

Syncope in the 1st and 2nd person plural of the future subjunctive in Medieval Leonese

La síncope na primera y segunda personas del plural del futuru de subxuntivu en lliónés antiguu

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Abstract:

The present paper studies syncopated vs. non-syncopated 1st and 2nd person plural forms of the Ibero-Romance future subjunctive in Medieval Leonese legal documents from 1239 to 1414, like *vinierdes* vs. *vinieredes*, or *mandarmos* vs. *mandaremos*. The corpus contains all documents from the former archive of the monastery of San Pedro de Eslonza issued during the specified period (now at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid). We find that (i) a precise and paleographically informed study of the original documents is necessary to obtain correct and unambiguous results, and that (ii) the regression of 1st person plural forms with syncope is most likely a result of a Castilianization process. Based on the data, we establish the working hypothesis that (iii) in Leonese *scriptae* in and around San Pedro de Eslonza, the Ibero-Romance -a-conjugation makes use of syncopated forms for a more extended period of time, while the -e-conjugation begins to switch earlier to non-syncopated forms, just as the -i-conjugation. The latter, additionally, often shows abbreviated forms that need to be analyzed precisely before drawing conclusions on the possible presence or absence of syncope.

Keywords: Future subjunctive, Medieval Leonese, syncope, Castilianization, differences, conjugational classes

Resume:

Esti trabayu estudia las formas sincopadas o non sincopadas de la primera y segunda persona del plural del futuru de subxuntivu iberorromance en documentos xurídicos llioneses medievales d'entre los años 1239 y 1414, como *vinierdes* / *vinieredes*, o *mandarmos* / *mandaremos*. El corpus contién tolos documentos del vieyu arquivu del monesteriu de San Pedro d'Eslonza emitíos nesi periodu (güei n'Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madril). Observa-

mos que (i) yía necesariu un estudiu precisu y paleográficamente informáu de los documentos orixinales p'alcanzar resultaos correctos y sin ambigüedades, y que (ii) la regresión de las formas de primera persona del plural con síncope yía mui probablemente'l resultáu d'un procesu de castellanización. Basándonos nos datos, establecemos la hipótesis de trabayu de que (iii) nas *scriptae* lliónesas de San Pedro d'Eslonza y la redondada, la conjugación iberorromance en -a recurre más tiempu a formas sincopadas, mentres que la conjugación en -e encomienza primeiro a cambiar a formas non sincopadas, igual que la conjugación -i, qu'amás amuestra con frecuencia formas encurtiadas que necesitan ser analizadas con precisión antias de sacar conclusiones sobre la posible presencia o ausencia de síncope.

Palabras clave: Futuru de subxuntivu, lliónés medieval, síncope, castellanización, diferencias, clases de conjugación.

1. Introduction¹

The present paper exploits a corpus of 101 medieval legal documents from the monastery of San Pedro de Eslonza issued between 1239

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and 1414 (Koch, 2020). The documents are written in local Ibero-Romance *scriptae*, and are emitted by different scribes and issuing institutions. Apart from the geographic localization, these *scriptae* can be linguistically and scriptologically classified as Leonese until 1312, based on some linguistic phenomena like <y>, <ll> as result of Latin intervocalic -lj- and short verbal forms such as *viren* instead of *vieren*. From that point in time onward, these documents (i.e., the scribes who wrote them) appear to abruptly adhere to Castilian writing conventions (see Koch, 2019; 2020: 56-87, 103-114). In this paper, we will focus on verbal morphology and the forms of the *futuro de subjuntivo* ‘future subjunctive’², with particular attention to the first and second persons in the plural. We will argue that the substitution of syncopated forms of the first person plural, such as *venermos* ‘(if/when/etc.) we will come’, by non-syncopated forms, like *venéremos*, in explicitly future-related conditional, temporal, and relative clauses in later documents after 1312, could be considered a result of late Castilianization. I.e., we consider this one of the last exponents of a Castilianization process that ultimately led to the exclusive use of Castilian writing traditions, or *scriptae*, throughout the newly established –in 1230 *de iure*, 1252 *de facto*– realm of Castile and León (on the Castilianization of Leonese *scriptae* in general, see particularly Morala Rodríguez, 2004; 2009). The syncopated forms of the second person plural of the future subjunctive, like *ven-erdes* vs. *venéredes* (in many spelling variations) are well attested in Castilian from the beginning of Romance writing on the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, we argue that their presence is not indicative of the Leonese character of a *scripta*, and their eventual regression is not indicative of any subsequent Castilianization.

1.1. Retrieval of the forms and transcription

In previous research (Koch 2020; 2021), all forms of the future subjunctive were retrieved

from the documents. This was done either based on existing editions (Vignau, 1885; Staaff, 1907; Ruiz Asencio and Ruiz Albi, 2007), comparing them with the originals, or by directly transcribing the relevant passages from the originals, whenever no previous edition existed. The passages taken from existing editions were subsequently transcribed anew in accordance with the original documents, as some of the editions do not reflect the spellings of the original documents in the detailed fashion that is needed (e.g., due to the fact that some editions are intended more for historians, rather than historical linguists, etc.). Our transcriptions of the forms of the future subjunctive themselves, always in their immediate syntactic context (marked with “|...|” in the examples; see Appendix I), adhere rigorously to the originals, which are accessible at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (AHN, *Clero*, *Carpeta* 967/18–971/23): we maintain abbreviations in the transcriptions (represented by symbols and diacritical marks) as they appear in the original texts, and do not add any letters for reasons of readability. The transcriptions are an exact representation of the spellings in the original documents (as far as it is possible within the limits of modern word processor programs).

1.2. Interpretation of abbreviations

The abbreviations which are relevant for the study of the syncope in the 1PL of the future subjunctive exclusively appear in the verbal suffixes of forms of the Ibero-Romance -e-conjugation, between the first vowel after the stem <e> (be it part of a diphthong <ie>/<je>, or not) and the initial <m> of the non-abbreviated rest of the person marker of the 1PL <mos> (<rmos> or <remos>). Paleographically, these abbreviations are positioned directly after this vowel <e>, at the right, upper ‘end’ of the letter, manifesting as an upward-drawn, curvy, backward-bent, supra-script line (that even reaches the preceding letter horizontally, without touching it; see Figures 1 and 2). Therefore, the abbreviations are represented in what follows by the transcriptions of the respective vowels together with a supra-script diacritic representing the abbrevi-

2 For the history of the future subjunctive and its gradual regression in Ibero-Romance *scriptae* from the territory of the former Kingdom of León, see Koch (2020; 2021); for the time after 1400, Barrio de la Rosa (2023); for a contrast with Northern Castilian, Moral del Hoyo (2015).

ation, i.e., <è>, or <iè>, <jè>, when the vowel is part of a diphthong. However, we will indicate our interpretation of which letter(s) the abbreviations probably represent in double <<>>, preceded by “int:” for “interpretation:”, after the transcription (in Figure 1 and 2). Abbreviations of <n> after vowels and before consonants, as well as the abbreviations of the vowel <e> directly before the final <-s> in the tense and person marker of the 2PL-forms of the future subjunctive, are represented by <ā>, <ē>, <ī>, etc., and by <đ>, respectively, e.g., <mādarđs> = <<mandardes>> (see Figure 2). When discussing these abbreviations in detail, we additionally make use of supra-script letters which represent the abbreviated letters (in Appendix I and II, this is generalized). Other abbreviations, whenever they occur, are self-explanatory (see, e.g., Subchapter 1.3), and not important for our specific argumentation. All forms of the future subjunctive from our corpus, together with their larger syntactic context, are accessible in the exhaustive appendix of Koch (2020: 333-433). The tokens that we directly cite as examples are also listed in Appendix I of this article, along with the relevant data of the documents in which these tokens appear (date of issuance, place, scribe, etc.). For the designation and enumeration of the documents, we follow the code system established by Koch (2020: 333-433): an Arabic number to identify the document, a Roman number to identify the occurrence of the future subjunctive within the document: e.g., 1/I for the first occurrence (I) of the future subjunctive in the first (1) document, and so on. This way, the attestations can also be found in the appendix of Koch (2020: 333-433). For the metadata of the documents which we directly mention in the present paper, the reader is also referred to Appendix I and II at the end of this article. In Appendix II, also the corresponding shelf marks of the documents at the Archivo Histórico Nacional are listed.

1.3. Differences between Castilian and Leonese

The syncopated first and second person plural forms of the Medieval Ibero-Romance *futuro de subjuntivo* (e.g., <venerm> = <<venermos>>, to-

ken 5/V, or <quisierdes>, token 14/I, instead of *vinieremos*, *quisieredes*) are a well-documented phenomenon in research (cf. Menéndez Pidal, 1966: 312; Lloyd, 1993: 495). They differ in that the syncope in the 1st person plural is attributed exclusively to medieval Leonese scriptae (although, additionally, syncopated forms of the 2nd person plural exist in Old Leonese), while Castilian apparently exclusively knew syncope of the 2nd person plural (i.e., *quisierdes* ‘(if/when/etc.) you (pl.) will want’, but not *venermos* in Castilian (cf. Menéndez Pidal, 1966: 312-313; Staaff, 1907: 287, 308). Menéndez Pidal (1966: 312) also cites Lebrixa (1492), who considers syncopated 2nd person plural forms still possible in his *Gramática*. This is an important fact for our diachronic argumentation, as it demonstrates that even in 1492 the syncopated 2nd person plural was common in Castilian. Nevertheless, even if syncopated 1st person plural forms are a specific Astur-Leonese phenomenon, it seems that also syncopated 2nd person plural forms are initially (13th century) more frequent in Leonese than in Castilian (see, e.g., Moral del Hoyo, 2015: 148-151, and the statistics there).

This phenomenon seems ideal for an investigation of the Castilianization of Leonese *scriptae*, since the gradual disappearance and ultimate loss of one form (syncopated 1st person plural) can be contrasted with the longer preservation of the other (syncopated 2nd person plural). We expect that, in the course of the process of Castilianization, the syncopated forms of the 2nd person plural of the future subjunctive persist (longer), because they existed, in parallel with their non-syncopated counterparts, in written Leonese *and* in written Castilian (far into the 15th century, as we have seen), while the Leonese syncopated 1st person plural forms would be eventually superseded by the Castilian non-syncopated ones at a certain point in time.

2. The data

In total, we recorded 20 tokens of the 1st person plural and 37 tokens of the 2nd person plural in our corpus. The single occurrences of the forms which are particularly discussed here, within their syntactic context, can be found in

Appendix I. For all 57 forms, see the appendix in Koch (2020: 333-433), and Appendix II of this paper.

Whenever it is important for the paleographic discussion, we will additionally show a copy of the original spelling in the corresponding document (see Figures 1 and 2).

It is eye-striking that of the 57 tokens together, only 8 forms are not syncopated. In Subchap-

ter 2 and 3, we present how we interpreted and counted doubtful cases, and how these cases were incorporated in the statistics (as +Syncope or –Syncope). The above numbers mean that only 14% of the 1PL- and the 2PL-forms end with the suffixes *-remos* or *-redes* (–Syncope). Six of them belong to the 1st person, two to the 2nd person, as illustrated in Table 1. Two Latin tokens have been deliberately excluded from the study (10/I, 41-a/II).

Table 1: *-rmos/-remos* vs. *-rdes/-redes*

1st person plural (n/tokens = 20)				2nd person plural (n/tokens = 37)			
+Syncope		–Syncope		+Syncope		–Syncope	
14	70 %	6	30 %	35	89,2 %	2	10,8 %

A Fisher test, conducted with the software R, reveals the following results when comparing 1PL- and 2PL-forms over the entire period of time in which 1PL- or 2PL-forms are documented in our corpus (1248-1410): $p=0.01743$; sample estimate $OR=0.1387929$; CI 95% 0.01232284 - 0.89399986. The probability that the odds ratio is = 1 is 1.743 %. The sample estimate gives an odds ratio of 0.1387929, however, within a 95% compatibility interval, 0.01232284 and 0.89399986 are also compatible with our data. Therefore, statistically, the data indicate that the first person plural forms are more susceptible to (–Syncope) than the second person plural forms during the observed period. However, it is important to note that the sample size is relatively small, and therefore, these findings should be interpreted with caution.

In both persons, the first forms without syncope (–Syncope) appear relatively or very late. The first (56/XI) of the six occurrences (56/XI, 57/II, 63-I/XXXI, 63-I/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV) in the 1st person dates from 1347; the first (and only) observed instances of a 2nd person plural without syncope (–Syncope) are from 1408 (71-b/VI) and 1410 (71-d/IX). There are two tokens from 1334, though (52/IVb and 52/IVc), which we counted as (–Syncope) in the beginning, relying on a transcription from the 19th century.

These two forms of the 2PL with supposedly (–Syncope) are questionable with regard to their morphology: they are transcribed as <tractare-des> (52/IVb) and <auenieredes> (52/IVc), and are coordinated with a third, syncopated, supposed future subjunctive form <facierdes> (52/IVa) (transcriptions by Vignau, 1885: 301). All three forms come from a so called *inserto*, a copy of another, previously issued document (20 May 1334, issued apparently by the monastery of San Pedro de Eslonza itself), inserted in the current document (10 November 1334, issued in Mayorga by the local notary) for the former’s importance for the legal act in the latter. Unfortunately, we originally thought that, for this document (52 = AHN *clero* 970/5), we would have to rely on the transcription by Vignau (1885: 301) for the tokens 52/IVa-c, as the part of the document containing these three forms has sustained heavy damage from humidity rendering it nearly undecipherable. Yet, upon a meticulous examination of the microfiche copy of the original at our disposal, with considerable effort, we managed to decipher the original spelling and can provide new transcriptions (52/IV-b is particularly challenging; see Appendix III [with photographs] for a discussion of our transcriptions). 52/IVa probably needs to be read as <ffizierds> <<ffizierdes>>, 52/IVb as <trac[ta]rds> <<tractardes>>, and 52/

IV-c as <auenjerds> <<auenjerdes>>. The central part of 52/IV-b is especially tricky, therefore the square brackets, but the three last graphemes <rds> are relatively clear in comparison, suggesting an interpretation as (+Syncope) (see Appendix III). In the light of these new transcriptions, all three forms have to be interpreted as (+Syncope). Any other attempts of explaining the forms (in their transcription by Vignau, 1885: 301), e.g., by suggesting an identification of <facierdes> as a rare instance of an inflected infinitive (for inflected infinitives in Old Leonese, see Egido Fernández, 1996: 55-67, 175, 309; Egido, 2009: 24-31), or by interpreting all three forms as future indicatives (sometimes attested in the given syntactic context [future related relative clause]; see Egido Fernández, 1996: 234-235), are hence out of the picture.

With 52/IVb-c being (+Syncope), the much earlier (61 years) occurrence of non-syncopated forms in the 1st person (1347), compared to the 2nd person (1408), as well as the higher proportion of non-syncopated forms in the first person, may suggest (as a hypothesis) that this time difference is indicative of the possibility that the beginning substitution of syncopated by non-syncopated forms in the 1PL is indeed the result of Castilianization, which facilitated the intrusion of non-syncopated 1PL-forms. Only when the 2PL-forms slowly began to become obsolete in the 15th century, this is also reflected in the *scriptae* of the documents from San Pedro de Eslonza (which, at this point, 1408, linguistically, were long Castilian anyway). However, this gradual substitution of 1PL-forms would be a development separate from other phenomena of Castilianization, as it took place late, after 1347, and not consistently, but rather hesitantly. This process can therefore be distinguished from other clear-cut instances of Castilianization in the Leonese *scriptae* in and around San Pedro de Eslonza which can be dated precisely (1312; cf. Koch, 2019; 2020: 56-87, 103-114). Thus, in two respects, we would be dealing with a time-shifted replacement of Leonese by Castilian forms in comparison to other exponents of Castilianization as, e.g., the substitution of the Leonese

spellings for the results of Latin -LJ- (cf. Koch 2019; 2020: 56-87), or the contracted Leonese forms of the *futuro de subjuntivo* in -ir(e) (cf. Koch, 2020: 103-114). On the one hand, the beginning loss of syncopated first person plural forms is a relatively late development, as it only begins in 1347, 35 years after 1312 and the near-absolute completion of the main changes that characterize the Castilianization of the written language in the legal documents from the archive of San Pedro de Eslonza. On the other hand, the loss of syncope in the 1st person plural is by no means an abrupt event (as are indeed the other aforementioned changes until 1312), but apparently a very gradual process.

The late emergence of forms lacking syncope in the 2nd person plural must already be analyzed as a general development of Castilian *scriptae*, be it on (Ur-)Castilian territory east of the Cea river, or on the (in 1408) former territory of the Kingdom of León. Still, the syncopated variants persisted as a viable option for an extended period, and were deemed entirely acceptable by Lebrixa in 1492.

Due to the relatively small number of tokens in our specific corpus, however, it is future research, based on more extensive corpora, that shall determine whether the observed differences between the 1st and 2nd person plural are really as considerable as the current data suggests, and whether the loss of syncopated 1PL-forms is indeed a result of a Castilianization process as described above. Also, a grand scale study of the written production of the Central-Western Iberian Peninsula in its entirety, from roughly 1200 to 1500, would be desirable to provide more statistical evidence for the observation that the syncopated 1st person plural is a specifically Leonese phenomenon. It is not entirely possible to discount the possibility that larger corpora, which were not available to the classic authors of Spanish historical linguistics, might prove that, in an overall view, the syncopated 1st person plural forms of the *futuro de subjuntivo* are not that clearly attributable only to Leonese. However, the evidence currently available supports

the conclusion that they are (see also Moral del Hoyo, 2015: 148-151).

With regard to writing institutions, *lieux d'écriture* in Glessgen's (2008) terms, no discernible tendency can be identified, particularly due to the low token number of non-syncopated forms. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether the substitution of syncopated forms by non-syncopated ones is connected with specific scribes or editorial milieus. However, a closer examination of the documents reveals some morphological and spelling-related peculiarities, which demonstrate that even the clear identification of a non-syncopated form may present challenges for the researcher. Furthermore, the following chapter reveals that the observed regression of syncope in the 1st person (but also in the 2nd person) may require a more nuanced investigation and interpretation.

3. Graphemic-paleographic discussion and possible differences between the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd conjugations

To illustrate that the identification of non-syncopated forms as such is not always immediately apparent, and that a detailed analysis of the spellings reveals considerable variations between individual verbal lexemes, we will exemplarily examine deed 63-l from 1381. 63-l was

authorized for issuance by Ruy Fernández, the appointed public notary of the *concejo* and the city of León. The document alone provides two of the non-syncopated first person plural forms, while containing a total of eight tokens of the future subjunctive (1st and 2nd person plural together). We will compare our findings with deed 63-m (1383; Juan González, notary in Mansilla)

Figure 1 and 2 show the original spellings of the ten tokens of the 1st and 2nd person plural in document 63-l (1381), 63-m (1383), and 71-b (1408), with their paleographic transcription. Abbreviations are represented as indicated in 1.2. The paleographic transcription is followed by an interpretational transcription in double angle brackets <<>>, in which the letters/spellings that the abbreviations probably represent are also transcribed. and deed 71-b (1408; Alfonso Pérez, notary at the court of Juan II).

Figure 1 and 2 show the original spellings of the ten tokens of the 1st and 2nd person plural in document 63-l (1381), 63-m (1383), and 71-b (1408), with their paleographic transcription. Abbreviations are represented as indicated in 1.2. The paleographic transcription is followed by an interpretational transcription in double angle brackets <<>>, in which the letters/spellings that the abbreviations probably represent are also transcribed.

Figure 1: 1st person plural, the original spellings of 63-l/XXXI, XXXIV, XXXV, 63-m/II, and 71-b/IV.



63-l/XXXI <oujeremos> (–Syncope)



63-l/XXXIV <venjemos> int: <<venjermos>> or <<venjeremos>>
→ (–Syncope?)



63-l/XXXV <pasarmos> (+Syncope)



63-m/II <venjemos> int: <<venjermos>> or <<venjeremos>>
→ (–Syncope?)



71-b/IV <toujemos>

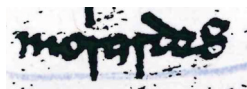
int: <<toujermos>> or <<toujeremos>>
→ (-Syncope?)

Figure 2: 2nd person plural, the original spellings of 63-l/VI, XXV, XXVII, and 71-b/V, VI.



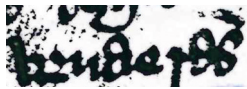
63-l/VI <toujerdēs>

(+Syncope)



63-l/XXV <morardēs>

(+Syncope)



63-l/XXVII <venderds>

(+Syncope)



71-b/V <mādarḏs>

(+Syncope)



71-b/VI <rreḡsḏs>

int: <<rrequiserdes>> or <<rrequiseredes>>
→ (-Syncope?)

A look at 63-l/XXXIV (likewise 63-m/II and 71-b/IV) shows that, at first glance, it is difficult to ascertain how the abbreviated forms are actually to be read. It is possible that the back-bent supra-script in 63-l/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV (first person), and in 71-b/VI (second person), is either an abbreviation for <r>, or for <re>, which we interpret as to be read as C or CV *after* the <e>. Taking 71-b/IV as an example, this would result in a transcription as either <touje^rmos> or <touje^{re}mos>. We base our interpretation of the position of this C or CV on the fact that the abbreviation sign starts *after* the first letter <e> (at its upper right end or 'corner'), then proceeds to the right, and curls up and backwards ending slightly above the <j> which precedes <e>. At the same time the abbreviation touches the upper left corner of the <m> that follows. The presence of <pasarmos> in the same document indicates that a syncopated form is possible in principle. On the other hand, the second form with stem

allomorphy in document 63-l (token XXXI <oujeremos>) suggests that the *futuros de subjuntivo* of verbs with such stem allomorphy in Ibero-Romance could also already appear with a non-syncopated form by 1381. Moreover, in our specific corpus, such abbreviations, i.e., those that do not clearly show a single grapheme as supra- or subscript, always serve to represent a short spelling sequence, or even a syllable (e.g., <p> for <por>/<pro>, depending on the position and direction of the diagonal line, or <ñro> for <nuestro>, etc.). Thus, in the specific case of 63-l/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV, and 71-b/VI, it is certainly possible that a missing CV syllable is represented, hence our interpretation as a non-syncopated form for the purpose of this paper (Table 1). We felt corroborated in our interpretation as (-Syncope) of such forms (i.e., like 63-l/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV, and 71-b/VI) by the fact that in the specific script in which the corresponding documents are written (*cursiva*), an abbreviation of this kind seems to

represent a sequence of <r>+vowel, <r>+diphthong, or even <r>+hiatus: e.g., the abbreviation <m̃a> for <maria> (García Villada, 1923: 339). At least, this was our initial interpretation of García Villada's (1923: 339) list of abbreviations for the 13th and 14th century *cursiva*.

At this point, we are very grateful for the comment by reviewer 2: while not entirely discounting the possibility that, e.g., in 71-b/IV <touj̃emos>, the supra-script abbreviation represents <r(e)>, they sustain that the abbreviation in question (<ẽ> in <touj̃emos>) usually stands for a VC-combination. In 71-b/IV this would be <er>, to be inserted *before* the vowel above which the abbreviation is drawn (reviewer 1 also alludes to a possible other interpretation –supposedly in line with reviewer 2– but does not specify). According to reviewer 2, the abbreviated forms in 63-l/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV, and 71-b/VI would therefore represent <venj̃eremos>, <venj̃eremos>, <touj̃eremos>, <rreqũis̃er̃ed̃es>. It is evident that, accordingly, also the aforementioned abbreviation <m̃a> (García Villada, 1923: 339) can be read like <m̃^{aria}>. While this is an intriguing paleographic phenomenon, and we greatly appreciate the comments of the reviewers, the positive side effect is that an interpretation as <touj̃eremos>, etc., leaves no doubt that the respective forms need to be read as forms with (–Syncope), as the vowel which is elided in case of a syncope is clearly present (the second <e>). This strengthens our rationale for including these forms as (–Syncope) in the statistics in Table 1 and basically puts it beyond any doubt.

We may furthermore hypothesize that a syncopated form would have been probably written as such, like in <pasamos> (63-l/XXXV), which does not feature any supra- or subscript abbreviation. In contrast, an abbreviation of the kind found in 63-l/XXXIV, 63-m/II, 71-b/IV, and 71-b/VI indicates that more is abbreviated here, at least two graphemes (be it <re>, or more probably <er>). In a syncopated form this abbreviation would not be necessary (it is evident that this observation alone is no definitive argument in favor of or against the use of an abbreviation).

In any case, this discussion clearly illustrates the far-reaching implications that the interpretation of even the smallest abbreviation, in one way or the other, can have in historical linguistics.

Consequently, a further question arises with regard to the first person plural forms in document 63-l, i.e., why <oujeremos> is written out in 63-l/XXXI, while in <venj̃emos> (63-l/XXXIV) the scribe makes use of a supra-script abbreviation. Tentatively, one could assume that the three (Central-)Ibero-Romance conjugations each behave differently here: the 1st conjugation (in -a-; *pasar*, 63-l/XXXV) still syncopates in the 1st person plural of the *futuro de subjuntivo*, the 2nd conjugation (in -e-; *auer*, 63-l/XXXI) no longer does so and recurs to written-out forms, while the 3rd conjugation (in -i-; *venir*, 63-l/XXXIV) also no longer syncopates but additionally employs abbreviated forms. This is especially striking since the three forms occur in the same document in close proximity to each other. However, this observation can only be validated with the analysis of a significantly larger corpus. Still, a comparison with the 2nd person forms in 71-b (tokens V, VI) may bolster this hypothesis (once non-syncopated second person plural forms are observable): in 71-b there is also a syncopated form of the 1st conjugation (<m̃adard̃s>), but a non-syncopated and abbreviated one of the 3rd conjugation (<rreq̃s̃ed̃s>).

At the very least, our findings make it possible to formulate the following working hypothesis: in the written documentation from the territory of the Kingdom of León, the 1st, the ‘-a-conjugation’, retains syncopated forms longer than the 2nd and 3rd conjugations. This is evident in both the 1st and the 2nd person plural, but it is essential to consider the different points in time from which on we have to reckon with (–Syncope) in the first and second person, respectively, in our corpus. In the 1st person, the loss of syncope is probably a product of a quite late (beginning somewhat in the mid-14th century) Castilianization in *scriptae* which, linguistically, had retained some few Leonese characteristics up to that point. In the 2nd person, it is a general process in already Castilian *scriptae*, which slowly begins to manifest itself in the (politically) former Leonese region around San Pedro de Eslonza in 1408 (with document 71-b, token VI).

Concerning the second person plural forms, we observe in document 63-l (V, VI, VII, XXV, and XXVII), that they continue to be used with syncopation throughout 1381, while in the same document, the first person forms already exhibit

a partial decline in the use of syncope (i.e., in the 2nd and 3rd conjugation; 63-l/XXXI, XXXIV). The first non-syncopeated 2nd person form from 1408 (71-b/VI) is still an abbreviated form (of the 3rd conjugation), while the second one (of the 1st conjugation) is written out (<morareds>; 71-d/IX; not in Figure 2). The latter is probably indicative of the fact that at this point, the non-syncopeated second person plural forms of *futuro de subjuntivo* were beginning to take hold even in the 1st conjugation. Again, this can only be conclusively investigated in a larger corpus.

In conclusion: (1) Only a graphemically accurately informed study can provide reliable tokens for the investigation of the phenomenon of syncopeated future subjunctive forms. (2) The disappearance of the 1st person plural with (+Syncope) and its replacement by forms with (–Syncope), beginning in 1347, could be considered an exponent of a late Castilianization tendency in the Leonese *scriptae* in and around San Pedro de Eslonza, but further studies are needed. (3) In both the 1st and 2nd person, with all the necessary caution due to the small number of tokens, it is fair to formulate the working hypothesis that the 1st conjugation maintains for a longer period of time the syncopeated forms.

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Data availability

The data is accessible in this publication and in Koch (2020). The microfiche photographs of the original documents (and the originals themselves, upon special request) are accessible at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid under the shelf marks “AHN, Clero, Carpeta 967-971”.

Appendix I

In this appendix we only list the examples of the future subjunctive, along with their syntactic context and the meta-data of the documents they appear in, which we treat explicitly in this article (Figures 1 and 2, and 71-d/IX). For a full list of all 57 forms with their syntactic context, see the Appendix II in Koch (2020: 333-433, corresponding tokens), and the list in Appendix II of this paper (without syntactic contexts).

Document 63-l, AHN *clero* 971/4, 10 December 1381

Issuing institution: Public Notary of the Council of the City of León

Place of issuance: León

Scribe: unknown, subject to Ruy Fernández

Acting and signing notary: <rroy frnⁿz not^o publico del coⁿçeio de la çibdat de leoⁿ>, *Ruy Fernández, notario público del concejo de la ciudad de León*

(VI) Et agora es casa sana [??]fuero (et) por alquiler[o] (et) aqual quier otra manera | que uos quisierdes (et) por bien *toujerdes* (et) las vierdes que es ma[fragment unreadable]del monestrio et vuestro | et qual quier que deuos tomar la dicha casa afuero (et) en qual quier otra manera

commo dicha es nos lo auemos (et) auremos por firme (et) por valedero asi commo ssi nos mesmos lo fezieemos (et) aello presentes fueemos pora agora (et) pora en todo tiempo [...] [Rel.]

(XXV) [...] que nos pueda preñar por el dicho fuero delas dichas casas o en otra casa qual quier (et) en qual quier lugar o jurisdiccion do quier | quevos *morardes* | [...] [Rel.]

(XXVII) [...] (et) |aqual [et] aqui en lo vos *venderd's* | non lo queriendo yo o los sobre dichos conprar segund dicho es que sea tenudo (et) obligado adar (et) pagar el dicho fuero de cada año por cada vno de los dichos plazos segund dicho es [...] [Rel.]

(XXXI) [...] (et) atodos nuestros bienes muebles (et) rrayzes asi los que oý dia hemos commo | los que *oujeremos* de aqui adelante | [...] [Rel.]

(XXXIV) Et | si contra ello *venje^{r(e)}mos* OR *venjeremos* o pasarmos | otorgamos que nos non vala njn nos sea oýdo njn rresçebido en juýzio njn fuera del. [Cond.]

(XXXV) Et | si contra ello *venjemos* o *pasamos* | otorgamos que nos non que nos non vala njn nos sea oýdo njn rresçebido en juýzio njn fuera del. [Cond.]

Document 63-m, AHN *clero* 971/11, 4 November 1383

Issuing institution: Public notary of Mansilla, appointed by the liege/lord, the duke

Place of issuance: Mansilla

Scribe: <johan gonzalez notario publico por nuestro señor el duque en mansiella>, *Juan González, notario público por nuestro señor el Duque en Mansilla*

(II) Et prometemos de non venjr contra esta carta de donacion que nos todos tres ora fazemos (et) | si *venje^{r(e)}mos* OR *venjeremos* o otro por nos | otorgamos que nos non vala njn nos sea oydo njn rresçebido en juyzio njn fuera del. [Cond.]

Document 71-b, AHN *clero* 971/18, 16 February 1408

Issuing institution: Royal Scribe and Public Notary at the Court and in the Entire Realm

Place of issuance: Alga defes

Scribe: <alfonso perez escrivano del rrey (et) su notario publico en la su corte (et) en todos los sos rreynos>, *Alfonso Pérez, escribano del rey y su notario público en su corte y en todos sus reinos*.

(IV) Et por el dicho vuestro monesterio (et) por vuestro mandando (et) asy commo vuestros bienes (et) non nuestros (et) prometemos (et) obligamos de vos dar (et) entregar (et) [??] (et) conlos dichos bienes (et) conla [por??] (et) amjnystracion dellos |syla touje^{re}mos OR touje^{er}mos| en qual quier tiempo (et) manera (et) lugar cada que nos lo vos mandardes (et) rrequiseredes [...] [Cond.]

(V) Et por el dicho vuestro monesterio (et) por vuestro mandando (et) asy commo vuestros bienes (et) non nuestros (et) prometemos (et) obligamos de vos dar (et) entregar (et) [??] (et) conlos dichos bienes (et) conla [por??] (et) amjnystracion dellos syla touje^{re}mos en qual quier tiempo (et) manera (et) lugar cada |que nos lo vos maⁿdard^es (et) rrequiseredes| [...] [Rel.; temporal reading]

(VI) Et por el dicho vuestro monesterio (et) por vuestro mandando (et) asy commo vuestros bienes (et) non nuestros (et) prometemos (et) obligamos de vos dar (et) entregar (et) [??] (et) conlos dichos bienes (et) conla [por??] (et) amjnystracion dellos syla touje^{re}mos en qual quier tiempo (et) manera (et) lugar cada |que nos lo vos mandardes (et) rreq^{ui}se^{re}d^es OR [...]s^{er}ed^es| [...] [Rel.; temporal reading]

Document 71-d, AHN *clero* 971/20, 28 July 1410

Issuing institution: Abbot, prior, and convent of the monastery of San Pedro de Eslonza
Place of issuance: San Pedro de Eslonza
Scribe: unknown, subject to the abbot
Signing actant: <abbad (et) prior (et) coⁿveⁿto>, *abad, prior y convento*

(IX) [...] do q^{ui}er |q^{ue} vos morared^es| por nonbre de pena (et) de postura codiçional que conosco sobre vos p[onedes] (et) [...] [Rel.]

Appendix II

(+) = presence of syncope, e.g., *venermos*, *venerdēs* '(if/when(etc.) we/you (pl.) will come'

(-) = absence of syncope, e.g., *venéremos*, *venéredes* '(if/when(etc.) we/you (pl.) will come'

(-?), (+?) = dubbed as doubtful in this paper; it is discussed if in sequences like <venj^eemos> the suprascript in <è> stands for <r> or <re> after <e>, or <er> before <e>; these forms are counted as (-Syncope) for the purposes of this paper, as

explicated above. Furthermore, 52/IVa,b,c are doubtful in their transcriptions by Vignau (1885: 301) as discussed above and in Appendix III; new transcriptions are presented in this paper and the forms are considered (+Syncope).

1PL

5/V <uenerm^{os}> (+) 29 August 1248 AHN *clero* 968/1

27/III <q^{ui}xermos> (+) 13 September 1272 AHN *clero* 968/19

29/IV <ueniermos> (+) May 1275 AHN *clero* 968/22

(41-a/II <fuerimo^s> (-; Med. Latin) (Latin inserto [July 1306] in) 17 July 1306 AHN *clero* 969/12; as Latin, form not included in statistics)

48/VII <touiermos> (+) 23 March 1327 AHN *clero* 969/22

48/VIII <ffuermos> (+) 23 March 1327 AHN *clero* 969/22

53-c/III <venjermos> (+) 6 September 1346 AHN *clero* 970/10

55/II <dix[er]mos> (+) 16 March 1347 AHN *clero* 970/12; not clear if <er> or <ere>, unreadable, counted as (+) as <er> was deemed more probable in document 55

56/VII <venjermos> (+) 27 May 1347 AHN *clero* 970/13

56/XI <venjeremos> (-) 27 May 1347 AHN *clero* 970/13

57/II <venjeremos> (-) 22 January 1348 AHN *clero* 970/14

62-a/XI <venjermos> (+) 14 November 1364 AHN *clero* 970/20

62-a/XII <pasarmos> (+) 14 november 1364 AHN *clero* 970/20

62-a/XXI <venjermos> (+) 14 November 1364 AHN *clero* 970/20

63-l/XXXI <oujeremos> (-) 10 december 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-l/XXXIV <venje^{re}mos> OR <venj^{er}emos> (-?) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-l/XXXV <pasarmos> (+) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-m/II <venje^{re}mos> OR <venj^{er}emos> (-?) 4 November 1383 AHN *clero* 971/11

66/II <entendermos> (+) 15 May 1387 AHN *clero* 971/9

66/IX <posiermos> (+) 15 May 1387 AHN *clero* 971/9

71-b/IV <touje^{r(e)}mos> OR <touj^{er}emos> (-?)
16 February 1408 AHN *clero* 971/18

²PL

(10/I <uolueritis> (-; Med. Latin) August 1252 AHN *clero* 968/7 and AHN *códices* 910 “Valencia” núm. 4; as Latin, form not included in the statistics)

14/I <quisierdes> (+) March 1260 AHN *clero* [apparently lost after 1885; transcription after Vignau (1885: 243 [CLV]); the author lists also an apparently old shelf mark: 133—P]

15/I <quisierdes> (+) June 1260 AHN *clero* 968/10

16/I <quisierdes> (+) August 1260 AHN *clero* 968/11-a

17/I <q^{ui}sierdes> (+) August 1260 AHN *clero* 968/11-b

18/I <quisierdes> (+) September 1260 AHN *clero* 968/11-c

19/I <quisierdes> (+) September 1260 AHN *clero* 968/11-d

21/I <quisierdes> (+) June 1263 AHN *clero* 968/13

25/III <maⁿdardes> (+) March 1268 AHN *clero* 968/15

27/IV <morardes> (+) 13 September 1272 AHN *clero* 968/19

31/II <falardes> (+) 1 June 1280 AHN *clero* 969/1

36/II <q^{ui}sierdes> (+) 14 September 1289 AHN *clero* 969/6

37/V <en biardes> (sic!) (+) 19 October 1291 AHN *clero* 969/7

38/III <q^{ui}ssierdes> (+) 29 June 1300 AHN *clero* 969/8

38/IV <fallardes> (+) 29 June 1300 AHN *clero* 969/8

44/IV <q^{ui}sierd^es> (+) 7 June 1323 AHN *clero* 969/18

46/XIII <fallard^es> (+) 13 February 1325 AHN *clero* 969/20

46/XV <fezierd^es> (+) 13 February 1325 AHN *clero* 969/22

48/XX <mandard^es> (+) 23 March 1327 AHN *clero* 969/22

52/IVa <facierdes> (Vignau, 1885: 301) (+?), inserto [20 May 1334] in 10 November 1334 AHN *clero* 970/5; transcription based on microfiche by Stefan Koch: <ffizierd^s> (+Syncope). See Appendix III.

52/IVb <tractaredes> (Vignau, 1885: 301) (-?), inserto [20 May 1334] in 10 November 1334 AHN *clero* 970/5; transcription based on microfiche by Stefan Koch: <tractard^s> (+Syncope). See Appendix III.

52/IVc <auenieredes> (Vignau, 1885: 301) (-?), inserto [20 May 1334] in 10 November 1334 AHN *clero* 970/5; transcription based on microfiche by Stefan Koch: <auenjerd^s> (+Syncope). See Appendix III.

52/XIII <tapiard^es> (+) 10 November 1334 AHN *clero* 970/5

52/XV <ouierd^es> (+) 10 November 1334 AHN *clero* 970/5

62-a/IV <ffezierd^es> (+) (inserto [4 November 1364] in) 14 November 1364 AHN *clero* 970/20

62-a/V <ffezierd^es> (+) (inserto [4 May 1364] in) 14 November 1364 AHN *clero* 970/20

63-I/V <q^{ui}sierdes> (+) (inserto [15 March 1380] in) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-I/VI <toujerd^es> (+) (inserto [15 March 1380] in) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-I/VII <vierdes> (+) (inserto [15 March 1380] in) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-I/XXV <morardes> (+) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

63-I/XXVII <venderd^es> (+) 10 December 1381 AHN *clero* 971/4

65-a/IV <oujerd^es> (+) 22 February 1386 AHN *clero* 971/8

65-a/V <q^{ui}sierdes> (+) 22 February 1386 AHN *clero* 971/8

70/III <q^{ui}sierdes> (+) 6 May 1398 AHN *clero* 971/14

70/IV <toujerd^es> (+) 6 May 1398 AHN *clero* 971/14

71-b/V <maⁿdard^es> (+) 16 February 1408 AHN *clero* 971/18

71-b/VI <rreq^{ui}sie^{r(e)}d^es> OR <rreq^{ui}si^{er}ed^es> (-?) 16 February 1408 AHN *clero* 971/18

71-d/IX <morared^es> (-) 28 July 1410 AHN *clero* 971/20

Appendix III

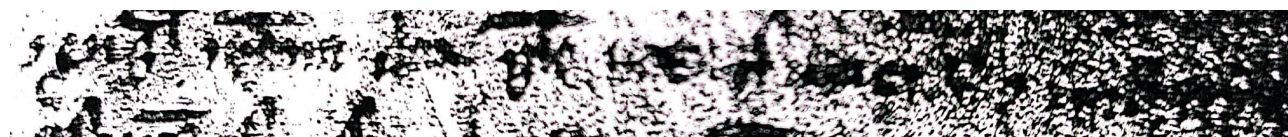
Pictures of 52/IVa, 52/IVb, and 52/IVc. The forms are coordinated in a future related relative clause, in which the eventual fulfillment of the actions/events encoded in the lexical semantics of the verbs, or the way or the extent in which these actions/events are executed, lie in the fu-

ture and are open (they can occur or not, and the way and extent can be any on a scale established by the semantic-syntactic context). No epistemic information from the speaker's/writer's/issuer's side is intended. Therefore, no other subjunctive like imperfect subjunctive or present subjunctive (both encoding subjective grades of possibility from the speaker's side) is used. The future subjunctive, a Romance follow-up tense of the Latin future perfect indicative, is (originally) neutral in this regard, no epistemic information is encoded in the forms: it can happen or not, and in any way or not, but the speaker does not express any personal assumption on the chances and the probability of a certain event to happen, or on how this event will happen. This makes the future subjunctive the perfect tense for such

relative clauses in legal documents (see Koch, 2020; 2021). This does not exclude later semantic bleaching in Spanish towards the Golden Centuries and beyond, which is probably one of the reasons for the future subjunctive today being considered obsolete.

We give the syntactic context in a non-paleographic transcription in italics, and again give our exact paleographic interpretation of the three forms in question in <>.

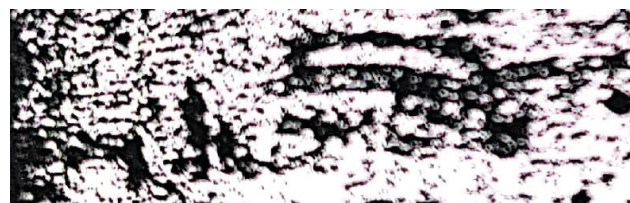
The quality of the scans is pretty acceptable and reflects the microfiche copy in a reliable way. As for the reconstruction of 52/IV-b, also the measurements are in favor of our interpretation. The final <s>, preceded by a faint <d> (with a better visible abbreviation line above), and this <d>, again preceded by a decipherable <r>,



(et) *en cual manera quier quelo uos*

<ffizierds>

(et) <trac[ta]rds>



(et)

<auenjerds>

together take as much room as final <[...]erds> in 52/IV-a, leaving only space in 52/IV-b for two letters between initial <trac[...]> and final <[...]rds> (which tentatively are indeed <[...]ta[...]>).

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