxima.  
O-V (O-V)+V  
'He said the elections would take place next week.'
- (3) Serán (ahora) las diez.  
O+V → Oov  
'It's probably ten o'clock.' (now)
- (4) Serían (entonces) las diez.  
(O-V)+V → (O-V)oV  
'It was probably ten o'clock.' (ten)

Therefore, the use of a form with a general value of posteriority to the origin like serán (the future tense) to mean simultaneity to that point adds a modal shade of probability. A similar effect is shown by the other three forms of posteriority (llegaría, habré llegado, and habría llegado).

The second class of dislocation is the employment of a tense form with a -V vector (i.e. a meaning of anteriority to some point) in order to express a temporal relation of simultaneity to that point. This change introduces a general value of irreality that presents very different facets. This type of

dislocation explains the special values acquired by, for instance, llegaba (the 'imperfect' tense, (O-V)oV), llegaría (the 'conditional' tense, (O-V)+V), or llegara (past subjunctive tense, O-V and (O-V)oV) when used to mean simultaneity to the origin:<sup>4</sup>

- (5a) ¿Puedo hablar con usted?  
       OoV  
       'May I speak with you?'
- (5b) ¿Podía hablar con usted (ahora)?  
       (O-V)oV → OoV  
       'Might I speak with you?' (now)
- (6a) Quiero preguntarte algo.  
       OoV  
       'I want to ask you something.'
- (6b) Querría preguntarte algo (ahora).  
       (O-V)+V → OoV  
       'I should like to ask you about something' (now)
- (7a) ¡Ojalá llueva!  
       OoV  
       'I wish it rained!' (now)
- (7b) ¡Ojalá lloviera (ahora)!  
       O-V → OoV  
       'If only it rained!' (now)
- (7c) ¡Ojalá hubiera llovido (entonces)!  
       (O-V)-V → O-V  
       'If only it had rained!' (then)

Sentences (5b), (6b), and (7b) show that the use of forms like podía, querría, and lloviera (all of them with a -V vector) for the expression of a temporal relation of simultaneity to the origin gives a plus-value of 'distance', 'courtesy', and 'irreality' or something similar that does not appear in (5a), and (6a). On the other hand, the contrast between (7a) and (7b) reveals the combination of mood and dislocation. The use of llueva (the present subjunctive) with ojalá expresses a volition seen as not so far from its accomplishment as when lloviera (the past subjunctive) is employed. Thus, we have here a kind of gradation even in the so-called 'mood of irreality.'

English shows a very similar phenomenon in the use of past forms with present meanings as explained in Vairel 1979.

The type of dislocation discussed is, in my view, the main factor that explains the special formal schemes of conditional sentences in Spanish (and also, at least, in English, French and Latin). In this paper, I intend to deal with the difference between real conditional sentences and, in general, non-real conditional sentences. Let us look at some examples in contemporary Spanish.

(8a) Si tengo dinero, compraré un piano.

OoV                      O+V  
'If I get money, I'll buy a piano.'

(8b) Si tuviera/tuviese dinero (ahora), compraría/compraba un piano  
O-V → OoV                      (O-V)+V                      (O-V)oV

OoV                      OoV  
'If I got money (now), I'd buy a piano'

(8c) Si tenía dinero (ahora), compraba un piano  
(O-V)oV → OoV                      (O-V)oV → OoV

'If I got money (now), I'd buy a piano.'

Sentence (8a) is a real conditional. The tense forms used have a general value which is in accordance with the temporal meaning of this example. By contrast, the forms in (8b), tuviera or tuviese and compraría or compraba, all of them with a -V vector in their formulae, have a temporal meaning of simultaneity or posteriority to the origin in this example. In other words, dislocated forms are required to express so-called irreality in this conditional. Dislocation is not the only factor involved. There is also the presence of the past subjunctive forms tuviera and tuviese (see below for tuviera). However, it is necessary to take into account the existence of (8c), not very frequent yet and considered nonstandard Spanish (at least in Spain),<sup>5</sup> in which the forms used belong to the indicative mood.

A very similar fact takes place in past conditionals:

(9a) En aquella época, si lo encontraba en la calle, hablaba con él.  
   (O-V)oV                                       (O-V)oV  
 'At that time, if I met him in the street, I spoke with him.'

(9b) En aquella época, si lo hubiera encontrado en la calle,  
   (O-V)-V → O-V

        habría hablado con él.  
 ((O-V)+V)-V → O-V

'At that time, if I had met him in the street, I would have spoken with him.'

As shown in (9a, b), past conditionals also use different tenses in the real conditional sentence (9a) and in the unreal conditional (9b). In the former, the general value of the forms is in accordance with the temporal meaning they express in the sentence. In the latter, the general value of the tense forms contains an extra -V vector. Hubiera encontrado has a formula (O-V)-V (i.e. an event previous to a reference also previous to the origin), but in (9b) it refers to an event merely previous to the origin.

Facts such as those shown in sentences (8) and (9) lead to the impossibility of a classification of conditional sentences based only on the tenses used in them.<sup>6</sup> The reason for this is, I think, very clear: the same forms can be employed in direct or dislocated uses. For instance, when out of context, sentence (10) can be a real past conditional or an unreal present conditional:

(10) ...si lo encontraba en la calle, hablaba con él.  
 'If I met him in the street, I spoke with him.' (then)

or

'If I met him in the street, I'd speak with him.' (now)

Therefore, the correct understanding of the formal schemes used in conditional sentences requires the dislocation device, and, to be more specific, the second type of dislocation. This linguistic mechanism adds a modal value of irreality. Unreal conditionals are perhaps the most important sequences in which this principle is at work, but the important point here is that

dislocation is not an ad hoc explanation; its effects may be seen in many other types of sentences (see above (6) and (7)). In other words, it is a general principle that functions everywhere in Spanish and also in some other languages.

2. In a recent paper, Vairel (1981) has shown that Classical Latin presented a set of different canonical schemes for the three types of conditional sentences in the present and in the past. As shown in Table 3 (from Rojo and Montero 1983:47), real conditional sentences appear in the indicative mood, and their forms are used with the basic temporal meanings they have. Potential sentences employ the subjunctive mood, but the forms maintain their general values. Finally, contrary-to-fact sentences use the subjunctive mood, and in addition, the forms are dislocated. The canonical scheme for present contrary-to-fact conditionals was si haberem darem, where we find the imperfect subjunctive form in both clauses (i.e. a tense with a basic formula O-V used for a temporal meaning OoV). In the same vein, the canonical scheme for past contrary-to-fact was si habuissem dedissem, with the pluperfect subjunctive form in both clauses, and, therefore, a tense with a basic formula (O-V)-V in a dislocated use to mean a temporal relation O-V.

TABLE 3

Scheme	Mood	Basic temporal value	Temporal relation	Type
Si habeo do	Ind.	OoV	OoV	Real
Si habeam dem	Subj.	OoV	OoV	Potential
Si haberem darem	Subj.	O-V	OoV	Contrary to-fact
Si habui dedi	Ind.	O-V	O-V	Real
Si haberem darem	Subj.	O-V	O-V	Potential
Si habuissem dedissem	Subj.	(O-V)-V	O-V	Contrary to-fact

This clear system changed in Late and Vulgar Latin and continued to change in the different Romance languages. Obviously, the establishment of basic and dislocated uses needs a reference to a given state of language and it was with a view to provide this that Emilio Montero and myself thought that the study of the evolution of nonreal conditional schemes could constitute a new and original way of contributing to our knowledge of and reconstruction of the Spanish verbal system. As a first step in this ambitious research project, we have worked with a set of twenty eight texts, from the Poema de Mio Cid to the end of the fourteenth century (cf. Rojo and Montero). Nearly all the texts were thoroughly studied, so that we have obtained 2,648 instances of non-real conditional sentences corresponding to this period, which constitutes, we think, a rigorous statistical basis for our first conclusions on this topic. In the following sections, I shall only refer to past contrary-to-fact conditionals, for they are the more interesting type in this period, and, as I hope to show, present a very peculiar movement of rising and falling in their representative schemes.

3. Up to now, we have a very general impression (and as I will try to show, not a very accurate one) about the development of past contrary-to-fact conditionals in the first centuries of evolution of the Spanish language. According to Lapesa (1980:403), followed by Marcos (1979:97-98), past contrary-to-fact conditionals had at first the scheme si tuvieses dieras, substituted a little later by si tuvieras dieras. On the basis of data supplied by Mendeloff (1960), Harris (1971) defended the additional existence of si tuvieses darías as the main scheme in the initial period, followed by si tuvieses dieras. Harris's view has been rejected by Marcos.



TABLE 4. Schemes found in 'past' contrary-to-fact conditional sentences (in percentages). Data from Medeloff (1960: 34-37).

		XII XIII	XIV	XV
	dabas	4,3	7,6	-
	darías	39,3	-	2,6
	dieras	19,0	1,9	-
SI TUVIESES	dieses	0,6	-	-
	hubieras dado	3,7	-	-
	habrías dado	2,4	-	-
	otros	0,6	-	-
	dabas	-	1,9	5,1
SI TUVIERAS	dieras	6,8	77,4	84,6
	otros	0,6	1,9	5,1
	darías	5,5	-	-
	dieras	9,2	-	-
SI HUBIESES TENIDO	hubieras dado	2,4	-	-
	habrías dado	2,4	-	-
	otros	0,6	1,9	-
	dieras	1,2	3,8	-
SI HUBIERAS TENIDO	hubieras dado	-	-	2,6
	otros	-	3,8	-
OIROS		1,2	-	-
TOTALES		99,8 (N=163)	100,2 (N=53)	100 (N=39)

As a parenthetical note, I must point out that most of what has been said on the evolution of conditionals has had a very weak empirical basis, or, in other words, it has lacked statistical relevance. In fact, most of the discussion on the possibility of si tuvieses darias for past contrary-to-fact conditionals has been referred to one or two examples from the Poema de Mio Cid, two sentences with a rather uncertain meaning. The only research in which data reached an important number of instances was that done by Mendeloff. But, as shown in Table 4, his grouping was not very adequate, for he identified the linguistic periods with specific centuries. Thus, he saw a 'marked syntactical schism between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the one hand, and the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, on the other.' In his review of Mendeloff, Alarcos (1961:349) considered this view to be very hazardous.

In agreement with Alarcos's criticism, we have tried to find a more appropriate organization for our data, so we have adopted as a chronological criterion the six periods distinguished by Lapesa for these two centuries or two centuries and a half (depending on the dating of the Poema de Mio Cid):

- i) From PMC to 1230.
- ii) From 1230 to 1250.
- iii) From 1250 to 1284.
- iv) From 1284 to 1325.
- v) From 1325 to 1350.
- vi) From 1350 to 1400.

We did not work with these six approximative periods expecting to find a strict correspondence between them and clear changes in the schemes, but rather as a way of searching for a more refined and detailed analysis. However, as can be seen in Table 5 (from Rojo and Montero 1983: 151), where general data from these two hundred years are shown, there is something not very far from a correspondence between typical schemes and periods.

TABLE 5. Schemes found in 'past' contrary to-fact conditional sentences (in percentages).

	PMC to 1230	1230 to 1250	1250 to 1284	1284 to 1325	1326 to 1350	1351 to 1400
dabas	25,0	4,2	1,2	2,4	-	-
darías	37,5	44,2	6,2	2,4	-	-
dieras	25,0	10,0	25,0	-	-	14,0
SI TUVIESES						
dieses	-	1,7	-	-	-	-
hubieras dado	-	5,8	-	-	-	-
habrías dado	12,5	1,7	-	-	-	-
otros	-	0,8	-	-	-	4,0
dabas	-	-	1,2	-	-	-
dieras	-	7,5	36,2	48,8	94,4	72,0
SI TUVIERAS						
hubieras dado	-	-	6,2	2,4	-	2,0
otros	-	-	-	9,8	-	2,0
darías	-	6,7	-	-	-	-
dieras	-	8,3	10,0	2,4	-	-
SI HUBIESES						
hubieras dado	-	3,3	-	2,4	-	-
TENIDO						
habrías dado	-	2,5	-	-	-	-
otros	-	-	-	2,4	-	-
dieras	-	1,7	1,2	12,2	-	-
SI HUBIERAS						
TENIDO						
hubieras dado	-	0,8	-	2,4	-	-
otros	-	-	-	-	-	-
Otros	-	0,8	12,5	12,2	5,6	6,0
TOTALES	100 (N=8)	100 (N=120)	99,7 (N=80)	99,8 (N=41)	100 (N=18)	100 (N=50)

The information given by Table 5 is a little too detailed for a clear understanding of the main trends, but I have constructed it looking for an initial presentation of the problems we have to deal with. It is not difficult to differentiate, however, three phases for the type of conditional under study. In the first one (from Poema de Mio Cid to 1230) there are fewer schemes. The second (from 1230 to 1325) presents a great variety of forms and, as we shall see later in detail, supposes a widespread use of compound forms. In the third phase (from 1325 to 1400) we find again a small number of schemes, different in almost all cases from those employed in the first period.

There is a clear relationship among si tuvieses darías, si tuvieses dieras, and si tuvieras dieras, which is represented in Figure 1 (See Appendix). On the one hand, the importance of si tuvieses darías until 1250 is evident; it is in fact the most employed scheme in the first two periods. This shows that Marcos' arguments against Mendeloff and Harris are inconsistent. As I have already said, it is possible to have doubts about the two instances in the Poema de Mio Cid, but no more. Reaching 44.2% in the period between 1230 and 1250 in a sample of 120 instances is sufficient proof for its existence. From this moment, si tuvieses darías decreases more and more. We could not find any occurrence of this scheme in texts later than the very conservative Zifar and, even in this text, there is only one instance among thirty examples of contrary-to-fact conditionals. Given that this is the only instance in the period, we can say that si tuvieses darías is lost in this type of conditional after 1250.

As it should be clear from the preceding paragraph, our data do not confirm the consideration of si tuvieses dieras as the canonical form for the first phase in Old Spanish. Bearing in mind that percentages for this type of conditional sentence in the first period (until 1230) are not very reliable, for we found only eight instances, we can suppose that this scheme was spreading until the third period, occupying —together with si tuvieras dieras— the space

that si tuvieses darías was leaving free. It may be simply by chance that we have not found occurrences of si tuvieses dieras between 1284 and 1350, but it is also necessary to take into account the fact that its weight in the last period is due to its existence in only one text (Otras de Roma) whose composition date is probably earlier (cf. Baird 1976:9). So, it seems possible to say that, in general terms, this scheme decreases from 1284.

Si tuvieras dieras follows a different path: it very rapidly becomes the canonical scheme. Before 1250, it is present only in the Poema de Fernán González, and, with a marginal status, in the Libro de Alexandre. From 1250 on, we have found it in all the texts examined and the scheme always appears as the more important form to express past contrary-to-fact conditionals. Data supplied by Mendeloff show that it goes on spreading through the fifteenth century (see Table 4). The decline in use this scheme experiences in the last period is only a secondary effect produced by the high percentage reached in the fifth phase. We have only eighteen instances from four texts, so that the actual use of si tuvieras dieras between 1325 and 1350 may have been lower than the 94.4% we have obtained.

There is another important aspect that I have not mentioned so far: the rise and fall of compound forms in this type of conditional in a very short period of time. Figure 2 (Appendix) shows the evolution in the use of the simple forms tuvieses and tuvieras, and the corresponding compound forms hubieses tenido and hubieras tenido in the protasis of past contrary-to-fact conditional sentences. The only factor I have taken into account here is the tense used in the conditioning member (the protasis), and as a consequence, differences among schemes due to several forms in the apodosis have been ignored. In other words, the line for si tuvieses reflects the percentages reached by si tuvieses darías, si tuvieses dieras, and any other scheme with tuvieses in the protasis.

This simplification has been introduced here in order to represent in a clear way the strange phenomenon that took place in only one hundred years (on the basis of our analyzed data). As can be seen in Fig 2 ( and also in Table 5), there are no compound forms in the first period. In the second one, si hubieses tenido reaches an important degree of use, 20%, becoming the second most used form in the protasis. From the middle of the century, it decreases and disappears (or, at least, we could not find it) after 1325. On the other hand, si hubieras tenido has a low level of use throughout the second and the third periods, but it rises suddenly to 14% between 1284 and 1325, and, after that, it disappears like the other compound form. So, there are no compound tenses in the protasis of past contrary-to-fact conditional sentences in the last three quarters of the fourteenth century. Data obtained by Mendeloff (Table 4) show that this is also the situation in the fifteenth century.

There is a clear link between these two phenomena. At first, si tuvieses darías is the most important scheme for this type of conditional sentence. It must be borne in mind that the same scheme is the canonical one for present contrary-to-fact conditionals. This syntactical homonymy begins to be destroyed in several and simultaneous ways. On the one hand, the use of dieras in the apodosis, giving si tuvieses dieras as a result, implies the extension of a scheme broadly attested in Late Latin. On the other hand, a second dislocation is tried out: the use of si hubieses tenido, a tense with a formula (O-V)-V employed with a temporal meaning O-V. This scheme seems to have led the field for twenty or thirty years. But, finally, a third solution was found, and the pluperfect indicative tense tuvieras, with a formula (O-V)-V, was used in the protasis with a temporal meaning of O-V. So, this is a new case of dislocation, a specially interesting one because it affects an indicative form and, as a consequence, it shows the importance of dislocation, even unlinked to mood. This third solution was to become the main scheme for past contrary-to-

fact conditionals after 1250, that is to say after the beginning of the alfonsí period.

Over the two hundred years which we have studied, we can detect two periods which show a great amount of regularity, located at the beginning and at the end, separated by a time of confusion, in which several schemes are tried out. In this short period of great and rapid change lies the explanation for the passage from the initial situation to the typical schemes of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries in this type of conditional sentence. The time divisions made by Mendeloff obscured this fact to a great extent. There is no schism between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but rather a gradual transition that developed mainly in the former. In fact, if we agree that the Poema de Mio Cid belongs in the early thirteenth century, then the first quarter of this century is very different from the other three quarters, which, in turn, present some specific common feature. These changes remain hidden in Mendeloff's division, and the statistics give a false picture of reality.

The dislocation device implies a basic temporal value which is changed under certain general conditions. It is, however, necessary to make reference to the opposite aspect of this phenomenon. The use of the old pluperfect indicative tense tuvieras in the protasis of contrary-to-fact conditionals is the only way to explain its evolution in the Spanish verbal system, that is to say, its passage to the subjunctive mood and its current identification with tuvieses in almost all their uses. The dislocated meaning is converted into the basic meaning, and once this is accomplished, a new dislocation is possible. This leads to the canonical scheme for present contrary-to-fact conditionals in contemporary Spanish: si tuvieras/tuvieses, darías.

4. Our preliminary results are, we think, very encouraging. Now we have an

accurate idea of the characteristics and the evolution of conditional schemes in two early centuries and we will be able to relate those facts to the temporal and modal values that tense forms have in other types of sequences. There are, however, some further important conclusions on the nature and structuring of conditional sentences. Although constraints on length prevent us from going into details, I would like to finish this paper with a quick review of the main and perhaps more unexpected aspects resulting from our research.

Firstly, it seems necessary to maintain the traditional distinction between real, potential, and contrary-to-fact conditionals. In spite of the opinion of some current Spanish grammarians, we think that the distinction is necessary even in contemporary Spanish and that the lack of formal differences between potential and contrary-to-fact (in some cases, but not in all) must be explained as an instance of syncretism. However, independently from this, the difference between the two types existed in Old Spanish and had a formal consequence in the schemes used in each case.

Secondly, the usual division into present and past conditional sentences is clearly insufficient. On the one hand, our understanding of temporal meanings of verbal forms leads to a change of perspective. Notions like 'present' and 'past' are inaccurate and must be substituted by the more adequate ones of 'simultaneity' and 'anteriority' linked to speech time. But, on the other hand, this necessary substitution is not enough because it is based on the false assumption that temporal relations with the origin or the reference are always identical in both clauses of conditional sentences while it is known, at least since Gessner (1890-91), that each one can hold a different relation with the origin or the reference. So, we must distinguish four main classes of conditionals (within the potential and contrary-to-fact types) depending on whether the protasis and the apodosis express simultaneity or anteriority to a certain point. For contrary-to-fact, their canonical schemes in contemporary



Spanish are:

- (11a) Si tuviera,                   daría.  
      (sim./post.)               (sim./post.)
- (11b) Si hubiera tenido, habría dado.  
      (ant.)                   (ant.)
- (11c) Si hubiera tenido,        daría.  
      (ant.)                   (sim./post.)
- (11d) Si tuviera,                habría dado.  
      (sim./post.)               (ant.)

Thirdly, as I have just said, the dislocation device has an independent, but not contradictory, function with respect to mood in Spanish. This means that when working on earlier periods of the language, we must be ready to find almost any form in the protasis of a non-real conditional, provided it is a form in which the second type of dislocation can take place. On the other hand, the use of a certain tense form in one of the clauses of a conditional sentence or in both can be deduced from additional factors, independent from the conditional schemes (like, for instance, mood requirements, some type of consecutio temporum, or an earlier dislocation). All these complex factors, in addition to the diachronic mood change of some forms, prevent any attempt to classify conditional sentences merely by taking into account the tenses used in them.

Thus, for instance, some peripheral but important facts can explain the existence, even in contemporary Spanish, of the scheme si tendrías darías. Handbooks of Spanish syntax either do not mention it, or explicitly refer to its impossibility of occurrence, or, at best, they characterize it as a vulgarism or a dialectalism reduced to some areas in northern Spain.<sup>7</sup> As far as I know, only García de Diego (1952: 104) admitted this scheme in standard Spanish under, of course, certain special conditions. The following example (of mine) is illustrative:

- (12) Si encontrásemos a un desconocido en tal situación, no dudaríamos en ayudarlo. Y si esto haríamos con un desconocido, con más razón deberíamos hacerlo por un amigo.

'If we found a stranger in such a situation, we should not hesitate to help him. And if we should do/were to do this for a stranger, we should do it with even more reason for a friend.'

The first sentence is a potential conditional, whose meaning is echoed by the second one, resulting therefore in a peculiar, but grammatical, real conditional sentence.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the two types and four classes of non-real conditional sentences are not sufficient. The consecutio temporum only affects real conditional sentences in contemporary Spanish, but it does not change the forms used in non-real sentences. This probably explains the fact that grammarians do not think about this factor when working on conditional sentences from earlier periods. However, our data show that it is necessary to take this factor into account and, as a consequence, differentiate, also for conditionals, between simultaneity to the origin and simultaneity to a reference that is previous to the origin, and also between anteriority to the origin and anteriority to a reference that is previous to the origin, and so on. The most relevant point in this sense is the so-called 'present potential conditionals' (i.e. simultaneous potential conditionals). Our data show a regular change of the schemes used in this type of conditional when the sentence depends on a past form. Thus, si tuvieres das is converted into dixo que si tuvieses dabas, and si tuvieres darás into dixo que si tuvieses darías, etc. Consideration of this difference explains a great deal of the alternation between tuvieres and tudieses in Old Spanish.

## NOTES

- \* I am grateful to Emilio Montero and Milagros Fernández for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I am also indebted to Victor Reynolds and Tomás Jiménez for their helpful suggestions concerning my written English style.
- 1 The term 'chronological' is used here in a special sense, derived from the notion 'temps chronique' in Beveniste (1966). For details, cf. Rojo (1974: 70 and ff).
- 2 Bull's theory was also followed, among others, by Klum (1961), Diver (1964), and Rallides (1971).
- 3 Formulae situated under the Spanish verbal forms in the examples reflect their basic temporal value. When two formulae are found for the same verbal form, the one at the left of the arrow refers to the basic temporal meaning, and the one at the right refers to the temporal meaning expressed by this form in that particular context.
- 4 I refer to the so-called 'imperfecto de cortesía', 'imperfecto de distanciamiento', 'imperfecto prelúdico', 'imperfecto irreal' and so on, in the case of llegaba, for instance.
- 5 For this type of sentence, vid. Rojo (1974: 126) and the references there contained (footnote 77).
- 6 It also implies, of course, the inadequacy of classifying conditional sentences taking into account only the mood to which the tenses belong, as, for instance, found in Gili Gaya (1961:246).
- 7 For Lidia Contreras (1963: 64) a third explanation is possible: it could be an 'extranjerismo sintáctico.'
- 8 This type of construction, where the protasis in the conditional is like an 'echo' of the preceding apodosis, is different from the dialectal constructions discussed in the recent literature by Klein-Andreu, Lavandera, and Silva-Corvalán (see Klein-Andreu, this volume). <Editor's note>

REFERENCES

- ALARCOS LLORACH, E.  
 1961 Review of Mendeloff (1960), Romance Philology 14, 349-350.
- BAIRD, H.  
 1976 Análisis lingüístico y filológico de "Otras de Roma," BRAE, anejo XXXIII, Madrid.
- BELLO, A.  
 1847 Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos, Santiago de Chile. Ed. crítica de Ramón Trujillo, Tenerife: Instituto de Lingüística 'Andrés Bello' / Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 1981.
- BENVENISTE, E.  
 1966 'Le langage et la expérience humaine', en Benveniste, E. et al., Problèmes du langage, Paris: Gallimard (= Diogenes, 51), 3-13.
- BULL, W.  
 1960. Time, Tense, and the Verb. Berkely & Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press.
- CONTRERAS, L.  
 1963 'Las oraciones condicionales', Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile 15, 33-109.
- DIVER, W.  
 1964 'The Chronological System of the English Verb', Word 19, 141-181.
- GARCIA DE DIEGO, V.  
 1952 'La unificación rítmica en las oraciones condicionales', Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal, Madrid: CSIC, III, 95-107.
- GESSNER, E.  
 1890-91 'Die hypothetische Periode im Spanischen in ihrer Entwicklung,' Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 14, 21-65.
- GILLI GAYA, S.  
 1961 Curso superior de sintaxis española. Barcelona: Biblograf.
- HARRIS, M.  
 1971 'The History of the Conditional Complex from Latin to Spanish: Some Structural Considerations', Archivum Linguisticum 2, 25-33.
- KLUM, A.  
 1961 Verbe et adverbé. Etude sur le système verbal indicatif et sur le système de certains adverbes de temps à la lumière des relations verbo-adverbiales dans la prose du français contemporain, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksel.
- LAPESA, R.  
 1980 Historia de la lengua española, Madrid: Gredos, 8th ed.

MARCOS MARIN, F.

- 1979 'Observaciones sobre las construcciones condicionales en la historia de la lengua española', Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 28/1, 86-105.

MENDELOFF, H..

- 1960 The Evolution of the Conditional Sentence Contrary to Fact in Old Spanish, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.

RALLIDES, C.

- 1971 The Tense Aspect System of the Spanish Verb as Used in Cultivated Bogotá Spanish. The Hague: Mouton.

ROJO, G.

- 1974 'La temporalidad verbal en español', Verba 1, 68-149.

ROJO, G. & E. MONTERO C.

- 1983 La evolución de los esquemas condicionales. (Potenciales e irreales desde el Poema del Cid hasta 1400), Verba, anexo 22, Santiago: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

VAIREL, H.

- 1979 'Moindre actualité et moindre actualisation: sur l'emploi modal des formes verbales de passé en anglais, français et latin; le problème de l'optatif grec,' Revue Roumaine de Linguistique 24, 563-584.

- 1981 'Un modèle d'analyse linguistique des conditionnelles: latin si di sunt, si di sint, si di essent,' Bulletin de la Societe Linguistique de Paris 76/1, 275-326.

WEINRICH, H.

- 1964 Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. Spanish trans. (by F. Alatorre) Estructura y función de los tiempos en el lenguaje. Madrid: Gredos, 1968.