THE DIACHRONICAL CHANGE OF THE ADVERBIAL
SUFFIX -mente AND THE NOUN mente IN OLD SPANISH[*]

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0. In this paper we limit ourselves to the general survey of
the matter for the short of space. It is well known that mente,
the ablative form of Classical Latin mens 'mind' turned out to
be used in Vulgar Latin as the adverbial suffix, as shown below.
See Elcock (1975, 158).

    (1) mente ferant placida (Ovid)
          'they beared quietly'

    (2) bona mente factum (Quintilian)
          'virtuously done'

In (1), the adjective placida is separated from the modified
noun mente because of the flexibility of the word order, but
the order Adj. mente observed in (2) had already been fixed in
the 12th century's Spanish literary work, Poema de Mío Cid.

    According to Lausberg (1973, §700), the adverbial use of
mente spread from Galia in the last years of the Roman Empire,.
expressing especially the mentality of the human subjects. See
Dyer (1972, 304).[1] And perhaps gradually, another use of ex-
pressing modality or manner of the action appeared and spread,
as the noun mente developed into an adverbial bound form, losing
its original meaning 'mind.' This adverbial suffix is observed
nowadays in the various Romance languages, i.e. Sardinian,
Italian, Rhaeto-Romanic, French, Provençal, Catalan, Portuguese,
and Spanish.

    Table 1 shows the present situation of the matter in the
main Romance languages. In French, the ment as a noun has dis-
appeared and it functions only as an adverbial suffix (See
Wartburg (1969, 89)), while in Rumanian just the contrary has

Table 1

	Adverbial Suffix	Noun
Sp.	-mente	mente
Port.	-mente	mente
Cat.	-ment	ment
Fr.	-ment	
It.	-mente	mente
Rum.		minte

Table 2

The Adverbial Suffix -mente and the Noun mente
in Old Spanish

	Adverbial Suffix	Noun
12 c.	-mientre	miente
13 c.	-mientre -miente -mient -mente -ment -mientra	miente
14 c.	-mente -miente -ment	miente
15 c.	-mente	miente

occurred, i.e. the morpheme mint is used only as a noun. In
the other three languages, the same phonetic shape is used as
a suffix and as a noun. In what follows we will see whether
the same phonetic shape was used in Old Spanish in both ways.

- 57 -

For, from the 12th to 16th or 17th century, <u>miente</u> is the only
nominal morpheme, while the adverbial suffix had various shapes,
i.e. -<u>mientre</u>, -<u>miente</u>, -<u>mient</u>, -<u>mente</u>, -<u>ment</u>, and -<u>mientra</u> in
the 13th century, and -<u>mente</u>, -<u>ment</u>, and -<u>miente</u> in the 14th
century, which will be summarized in Table 2.

As the first approximation of this matter, we will use next
ten texts.

<div align="center"><u>Texts</u></div>

<u>Cid</u> (12c.) Anónimo. <u>Poema de Mío Cid: Edición de Ian Mi-
    chael</u>. Madrid: Castalia, 1978.

<u>Milagros</u> (13c.) Gonzalo de Berceo. <u>Milagros de Nuestra
    Senora: Edición, Prólogo y Notas de Antonio G. So-
    linde</u>. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978.

<u>Silos</u> (13c.) Gonzalo de Berceo. <u>Vida de Santo Domingo de
    Silos: Edición de Teresa Labarta de Chaves</u>. Madrid:
    Castalia, 1972.

<u>Alexandre</u> (13c.) Anónimo. <u>Libro de Alexandre: Edición
    Preparada por Jesús Canas Murillo</u>. Editora Nacional,
    1978.

<u>P. de F. González</u> (13c.) Anónimo. <u>Poema de Fernán Gonzá-
    lez: Edición, Introducción y Notas de Alonso Zamora
    Vicente</u>. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978.

<u>Crónica</u> (13c.) <u>Primera Crónica General de Espana: Edita-
    da por Ramón Menéndez Pidal con un Estudio Actuali-
    zador de Diego Catalán</u>. Madrid: Gredos, 1977.

<u>Poemas</u> (14c.) López de Ayala, Pero. <u>"Libro de Poemas" o
    "Rimado de Palacio": Edición Crítica, Introducción
    y Notas de Michel García</u>. Madrid: Gredos, 1978.

<u>Amor</u> (14c.) Juan Ruiz. <u>Libro de Buen Amor: Edición Crí-
    tica de Joan Coromínas</u>. Madrid: Gredos, 1973.

C. de 1344. *Crónica de 1344 que Ordenó el Conde de Bar-
    celos don Pedro Alfonso: Edición Crítica del Texto
    Espanol Preparada por Diego Catalán y María Soledad
    de Andrés en el Seminario Menéndez Pidal de la Uni-
    versidad de Madrid*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971.

Corbacho (15c.) Martínez de Toledo, Alonso. *Arcipreste
    de Talavera o Corbacho: Edición de J. González
    Muela*. Madrid: Castalia, 1970.
    (Ralph de Gorog y Lisa S. de Gorog. *Concordancias
    del "Arcipreste de Talavera*," Madrid: Gredos, 1978.

1. The Adverb in -mente

In Cid, for example, the shape of the adverbial suffix of
16 occurrences of the six kinds of adverbs is always -mientre.

(3) A la puerta de fuera   descavalga a sabor,
    cuerdamientre[2] entra   Mio Çid con todos los sos:
                        (Cid, 3104-3105)
    'At the exterior gate he dismounts from his horse
    properly, Mío Cid enters prudently with all his
    men.'

(4) De los sos oios   tan fuertemientre llorando,
    tornava la cabeça   e estávalos catando;
                        (Cid, 1-2)
    'From his eyes shedding tears desperately, he turned
    his head and was looking them.'

(5) Amos saliero[n] apart,   veramientre son hermanos,
    d'esto que ellos fablaron   nós parte non ayamos:
                        (Cid, 2538-2539)
    'The both aparted from the others, for they are
    truly brothers, as for what they talked about, let's
    not take part in it.'

In (3), <u>cuerdamientre</u> 'prudently' is used to describe the mental
state with a slight meaning of manner of the action of entrance.
In (4), <u>fuertemientre</u> 'desperately' is used rather to describe
the manner of Cid's weaping with a shade of mental meaning.
These two cases are said to be manner adverbs, while in (5) <u>ve-
ramientre</u> 'truly' functions as a sentential adverb. From these
facts we could say that even in the oldest literary work, various
kinds of usage of the adverbs in <u>mente</u> are already observed.

    (6) Johan[es] avié nomne,   si otri non mintió,

        el que <u>primeramientre</u>   la gesta escrivió.

                        (<u>Silos</u>, 571c-d)

        'He was called Johan[es], if he who wrote its feat

        for the first time didn't lie.'

    (7) <u>Solamiente</u> el fumo non se llegó a ello,

        Nin nuçió más que nuzo io al obispo don Tello.

                        (<u>Milagros</u>, 325c-d)

        'Not even the smoke came to it, nor did it harm more

        than I can harm don Tello, the bishop.'

    (8) Dixo les que tal cosa non queria endurar,

        d'un condeziello malo tantos dan dan[n]os tomar,

        que con el non queria <u>otra mient</u> pleytear,

        mas que queria morir o se queria vengar.

                    (<u>P. de F. González</u>, 737a-d)

        'He said to them that he didn't want to endure such

        a thing, suffer much harm through a bad count, and

        that he didn't want to fight in court with him other-

        wise, but that he wanted to die or wanted to avenge

        himself.'

    (9) Tan <u>denodadament</u>   lo pudo guerrear,

                    (<u>Alexandre</u>, 419a)

        'So boldly he could wage war against him'

(10) los barones por ello   havién mala andada,
       non corrién <u>sueltamente</u>   e non les valié nada.
                                 (ibid., 2046c-d)
       'For that the barons didn't move well, they didn't
       run easily and nothing was useful to them.'
(11) ; e estonces le mouieron ya <u>descubiertamientra</u> a
       cometer esta batalla cibdadana de los romanos.
                                 (<u>Crónica</u>, 91)
       'and then they persuaded him already without re-
       serve to begin this civil battle of the Romans.'
As the examples (6)-(11) show, in the 13th century there were
six morphemic variants or allomorphs of -<u>mente</u>, of which
-<u>mientra</u> is found only once in our data.

     Although we do not cite here as examples, almost all cases
are manner adverbs, but in order to stress that there is also
sentential usage we illustrate <u>primeramientre</u> 'for the first
time' in (6), <u>solamiente</u> 'only' in (7), and <u>otra mient</u> 'other-
wise' in (8).

     And that some verbal participles have also this adverbial
suffix is observed in (9), (10), and (11), for the suffix is
attached to the past participles of <u>denodar</u> 'to exceed the
limit,' <u>soltar</u> 'to loose,' and <u>descubrir</u> 'to discover' respec-
tively.

     Besides, there are cases in which the ablative content is
reinforced by the addition of the preposition <u>de</u> 'of' in front
of the adverbs in -<u>mente</u>. But it is interesting to note that
this characteristic construction is limited to the two cases,
i.e. <u>de buena mente</u> and <u>de mala mente</u>. As for the former, we
find 21 occurrences of 24 examples encountered in various
texts,[3] so this expression is considered a stereotyped one
during the 13th, 14th, and 15th century, while as for the latter,

we find only one token of 35 examples.[4]

 (12) tovieron sus clamores todos <u>de bona mient</u>,
           (<u>Silos</u>, 565c)

  'everybody had his supplication earnestly'

 (13) querrié con Alexandre justar <u>de buena miente</u>.
           (<u>Alexandre</u>, 1405d)

  'he wanted to fight with Alexandre willingly.'

 (14) Sin el propio salario, demandámosles ayuda;

  dan nos lo <u>de mala mente</u>, aunque la fruente les

  suda;   (<u>Poemas</u>, 356a-b)

  'In addition to the proper pay, we demand them

  financial assistance; they give it us unwillingly,

  though in their forehead they sweat.'

2. The Noun <u>miente</u> and the Word <u>emiente</u>

 The noun <u>miente</u> is commonly used in the set phrases such
as <u>meter mientes (a)</u> 'to consider,' <u>parar mientes en</u> (or <u>a</u>)'
to think of~,' and <u>venir miente</u> 'to come to mind' in Old
Spanish, as follows.

 (15) Sedie meior la cosa que <u>metien</u> ellos <u>mientes</u>.
          (<u>Milagros</u>, 151d)

  'the thing was better than they had considered.'

 (16) - e <u>paro</u> <u>mientes</u> Pancio en aquello que dizien.
          (<u>Crónica</u>, 262)

  'and Pancio thought of what they said.'

 (17) Entre todos consejos, uno (más) principalmente

  que a tu senor consejes sienpre te <u>venga miente</u>:
          (<u>Poemas</u>, 708a-b)

  'Among all advices, a piece of advice that you

  precisely give to your master comes always into

  your mind.'

Here note that only the phonetic shape <u>miente</u> is observed and the corresponding forms of the adverbial allomorphs such as *<u>mient</u>, *<u>mente</u>, *<u>ment</u>, and *<u>mientre</u> are never used.[5]

Next, we encounter the words <u>emiente</u> 'in mind' and its variant <u>emient</u>, both of which are the compound forms of <u>en miente</u> 'in mind.'

   (18) "Si vos viniere <u>emiente</u>   que quisiéredes vengallo,

                    (<u>Cid</u>, 1070)

       'If it would occur to you that you would like to
       revenge him'

   (19) Et por que en tiempo deste rey Hermanarico se faze
       primero <u>emiente</u> de los fechos de los vgnos et ...

                    (<u>Crónica</u>, 400)

       'And because from the times of this king Hermanarico
       one thinks first of the deeds of the Huns and'

   (20) No se les <u>vienemiente</u>   del padre nin su fecho,

                    (<u>Poemas</u>, 499a)

       'They don't remember their father nor his deed'

In (20), the verbal locution <u>viene en miente</u> 'comes into mind' is compounded into <u>vienemiente</u>. Here we notice that the forms such as *<u>emientre</u>, *<u>emente</u>, and *<u>ement</u> are not used, just like in the case of the noun <u>miente</u>.

3. The Diachronical Change of the Adverbial Suffix -<u>mente</u>, the
    Noun <u>mente</u>, and the Conjunction <u>mientras</u> in Old Spanish

   In the first place, we demonstrate the occurrences and pro-portions of the adverbial allomorphs in each text in Table 3, where A stands for the adverbial suffix -<u>mientre</u>, B, -<u>miente</u>, C, -<u>mient</u>, D, -<u>mente</u>, and E, -<u>ment</u> respectively, and T means the total number of the occurrences of the adverbs and K, the number of the kinds of the adverbs used in the text in question.

Table 3

	Adverbial Suffixes				
	A	B	C	D	E
Cid. (12c.)	16 (100%)	0	0	0	0
T. 16					
K. 6	16	B+C= 0		D+E= 0	
Milagros (13c.)	17 (42.5%)	4	3	1	15 (37.5%)
T. 40					
K. 23	17	B+C= 7		D+E= 16	
Silos (13c.)	13 (46.4%)	2	7	0	6
T. 28					
K. 16	13	B+C= 9		D+E= 6	
Alexandre (13c.)	3	3	2	78 (64.5%)	35
T. 121					
K. 36	3	B+C= 5		D+E= 113	
Crónica (13c.)	789 (80.1%)	163	12	10	10
T. 985					
K. 144	789	B+C= 175		D+E= 20	
P. de F. González (13c.)	4	14 (60.9%)	5	0	0
T. 23					
K. 12	4	B+C= 19		D+E= 0	
Poemas (14c.)	0	0	0	87 (96.9%)	3
T. 90					
K. 44	0	B+C= 0		D+E= 90	
Amor (14c.)	0	4	0	41 (91.1%)	0
T. 45					
K. 31	0	B+C= 4		D+E= 41	
C. de 1344	0	1	0	59 (98.3%)	0
T. 60					
K. 36	0	B+C= 1		D+E= 59	
Corbacho (15c.)	0	0	0	216 (100%)	0
T. 216					
K. 75	0	B+C= 0		D+E= 216	

From this, we easily notice that in Old Spanish, especially in the 13th century five adverbial suffixal allomorphs are used

even in the same text, which I call morphological oscillation.
See Ariyoshi (1978a) and (1978b). And the allomorph -mientre
is the oldest one as observed in Cid, Milagros, Silos, and
Crónica. Above all, its use is very frequent in Cid and Cróni-
ca, which confirms that the style used in both texts is quite
similar.

The apocope of the final e in -mient and -ment is only one
of the examples that are frequently observed in Old Spanish
(from the 10th to 13th century). See García de Diego (1970,
74-75). Thus we could simplify our data, combining B with C,
and D with E, as shown in Table 3.

Although we have seen that the form -mientre is the oldest
one, we must notice also that in the 13th century the present
form -mente has been already used, particularly in Alexandre.

Next, we consider the difference of the vowels found in
-mient(r)(e) and -ment(e). It is well known that the Latin
open vowel e dipthongized as ie in Old Spanish, e.g. mente
'mind' > miente. See García de Diego (1970, 59). The noun
mente had dipthogized in Cid, and it continues still in the
15th century.[6] Why didn't occur the dipthongization in the
case of the adverbial suffix uniformly. Perhaps, it is a
speaker's psychological attitude to distinguish it from the
corresponding noun, just as the epenthetic r is inserted.[7]
Here we see the evident attitude to use mente in a different
fashion as an adverbial suffix, and it may be necessary to
change its phonetic shape slightly in order to lay stress on
its different use or to make feel its original ablative sense.

From the viewpoint of the dipthongization vs. non-dip-
thongization, we show our data as in Table 4.

As shown in Table 3, the adverbial suffixes have been uni-
fied into the unique form -mente. This is one example of the

Table 4

	-mient(r)(e)	-ment(e)
Cid (12c.)	16 (100%)	0
Milagros (13c.)	24 (60%)	16
Silos (13c.)	22 (78.6%)	6
Alexandre (13c.)	8	113 (93.4%)
Crónica (13c.)	964 (98.0%)	20
P. de F. González (13c.)	23 (100%)	0
Poemas (14c.)	0	90 (100%)
Amor (14c.)	4	41 (91.1%)
C. de 1344	1	59 (98.3%)
Corbacho (15c.)	0	216 (100%)

Table 5

	mientra	mientre	de(-)mientre	mientras
Cid (12c.)	11	0	0	0
Milagros (13c.)	0	12	1	0
Silos (13c.)	0	9	1	0
Alexandre (13c.)	1	18 (mien-tres, 1)	5	0
Crónica (13c.)	9	58	31	0
P. de F. González (13c.)	3 (mien-trra)	0	0	0
Poemas (14c.)	0	0	0	0
Amor (14c.)	0	0	0	0
C. de 1344	4	0	0	1
Corbacho (15c.)	16	0	0	0

decrease of the structural changes of oscillations. See Ari-
yoshi (1978a, 45).

Next, we want to see the usage of the conjunction mientras
'while,' the phonetic shape of which is just the same as that
of an adverbial suffix in Old Spanish.

The forms mientre, de(-)mientre were used only in the 13th
century, in which the adverbial suffix -mientre was also used.
Here we notice some phonetic correspondence between the two
forms. In order to distinguish -mente as an adverbial suffix
from the noun, a similar already existing form might be borrow-
ed which is not a noun, but a sentential conjunction. This is
only our inference, but it is true that there was always a re-
markable attitude of distinguishing the adverbial suffix from
its original noun in the phonetic aspect.

4. Conclusion

In Old Spanish the speaker wanted to distinguish phoneti-
cally the adverbial suffix -mente from its original noun mente,
both of which have the same phonetic shape in Modern Spanish.
Perhaps, such a distinction was considered necessary for its
mechanization into the suffixal form. At the first stage, a
similar phonetic shape was serched for, and the conjunction
mientre might be borrowed for the suffixal form, because there
could not be any functional confusion. Then it is just a con-
trary case of collisions homonymiques. Thus, the -r- in the
suffix -mientre is not the so-called epenthetic one, but the
-mientre as a whole is a borrowed shape. And after the mecha-
nization of the adverbial suffix or its complete mutation of
grammatical category, it approached to its original form with-
out dipthongization of its open stressed e in the 14th and
15th century, which is said to be a kind of dissimilation in
its wider sense.   (March, 1981)

- 67 -

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[1] Dyer says that writers of Christian Latin employed the adjectives with the ablative of mens in describing disposition of spirit, sentiments, and character.

[2] Menéndez Pidal interprets the adverb in the line 3105 as cuerdamientra 'prudently.' See Poema de Mío Cid: Edición, Introducción y Notas de Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1971, p. 267 and its note.

[3] Their items are: Silos (1 occurrence), Alexandre (1), Crónica (13), Poemas (1), Amor (2), C. de 1344 (2), and Corbacho (1).

[4] The items of the examples that are not accompanied with the preposition de are: Milagros (2), Silos (1), Alexandre (8), Crónica (21), Poemas (1), and Corbacho (1).

[5] As Corominas (1976) points out, in Aljamiado Prophecies (a 16th century's work) we can observe si bien parareys mientres 'if you consider well,' in which the form mientre is used (Lincoln (1937, 638)). We think this is an exceptional pseudoclassical style.

[6] According to Corominas (ibid.), the nominal form mente first appeared in Alonso Fernández de Palencia's Universal Vocabulario en Latín y en Romance (Sevilla, 1490).

[7] As for the various interpretations why the epenthetic r is found, we see their summarized versions in Dyer (1972, 305

note 7). In this connection I would like to say that the form
adelantre 'before' is observed in Crónica, although not so
frequently.

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