SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY IN OLD SPANISH: IRREALIS AND NEGATION FACTORS

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Abstract. The present study[1] assesses the role of modal factors of irrealis and negation in the distribution between BE and HAVE with Old Spanish intransitive verbs. Traditionally, the choice between these two auxiliaries in Medieval Spanish has been studied as a reflection of the lexical aspect or as a function of the perceived (in)transitivity of the construction. By analyzing the data gathered from the 13th-century portion of the *Corpus del Español*, this article demonstrates that the rate at which the intransitive compound pasts marked as [+irrealis] or [+negation] take the auxiliary HAVE is almost twice as high as the average. This finding suggests that modality should be considered as a factor when it comes to the Medieval Spanish split intransitivity. In addition, it places Old Spanish together with the other Romance varieties like Old French, Old Neapolitan and Old Sicilian whose auxiliary selection is sensitive to the irrealis and negation parameters.

1. SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY IN OLD SPANISH: ORIGINS AND AUXILIARY DISTRIBUTION

It is a well-known fact that while Modern Spanish forms the compound past exclusively with the auxiliary HAVE, Old Spanish employed both HAVE as well as BE. This way in example (1) we find the verb *exir* used intransitively conjugated with BE and the verb *pasar* used transitively accompanied by HAVE, while in example (2) we see the verb *cabalgar* used intransitively conjugated with HAVE:

(1) **Exido es** de Burgos e Alarçon **a pasado** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 231)[2]
(2) Los Yfantes de Carrion bien **an caualgado** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 2246)

The origins of the distribution presented in example (1) (i.e., transitives taking HAVE and intransitives taking BE) are fairly well understood. The compound past with transitive verbs emerged in Late Latin through the

[1] A shorter version of this article was originally presented at the Spanish/Romance Historical Linguistics Session of the 56th Kentucky Foreign Language Conference (University of Kentucky, USA, April 2006). I would like to thank the audience for helpful comments and suggestions.

[2] Examples (1), (2), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), and (9) come from the following edition: *Poema de mio Cid*, edición, introducción y notas de Ian Michael, 5ª edición, 1984, Madrid: Clásicos Castalia.

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reorientation of the past participle from the object to the subject[3] in constructions like the one illustrated in example (3):

(3) HABEO CULTELLUM COMPARATUM
I have a knife which has been prepared/bought > I have prepared/bought a knife.

Late Latin intransitive verbs could not incorporate themselves into the paraphrasis with HAVE of the type HABEO CULTELLUM COMPARATUM, yet they were able to combine with the verb BE, which in many regards is quite similar to HAVE[4]. In addition, intransitives share an important characteristic with the deponent verbs: in both groups the action is not directed towards the object, but rather affects the subject. As a result, the past tense of Latin deponent and semideponent verbs was able to serve as a formal model for the BE-based compound preterite of intransitive verbs.

While the distribution of HAVE and BE in example (1) is "diachronically logical", the comparison between examples (1) and (2) poses a question: why in (1) the intransitive *exir* appears with BE, while in (2) the intransitive *cabalgar* is conjugated with HAVE? What parameters determine this split known as 'split intransitivity'? The present study assesses the role of modal factors of irrealis[5] and negation in the distribution between BE and HAVE with Old Spanish intransitive verbs.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1. The Romance Family

2.1.1. The Aspectual Factors

Most attempts to account for split intransitivity in Old Spanish, as well as in the other Romance languages, can be roughly divided into two categories. One

[3] It should be kept in mind that even after the past participle became reoriented from the nominal object to HAVE, the construction still had to spread to new contexts (e.g., situations that did not involve change), widen its functions (e.g., start expressing preterite or aorist), and lose the agreement between the participle and the object in order to be considered fully grammaticalized. For a more detailed discussion see Harris (1982); Schwegler (1990: 120-123); Squartini and Bertinetto (2000).

[4] For the discussion of the similarities between HAVE and BE see van Ginneken (1939); Benveniste (1966: 187-207); Joly (1977); Tremblay (1992).

[5] For the purpose of this paper I understand irrealis modality as a modality that signifies that the proposition with which it is associated is nonfactual or counterfactual. It should be mentioned that 'irrealis' is a controversial label and that linguists have not yet reached an agreement regarding the value of this term. For the discussion of the irrealis category see Bybee (1998); Elliot (2000); Palmer (2001: Chapters 6 and 7); Lander *et al.* (eds) (2004).

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group of scholars argues that the auxiliary selection is aspectually driven. Verbs that either because of their lexical aspect[6] or through context in which they appear encode a process (i.e., imperfective aspect) tend to take HAVE, while verbs that encode an end-result (i.e., perfective aspect) lean towards BE. For instance, drawing upon the ideas expressed by Guillaume (1927: 25-27) about French, Lausberg (1966, II: 323) about the Romance family in general, and Molho (1975, I: 128-192) about Old Spanish, Yllera (1980) relates the lexical aspect and the auxiliary selection in the following way:

> Hay que buscar la explicación en el significado propio del verbo: *andar*, *correr* son verbos semánticamente imperfectivos, permanentes; *ir*, *venir*, *llegar*, *entrar*, etc. son verbos perfectivos o desinentes. … Cuando el verbo conlleva la noción de límite entra pasivamente en la fase de extensión y, por lo tanto, se construye con *ser*; cuando no supone este límite de tensión entra activamente en la fase de extensión y, por lo tanto, se emplea *haber*. (Yllera 1980: 231)

While a number of Old Spanish examples do fit this account, it has been observed that connecting the perfective/imperfective lexical aspect of Old Spanish verbs and the choice of auxiliary has its problems. Aleza Izquierdo (1987: 24), for instance, calls to our attention the Old Spanish examples in which perfective verbs like *arribar*, *entrar* and *llegar* are conjugated with HAVE, as in (4-6):

(4) **arribado an** las naves, fuera eran exidos (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 1629)
(5) Tórnanse con las dueñas, a Valençia **an entrado** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 2247)
(6) fata la çintura el espada **llegado ha** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 2424)

England (1982) objects to Yllera's account as well. His first objection is that "there are imperfective verbs found not infrequently in Old Spanish with *ser* (e.g., *fincar*)" (England 1982: 122). The second objection has to do with the discrepancy between Yllera's classifications of perfective and imperfective verbs. England remarks that in the introduction Yllera classifies *ir* as imperfective: "la significación de ciertos verbos supone necesariamente la terminación, perfección de la acción (*llegar*, *salir*, *caer*, etc.) mientras que el significado de otros verbos no conlleva la idea de término (*querer*, *andar*, *ir*, etc.)" (Yllera 1980: 16). In chapter 3, however, Yllera places *ir* among the perfective verbs: "*andar*, *correr* son verbos semánticamente imperfectivos, permanentes; *ir*, *venir*, *llegar*, *entrar*, etc., son verbos perfectivos o desinentes" (Yllera 1980: 231).

As we have pointed out in the beginning of this section, the perfective/imperfective distinction can be encoded not just within the verb's *Aktionsart*, but also through context. According to Wheatley (1995: 172), examples

[6] This lexical aspect or the semantic aspect-like meaning expressed by the verb's content as opposed to the grammatical aspect encoded by grammatical / inflectional forms is usually referred to with the German term *Aktionsart*.

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(7) and (8) form a minimal pair in which (7) uses BE with *arribar* because the goal/destination is explicit while (8) employs HAVE with the same verb because the goal/destination is not articulated:

(7) Alas aguas de Duero elos **arribados son** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 2811)
(8) **Arribado an** las naues, fuera eran exidos (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 1629)

This contrast, however, cannot account for all of the Old Spanish occurrences either. For instance, in example (9) we see the verb *entrar* conjugated with HAVE although the goal/destination is explicitly expressed:

(9) Tórnanse con las dueñas, a Valençia **an entrado** (*El cantar de mio Cid*, v. 2247)

2.1.2. The Unaccusativity Hypothesis

Studies that belong to this category contend that the choice between BE and HAVE is determined by the perceived intransitivity or transitivity of the construction. For example, in the case of *nadar* the grammatical subject is inherently the agent of the action. In the case of *caer*, in contrast, the subject does not actively participate in the action and thus possesses the property of patienthood which converts it in a direct object at a deeper level of analysis. In the former case the verb is unergative and gravitates towards HAVE, while in the latter case the verb is unaccusative and gravitates towards BE, hence the Italian opposition *ha nuotato* vs. *è caduto*.

This approach known as the Unaccusativity Hypothesis was put forth in Perlmutter (1978) and was subsequently addressed in works like Burzio (1981), Rosen (1984), Burzio (1986), Perlmutter (1989), Cocchi (1994) and Sorace (2004). Within the Romance family up till recently the Unaccuasative Hypothesis has relied mostly on Italian and to some degree on French, but not on Old Spanish. During the last five years it has been applied to Old Spanish with varying results. Elvira (2001) and Aranovich (2003) argue that this theory does account for the Old Spanish data. Elvira (2001) writes: "los datos examinados parecen confirmar la intuición de gramáticos como A. Bello e I. Bosque en relación con la existencia de una clase de verbos inacusativos en español y la vinculación de estos verbos con el uso auxiliar de *ser*" (Elvira 2001: 85). Along the same lines, Aranovich (2003) concludes that "the data support the hypothesis that predicates that have a more patient-like subject are the last ones to lose the ability to select *ser*" (Aranovich 2003: 1). In contrast, Mackenzie (2005) who tested the possible connection between the auxiliary BE and the object-like subject concludes that the auxiliary selection in Old Spanish "is better accounted for in terms of aspectual class" (Mackenzie 2005: 389). Mackenzie demonstrates that many verbs that select BE turn out to be achievement terms (e.g., *llegar*, *salir*, *irse*, etc.), (i.e., they are aspectually punctual) and that there is "a natural relationship between the resultative meaning expressed by *ser* + PP and the implication of completion that is associated with accomplishments and, above all achievements" (Mackenzie 2005: 389).

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2.2. The Germanic Family

The Romance language family is not the only one to have a split auxiliary system. Most Germanic languages, for example, also distinguish between two different perfective auxiliaries. Similar to their colleagues working with the Romance languages, the Germanists have studied split intransitivity as a function of aspectual features and unaccusativity. In addition, researchers dedicated to the Germanic languages have a long-standing tradition of paying attention to modality as one of the factors that influence the auxiliary selection. Studies like Kern (1912) on Middle Dutch, Magnusson (1939) on Middle Low German, Johannisson (1945) on Old Norse, Fridén (1948) on late Middle English, Rydén and Brorström (1987) on the 18th and 19th century English, and Kytö (1997) on Late Middle and Modern English have demonstrated that verbs that usually take BE as their auxiliary tend to choose HAVE in contexts marked as [+conditional], [+optative], [+hypothetical], [+indirect discourse], [+subjunctive], [+interrogative], and [+negation]. Thomas Shannon has labeled this phenomenon the "irrealis effect" (1995: 138) and in a series of articles[7] has offered its explanation in terms of the advances in cognitive linguistics, specifically in terms of the concept of the transitive prototype developed in Rice (1987). The examples of the irrealis effect in Middle Dutch that Shannon uses to illustrate his point include sentences (10) and (11) in which HAVE accompanies the intransitives GO and COME, respectively:

(10) [nl. het tserpent] croep uut… ende soude ten kinde **hebben gegaen**…
It [viz. the serpent] crawled out… and would have gone to the child…

(11) **hadde** ic hier tote u **comen** niet, soe en waer u desen toren niet ghesciet.
Had I not come here to you, then this harm would not have happened to you.

In example (12) we see a minimal pair with the intransitive FALL conjugated with BE in realis and with HAVE in irrealis:

(12) Veel luden **sinj ghevallen**… die niet **ghevallen** souden **hebben** dan…
Many people have fallen… who would not have fallen but…

Other Germanic-based studies like Lipson (1999) and McFadden and Alexiadou (2005) not only concur that irrealis and negation are important factors when it comes to auxiliary selection but go as far as suggesting that these factors were the first ones to make intransitive verbs take the auxiliary HAVE instead of BE. McFadden and Alexiadou (2005) wonder whether this pattern is true for languages outside of the Germanic family, specifically for such Romance language as French.

2.3. Back to the Romance Family

While the scholars working with the Germanic languages have an established tradition of dedicating attention to the role that the modal factors play in the auxiliary selection, the Romanists up till recently have shown little awareness of

[7] See Shannon (1988; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1995).

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the problem. To my knowledge, the first study to address the issue, although in passing, is Helge Nordahl's 1977 article on the choice between BE and HAVE with Old French *aler*. Nordahl presents her account as a development of the ideas expressed by Gérard Moignet (1973), who claims that Old French *aler* takes HAVE to express "faire de la route, marcher", and by Knud Togeby (1974), who states that *aler* conjugated with HAVE indicates "la durée de l'action" (quoted in Nordahl 1977: 54). Based on the observations made by Moignet and Togeby about the connection between the auxiliary HAVE and durativity, Nordahl claims that usually *aler* is not capable of expressing "la durée de l'action" on its own and needs some sort of "déterminant quantitatif", like *assez* from "Sire, vos **avez assez alé**" mentioned by Togeby. These "déterminants quantitatifs" form several groups: 1. déterminants quantitatifs adverbiaux: *tant*, *assez*, *molt*, *petit*, *un poi*, *trop* ((e.g., "**Tant a alé** en tel maniere que il vint en Leonois" (*Le roman de Tristan en prose*); "Sire, vos **avez assez alé**" (*La queste del saint Graal*)); 2. déterminants quantitatifs négatifs: *ne… gueres*, *ne… pas gaires*, *ne… pas longuement*, *ne… mie granment*, *ne… pas granment* ((e.g., "**n'a pas gaires alé**, quand a veus / Les .IIII. robeors a destre en sus" (*Aiol*)); 3. déterminants à base substantivale, seul ou déterminé par un numéral cardinal (ou fractionnel) ou par un adjectif: *arbalestee*, *.II. trais d'arbalestrier*, *le trait d'un arc*, *une archie*, *une huchie*, *journée*, *demi lieue*, *une lieue*, *quatre lieues*, *.XII. lieues*, *.XV. lieues*, *.C. lieues*, *quatre pas*, *piece*, *grant piece*, *une grant piece* ((e.g., "**.XV. grans lieues avaient** bien **alé**" (*Huon de Bordeaux*)) (Nordahl 1977: 58-62). By drawing on examples from forty Old French texts, Nordahl proposes the following rule: when the subject of the sentence is an animate object and a "déterminant quantitatif" is present, the verb *aler* is more likely to be conjugated with HAVE (Nordahl 1977: 55, 58).

Unfortunately Nordahl's observation regarding what she calls the "déterminants quantitatifs négatifs" went virtually unnoticed. However, fairly recently the Romanists have started to pay attention to the connection between modality and the choice between BE and HAVE. Building upon Formentin (2001), Ledgeway (2003) has demonstrated that in Old Neapolitan[8] and Early Sicilian modality was a key factor in the auxiliary selection:

> [T]he initial spread of *avere* is largely driven by modal factors. … the choice of auxiliary clearly proves sensitive to a realis/irrealis modal distinction. In particular, the spread of *avere* with inaccusatives in early texts appears quite consistently to affect only those clauses marked as [+irrealis], typically containing a verb in the subjunctive or conditional. (Ledgeway 2003: 1)

This way, examples (13 a-b) from the *Ricordi* by Loise De Rosa (1452-75) offer a minimal pair in which (a) is marked as [+irrealis] and uses HAVE with the

[8] Ledgeway had originally pointed out the role of modality in the auxiliary selection in Old Neapolitan in Ledgeway (2000: 301, n. 22). The place of the irrelis mode in the spread of the auxiliary HAVE in Old Neapolitan is also addressed in Cennamo (forthcoming).

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intransitive COME, while (b) is marked as [+realis] and employs BE with the same intransitive (Ledgeway 2003: 46):

(13) a. se [se]quieva la vettoria, che **avessero venuto** a Napole
b. **site venuto** (con) vostro figlio

3. RESEARCH QUESTION

Taking into account the role of modality in the choice between BE and HAVE in the Germanic languages[9] and its function in the BE/HAVE selection in such Romance languages as Old French, Old Neapolitan and Old Sicilian, the following question emerges: does this grammatical category play a similar function in the Spanish of the Middle Ages? The goal of the present study is to establish whether modality, specifically irrealis and negation, is (or is not) a factor when it comes to the auxiliary selection in Old Spanish.

4. DATA

4.1. Corpus

The data for the present study come from the 100 million word *Corpus del Español* developed by Dr. Mark Davies of Brigham Young University, USA. (www.corpusdelespanol.org). I chose to use this particular corpus rather than any other large corpora of historical Spanish because out of these corpora the *Corpus del Español* is the only one which has been lemmatized and tagged for part of speech. This makes it particularly well suited for a wide range of queries on diachronic morphosyntax (Davies 2005).

This study relies on the 13th century portion of the corpus. This portion consists of 71 texts that comprise nearly 7 million words. It is important to clarify that while the texts employed were composed in the 13th century, a number of them were not preserved in contemporaneous manuscripts but rather in later copies. The discrepancy between the date of the original composition and the date of copy is of particular importance when it comes to the 13th century documents because few of them exist in trustworthy contemporary manuscripts and because copyists and

[9] The Germanic data have already been successfully employed to shed light on the development of a number of Romance phenomena and structures, such as the loss of vocalic length in the transition from Classical Latin to Late Latin (Craddock 1999), the diachrony of the Old Spanish construction *entre tú y yo* (Rini 2003), etc. Although we cannot claim that the evolution of the ways in which the Germanic languages select between BE and HAVE is identical to the development of the choice between BE and HAVE in the Romance family, the parallels that exist between the two suggest that the Germanic data are in fact relevant to our study.

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editors could and often did adopt the texts to the standards of their own times (Wanner, 2006). For example, one of the 13th century documents present in the corpus is the *Gran conquista de Ultramar* whose original is lost. There exist several extant manuscript versions of the work, the oldest of them (MSS 1187, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid) dated towards the end of the 13th century, yet none of these manuscripts are complete. There also exists a 1503 printing (Salamanca, Hans Giesser) which gives the complete text and this printing is precisely the source on which the corpus relies. However, as illustrated by Harris-Northall (1996), the 1503 edition modifies the language of the 13th century text in a number of ways. One of the alterations has to do with the choice of the auxiliary: while the 13th century manuscript still maintains the BE/HAVE distinction, the 1503 printing employs exclusively HAVE. This way, the same passage appears as "por despecho de los turcos que **eran fuydos** por miedo del" in MSS 1187 and as "por despecho delos turcos que **hauian huydo** por su miedo" in the 1503 edition (Harris-Northall 1996: 138). The case of the *Gran conquista de Ultramar* suggests that not all of the examples that we find in the corpus reflect the linguistic reality of the 13th century. However, we believe that the data drawn from the corpus do allow us to address the place of modality in the auxiliary selection because, as will be discussed in Section 5, the number of the BE-based structures can be compared to the number of the HAVE-based ones by using modality as a variable and all the other parameters as constants.

4.2. Queries

The examples that we have used so far to illustrate the choice between BE and HAVE employ lexical verbs that express movement (e.g., GO, COME, etc.). Several reasons make verbs of motion particularly relevant for our study. First of all, their resistance towards the analogical pressure of HAVE is greater than that of other verbs. In languages where the compound past auxiliary BE no longer exists (e.g., Modern Spanish), verbs of motion maintained the ability to be conjugated with this auxiliary longer than any other group of intransitives (Pountain 1985: 342; Tuttle 1986: 264-265). In the languages where the compound past auxiliary BE is little used (e.g., some Northern Italian dialects) the verbs of motion are the least affected by the analogical pressure of the auxiliary HAVE (Tuttle 1986: 265). The languages that no longer use BE with reflexive verbs (e.g., some Catalan dialects) continue to use BE with verbs of motion (Tuttle 1986: 265). Secondly, in the languages where the compound past auxiliary BE existed (e.g., Old Spanish) or still exists (e.g., French, Italian) verbs of motion conjugated with it form a very substantial group. Wheatley states that in the case of Old Spanish, "the largest group of intransitive verbs for which *ser* was auxiliary were verbs of motion" (Wheatley 1995: 171). In his study of *ser* + past participle of intransitive verbs, Benzing (1931) includes 23 "Verba der Bewegung", but only 12 "Verba des

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Entstehens und Vergehens", 6 "Verba der Ruhe" and 6 "Verba anderer Begriffssphären". According to Rohlfs, Modern Tuscan has 35 verbs that when used intransitively are conjugated with BE and 20 out of these 35 are of motion (Rohlfs 1969: III: 121). Of course grammatical accounts can differ from linguist to linguist, but verbs of movement are usually listed as a major group within the non-reflexive intransitive verbs that take BE. Iordan and Manoliu, for example, write: "en italiano y en francés, las formas reflexivas, los verbos de movimiento y algunos de los antiguos deponentes latinos, forman sus tiempos compuestos con el auxiliar *ser*" (Iordan and Manoliu 1972, I: 326). In her article "Gradients in Auxiliary Selection with Intransitive Verbs", Sorace observes that among non-reflexive intransitive verbs in Western European languages change-of-location verbs are the ones that are more likely to be conjugated with BE:

> Verbs expressing a change of location, which involve a concrete displacement from one point in space to another… are consistent in their choice of auxiliary BE across languages; native speakers have categorical intuition about the acceptability of BE and unacceptability of HAVE. Italian auxiliary *essere* is first acquired with these verbs… Most of the verbs that consistently select *être* in European French belong to this class. Frozen uses of auxiliary BE in languages that lost a choice of auxiliaries, such as Romanian and English, are found with some verbs in this class.
>
> (Sorace 2000: 863-64)

As a consequence, there exists a tendency to view verbs of motion as prototypical of the group that takes BE as its auxiliary. For example, Rohlfs titles the section of his book in which Italian verbs conjugated with BE are discussed as "Sono andato" (1969, III: 120); Price refers to the French intransitives that take BE as "forms such as *je suis venu*" (1975: 226); Canfeld and Davis call the Romance verbs conjugated with BE as "verbs of motion and the like" (1975: 130). After comparing the lists of verbs that take BE given in French textbooks designed for American students, Lepetit states that while the total number of verbs listed varies considerably from textbook to textbook, verbs that are mentioned most are *aller*, *venir*, *arriver*, *partir*, *entrer*, *sortir*, *monter*, *descendre*, *retourner*, *tomber*, *rester*, *naître* and *mourir* (Lepetit 1994: 761). Moreno writes that "las formas verbales compuestas de los verbos no reflejos del francés, en la voz activa, se conjugan … con el auxiliar *être*, en el caso de una serie de verbos que la tradición ha llamado 'de movimiento'" (Moreno 1998: 97).

Taking into consideration the fact that verbs of motion are the closest to the intransitive prototype and therefore are the ones that are the most likely to be conjugated with the auxiliary BE, examples of such verbs conjugated with HAVE in Old Spanish can be regarded as examples of innovation. The present study is based on 124 verbs of motion: *abajar*, *aballar*, *abandonar*, *acercar(se)*, *aclamar*,

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acorrer, *acudir*, *adelantar*, *adeliñar*, *adereçar*, *arrimar*, *aducir*, *afondar*, *afluir*, *aguijar*, *alcanzar*, *allegar*, *alejar(se)*, *aliñar*, *ambular*, *andar*, *apartar(se)*, *aportar*, *aproximar(se)*, *arrear*, *arriar*, *arribar*, *arrimar*, *asalir*, *ascender*, *atravesar*, *avanzar*, *avecinar(se)*, *avenir*, *bajar*, *bracear*, *cabalgar*, *caer*, *callejear*, *caminar*, *cercar*, *cerner*, *cernir*, *circular*, *circundar*, *colar(se)*, *confluir*, *correr*, *devallar*, *descabalgar*, *despartir*, *destinar(se)*, *deçir*, *declinar*, *dejar*, *desçender*, *desertar*, *desmontar*, *despartir*, *despender*, *desplazar(se)*, *desviar(se)*, *dirigir(se)*, *discurrir*, *distanciar(se)*, *encaminar(se)*, *encalzar*, *encarrillar(se)*, *enderezar*, *entrar*, *escalar*, *escapar*, *evadir(se)*, *exir*, *garbear*, *huir*, *hurtar(se)*, *ir(se)*, *jinetear*, *largar(se)*, *llegar*, *marchar(se)*, *montar*, *mover(se)*, *mudar(se)*, *nadar*, *navegar*, *partir*, *pasar*, *pasear*, *penetrar*, *plegar*, *proceder*, *progresar*, *pujar*, *recorrer*, *regresar*, *rehuir*, *retirar(se)*, *retornar*, *retroceder*, *ribar*, *rodar*, *rodear*, *rondar*, *salir*, *saltar*, *seguir*, *segundar*, *subir*, *tornar*, *transitar*, *trasladar(se)*, *traspasar*, *trepar*, *troçir*, *trotar*, *uviar*, *vagar*, *vaguear*, *venir*, *viar*, *volar*, *volver*.

Several clarifications regarding this list of verbs are in order before we proceed further. The question "What is the inventory of Old Spanish verbs of motion?" has no single correct answer. For instance, in the section dedicated to the auxiliary selection on the part of Old Spanish motion verbs Benzing (1931) analyzes a total of 23 items (*arribar*, *avenir*, *caer*, *caminar*, *correr*, *deçir*, *descender*, *desviar*, *entrar*, *errar*, *escapar*, *exir*, *huir*, *ir*, *llegar*, *pasar*, *partir*, *salir*, *subir*, *tornar*, *venir*, *viar*, *volver*) while Yllera (1980: 234) and (Andres-Suárez 1994: 73) concern themselves with 19 (*apareçer*, *arribar*, *baxar*, *caer*, *creçer*, *desçender*, *entrar*, *exir*, *fuir*, *ir*, *llegar*, *passar*, *partir*, *salir*, *subir*, *tornar*, *troçir*, *venir*, *volver*) with the two lists sharing only 15 items. For example, while Yllera (1980) and Andres-Suárez (1994) consider *apareçer* and *creçer* to be verbs of movement, Benzing (1931) groups them with what he labels "Verba des Entstehens und Vergehens". The difficulty in establishing the motion verbs inventory is due to a number of factors. On the one hand, movement can be perceived as a physical state opposed to rest. Charles Bally, for example, classifies as verbs of motion such French verbs as *saisir*, *casser*, *vibrer*, *frotter*, *ouvrir*, *mêler*, etc. (Bally 1951, II: 235-37). In a similar way, in his *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paul Robert includes *palpiter*, *plier*, *tordre*, etc. in the section entitled "Mouvement" (Rey 2001, IV: 1713-19). One can also envision movement as opposed to displacement (or translocation), as proposed by Lucien Tesnière (1959) in the section "Mouvement et déplacement" of his *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. This criterion, however, presents a problem: a particular verb can refer to both movement and displacement, depending on the context. For example, in "He jumped up and down" "jumped" refers to movement, while in "He jumped over the fence" this verb indicates displacement. The same applies to "He ran to school" vs. "He ran around the yard" (Selimis 2002: 6). We should also keep in mind whether a movement of the whole body or just that of its part is involved. For example, when a person puts things with his hand, his hand is moving with regard

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to the body, but the whole body does not move with regard to its background (Selimis 2002: 5-6). As a consequence of such a wide choice of criteria, it becomes clear that when talking about verbs of motion it is imperative to clarify what is being understood under this term. For the purpose of the present study we adopt the definition formulated by Françoise Létoublon:

> Par 'verbes de mouvement', ou 'verbes sémantiquement apparentés au verbe *aller*', on entend… les verbes référant à un *mouvement autonome du sujet, avec déplacement*: ces verbes s'opposent donc à la fois à ceux qui renvoient à une position statique (*être debout/couché/assis* etc.), à ceux qui renvoient a un mouvement sur place, sans déplacement (comme *se lever*, *se dresser*, *s'asseoir*, *tourner* ou *toucher*) -- … et aux verbes qui renvoient à un mouvement avec déplacement non du sujet, mais de l'objet, qui n'est pas 'autonome'.
>
> (Létoublon 1985: 14, original emphasis)

In other words, when we say 'verbs of motion' we are referring to those verbs that express self-propelled motion of the subject, which involves a change of place. The opposition of self-motion (intransitive) and caused-motion (transitive) verbs is particularly relevant to our discussion because some verbs conflate the two types while our interest lays with the intransitive type. Lexical studies that deal with Old Spanish often present conflicting evidence. For instance, *adereçar* is marked as transitive by Alonso Pedraz (1986, I: 135) while Kasten and Cody (2001: 18) claim that it also could be used intransitively as an equivalent of *dirigirse*. In cases like this we included the item into our list and the irrelevant (i.e., transitive) cases were later weeded out, as discussed further in Section 5.

The chronology of the verbs' appearance in Old Spanish is another important issue when it comes to compiling the motion verbs inventory. *Ascender* serves as a good case in point. It is not quite clear when exactly *ascender* (<ASCENDERE) became part of the Spanish language. On the one hand, according to Corominas and Pascual, it is a modern learned word attested for the first time in 1555 (Corominas and Pascual 1980-91, I: 457). By that time ASCENDERE, which in Classical Latin meant 'to ascend, mount up, climb', developed the sense of 'to go up', 'to rise', 'to spring up, grow up' (Lewis and Short 1966: 170). *Ascender* is not found in such word-lists of Medieval Spanish as Oelschläger (1940), Boggs *et al.* eds. (1946), and Cejador y Frauca (1971). Dworkin, who studies *ascender* < ASCENDERE in order to assess its possible role in the demise of Old Spanish *acender* < ACCENDERE 'to kindle, set on fire', also finds no examples of the verb in question in the Medieval documents:

> The entry for *ascender* in Cuervo [*Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*] has no medieval examples of the verb; Martín Alonso's *Diccionario medieval español* contains no entry for *ascender* 'to go up'. The

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> presence in Old Spanish of the religious term *a(s)censión* or of *ascendente* as a technical astronomical term in no way independently confirms the presence or vitality of the related verb. My own survey of glossaries, vocabularies, and concordances to medieval texts has unearthed no examples of *ascender* in Medieval Spanish. Nebrija's Latin-Spanish dictionary turns to *subir* as the gloss for Lat. ASCENDŌ. According to Gili Gaya [*Tesoro lexicográfico (1492-1726)*] (s.v. *ascender*), Covarrubias's *Tesoro* is the first dictionary to record *ascender*.
>
> (Dworkin 1995: 537)

On the other hand, in his *Diccionario del español medieval*, Bodo Müller (1987-) lists instances of *ascender* (for *acender*) < ACCENDERE 'to kindle, set on fire' from the *Fuero de Teruel* and the Alfonsine *Primera Partida* preserved in thirteenth century codices. Müller also gives examples of *ascender* for *acender* from other thirteenth-century texts, but these texts survived only in fifteenth-century manuscripts and thus "the apparent confusion reflected in these manuscripts between genetically distinct *acender* and *ascender* reflects the linguistic reality of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries rather than that of the thirteenth century" (Dworkin 1995: 536). The confusion between *ascender* and *acender* in these texts makes Müller believe in "the presence of *ascender* < ASCENDERE in at least some registers of the Old Spanish lexicon as early as the second half of the thirteenth century" (Dworkin 1995: 536). However, as we have mentioned, there is no direct evidence of *ascender* < ASCENDERE before the 16th century. Also, as Dworkin shows, the popularity of *acender* < ACCEDERE is drastically falling in the 14th and 15th centuries. Thus, the copyists of the *Fuero de Teruel* and the *Primera Partida* who obviously knew Latin were probably unfamiliar with *acender* and therefore confused it with Latin ASCENDERE rather than with its Romance derivative *ascender* (Dworkin 1995: 535-37). In controversial cases like the case of *ascender* I chose to include the verb in the list so that I would not risk accidentally omitting a relevant example. On the other hand, motion verbs that came into the language only during the Modern period (e.g., *zigzaguear*, *vagabundear*, etc.) were not made part of the inventory.

For each one of the 124 verbs from the list I ran 8 types of queries:

1. [ser.* verb.*] (any form of *ser* + any form of the verb)
2. [ser.* * verb.*] (any form of *ser* + any word + any form of the verb)
3. [verb.* ser.*] (any form of the verb + any form of *ser*)
4. [verb.* * ser.*] (any form of the verb + any word + any form of *ser*)
5. [haber.* verb.*] (any form of *haber* + any form of the verb)
6. [haber.* * verb.*] (any form of *haber* + any word + any form of the verb)
7. [verb.* haber.*] (any form of the verb + any form of *haber*)
8. [verb.* * haber.*] (any form of the verb + any word + any form of *haber*)

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Thus, a total of 992 (i.e., 124 multiplied by 8) queries were performed. Searching for any form of the verb rather than exclusively searching for its past participle was motivated by the fact that in Old Spanish several competing forms were in use. For example, the past participle of FLEE could appear as *huido*, *fuydo*, *foydo*, etc. and searching for any form of *huir* by entering [huir.*] as part of the query made it possible to find all of these variants. Queries number 2, 4, 6 and 8 with 'any word' placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verb were necessary to retrieve the examples in which a word was interpolated between BE/HAVE and the verb they accompanied[10].

5. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The queries described in Section 4.2 produced a total of 1467 lexical strings that contained the lexical verb in the form of a past participle. Examples (14) through (20) illustrate the query types 1 through 7, with queries of the type 8 rendering no tokens. All of the examples in this Section preserve the orthography and the punctuation of the texts as they appear in the *Corpus del Español*. We also include in parentheses the source manuscripts from which the citations derive, according to the information provided in the *Corpus*:

(14) [ser.* huir.*]
Si el sieruo que **es fuydo** mora mucho en casa de algun omne..vio.
(Alfonso X, *Fuero Juzgo*, NY, Hispanic Society of America, B2567)
(15) [ser.* * venir.*]
E demandaron le por que **era alli uenido** de tan luenga tierra. o por que uelaua en aquella eglesia. & ellos demandauan le esto como si lo non sopiessen.
(Alfonso X, *Estoria de España I*, Escorial, Monasterio, Y-I-2)
(16) [tornar.* ser.*]
alli murio. & en su muerte mando. que pues que fuesse muerto. que echassen el so cuerpo en la mar. por quel non ouiessen despues los Spartanos nin le leuassen a su tierra. & dixiessen que **tornado era** el y. & ellos que quitos eran de la yura que ellos fizieran pora tener aquellas leys que les diera. (Alfonso X, *General estoria IV*, Rome, Vaticana Urb. Lat., 539)
(17) [venir.* * ser.*]

[10] In Old Spanish the interpolation of more than one word between the auxiliary and the lexical verb was also possible, as in "-No es maravilla, ca dormiendo yo, la cumber de la cámara ha se abaxado a tierra o **se ha debaxo de mí levantado**" (Anónimo, *Los siete sabios de Roma*). However, these structures were not retrieved because in the present version of the corpus the searches in the pre-1800 texts are limited to strings of three words. Yet, tokens in which several words appeared jointly, as in the case of *aella* from "Et quando **fue aella llegado**: Dixo" (Anónimo, *Biblia Latina*) were incorporated.

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Del conde don Remont **venido le es** mensaje; Mío Çid quando lo oyó enbió pora allá: «Digades al conde non lo tenga a mal; de lo so non lievo nada,déxeme ir en paz.»
(Anónimo, *Poema del Cid*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, V7-17) (18) [haber.* venir.*]
Et lucano por mostrar el lugar fasta o **auia uenido** Julio çesar en espanna quando la primera contienda...
(Alfonso X, *Estoria de España I*, Escorial, Monasterio, Y-I-2)
(19) [haber.* * ir.*]
Et el çid estando en su conseio ordenando su fazienda assy commo lo auemos dicho & lo a contado la estoria llego a valencia el obispo Jeronimo que **se auie ende ydo** con miedo delos almorauides assy commo lo auemos dicho & lo a contado la estoria.
(Alfonso X, *Estoria de España II*, Escorial, Monasterio, X-I-4)
(20) [arribar.* haber.*]
Entraron sobre mar en las barcas son metidos Van buscar a valençia a myo çid don Rodrigo **Arribado an** las naues fuera eran exidos
(Anónimo, *Cantar de mio Cid*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, V7-17)

It is important to clarify that not all of the 1467 lexical strings that contained the lexical verb in the form of a past participle could be interpreted as intransitive compound past structures. For instance, as illustrated by examples (21) and (22), respectively, some of the sentences produced by our queries were passive or transitive:

(21) [ser.* correr.*]
Pues que el duc Lop **fue corrido** & echado de la tierra assi como dixiemos; tornosse el Rey Bamba uencedor mucho onrrada mientre pora narbona.
(Alfonso X, *Estoria de España I*, Escorial, Monasterio, Y-I-2)

(22) [haber.* tornar.*]
E desi conqujrio otras prouincias muchas & tierras & robo muy grandes aueres & muchas cosas otras. / E pues que todo lo **ouo tornado** al sennorio de Moabia & a la su secta. fuesse pora Affrica con muy grandes poderes de caualleros & dotros omnes darmas pora guerrear la.
(Alfonso X, *Estoria de España I*, Escorial, Monasterio, Y-I-2)

Therefore, our following step was to manually check the 1467 lexical strings to weed out the irrelevant structures, i.e., the ones that are not intransitive compound pasts. This exercise left us with a total of 882 pertinent (i.e., intransitive compound past) tokens. Out of these 882 lexical strings 584 employed the auxiliary BE while 298 relied on the auxiliary HAVE, with the ratio of the BE-based structures to the HAVE-based ones of 1.96 (Table 1):

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Table 1

BE and HAVE with intransitive compound pasts

Total Number of Tokens	Number of Tokens with BE	Number of Tokens with HAVE	Ratio of BE-based to HAVE-based
882	584	298	1.96 (roughly 2)

The next step consisted in identifying those intransitive compounds that are marked as either [+irrealis] or [+negation]. Examples (23) through (28) illustrate these structures:

(23) [ser.* entrar.*], marked as [+irrealis]
si fallares el recibidor dela luna infortunado; iudga que aquella cosa se dannara despues quela ouiere. & despues que **fuere entrado** en ella. (Alfonso X, *Judizios de las estrellas*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 3065)
(24) [ser.* * salir.*], marked as [+irrealis]
E otrossi Mercurio non aura signification en Regno ni en sennorio. si non si fuere ayuntado conel Sol. & catare ala parte del Rey. pues quando fuere Mercurio enel signo del medio cielo.seyendo aquel signo su casa. & **fuere occidental salido** de solos rayos o enel cuerpo del Sol. el catare Jupiter catamiento damor con recebimiento. significa que el nacido sera ensennorado en escriuanos. (Alfonso X, *Judizios de las estrellas*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 3065)
(25) [haber.* entrar.*], marked as [+irrealis]
Si ladrones que furtan de dia & de noche **ouiessen entrado** a ti. como callaries. non furtarien quanto les abondasse. (Alfonso X, *General estoria IV*, Rome, Vaticana Urb. Lat., 539)
(26) [haber.* * entrar.*], marked as [+irrealis]
una noche adormieron se aquellos mancebos que estauan dentro. ca eran ya muy canssados uelando & lidiando deffendiendo assi. & a so capitolio. & **ouieran les entrado** los enemigos. si non por un anssar que tenie y el que guardaua el capitolio que llamo & dio uozes quando entrauan los enemigos. (Alfonso X, *General estoria IV*, Rome, Vaticana Urb. Lat., 539)
(27) [ser.* * salir.*], marked as [+negation]
Judas **non era aun salido** dela uilla quando ellos llegaron desta uez ques tornauan¡viva la gala!» (Alfonso X, *General estoria I*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 816)
(28) [haber.* escapar.*], marked as [+negation]
E dellos **no auien escapado** ningunos que los pudiessen quitar. (Alfonso X, *Estoria de España I*, Escorial, Monasterio, Y-I-2)

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Out of the 882 intransitive compounds that we found, 153 are marked as either [+irrealis] or [+negation]. The breakdown within these 153 tokens is the following: 77 are conjugated with BE while 76 employ HAVE, with the ratio of the BE-based constructions to the HAVE-based ones being of 1.01 (Table 2):

Table 2

BE and HAVE with intransitive compound pasts marked as [+irrealis] or [+negation]

Total Number of Tokens	Number of Tokens with BE	Number of Tokens with HAVE	Ratio of BE-based to HAVE-based
153	77	76	1.01 (roughly 1)

The comparison between the ratio of the BE-based constructions to the HAVE-based ones from Table 1 (i.e., roughly 2) and the ratio of the BE-based constructions to the HAVE-based ones from Table 2 (i.e., roughly 1) indicates that the rate at which the intransitive compound pasts marked as [+irrealis] or [+negation] take the auxiliary HAVE is almost twice as high as the average. This finding suggests that modality should be considered as a factor when it comes to the Medieval Spanish split intransitivity. In addition, it places Old Spanish together with the other Romance varieties like Old French, Old Neapolitan and Old Sicilian whose auxiliary selection is sensitive to the irrealis and negation parameters.

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