

# The semantics of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish\*

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Old Spanish had a split auxiliary system in the perfect tense, reminiscent of what is found in Modern French and Modern Italian. In this paper, I trace the progress of the displacement of *ser* ‘be’ by *haber* ‘have’ with intransitive and reflexive verbs in the history of Spanish. The data support the hypothesis that predicates that have a more patient-like subject are the last ones to lose their ability to select *ser*, regardless of their syntactic or morphological make-up. This analysis, I argue, adds to the mounting evidence in favor of a universal semantic account of split intransitivity.

## 1. Auxiliary selection as an indication of split intransitivity

Several European languages show a split in the class of intransitive verbs, manifested in the selection of the perfect auxiliary. Some intransitive verbs select the ‘have’ auxiliary (French *avoir*, Italian *avere*, Dutch *hebben*), just like transitive verbs do, whereas other intransitives select the ‘be’ auxiliary (French *être*, Italian *essere*, Dutch *zijn*). The examples in (1a–f) illustrate the contrast.

- (1) a. *Marie est arrivée.* [French]  
‘Marie has arrived.’  
b. *J’ai parlé.*  
‘I have spoken.’  
c. *Il bambino è morto.* [Italian]  
‘The child has died.’  
d. *Sandro ha sorriso.*  
‘Sandro has smiled.’  
e. *De kinderen zijn in Amsterdam gebleven.* [Dutch]  
‘The children have remained in Amsterdam.’

- f. *Janneke heeft geknipogd.*  
'Janneke has winked.'

In Modern Spanish, the split in the class of intransitives is not apparent. (2a) and (2b) show that the only choice for the perfect auxiliary is *haber* 'have'. In Old Spanish, however, some intransitives selected *ser* 'be' as the perfect auxiliary, as the contrast between (3a) and (3b) shows.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. *El tren ha llegado tarde.* [Modern Sp.]  
'The train has arrived late.'  
b. *Los obreros han trabajado muy duro.*  
'The workers have worked very hard.'
- (3) a. ...*aquel omne, que fuera muy bien andante, era llegado* [Old Spanish]  
*a tan grand mengua que se sintia dello mucho* (LUC).  
'That man, which had been in good position, had come to  
be in such need that he was very upset about it.'  
b. *Saladin le dixo quanto avia trabajado por fallar respuesta cierta de la*  
*pregunta quel' fiziera* (LUC).  
'Saladin told her how much he had worked in order to find a true  
answer to the question she posed to him.'

In this paper, I will argue that auxiliary selection in the history of Spanish is sensitive to the lexical semantics of the predicate. I will show that the diachronic displacement of *ser* by *haber* as the perfect auxiliary in Spanish proceeded along very clear lexical-semantic lines: predicates with more patient-like subjects resisted the spread of *haber* the longest. This analysis supports the semantic approach to split intransitivity defended in Van Valin (1990), Centineo (1986, 1996), Dowty (1991), Zaenen (1993), and Lieber and Baayen (1997). A rival analysis suggests that intransitive verbs were split between those that project their argument as the initial subject of the clause, called unergatives, and those that have an underlying object that is promoted to subject, called unaccusatives. Unaccusatives select the 'be' auxiliaries (Rosen 1984, 1988, Burzio 1986, Perlmutter 1978, 1989, Legendre 1989). One of the arguments for this analysis in Romance is that reflexive verbs also select the 'be' auxiliary. I will show that reflexive verbs in Old Spanish are also split into two classes with respect to auxiliary selection, contrary to what the unaccusative analysis would predict. I will also show that the process by which auxiliary *ser* was displaced by auxiliary *haber* with reflexive verbs proceeded along lexical semantic lines as well: *haber* extended first to reflexive verbs with the more agent-like subjects. The conclusion I will arrive at is that data from auxiliary

selection with reflexive verbs in the history of Spanish gives support for a semantic approach to split intransitivity.

## 2. Chronology of displacement of auxiliary *ser* by *haber*

Many studies have been devoted to the split in auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. The issue is addressed in Hanssen (1912), England (1982), Vincent (1982), Pountain (1985), and Meilán García (1992), mostly in the context of the other uses of the copula in Spanish. Keniston (1937), and Yllera Fernández (1980) address the issue in their historical surveys of the Spanish verbal system. Tuttle (1986) and Green (1987) place the *ser/haber* alternation Spanish in the context of the development of the Romance auxiliaries of voice and aspect, while Olbertz (1993) examines the split auxiliary system of Old Spanish as an aspect of the grammaticalization of *haber* from its origin as a possessive verb. Aleza Izquierdo (1987), on her part, looks at the earlier stages of the split auxiliary system in the history of Spanish. The most comprehensive study of split auxiliary selection in Spanish is still that of Benzing (1931), who tracks the ability of a large number of verbs to combine with *ser*, until their latest recorded occurrence. Benzing establishes that perfect forms with auxiliary *ser* appear until the first half of the 17th century. A synopsis of Benzing's findings is presented in Figure 1.<sup>2</sup>

The changing landscape of the Spanish perfect can be illustrated in the contrast between the following examples. In the 13th century, a verb like *pecar* 'sin' selects *haber*, but verbs like *quedar* 'remain', *correr* 'run', and *ir* 'go' can appear with *ser*.

- (4) a. *Verdad es e, por tanto, yo he pecado.* (SAB)  
'(That) is true and, therefore, I have sinned.'
- b. *Avn por a dormir non eran bien quedados.* (ALX:1181a)  
'Not even to sleep they had managed to stay.'
- c. *Pues que el duc Lop fue corrido* (PCG:293)  
'After duke Lop had run...'
- d. *...quando sopo que su hermana era ida...* (PCG:34)  
'When he knew that his sister had left'

This changes in the 15th and 16th centuries when, in addition to *pecar*, a verb like *quedar* is only found with *haber*. *Correr* and *ir* can still be found with *ser*.

Century:	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	
Verb:	<i>cenar</i> 'dine'	<i>arribar</i> 'arrive, dock'	<i>acaecer</i> 'happen'	<i>acabar</i> 'finish'	<i>escapar</i> 'escape'	<i>crecer</i> 'grow'
	<i>cuntir</i> 'happen'	<i>errar</i> 'wander'	<i>aparecer</i> 'appear'	<i>adormecer</i> 'fall asleep'	<i>fallecer</i> 'die'	<i>ir</i> 'go'
	<i>desviar</i> 'change direction'	<i>holgar</i> 'rest'	<i>correr</i> 'run'	<i>adormir</i> 'fall asleep'	<i>finar</i> 'die'	<i>morir</i> 'die'
	<i>exir</i> 'leave'	<i>transir</i> 'die'	<i>desaparecer</i> 'disappear'	<i>amanecer</i> 'dawn'	<i>fenecer</i> 'die'	<i>nacer</i> 'be born'
	<i>fincar</i> 'stay'		<i>descender</i> 'descend'	<i>anocheecer</i> 'grow dark'	<i>huir</i> 'run away'	<i>partir</i> 'depart'
	<i>quedar</i> 'remain'		<i>despertar</i> 'wake up'	<i>avener</i> 'come, happen'	<i>llegar</i> 'arrive'	<i>pasar</i> 'go by/ through'
	<i>rastar</i> 'remain'		<i>fallir</i> 'fail, die'	<i>caer</i> 'fall'	<i>salir</i> 'leave'	
	<i>viar</i> 'return'		<i>tornar</i> 'return'	<i>caminar</i> 'walk'	<i>subir</i> 'climb'	
	<i>yantar</i> 'eat'			<i>entrar</i> 'enter'	<i>venir</i> 'come'	
					<i>volver</i> 'return'	

Figure 1. Last date of attested occurrence with *ser* (Benzing 1931).

- (5) a. *syntio que muy graue auia pecado contra su Señor.* (EDA)  
'(He) felt that he had gravely sinned against his Lord.'
- b. ... *me subi a par del altar para ver si habia quedado algo en las ampollas...* (LAZ)  
'I climbed up to the level of the altar to see whether something had remained in the vials.'
- c. *Mil y quinientos eran ya corridos* (ELE: 144).  
'One thousand five hundred had already run.'
- d. ... *aquel señor mio es ydo...* (CEL:161)  
'That milord has left.'

Finally, in the 17th century, *ir* is the only one of these verbs that can appear with *ser*.

- (6) a. *Si es delito saber quien ha pecado.* (PAR: XI)  
'If it is a crime to know who has sinned.'

- b. *pusimoslo en el poco rescoldo que **habia quedado*** (OBR)  
'(We) put it on the few embers that had remained.'
- c. *y que por mejillas tan recatadas **haya corrido un licor tan precioso***. (OBR)  
'And that on such tender cheeks such precious liquor has run.'
- d. *Porque **es ydo en Romeria***. (Mocedades:I,2012)  
'Because he has gone on a pilgrimage.'

When the verbs discussed in Benzing's study are grouped according to their lexical semantic properties, a correlation between semantic class and displacement of one auxiliary by the other arises. There are stative verbs like *quedar* 'remain', *fincar* 'stay', *rastar* 'stay', and *holgar* 'rest', which lose their ability to select *ser* in the 13th or 14th centuries. A related group is that of verbs of existence, like *cuntir* 'happen', *acaecer* 'happen', *aparecer* 'appear', and *desaparecer* 'disappear', which make up a class selecting *ser* up to the 15th century. These two groups correspond to Levin and Rappaport's (1995) **verbs of existence and appearance**. Then there are verbs like *errar* 'wander', *correr* 'run', and *caminar* 'walk', which correspond to **verbs of manner of motion** in Levin and Rappaport (1995). Verbs of this class select *ser* up to the 16th century. In the 17th century the only two classes that still select *ser* are verbs like *pasar* 'go by/through', *ir* 'go', and *partir* 'depart', which correspond to what Levin and Rappaport (1995) call **verbs of directed motion**, and verbs of change of state like *nacer* 'be born', *crecer* 'grow', and *morir* 'die'. Figure 2 shows the member of each class and the latest date of attested occurrence with *ser*.

A quick glance at the verbs in these groups reveals that the degree of **affectedness** of the subject is a factor in the displacement of *ser* by *haber* as the perfect auxiliary. At one end of the continuum are the subjects of stative verbs of existence and appearance like *quedar* 'remain'. The subjects of these verbs do not suffer any changes in state or location, hence they are not affected in any way by the event. This is the first class to lose its ability to select *ser*. At the opposite end are subjects of verbs of directed motion and verbs of change of state. These subjects are affected since they are in a new location or state as a consequence of the event. These classes are the last ones for which *haber* displaces *ser* as the perfect auxiliary of choice. In between these two extremes are verbs of manner of motion like *correr* 'run', and dynamic verbs of existence and appearance like *desaparecer* 'disappear'. The subjects of these verbs also experience changes in state or location but, as I will argue later in this paper, these changes do not affect the subject in the same way that the changes expressed by verbs of directed motion and change of location do. The chronology

<i>Century:</i>	<i>13th</i>	<i>14th</i>	<i>15th</i>	<i>16th</i>	<i>17th</i>
<i>Stative appearance &amp; existence:</i>	fincar rastar quedar	holgar			
<i>Dynamic appearance &amp; existence:</i>	cuntir		aparecer acaecer desaparecer		
<i>Manner of motion:</i>		errar	correr	caminar	
<i>Directed change of location:</i>	exir desviar viar	arribar	descender tornar	venir llegar caer entrar salir huir escapar volver subir avenir	pasar ir partir
<i>Change of state:</i>	cenar yantar	transir	fallir despertar	fallecer finar fenecer adormir adormecer amanecer anocheceer acabar	nacer crecer morir

Figure 2. Intransitive verb class and date of last occurrence with *ser*.

of split auxiliary selection in Spanish, then, falls under the generalization that **the less affected the subject, the earlier a verb lost its ability to select auxiliary *ser***. In the next section, to make the notion of **affected subject** more precise, I will summarize recent developments in lexical-semantic theories.

### 3. A semantic theory of split intransitivity

Semantic approaches to split intransitivity have received renewed attention. Zaenen (1993), working on Dutch, argues that the concept that is central to an

explanation of split intransitivity is telicity — verbs that select *zijn* are telic, whereas verbs that select *hebben* are atelic. Zaenen also shows that two purported tests for unaccusativity in Dutch (auxiliary selection and impersonal passivization) do not always match, the divergences being attributed to lexical-semantic properties of the predicates. In her analysis, only predicates which are under the volitional control of the subject can undergo impersonal passivization. More recently, Lieber and Baayen (1997) have also proposed a lexical-semantic analysis of split intransitivity in Dutch. They argue that the Lexical-Conceptual Structure of verbs that select *zijn* contains a feature [+IEPS], which means that their subject is in an Inferable Eventual Position or State. Semantic theories of split intransitivity have been proposed for languages other than Dutch as well. Vincent (1982) shows that arguments bearing a Neutral thematic role (actually a Neutral Case, in his theoretical framework) play a central role in the grammaticalization process that resulted in the Romance periphrastic perfect. Neutral thematic roles are one notch below Agents in the thematic hierarchy. According to Vincent, the subjects of intransitive verbs that select the ‘be’ auxiliaries in Romance bear a Neutral thematic role, whereas the subjects of verbs that select the ‘have’ auxiliary bear an Agent thematic role. In a parallel vein, Centineo (1986, 1996) and Van Valin (1991), working mainly on Italian, argue that verbs that select *essere* have an Undergoer macrorole as subject, where the unmarked case is one in which the subject has an Agent macrorole.

The studies just mentioned explain the split in auxiliary selection in terms of the *aktionsart* of the predicate, the thematic role of the subject, or a combination of both. In my analysis of split intransitivity in Old Spanish I follow Dowty’s (1991) approach. Like Vincent (1982), Dowty suggests that split intransitivity is related to the type of argument selected by a verb. However, Dowty’s theory of argument selection does not present arguments as discrete thematic roles. In his theory, there are two prototypical thematic roles — Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient. Each prototypical role is constructed as a set of entailments associated with a verb, which are given in (7).

(7) Proto-Agent Properties	Proto-Patient Properties
volitionality	changes state
sentience	incremental theme
causally active	causally affected
moving relative to other argument	stationary relative to other argument
existence independent of event	existence dependent on event

In two-argument predicates, arguments that have more properties in common with a Proto-Agent are normally realized as the subject, whereas arguments that have more properties in common with a Proto-Patient are normally realized as the direct object. Thus, the subject of (8a) is associated with sentience and volitionality, and is also causally active in the event. Its existence, contrary to what happens to the object of (8a), is independent from the event. The object of this sentence, on the other hand, is causally affected and undergoes a change of state as the event progresses towards completion. Moreover, since there is a direct correlation between the degree of completeness of the event expressed in (8a) and the state of the object, this argument is also an incremental theme. Dowty's theory of thematic roles does not require all proto-properties to be instantiated in a particular argument. Thus, the subject of (8b) is characterized by sentience alone. However, the fact that it has more Proto-Agent properties than the object is enough to guarantee its realization as the subject of the sentence.

- (8) a. The stork built a nest.  
b. Max knows the answer.

Dowty suggests that “Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient are [...] the two (fuzzy) categories of arguments that semantically characterize unergatives versus unaccusatives” (Dowty 1991:606). But besides reflecting the existence of a grammatical distinction between two classes of verbs, manifestations of split intransitivity in the grammar may be the effect of the association of certain Proto-Patient or Proto-Agent entailments with a particular grammatical construction. For instance, Dowty argues that the auxiliary *hebben* in Dutch combines with verbs that have subjects which are more like prototypical Agents, whereas the verbs that the auxiliary *zijn* combines with have subjects which are more like prototypical Patients. This analysis can also be extended to Italian. A verb like *morire* ‘die’, which selects *essere* in example (1c), is associated with the Proto-Patient entailment of change of state, whereas a verb like *sorridere* ‘smile’, which selects *avere* in example (1d), is associated with the Proto-Agent entailments of volitionality and sentience on the part of its subject.

Among the lexical-semantic properties considered by Dowty there are two that must be discussed in more detail, given their importance for the current study — motion and telicity. Dowty argues that motion is a Proto-Agent property when it is relative to another participant in the event. Thus, in (9a) the argument that is realized as the subject moves with respect to the argument realized as the object.<sup>3</sup> Movement, however, is not always a Proto-Agent



property. Change of location, which is different from relative motion, is a Proto-Patient property — the change in location that results from this type of motion can be understood as a special case of change of state. In (9b), then, the argument that changes location is realized as the object.

- (9) a. **The bullet** overtook the arrow.  
 b. Sandy put **the book** in the box.

Change of location is also one of the properties that license selection of *essere* as a perfective auxiliary in Italian, as the example in (10) shows. This example supports the hypothesis that verbs that select the ‘be’ auxiliary have a subject which is closer to being a prototypical patient than a prototypical agent.

- (10) *Gianni è arrivato.*  
 ‘Gianni arrived.’

A problem for this analysis is raised by motion verbs like *correre* ‘run’. *Correre* also entails change of location on the part of the subject, but unlike *arrivare* ‘arrive’ it does not select *essere*, as seen in (11).

- (11) *Sandro ha corso.*  
 ‘Sandro has run.’

Levin and Rappaport (1995) refer to verbs of the *arrivare* class as **verbs of inherently directed motion**. They characterize the type of change of location expressed by these verbs as **directed**, since they specify the direction or the location of the movement. Verbs of the *correre* class, on the other hand, specify the manner of motion involved in the change of location, but not necessarily its direction.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, then, a directed change is more of a Proto-Patient property than a non-directed change. Verbs of manner of motion, however, are among the verbs of variable behavior in Italian, since under some circumstances they can select *essere* as well. This happens when there is a directional phrase added to the predicate, as in (12) (from Centineo 1996:238).

- (12) *Maria è corsa a Milano.*  
 ‘Maria ran to Milan.’

Levin and Rappaport generalize the notion of directed change to change of state verbs like *morire* ‘die’. These verbs specify the resulting state that the subject is in as a consequence of the event expressed by the verb. Their ability to select *essere* in Italian, as shown before in example (1c), can then be attributed to the fact that they are associated with the same Proto-Patient entailment as verbs of inherently directed motion.

Another lexical semantic property that is often discussed with respect to argument selection and split intransitivity is telicity. Krifka (1989) and Tenny (1992) notice that in two-argument telic predicates, the argument that is realized as the object is the one that **measures out** the event. When someone reads the newspaper, for instance, the event is completed when the last line of text is reached. Dowty (1991) introduces the term ‘incremental theme’ to refer to arguments that measure out an event. Since incremental themes are normally realized as objects, Dowty concludes that this is a Proto-Patient property. Dowty seems to suggest that incremental themeness is the reason why so many unaccusative predicates are telic,<sup>5</sup> a fact also noticed in Zaenen (1993).<sup>6</sup> Dowty’s analysis, however, faces two serious objections raised in Ackerman and Moore (1999). First, not all incremental themes are objects of telic predicates. There is a well-known contrast in telicity between transitive predicates with count and mass nouns, illustrated in (13a) and (13b) (Verkuyl 1993). The second one is atelic, but its object is still an incremental theme — the event is atelic because the argument that measures it out is a mass term with no defined boundaries.

- (13) a. Max drank a glass of beer.  
b. Max drank beer.

Second, not all telic predicates have an incremental theme. Achievements like *explode* or *hit*, which are telic events that occur instantaneously, cannot be measured out by any of their arguments, since the change of state that the verb expresses does not happen in discrete stages. Ackerman and Moore (1999) introduce a new Proto-Patient property, **Telic Entity**, to account for the fact that, in two-argument achievement predicates, the argument whose instantaneous change determines that the event has taken place is realized as the object.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, single argument predicates that have a telic entity as subject, like *morire* ‘die’ in Italian, select *essere* as the perfect auxiliary, as in (1c) above.

#### 4. A semantic analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish

My account of the historical process by which *haber* becomes the only perfect auxiliary in Spanish will rely on the proto-property analysis of split intransitivity just sketched. But rather than apply this analysis to individual verbs, I will apply it to verb classes. My approach to lexical semantics, then, is closer to Levin and Rappaport’s (1995), who show that verb class is relevant to establish grammatical generalizations.<sup>8</sup> A corollary of Dowty’s Proto-Role theory is that

split intransitivity is gradable — a verb can be more or less ‘unaccusative’, depending on whether its subject is more or less of a Proto-Patient. This gradability inherent to the theory of Proto-Roles can be used to explain crosslinguistic and diachronic variation in auxiliary selection. In Spanish, the hypothesis that Proto-Patient properties characterize the class of verbs that select *ser* in the perfect serves to make the notion of *affectedness* more precise. An affected subject is a subject that has a greater proportion of Proto-Patient properties than Proto-Agent properties. The Semantic Displacement Hypothesis then, can be now stated as (14).

- (14) **Semantic Displacement Hypothesis:** In the diachronic development of the Spanish perfect auxiliary system, the closer the subject is to being a prototypical patient, the longer the predicate resists the displacement of *ser* by *haber*.

Verbs like *trabajar* ‘work’ and *pecar* ‘sin’, which have no Proto-Patient properties, never occur with the *ser* auxiliary in the history of Spanish. These are truly agentive verbs — prototypical unergatives. Their subject is causally active, it does not experience a change of state or location, it must be volitional and sentient. These verbs are also atelic, which means that their subjects are not telic entities. The prototype of a Patient argument can be found in the subjects of verbs of directed motion like *ir* ‘go’ and change of state verbs like *morir* ‘die’. Volitionality and sentience, two clear Proto-Agent properties, are not necessarily entailed by this class of verbs — carriages can go places, and stars can die. These predicates are telic, therefore their subjects have the Proto-Patient property of being telic entities.<sup>9</sup> The subjects of these verbs are causally affected by the event (even if in some cases they are the **internal cause** of the event), and they change state or location. These are additional Proto-Patient properties. Moreover, the change of location that verbs like *ir* ‘go’ denote is directed, which is also a Proto-Patient entailment. The fact that intransitive verbs with prototypical Agent arguments like *pecar* ‘sin’ are never found with *ser*, whereas intransitive verbs with prototypical Patient arguments like *ir* are the last ones to lose their ability to combine with *ser* in the perfect is explained by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis in (14).

In between these two extremes are predicates with mixed entailments, or with a small number of Proto-Patient entailments, like verbs of existence and appearance. Levin and Rappaport (1995) distinguish them from verbs of change of state because the valency of verbs of existence and appearance is more stable — unlike change of state verbs, verbs of appearance and existence do not have

transitive counterparts. This observation also holds for Spanish verbs like *quedar* ‘stay, remain’ and *aparecer* ‘appear’, as shown in (15a) and (15b). Moreover, participles of these verbs cannot modify the copula *estar* ‘be’ to express a resulting state, as in (16a) and (16b).

- (15) a. \**La tormenta quedó a los pasajeros en el aeropuerto.*  
‘The storm stayed the passengers in the airport.’  
b. \**El mago apareció tres palomas blancas.*  
‘The magician appeared three white doves.’
- (16) a. \**Los pasajeros están quedados.*  
‘The passengers are stayed.’  
b. \**Las palomas están aparecidas.*  
‘The doves are appeared.’

Levin and Rappaport argue that verbs of existence and appearance cannot expand their valency because there is no notion of causation in their lexical-semantic representation. Entailments about their subjects being causally active or causally affected cannot be associated with this class of verbs. A similar explanation can be given for examples like (15a) and (15b). Moreover, the lack of resulting state participles is evidence that there is no real change of state entailed by these verbs. Neither volitionality nor sentience are entailed by this class of verbs. A sub-class of verbs of existence and appearance are also atelic. These are stative verbs like *finicar* ‘stay’, *holgar* ‘rest’, *rastar* ‘remain’, and *quedar* ‘remain’. Their subjects, then, are not telic entities. These verbs seem to be completely inert with respect to proto-role entailments. They are not any closer to being Proto-Patients than Proto-Agents. These stative or inert predicates are among the first ones to be taken over by *haber*, this being the only auxiliary with which they combine in the perfect from the 15th century on. The displacement of *ser* by *haber* takes place a little later on with dynamic verbs of existence and appearance like *cuntir* ‘happen’, *desaparecer* ‘disappear’, *acaecer* ‘happen’, and *aparecer* ‘appear’. Since these verbs are telic, their subjects are telic entities, which is a proto-patient property. In addition, the subject of these verbs does not exist (or ceases to exist) independently of the event expressed by the sentence, which is another Proto-Patient property. These subjects, then, have more Proto-Patient properties than the subjects of stative verbs of existence and appearance, but less than verbs of change of state (since causation is not relevant for verbs of existence and appearance).<sup>10</sup> The fact that they select *ser* until the 15th century — after stative verbs of existence and appearance, but before verbs of change of state — is also predicted by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis.

There is another group of verbs in the middle zone between verbs with prototypical Patients and verbs with prototypical Agents — manner of motion verbs like *errar* ‘wander’ or *correr* ‘run’. These verbs are normally atelic, which means that their subjects are not telic entities. Sentience and volitionality are not necessarily entailed by these verbs, since they can have inanimate subjects, as in (6c) before. Their subjects, however, have a key Proto-Patient property, since they undergo a change of location. This Proto-Patient property is sufficient to make these verbs candidates to select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary at least through the 14th century. Some verbs in this class, however, continue to appear with *ser* until the 16th century. This is a potential problem for the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis, since manner of motion verbs do not have more Proto-Patient properties than dynamic verbs of existence and appearance. However, it should be remembered that manner of motion verbs are verbs of variable behavior with respect to auxiliary selection in Italian. I will speculate that this is the reason why the horizon of selection of *ser* is extended with some of these verbs. *Correr* ‘run’ and *caminar* ‘walk’, the two manner of motion verbs that are reported to appear with *ser* beyond the 14th century in Benzing (1931), are capable of combining with a directional phrase, a factor that encourages selection of *essere* by Italian manner of motion verbs. On the other hand, *errar* ‘wander’ cannot select *ser* beyond the 14th century, and it cannot combine with a directional phrase. This confirms the predictions made by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis. The correlation dictated by this hypothesis between auxiliary selection and distance from the prototypical Patient through the history of Spanish is displayed in Figure 3.

## 5. An alternative: The unaccusative analysis

There is an alternative to the semantic theory of auxiliary selection, based on a syntactic approach to split intransitivity. Perlmutter (1978) suggests that there are some clauses that have no subject at an underlying level of representation, and that, in these cases, an underlying object is promoted to become the surface subject. The class of intransitive verbs, then, is split between those that select an underlying subject and those that do not. This is the Unaccusative Hypothesis. This approach to split intransitivity is the basis for the hypothesis about auxiliary selection in (17).

- (17) **Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection:** The subject of verbs which select *zijn/essere/être* is an underlying object.

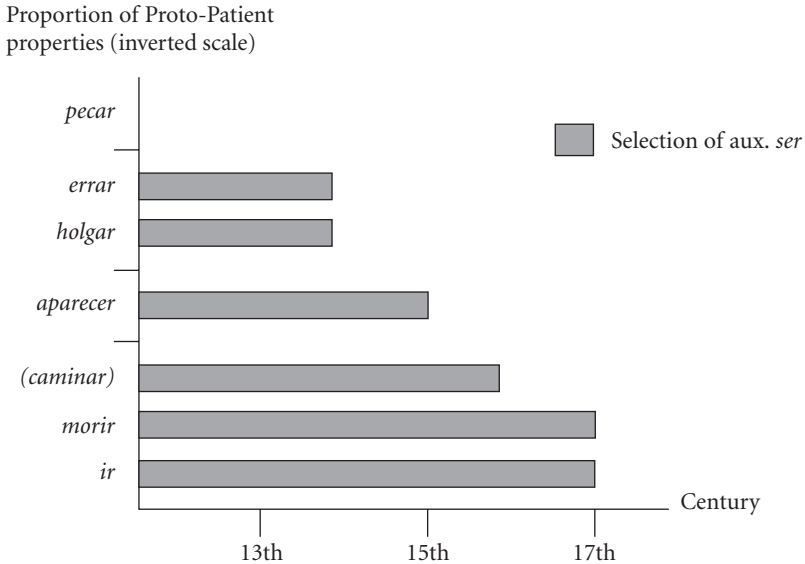


Figure 3. Auxiliary selection and Proto-Patient properties.

This hypothesis has been proposed for Dutch in Perlmutter (1978), and for Italian in Rosen (1984), (1988), Burzio (1986), and Perlmutter (1989). Legendre (1989) defends the Unaccusative Hypothesis for French. However, she remarks that selection of *être* as the perfect auxiliary is only a sufficient condition for unaccusativity in French, rather than a necessary one, since there are verbs like *fondre* ‘melt (intr.)’ which select *avoir* in spite of behaving as unaccusatives with respect to other tests.

The syntactic representations below, proposed within the Government and Binding framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986), illustrate the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection. In (18a), there is a verb that selects *avere* in Italian — the verb *sorridere* ‘smile’. The only argument of this verb is projected outside the VP, in subject position. In the structure in (18b), on the other hand, there is a verb that selects *essere* — the verb *cadere* ‘fall’. This verb projects its argument inside the VP, in object position. This argument then moves to subject position, leaving a trace of the movement behind, in the position it occupied at D-structure, and with which it forms a chain.

- (18) a. Sandro [<sub>VP</sub> ha sorriso].  
 b. Il bambino<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> é caduto e<sub>i</sub>].

A strong piece of evidence in favor of the unaccusative analysis of auxiliary selection is that, in Italian and French, verbs that have a reflexive clitic attached to them make the perfect with *essere/être*, as the examples in (19a) and (19b) show.

- (19) a. *Mario si è difeso.*  
 ‘Mario defended himself.’  
 b. *La fenêtre s’est cassée.*  
 ‘The window broke.’

The Romance reflexive clitic is often assumed to be a valence-reducing morpheme (Rosen 1988, Perlmutter 1989, Grimshaw 1982, 1990, Alsina 1996), which turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one. There are subtle differences among the formalizations of this insight, depending on the theoretical assumptions of each analysis. But many analyses take subjects of reflexive verbs to be objects at an underlying level of representation.<sup>11</sup> Rosen (1988) and Perlmutter (1989), working within Relational Grammar, argue that reflexive clitics are a sign of ‘multiattachment’, a configuration that arises when one nominal bears two grammatical relations at once. In this analysis, the subject of the sentences in (19a) and (19b) is also a direct object. In a related analysis, formulated in the Government and Binding framework, Grimshaw (1990) argues that the reflexive clitic ‘absorbs’ an external thematic role, and limits the ability of the verb to which it attaches to assign Accusative Case. The object of such a verb, then, must move to subject position, as in (20).

- (20) Mario<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> si è difeso e<sub>i</sub>]

Thus, in these analyses, the subject of a reflexive verb is also an object at some level of representation. The fact that reflexive verbs in French and Italian select the ‘be’ auxiliary, as in (19a) and (19b), is taken as evidence that auxiliary selection in Romance is conditioned by the grammatical relation of the subject, as stated in the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection in (17). The Unaccusative analysis of split intransitivity, then, makes it possible for the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection to be extended to cover selection of the ‘be’ auxiliary with some intransitive verbs in Romance. This gives a very general analysis of auxiliary selection.

The fact that reflexive verbs in Romance select the ‘be’ auxiliary to form the perfect, then, is evidence for the syntactic analysis of split intransitivity, because they offer independent evidence that verbs with subjects that are also objects at some level of representation select the ‘be’ auxiliary. In Modern Spanish, all reflexive verbs select *haber* ‘have’, since there is only one option for the choice of the perfect auxiliary. Some examples are given in (21a) and (21b).

- (21) a. *Lupe se ha defendido*  
‘Lupe has defended himself.’  
b. *La ventana se ha roto.*  
‘The window has broken.’

In Old Spanish, however, there is a choice between *ser* and *haber*. If the syntactic analysis of split intransitivity is valid for Old Spanish, then the prediction is that reflexive verbs will also select *ser* when forming the perfect in Old Spanish. Moreover, under the assumption that all reflexive verbs have the same syntactic representation, what is expected is that they will show a uniform behavior with respect to auxiliary selection. My prediction, on the other hand, is that there will be a split among reflexive verbs with respect to auxiliary selection in Old Spanish, determined by lexical semantic differences among reflexive verbs. In the remaining sections of this paper, I will show that this prediction is correct. I will argue that the fact that reflexive verbs do not uniformly select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary in Old Spanish is evidence in favor of a semantic analysis of split intransitivity, and against the syntactic analysis of the phenomenon for Old Spanish.

## 6. Reflexives and the *haber* auxiliary in Old Spanish

Before discussing the distribution of perfect auxiliaries with reflexive verbs in the history of Spanish, it must be remembered that Spanish has several distinct sorts of reflexive verbs. Manacorda de Rosetti (1961) identifies four sorts: true reflexives (and reciprocals), reflexive passives, impersonal reflexives, and a fourth sort that she refers to as **quasi-reflexives**. This fourth sort groups inherent reflexives like *jactarse* ‘boast’, and anticausatives like *romperse* ‘break (intr.)’. The example in (21a) contains an instance of a true reflexive verb, whereas the verb in (21b) is a quasi-reflexive (i.e. an anticausative verb). Other sorts, not mentioned by Manacorda de Rosetti, include ethical datives and aspectual reflexives.<sup>12</sup> An analysis of a corpus of Spanish texts from the 13th to the 14th century reveals that, with the noticeable exception of quasi-reflexives, reflexive verbs do not select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary in the history of Spanish. Impersonal reflexives and reflexive passives in the perfect can be found from the 15th century on. All the examples retrieved select *haber*.<sup>13</sup> Some examples are shown in (22a) to (22h).



## 15th Century:

- (22) a. *quien piensa las cosas que por armas se han acabado...* (APC)  
 ‘Who can imagine the things that have been accomplished with (the help of) arms.’
- b. *A ruego e instançia mia [...] se han vulgarizado en este reyno algunos poemas...* (CPG)  
 ‘Through my request and intervention some poems have been put in the vernacular in this kingdom.’

## 16th Century:

- (22) c. *Muchas veces se ha bajado la moneda* (MON)  
 ‘The currency has been lowered often.’
- d. *no dexare de cumplir el mandado de aquella por quien todo esto se ha causado;* (CEL)  
 ‘I will not cease to fulfill the commands of the one by whom all of this has been caused.’

## 17th Century:

- (22) e. *y hasta ahora no se ha dado con el que conviene;* (COL)  
 ‘Until now the right one has not been found’
- f. *que ya se ha dicho cuan rico y cuan vistoso era.* (ESP)  
 ‘It has been already mentioned how rich and how elegant he was.’
- g. *Ningun delicto se ha cometido por callar,* (OBR)  
 ‘No crime has been committed by being silent.’
- h. *Esta provincia de los Motilones se llama asi porque solo estos indios se han ha llado tresquilados en todo el Piru.* (AMA)  
 ‘This province of the Motilones is so called because only these indians have been found to be shaved in all of Peru.’

The same is the case for true reflexives and reciprocals, as the examples in (23b) to (23g) show. The corpus also contains a couple of examples of aspectual *se*, shown in (23a) and (23h). In this case also the selected auxiliary is *haber*.

## 13th Century:

- (23) a. *el lebrél que nuestro señor ama tanto se ha comido a vuestro hijo* (SAB)  
 ‘The greyhound that milord loves so much has devoured your son.’

## 15th Century:

- (23) b. *aquellos que con estudio diligente en sus traslados se ouieron*

*conçertado...* (EDA:42v)

‘Those that with dedicated study had agreed with each other to move them.’

*16th Century:*

- (23) c. *no se hubieran destruido los unos a los otros*, (RNE)  
‘They would not have destroyed each other.’  
d. *y algunos se han ahorcado de desesperados*, (RNE)  
‘And some of them have hanged themselves out of despair.’

*17th Century:*

- (23) e. *la palabra que entrambos a dos se habian dado de ser marido y mujer*, (ESP)  
‘The word that each had given to the other to become husband and wife.’  
f. *Como en esas cosas nos hemos encontrado*, (COL)  
‘Since we have come to agree with each other about these things.’  
g. *Y abrazandose los dos, despues de haberse recibido con grande amor y grandes cortesias, se entraron en una sala*, (FRE)  
‘And both of them, tied in a hug, after having greeted each other with great love and great deference, went into a room.’  
h. *y me he comido su pan*; (COM)  
‘And I have eaten up his bread.’

Quasi-reflexives, for the most part, also select *haber* as the perfect auxiliary. My corpus search has yielded more than three hundred examples of quasi-reflexive verbs used with the auxiliary *haber* in the perfect, from the 12th century on to the 17th. Some examples are presented in (24a) to (24r).

*12th Century:*

- (24) a. *en la tienda del buen rey en ella se habia amparado*. (ZAM)  
‘He had sought refuge in the good king’s tent.’  
b. *el buen rey se habia apartado con voluntad de hacer lo que a nadie es excusado* (ZAM)  
‘The good king had moved aside in order to do what nobody is allowed to.’  
c. *De esa suerte murio el rey por haberse confiado*. (ZAM)  
‘And thus the king died, because he had become too sure of himself.’

## 13th Century:

- (24) d. *No se como he caido e me he descalabrado.* (SAB)  
 ‘I don’t know how I have fallen and have broke my skull.’
- e. *Entonce finje que te as olvidado tu cuchillo* (SAB)  
 ‘Then make it look like you have forgotten your knife.’
- f. *partiendo nos de Dios, ha se de nos partido.* (FER)  
 ‘Having abandoned God, he has abandoned us.’

## 14th Century:

- (24) g. *Con doña Theresa Nunnez Diego Laynez se ovo cassado,* (MOC)  
 ‘Diego Laynez had married lady Teresa Nuñez’

## 15th Century:

- (24) h. *Marido, non sabes como se a finchado mi teta* (COR).  
 ‘Husband, you can’t imagine how my breast has swollen.’
- i. *El pastor marauillose adonde se auia tajada la vaca* (ATA:3;60).  
 ‘The shepherd wondered at the place where the cow had gotten cut.’
- j. *Ella se avia quexado a su marido que non se podia defender de aquel mancebo* (COR).  
 ‘She had complained to her husband that she could not protect herself from that lad.’

## 16th Century:

- (24) k. *se ha afligido mi alma en gran manera.* (EXC)  
 ‘My soul has been troubled in a terrible way.’
- l. *y que no me excusa no haberme hallado presente en ambas Audiencias cuando se trato de ello,* (RNE)  
 ‘It is not justified for me not to have been present at both assemblies when that (matter) was dealt with.’
- m. *en alguna tauerna se deue auer rebolcado,* (CEL)  
 ‘(He) must have been rolling around in some tavern.’
- n. *En el olmo se han sentado;* (VIL)  
 ‘They have sat down on the elm tree.’

## 17th Century:

- (24) o. *que esta tarde se ha alojado en Zalamea.* (ZAL)  
 ‘That (he) has stayed in Zalamea this afternoon.’
- p. *entendi que me habia escapado de alguna mazmorra de Argel.* (OBR)  
 ‘I realized that I had escaped from an Algiers dungeon.’

- q. *llegaron alla con otros que en camino se les habian juntado*, (AMA)  
 ‘They arrived there with others that had joined them on the road.’
- r. *... y no te has vengado harto...* (GIL)  
 ‘And have you not taken enough revenge?’

The data in this section are relevant for a discussion of the nature of split intransitivity in the history of Spanish, because it offers evidence against a syntactic analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. If the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection were to be extended to the *ser/haber* split in the Old Spanish perfect, the condition would be that a verb selects *ser* if and only if its subject is an underlying object. Assuming that true reflexives, reciprocals, and reflexive passives have a subject that is an underlying object<sup>14</sup> (as stated in the multiattachment analysis of Rosen 1988 and Perlmutter 1989, and in Grimshaw’s 1990 analysis of Romance reflexives), the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Auxiliary Selection predicts that these verbs should select *ser* as their perfect auxiliary at some point before the 17th century, when other intransitive verbs still select *ser*. The absence of examples showing that reflexive verbs select *ser* in Old Spanish, then, robs the Unaccusative analysis of auxiliary selection of substantial evidence. The fact that quasi-reflexives do, for the most part, select *haber* as the perfect auxiliary also gives evidence against the Unaccusative analysis of auxiliary selection. However, there are some quasi-reflexives that select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary in Old Spanish. These data and their significance for the current discussion must be assessed separately.

## 7. Quasi-reflexives and the *ser* auxiliary in Old Spanish

Hanssen (1912) and Benzing (1938) show that some quasi-reflexive verbs are found with the auxiliary *ser* up to the 13th century. The list includes such verbs as *quedarse* ‘remain’, *vengarse* ‘take revenge’, *provarse* ‘prove oneself’, *demostrarse* ‘show oneself’, *fallarse (con)* ‘find oneself (with)’, *partirse* ‘leave’, *pasarse a* ‘change sides’, and *alçarse* ‘rise’. Some examples follow.

- (25) a. *A Maimino, que se era alçado con tierra de oriente* (PCG:182a,21).  
 ‘To Maimino, who had rebelled with the Eastern lands.’
- b. *Dizien que los de Troya eran se bien vengados* (ALX:710).  
 ‘They say that the Trojans had taken strong revenge.’
- c. *Mucho mas li valiera si se fuesse quedado* (MIL:731).  
 ‘He would have been better off if he had stayed.’

- d. *El conde don Sancho que se era pasado a moros* (EST:12,20)  
 ‘Count Sancho, who had joined the Moors.’

The corpus I have analyzed yields additional examples of quasi-reflexive verbs that appear with *ser*. These are *escaparse* ‘run away’ in the 12th century, *levantarse* ‘get up’ in the 14th, *irse* ‘go away’, *afogarse* ‘drown’, and *hacerse* ‘become’ in the 15th, *desencasarse* ‘divorce’ and *salirse* ‘get out’ in the 16th, and *arrepentirse* ‘repent, feel sorry for oneself’ in the 17th. The examples are given in (26a) to (26h).

12th Century:

- (26) a. *y de el me soy escapado*. (ZAM)  
 ‘And from him I have run away.’

14th century:

- (26) b. *Estonçe Rruy Diaz apriessa se fue levantado*. (MOC)  
 ‘And then Ruy Diaz had risen in a hurry.’

15th century:

- (26) c. *Ssu avuelo Theodorigo [...] se era ydo a su Reyno de Francia*.  
 (ATA:10,24).  
 ‘His grandfather Theodorigo had left for his kingdom of France.’  
 d. *...e le robaron e dixeron otro dia que s’era afogado*. (COR)  
 ‘And they stole from him and they said the next day that he had drowned.’  
 e. *que me soy hecho Olofernes y como la carne en viernes*, (CAN)  
 ‘That I have turned into a Holofernes and I eat meat on Fridays.’

16th century:

- (26) f. *¡Oh, loores sean dadas a Dios que me soy desencasado!* (AMP).  
 ‘Oh, let God be thanked, because I have (become) unmarried.’  
 g. *y supo que se era salida por alli a solazar con sus damas sin caballero alguno*, (CRO)  
 ‘And he found out that she had gone out around there to rejoice with her ladies without any gentleman.’

17th century:

- (26) h. *A no llevarme la espada, ya os fuerais arrepentidos*. (VER:758)  
 ‘Had you not taken my sword from me, you would have been sorry.’

Most studies of the Spanish reflexive verb center around the formal properties that distinguish true reflexives, reciprocals, impersonals, and quasi reflexives from one another. Less attention is paid to lexical-semantic differences among them. The reflexive verbs that select *ser* in the history of Spanish are all quasi-reflexives, but they can be grouped in classes according to their semantic properties. There are verbs like *escaparse* ‘run away’, *irse* ‘leave’, *partirse* ‘leave’, *pasarse (a)* ‘change sides’, and *salirse* ‘go out’, which correspond to the class of verbs of directed motion in Levin and Rappaport (1995). These authors identify another class they refer to as **assume-position verbs**. In Spanish it would include quasi-reflexive verbs like *alzarse* ‘rise’ and *levantarse* ‘get up’. Among the verbs of existence and appearance are quasi-reflexive verbs like *demostrarse* ‘show oneself’, *provarse* ‘prove oneself’, *fallarse (con)* ‘find oneself (with)’, and *quedarse* ‘remain’. Quasi-reflexive verbs can also be change of state verbs like *ahogarse* ‘drown’, *arrepentirse* ‘repent, feel sorry for oneself’, *desencasarse* ‘divorce’, and *hacerse* ‘become’. Finally, there is a quasi-reflexive verb that denotes an event occurring at a specific point in time, but which does not result in a new state or location — the verb *vengarse* ‘take revenge’. This verb is also under the volitional control of the subject. I will refer to it simply as a **volitional achievement**. Figure 4 shows the different lexical semantic classes of quasi-reflexive verbs, and the latest recorded occurrence of the members of these classes in the perfect with *ser*. In the next section, I will argue that consideration of the lexical semantic class that a quasi-reflexive verb belongs to is significant for a discussion of split intransitivity in Old Spanish.

Century:	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th
<i>Volitional achievement:</i>		vengarse				
<i>Existence &amp; appearance:</i>		demostrarse fallarse (con) provarse quedarse				
<i>Assume-position:</i>		alzarse	levantarse			
<i>Directed motion:</i>	escaparse	partirse pasarse		irse	salirse	
<i>Change of state:</i>				ahogarse hacerse	desencasarse	arrepentirse

Figure 4. Quasi-reflexive verb class and date of last occurrence with *ser*.

## 8. Reflexive verbs as evidence for a semantic analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish

One of the aims of the present study is to show that lexical-semantic differences among quasi-reflexive verbs are relevant to establish linguistic generalizations. Aranovich (2000) shows that reflexive verbs display the same range of variation in lexical semantics that is found among plain intransitives, and that these differences are relevant for a synchronic analysis of split intransitivity in Modern Spanish. If the hypothesis is correct that auxiliary selection in Old Spanish is driven by lexical semantics, then differences in lexical semantics among quasi-reflexives should be reflected in the chronology of displacement of *ser* by *haber*. Figure 2 shows that, when verb classes are considered, a clear correlation between lexical semantic properties and displacement of one auxiliary by the other can be drawn, providing further support for the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis in (14). The class of quasi-reflexive verbs that resists the takeover by *haber* the longest is that of change of state verbs, followed closely by verbs of directed motion. As discussed before, these verbs entail a directed change, be it of state or location, and they are telic. Their subjects, then, have a sizeable number of Proto-Patient properties — undergoing a change of state, being causally affected, being a telic entity, etc. Key Proto-Agent properties, however, are not associated with them. As discussed before, volitionality and sentience are not necessarily associated with these classes either. The subjects of these classes are prototypical patients. As predicted by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis, they can appear with the auxiliary *ser* up until the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Two quasi-reflexive verb classes do not have any members selecting *ser* as the perfect auxiliary beyond the 13th century. These are the class of volitional achievements and verbs of existence and appearance. The entailments associated with the latter were discussed before. These quasi-reflexive verbs are not associated with notions of causation or change of state, therefore their subjects are equally distant from the prototypical patient and the prototypical agent. The fact that they select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary, but cease to do so before other predicate types, is then predicted by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis. The subject of a volitional achievement like *vengarse*, on the other hand, must be sentient and volitional, two Proto-Agent properties. Its subject is causally active in the event, not causally affected, and it does not undergo a change of state (when *vengar* ‘avenge’ is used as a transitive verb, the direct object is the beneficiary of the event, not the patient). This predicate, then, is associated with

a sizable number of Proto-Agent properties. However, since *vengarse* is telic, its subject is a telic entity, a Proto-Patient property. This mixture of proto-role entailments enables *vengarse* to select *ser* in the 13th century, but not beyond that, as the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis predicts.

The remaining class of quasi-reflexive verbs that appear with the *ser* auxiliary is that of assume-position verbs. These verbs can be found with *ser* until the 15th century, losing their ability to select this auxiliary after verbs of existence and appearance and volitional achievements, but before verbs of directed motion and change of state. The Semantic Displacement Hypothesis predicts that assume-position verbs will rank between those classes in a scale of prototypical patienthood. Levin and Rappaport (1995) argue that the change of state denoted by assume-position verbs is **directed**. That is, assume-position verbs are associated with the same Proto-Patient entailments as verbs of change of state and verbs of directed motion. These verbs are also telic, and this adds the Proto-Patient entailment of having a subject that is a telic entity. However, sentience (and perhaps volitionality) is arguably entailed by assume-position verbs. Levin and Rappaport (1995) show that these verbs have another meaning, more stative, when they are associated with inanimate subjects. I can offer a Spanish example for the variable behavior of this class with the quasi-reflexive verb *levantarse* ‘rise, stand up’ in (27a). Moreover, this verb can be used as a verb of existence and appearance with inanimate subjects, as in (27b).

- (27) a. *Entre Chile y Argentina se levanta la cordillera de los Andes.*  
‘Between Chile and Argentina stands the Andes mountain range.’  
b. *La niebla se levantó al amanecer.*  
‘The fog lifted at dawn.’

As an assume-position verb, then, *levantarse* requires a sentient subject. This Proto-Agent entailment pushes the subject of this quasi-reflexive verb one step behind that of verbs of change of state and verbs of directed motion with respect to the prototypical patient. The high number of Proto-Patient properties that subjects of assume-position verbs have, on the other hand, leave them ahead of subjects of verbs of existence and appearance and volitional achievements in the same scale. This corroborates the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis, lending support to the semantic approach to split intransitivity.

In the case of quasi-reflexive verbs, the correlation between lexical semantics and the chronology of displacement of one auxiliary by the other follows the predictions of the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis. The higher the subject is on the Proto-Patient scale, the longer it will take for *haber* to completely



displace *ser* as the perfect auxiliary that combines with the quasi-reflexive verb. Besides the verb classes discussed so far, there are quasi-reflexive verbs like *quexarse* ‘complain’ and *rebolcarse* ‘roll over’ which are not associated with any Proto-Patient entailments. The subject of these quasi-reflexive verbs must be volitional and sentient, it is not causally affected in the event, it does not measure out the event, nor does it undergo a change of state or location. *Quexarse* and *rebolcarse* are activity verbs, which belong in the same lexical-semantic class as *trabajar* ‘work’ and *pecar* ‘sin’. As predicted by the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis, there are no attested uses of these quasi-reflexive verbs in the perfect with *ser*, only uses with *haber*. The correlation between the proportion of proto-role entailments associated with a quasi-reflexive verb and its resistance to the takeover by *haber* is schematized in Figure 5.

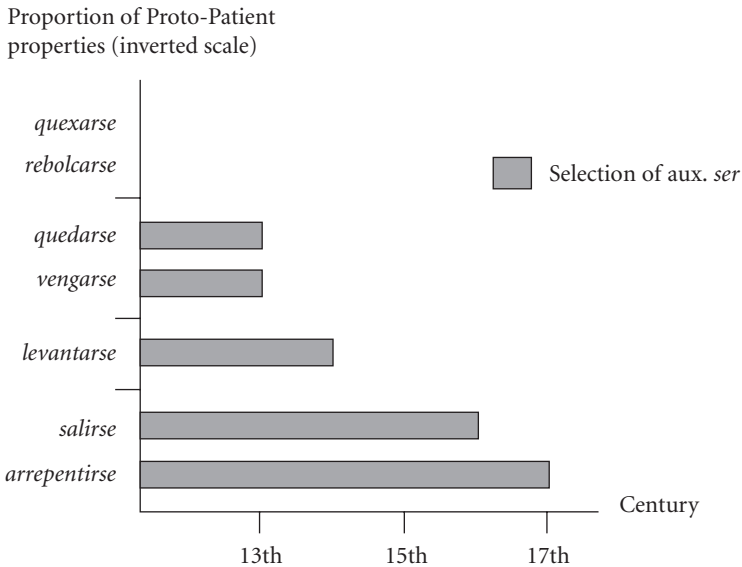


Figure 5. Auxiliaries, quasi-reflexives, and Proto-Patient properties.

## 9. Drift, markedness, and diachronic leveling of the Spanish perfect auxiliary

The system of the perfect auxiliary in Medieval Spanish resembles that of Proto-Romance (Tuttle 1986). Tuttle shows that the two perfect auxiliaries ESSE and

AVERE gained terrain over the synthetic perfect of Classical Latin from two opposite directions — AVERE from a possessive resultative construction, ESSE from the perfect of deponent and semi-deponent verbs. In Proto-Romance, AVERE extended to all transitives, all true reflexives, and some intransitives — those whose subjects most closely resembled the subjects of transitive verbs. ESSE, on the other hand, was chosen as the perfect auxiliary for all the descendants of the Latin synthetic middle voice (i.e. anticausatives, inherent reflexives, impersonal passives, ethical reflexives, etc.) except true reflexives, and also for those intransitives that most closely resembled deponents and semi-deponents in their lexical semantics. From there, some Romance languages extended the domain of ESSE over AVERE, first to all reflexives, as in Italian and French, and in some cases even to transitives, as in some Central Italo-Romance dialects. Spanish, however, went in the opposite direction, strengthening *haber* (the descendant of Proto-Romance AVERE) to the expense of *ser* (the descendant of ESSE). A similar process of leveling in favor of the ‘have’ auxiliary is taking place in Modern-Day North-American French (Sankoff and Thibault 1977, Canale, Mougeon, and Bélanger 1978, Russo and Roberts 1999). In this paper I have shown the role that the lexical semantics of the predicate played in this process.

The displacement of *ser* by *haber* in the history of Spanish, then, can be seen as a continuation of the process by which the Latin synthetic perfect gave way to the Proto-Romance analytic form with AVERE. This process took place over several centuries, moving through many generations of speakers in a steady direction. This kind of long-winded linguistic change is known in the literature as **drift** (Lakoff 1972, Lass 1987, Andersen 1990), a term borrowed from Sapir (1921). Language drift is not uncommon, and it can be observed at every level of linguistic analysis. Lass (1987) describes a process in the history of English that from West Germanic times up to the 14th century (i.e. over 800 years), in a series of steps, neutralized vowel length almost completely. The development of the Polish person-and-number verbal markers out of the enclitic auxiliary paradigm also took place over 800 years, in a step-wise fashion that involved morphological, pragmatic, and stylistic contexts (Andersen 1990, 2001). Lakoff (1972) discusses several processes in the development of the Romance languages, including the development of periphrastic auxiliaries, in which the synthetic forms characteristic of Latin were replaced by analytic forms. Bergs and Stein (2001) show that the displacement of the Middle English relativizer *that* (the use of which was generalized for all relative clauses) by the *wh*-series of relative pronouns used in Present-day English took over three hundred years, from the end of the 12th century to the end of the 15th. These are only some of the

examples of drift discussed in the literature. The fact that the displacement of *ser* by *haber* in the history of Spanish took place from the earliest recordings of the language up to the 17th century, then, is not at all extraordinary.

However common language drift may be, it still poses a challenge for any theory of language change, and also for general conceptions of the nature of language. Joseph (1992) summarizes convincing arguments for the idea that linguistic change must take into account actual changes that occur in some speaker's grammar. These changes may have their origin in the social factors that condition language variation, in the historical events that put speakers of different languages in contact with one another, etc., but the fact is that "language change will always be shaped by what speakers do in their grammar formation process" (Joseph 1992: 127). From this perspective language drift is a mystery, since one generation of speakers pushes linguistic change in their own language patterns in the same direction as the previous generations, but without explicit knowledge of the changes that previous generations have actualized in their grammars. To put it in more concrete terms: How could the Spanish speakers of the 17th century know that, by extending the use of *haber* as the perfect auxiliary to verbs of change of state and verbs of directed motion, they were completing the process the Spanish speakers of the 13th century started when they extended the use of *haber* to stative verbs of existence and appearance?

There are some attempts in the literature to explain language drift, but how to reconcile this concept with the role the concrete speaker plays in language change is probably still beyond the grasp of current linguistic theory. Lakoff (1972) suggests that language drift may reflect the fact that grammars have **output constraints**, preferences for certain surface configurations on which the results of otherwise disparate grammar rules and linguistic changes converge. Lass (1987) echoes Lakoff's suggestions, when he characterizes drift as the diachronic counterpart of synchronic **rule conspiracy**. In a conspiracy, Lass remarks, structurally diverse rules can be conceptually unified by considering their effects, or outputs. When the members of the conspiracy are spread over time, the result is a steady change of the grammar in a certain direction, i.e. drift. But how can the actual passing generations of speakers of a particular language share the knowledge that there is an output that any changes in their speech must aim at? For Lass, the answer is not in the minds of the speakers, but rather in the autonomous properties of language conceived as a historical object.

Andersen (1990, 2001) assumes a different posture with respect to the issue of learnability and drift. He suggests that when speakers learn a grammar, they

also infer the ideal typological properties of the system. Elements of the grammar that are not congruent with the ideal typology will be perceived as being **marked**, and will be subject to change or elimination as the speakers strive to move the grammar closer to the ideal type. Andersen's reliance on the concept of markedness to explain drift has an additional advantage: it accounts for the fact that drift seems to happen in a particular direction. He expressed this insight most clearly in his Principle of Markedness Agreement:

- (32) **Principle of Markedness Agreement:** “The innovated element is favored first of all in marked environments, if the innovated element is marked, but in unmarked environments if it is unmarked.” (Andersen 2001: 31)

The Principle of Markedness Agreement can be used to explain the directionality in the displacement of *ser* by *haber* in the history of Spanish. For a subject to bear a Proto-Patient role is a marked configuration. In the opposition between *ser* and *haber*, the latter signaled the unmarked structure. As the **innovated element**, then, *haber* extended first to the unmarked environment, i.e. those verbs that had the less patient-like subjects. The connection between markedness and the mutual alignment of a hierarchy of grammatical relations with a lexical hierarchy among NPs is suggested in Silverstein (1976). His lexical hierarchy is presented (simplified) in (33).

- (33)  $1\text{st}/2\text{nd} < 3\text{rd} < \underbrace{\text{proper} < \text{human} < \text{animate} < \text{inanimate}}_{\text{noun}}$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{3cm}}_{\text{pronoun}}$

The unmarked configurations occur when the most prominent elements in the lexical hierarchy are realized as the subject of the clause, and the least prominent ones as the object. In split ergative systems, these configurations are associated with the unmarked cases — Nominative and Ergative, respectively. In a similar fashion, the mutual alignment between a hierarchy of grammatical relations and a role hierarchy, in which the most prominent arguments are those closer to the prototypical Agent,<sup>15</sup> gives rise to marked and unmarked configurations. In Old Spanish, the marked alignment of an argument low in the role hierarchy with the subject is signaled by the ‘be’ auxiliary. Thus, the fact that the marked auxiliary *ser* displaces the unmarked *haber* first from those verbs that projected the least marked alignments between the subject and the role hierarchy is what should be expected, according to the Principle of Markedness Agreement.

## 10. Conclusions and further issues

The main finding of this study is that Old Spanish data give support for a semantic analysis of split intransitivity. First, there is a strong correlation between verb class and selection of perfect auxiliary. Those verb classes that are associated with the highest proportion of Proto-Patient entailments are the most resilient ones with respect to selection of *ser* as the perfect auxiliary. The Semantic Displacement Hypothesis, then, captures an interesting generalization about auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. Second, the diachronic analysis I have presented offers evidence for a gradable approach to split intransitivity, in which some predicates are clearly unaccusative, some clearly unergative, but many lie in between. This conclusion was already reached in Dowty (1991) and Zaenen (1993), who studied some mismatches between different tests for unaccusativity in Dutch. The diachronic data in this study complement their findings.

I have also found that the distribution of the two perfect auxiliaries with reflexive verbs in Old Spanish supports a semantic analysis of split intransitivity, and gives evidence against a syntactic analysis. The fact that reflexive verbs in Italian and French select the ‘be’ auxiliary is often offered as evidence for the unaccusative analysis of auxiliary selection (Rosen 1988, Legendre 1989, Perlmutter 1989, Grimshaw 1990), under the assumption that all reflexive verbs have subjects which are also objects at an underlying level of representation. In Old Spanish, however, aside from a handful of quasi-reflexive verbs, I have found no instances of reflexive verbs with the auxiliary *ser*. The generalization that supports the unaccusative analysis in French and Italian — the fact that a set of intransitive verbs behave like reflexive verbs with respect to auxiliary selection — does not hold for Spanish, robbing the syntactic analysis of split intransitivity of crucial evidence for Old Spanish.

The evidence I have gathered about quasi-reflexives selecting *ser* in Old Spanish also supports the semantic analysis of auxiliary selection. The quasi-reflexive verbs that take the longest to lose their ability to select *ser* are associated with the largest proportion of Proto-Patient entailments. An interesting conclusion is that auxiliary selection in the case of quasi-reflexives is not sensitive to morphological marking or syntactic configuration. Many syntactic analyses of split intransitivity assume that the mere presence of a reflexive clitic with these verbs is an indication of unaccusativity. In order to explain why some quasi-reflexive verbs do not select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary, the unaccusative analysis could just list them as exceptions. In so doing, however, the unaccusative analysis misses a generalization, since it leaves no account of the fact that

the **exceptions** are organized along clear lexical-semantic lines that parallel the semantic properties of the split in the class of plain intransitives. A semantic analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish, on the other hand, accounts for this generalization without further stipulations.

Whatever the syntactic representation for reflexive verbs is, then, it is irrelevant for auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. A corollary of this conclusion is that there is no correlation between the presence of a reflexive pronoun and the lexical semantic properties of the predicate with which it combines. Even though it is true that most reflexive verbs are associated with a high proportion of Proto-Patient entailments — verbs like *romperse* ‘break’, *ahogarse* ‘drown’, *sentarse* ‘sit down’, etc. —, there are many that have a high number of Proto-Agent entailments — verbs like *quejarse* ‘complain’, *revolcarse* ‘roll around’, *arrastrarse* ‘crawl’, or *hallarse* ‘find oneself at, be at’. This study underscores the need to research the lexical-semantic differences among reflexive verbs further, since they prove to be relevant for the syntactic behavior of these verbs. It may very well be that many syntactic properties of reflexive verbs are not a result of their syntactic or morphological makeup, but rather of their lexical-semantic properties. This is a subject that deserves further study.

The Semantic Displacement Hypothesis reflects the particular direction followed by the changes in the perfect auxiliary system in the history of Spanish. The long time span required by the complete displacement of *ser* by *haber* is a characteristic feature of language drift, a not uncommon phenomenon in diachronic linguistics. In this paper I have suggested that the particular semantic slope along which the displacement of *ser* by *haber* proceeds is consistent with Andersen’s (1990, 2001) explanation of drift based on markedness. Semantic affinities among verbs may not be the only explanation for the direction of language change. It is well known that frequency also plays a role in it — the most frequent items or combinations tend to be more resistant to change. The frequency factor in the evolution of the Spanish perfect auxiliary split needs to be explored further. An analysis based on frequency of use, according to which the most frequent verbs are the last ones to lose their ability to combine with *ser*, may present an alternative to the Semantic Displacement Hypothesis that is worth of more scrutiny. A possible scenario is one in which the two approaches complement each other, with the most frequent verbs resisting the expansion of *haber* the longest within each lexical semantic class.

Another topic for further study is the relationship between diachronic and cross-linguistic variation in split intransitivity. One of the strongest arguments against a semantic analysis of split intransitivity is that, across languages, verbs

that have roughly the same meaning can be classified as unergative or unaccusative (Rosen 1984). Thus, the Italian verb *arrosire* ‘blush’ is unaccusative in Italian, but its English translation is unergative. Also, the verb *bleed* is unergative in Italian, but it displays unaccusative behavior in Turkish. Diachronic data from Spanish, however, show that the line that divides one class of intransitives from the other is not fixed, but that it can shift along lexical-semantic lines. Likewise, it is possible that the line that separates unergatives from unaccusatives in language X is drawn at a certain point on the proto-role scale, whereas for language Y this line is drawn at a different point. The semantic analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish, then, may have consequences for a semantic analysis of cross-linguistic variation in split intransitivity, providing the blueprint of an argument to overcome Rosen’s objections against a semantic approach to split intransitivity in general.

## Notes

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1. The two main sources of Old Spanish examples for this paper are Benzing’s (1931) study and a concordance that resulted from searches I performed over a two-million word corpus. The works that comprise the corpus, and the sources of the examples taken from Benzing’s study, are listed in an appendix. Entries marked with an asterisk are Benzing’s references only, and they were not included in the corpus search. Reference to pages, chapters, or lines in the source are included with the examples when appropriate.

2. Corominas (1954) says that the verb *transir*, etymologically related to a verb of motion, appears in the works of Gonzalo de Berceo with the meaning ‘die’, as in ‘pass on to the other side’. By the 17th century its use is already regarded as archaic. It only survives in Present-day Spanish in expressions like *transido de frío* ‘dying because of the cold weather’. *Fincar* ‘stay, remain’, *exir* ‘leave’, *yantar* ‘eat’, and *viar* ‘arrive’ are also archaic, no longer used. Corominas also argues that the meaning of *viar* as ‘make inroads’ is erroneous, and he glosses it as ‘arrive’ instead. *Viar* also appears as *uviar* and *uyar* in old Spanish texts. *Cuntir* ‘happen’ became *acontecer*. *Fallir* ‘die’, *finar* ‘die’, and *adormir* ‘fall asleep’, became *fallecer*, *fenecer*, and *adormecer*, by addition of an inchoative affix.

3. When other entailments are associated with the participants in the event, however, the effect of relative motion on argument realization seems to weaken. In (A) the argument that moves is realized as the object, because it has the Proto-Patient property of being causally affected. In (B) the stationary argument is realized as the subject, because it has the Proto-

Patient property of being causally active in the event. Dowty argues that as a Proto-Agent property, then, relative motion seems to be neglected in favor of entailments associated with causation for the purpose of argument realization.

(A) The shield deflected **the arrow**.

(B) The ape swings **the branch**.

4. Manner of motion can be separated from change of location. Predicates like *shake* or *jump (up and down)* specify a particular manner in which the subject moves, but they do not entail that the subject has moved to another location. For the purpose of argument linking and auxiliary selection, manner of motion seems to be a property of lesser importance. What counts in the opposition between verbs like *correre* ‘run’ and *arrivare* ‘arrive’, then, is whether the change of location is directed or not.

5. “Among the Proto-Patient entailments, incremental themehood — or, slightly more generally, whether the argument is an incremental or a holistic theme, i.e. whether or not it is telic — seems to be highly significant for the distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives, just as it was often found to be the most significant Proto-Patient entailment for object selection of transitives.” (Dowty 1991:607)

6. Dowty’s (1991) analysis of auxiliary selection in Dutch is based on an earlier version of Zaenen (1993).

7. Ackerman and Moore (1999) introduce the concept of a telic entity as a Proto-Patient entailment to explain a correlation between telicity and case marking in the Baltic languages. In Finnish and Estonian the semantic alternation between telic and atelic predicates correlates with a contrast between accusative and partitive case marking of the direct object. They argue that objects of telic predicates have the additional proto-patient property of being telic entities (regardless of whether the predicate is an achievement or an accomplishment), and this is the reason why they are marked with accusative case.

8. Yllera Fernández (1980) and Aleza Izquierdo (1987) also analyze the history and development of the Spanish perfect auxiliary system in lexical-semantic terms. However, they base their verbal classifications almost exclusively on the aspectual features of the predicate.

9. Weather verbs like *anochece* ‘become night’ and *amanecer* ‘dawn’, are also in this class, since they do not entail animacy or sentience, and they denote telic events. This accounts for the fact that they select *ser* as the perfect auxiliary until the 16th century. Weather verbs present a problem for an approach to split intransitivity based on the proto-role properties of the subject, however, since they are impersonal verbs, i.e. they do not assign a thematic role to their subject. In general, however, weather verbs in Romance are problematic for any analysis of auxiliary selection, since they do not display a uniform behavior. In Italian, for instance, weather verbs can select either *essere* or *avere* as the perfect auxiliary (Perlmutter 1989), as in (A).

(A) *Ha/è piovuto.*

‘It rained.’

10. In Italian and Dutch, verbs of existence and appearance select the ‘be’ auxiliary, pairing up with unaccusatives. Lieber and Baayen (1997) do not make a distinction between this class of verbs and verbs of change of state, arguing that they are all characterized by a positive



value on the semantic feature ‘**Inferable Eventual State or Position**’. Levin and Rappaport (1995), on the other hand, attribute the unaccusative behavior of verbs of existence and appearance and of verbs of change of state to two different linking rules. The evidence from 16th century Spanish favors an analysis in which verbs of existence and appearance are not grouped together with verbs of change of state.

11. Some analyses (Grimshaw 1982) consider the reflexive clitic to be a valence-reducing morpheme without claiming that subjects of reflexive verbs are underlying objects. There are some analyses, however, that do not make any distinctions between reflexive clitics and other clitics in Romance. Burzio (1983, 1986) argues that a reflexive clitic licenses an empty category in object position. A similar position is taken by Fontana and Moore (1992), and by Moore (1994), among others.

12. For a slightly different classification of Spanish reflexive verbs see Alarcos-Llorach (1973).

13. Olbertz (1993) claims that it is not until the first half of the 15th century that *haber* can be found with reflexive verbs. The data I present in this section, as well as the facts presented in Tuttle (1986), disprove her claim. The distribution of *ser* and *haber* with reflexive verbs is also addressed in Keniston (1937) and Yllera Fernández (1980), but with a crucial shortcoming: these authors do not make a distinction among true reflexives, reflexive passives, impersonal reflexives, quasi-reflexives, or any additional functions of the reflexive pronoun. An intriguing fact noticed by these authors and also by Meilán García (1992) is that the reflexive pronoun is frequently absent when the *ser* auxiliary is used, as in (A).

(A) *El toro bravo como oveja es tornado.* (COR)

‘The raging bull has become like a sheep.’

The perfect of the quasi-reflexive verb *tornarse* ‘become’ should have been *se es tornado* instead. I regret to leave this issue for future research.

14. Impersonal reflexives in Spanish have no identifiable grammatical subject (i.e. no noun phrase with which the verb must agree). In Perlmutter (1983) and Rosen (1988), however, impersonal reflexive sentences are analyzed as having a **dummy** subject (i.e. a silent expletive pronoun) which is an underlying object. These constructions, then, are also predicted to have the ‘be’ auxiliary in the perfect by the unaccusative hypothesis.

15. Theories that conceive of thematic roles as discrete objects often rank them in a **thematic hierarchy** (Jackendoff 1972, Grimshaw 1990). There are different versions of this hierarchy, depending on the author, but in general Agent is the most prominent role, Patient is relatively low in the hierarchy, and some other thematic roles (Experiencer, Theme) are somewhere in between. Dowty (1991) argues that the hierarchical ordering of such traditional roles follows from the two Proto-Role definitions and the argument selection principle, since the more prominent roles, for the purpose of argument selection, are those that have the highest number of Proto-Agent properties.

## References

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## Appendix: Sources of examples

- 12th Century: MAG: *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, anon. — ZAM: *Cantar del cerco de Zamora*, anon.
- 13th Century: HIM: *Himnos*, Gonzalo de Berceo — LNS: *Los loores de Nuestra Señora*, Gonzalo de Berceo — MSL: *El martirio de San Lorenzo*, Gonzalo de Berceo — VSO: *La vida de Santa Oria*, Gonzalo de Berceo — SAC: *El sacrificio de la misa*, Gonzalo de Berceo — SJF: *Los signos del juicio final*, Gonzalo de Berceo — VSD: *La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Gonzalo de Berceo — VIR: *El duelo de la Virgen*, Gonzalo de Berceo — \*MIL: *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Gonzalo de Berceo — \*EST: *Estoria*, anon. — \*ALX: *El libro de Alixandre*, anon. — CID: *Poema de Mio Cid*, anon. — ENG: *Libro de los engaños*, anon. — FER: *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, anon. — \*PCG: *Primera cronica general*, anon. — RON: *Cantar de Roncesvalles*, anon. — SAB: *Los siete sabios de Roma*, anon.
- 14th Century: EST: *El Libro de los Estados*, Don Juan Manuel — LUC: *El Conde Lucanor*, Don Juan Manuel — LBA: *El Libro del buen amor*, Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita — LSM: *Canticas de loores de Santa Maria*, Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita — MOC: *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, anon. — RIM: *Libro rimado de palacio*, Pedro López de Ayala
- 15th Century: COR: *Corbacho*, Martín Alfonso de Toledo, arcipreste de Talavera — ATA: *Atalaya de las coronicas*, Martín Alfonso de Toledo, arcipreste de Talavera — APC: *Arte de poesia castellana*, Juan del Encina — CAN: *Cancionero*, Juan del Encina — POE: *Poesia* (Selección), Juan del Encina — PRE: *Poemas religiosos*, Juan del Encina — TAM: *Tratado de amor*, Juan de Mena (attributed) — LAB: *Laberinto de Fortuna*, Juan de

- Mena — BCF: *Bias contra Fortuna*, Iñigo López de Mendoza (Marqués de Santillana) — CPG: *Carta a su hijo don Pero Gonzalez*, Iñigo López de Mendoza (Marqués de Santillana) — PON: *La comedieta de Ponça*, Iñigo López de Mendoza (Marqués de Santillana) — A&L: *Tratado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda*, Diego de San Pedro — CAR: *Carcel de amor*, Diego de San Pedro — PAS: *La passion trobada*, Diego de San Pedro — SER: *Sermon*, Diego de San Pedro — EDA: *Las Siete edades del mundo*, Pablo de Santa María.
- 16th Century: CAT: *Castigos y enxemplos de Caton*, Medina del Campo — RDG: *Relaciones del Duque de Guisa* — MUG: *Tractado del uso de las mugeres*, Francisco Núñez de Coria — AMP: *La comedia de Amphitrion*, Juan Timoneda — CAR: *Carmelia*, Juan Timoneda — MEN: *La comedia de los Menennos*, Juan Timoneda — INF: *Los siete infantes de Lara*, Juan de la Cueva — LAZ: *El Lazarillo de Tormes*, anon. — DIA: *Los siete libros de la Diana*, Jorge de Montemayor — \*ELE: *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias*, Juan de Castellanos — RNE: *Relacion de los señores de la Nueva España*, Alonso de Zorita — CEL: *La Celestina*, Fernando de Rojas — CRO: *El Crotalon*, Cristóbal de Villalón — PER: *Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, Lope de Vega — VIL: *El villano en su rincon*, Lope de Vega — MON: *Tratado y discurso sobre la moneda de vellon*, Juan de Mariana — EXC: *Exclamaciones o Meditaciones del alma*, Santa Teresa de Jesús.
- 17th Century: \*MCD: *Las mocedades del Cid*, Guillém de Castro — ESP: *La española inglesa*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra — FRE: *La ilustre fregona*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra — COL: *El coloquio de los perros*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra — R&C: *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra — P&G: *Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea*, Luis de Góngora y Argote — SOL: *Soledades*, Luis de Góngora y Argote — AMA: *La aventura del Amazonas*, Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedro Arias de Alместo y Alonso de Rojas — NAR: *El divino Narciso*, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz — ZAL: *El alcalde de Zalamea*, Pedro Calderón de la Barca — SUE: *La vida es sueño*, Pedro Calderón de la Barca — COM: *El comulgatorio*, Baltasar Gracián — HER: *El heroe*, Baltasar Gracián — SEV: *El burlador de Sevilla y el convidado de piedra*, Tirso de Molina — GIL: *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, Tirso de Molina — VER: *El vergonzoso en palacio*, Tirso de Molina — BAR: *Relacion de lo sucedido a la Armada de Barlovento*, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora — OBR: *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregon*, Vicente Espinel — MAR: *Entremes famoso "El marion"*, Francisco de Quevedo — MAD: *Entremes del niño y Peralvillo de Madrid*, Francisco de Quevedo — VEN: *Entremes de la venta*, Francisco de Quevedo — JUD: *Execracion por la fe catolica contra... los judios*, Francisco de Quevedo — PAR: *El Parnaso español*, Francisco de Quevedo.

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