

AUXILIARY SELECTION ACROSS CATALAN DIALECTS: AN OVERVIEW*

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ABSTRACT. This article presents a comprehensive description of auxiliary selection in Catalan. Specifically, after explaining how the phenomenon worked in Old Catalan, we show what are the factors (such as the event/argument structure or the grammatical person, among others) that determine the use of BE and HAVE in those Catalan varieties that, although with some innovations, retain this distinction: (i) Algherese Catalan, (ii) Northern Catalan and some varieties of Central Catalan, (iii) Ribagorçan Catalan, and (iv) Balearic Catalan. Likewise, we show a series of theoretical considerations that we believe are relevant for the analysis of the patterns of variation found in Catalan and, by extension, in Romance.

Keywords: auxiliary selection; Catalan; unaccusativity; event/argument structure; person-driven auxiliary selection; syntactic microvariation.

RESUMEN. Este artículo presenta una descripción exhaustiva de la selección de auxiliar en catalán. En concreto, después de explicar cómo funcionaba el fenómeno en catalán antiguo, mostramos cuáles son los factores (como la estructura eventiva/argumental de los verbos o la persona gramatical, entre otros) que determinan el uso de *ser* y *haver* ‘haber’ en las hablas catalanas que, si bien con algunas innovaciones, conservan esta distinción: (i) el alguerés, (ii) el catalán septentrional y algunas variedades del catalán central, (iii) el ribagorzano y (iv) el catalán balearico. Asimismo, presentamos una serie de consideraciones teóricas que entendemos que son relevantes para el análisis de los patrones de variación que encontramos en catalán y, por extensión, en el conjunto de las lenguas románicas.

Palabras clave: selección del auxiliar; catalán; inacusatividad; estructura eventiva/argumental; selección del auxiliar motivada por la persona; variación microsintáctica.

RESUM. Aquest article presenta una descripció exhaustiva de la selecció d’auxiliar en català. En concret, després d’explicar com funcionava el fenomen en català antic, mostrem quins són els factors (com ara l’estructura eventiva/argumental dels verbs o la persona gramatical, entre d’altres) que determinen l’ús de *ser* i *haver* en els parlars

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catalans que, si bé amb algunes innovacions, conserven aquesta distinció: (i) l'alguerès, (ii) el català septentrional i algunes varietats del català central, (iii) el ribagorçà i (iv) el català baleàric. Així mateix, exposem un seguit de consideracions teòriques que entenem que són rellevants per a l'anàlisi dels patrons de variació que caracteritzen el català i, per extensió, les llengües romàniques.

Mots clau: selecció de l'auxiliar; català; inacusativitat; estructura eventiva/argumental; selecció de l'auxiliar motivada per la persona; variació microsintàctica.

1. The auxiliary distinction in Old Catalan

In present-day Catalan, the general situation is that perfect or compound tenses use HAVE as its only auxiliary, except for a few dialectal vestiges that will be assessed in § 2. The generalisation of HAVE as the auxiliary verb for compound tenses in the current usage of Catalan contrasts with the situation in Old Catalan, where, broadly speaking, HAVE was used in transitive and unergative constructions, while BE was used in (some) unaccusative, passive and (non-indirect) reflexive constructions. According to the current Catalan prescriptive grammar, the GIEC (2016: § 9.5.1e):¹

In the old language, perfect tenses were not always built with the auxiliary *haver* 'have', but could take the auxiliary *ser* 'be', which was usual with unaccusative and reflexive verbs, and in this case, the participle established agreement in gender and number with the subject: *és anada* '(ella) ha anat' ('she has gone'), *s'eren enrabiats* '(ells) s'havien enrabiats' ('they.M.PL had gotten angry'). This use still survives today in a more or less residual way in some dialects, especially in Algerese and Rossellonese. It is also found in some stereotyped expressions, such as *On s'és vist* (lit. 'Where has this been seen?'), expressing anger or surprise: *On s'és vist que un fill tracti així els seus pares* (lit. 'Where has it been seen that a son treats his parents like this?'); *On s'és vist rebre'ls de tan mala gana* (lit. 'Where has it been seen that someone receives them so reluctantly?') [...]. [our translation]

The existence of BE and HAVE auxiliaries in Old Catalan was already noticed by Forteza in his posthumous grammar (1915 [2009]: vol. 2, pp. 74-81),² and also by Alcover (1903), Fabra (1912: 135-136), and Par (1923: 320-324). It was also one of the main topics presented and discussed in the Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana (1906).³ All historical grammars published ever since have paid some

¹ Similarly, according to the GIEC (2016: § 21.4f) "in the old language, the perfect auxiliary for unaccusative verbs was *ésser*, as it happens in other Romance languages such as French or Italian, and it is still present in Algerese, with certain restrictions, and in Rossellonese: *On és aquell qui és nat?* 'ha nascut' ('Where is the one who is born?'); *És eixit de casa* 'ha eixit' ('He has left home'); *Tot ço que li era esdevingut* 'havia esdevingut' ('All this that had happened to {him/her}')" [our translation].

² Tomàs Forteza died in 1898. We cite his *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*, published for the first time in 1915, through the 2009 new edition (vol. 2).

³ The proceedings of the conference were published two years later: *Actes del I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana* (1908). In particular, there was a communication by Bernat Obrador—a Majorcan philologist—and three amendments: one by Antoni M. Alcover (accepted by the speaker), one by Armengol Puig i Sais (not accepted) (see § 2.2), and one by Pompeu Fabra rejecting Obrador's conclusions (not accepted by the speaker either). Obrador advocated for the restoration of the auxiliary distinction in all Catalan varieties as the most *genuine* solution. Fabra, the grammarian who, a few years later, would lead the standardisation process of Catalan, did not agree with Obrador's conclusions, and pointed out that in several Romance languages (such as Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, and several Italian varieties) one could observe the internal and natural tendency of replacing the auxiliary BE with HAVE, and that such a simplification had also taken place in Catalan and should therefore be accepted. He concluded: "The writers from the regions where the auxiliary BE is alive, will do well to use it

attention to this phenomenon (Griera 1931: 111; Badia i Margarit 1951: 368-369; Moll 1952: 213-214; Duarte & Alsina 1986: 102; Batlle *et al.* 2016: 408-412).

According to Loporcaro (2007: 181), “in early Romance [...], the series of active/inactive morphosyntactic properties (e.g., auxiliation, [past participle] agreement, *ne*-pronominalisation, the syntax of causatives) conflicted with many accusative/nominative features that were either inherited from Latin (cross-referencing on finite verbs, case marking on personal pronouns) or established anew (SV(O) word order). In this conflict, La Fauci (1988) identified the reason for the well-known drift leading to the gradual fading of [past participle] agreement and spreading of 1-aux[iliar] systems throughout Romance. This drift produced a new shift in alignment, through which Proto-Romance active/inactive features were increasingly eroded, giving way to a revival of accusative alignment”.

In her corpus study published within the collective work *Gramàtica del català antic*, Massanell (in press: § 44.2-44.14) presents with detail and abundant exemplification the rules that governed the use of BE and HAVE as auxiliary verbs in Old Catalan. She explains that the system inherited from Latin was restructured due to the progressive temporalisation of the present perfective (which acquired past values) and how two resultative constructions (HABEO ‘have’ + a participial form referred to the object; and SUM ‘be’ + a participial form referred to the subject) underwent a process of grammaticalisation. In the first case, the grammaticalisation of HABEO ‘have’ + past participle involved a weakening of the idea of possession and a strengthening of the resultative aspectual value (which resulted in a decrease of the syntactic flexibility of the construction), first, and the acquisition of the perfective value, in a later phase. According to Massanell (2020: 22), the change towards the perfective value can be interpreted as a change of emphasis: the semantic focus shifted from the present state to the fact of having completed the event that brought to the present state. In the second case, SUM ‘be’ + past participle was already used as the auxiliary for perfect tenses of the passive voice of transitive verbs, and it already had a resultative meaning. Massanell (2020) explains that the shift towards the active voice was due to the evolution of Latin deponent verbs, which acquired active morphology and caused the stabilisation of a new type of perfect in the active voice—the one introduced by SUM.

In the origins of Old Catalan, these facts led to a system where HAVE was selected within constructions with an external argument. This applied to both transitive constructions and unergative intransitive constructions. The auxiliary HAVE was also selected with the participle of the verb *estar* and in the case of some subject-less constructions, including impersonal ones with weather verbs, presentational ones with *haver(-hi)* (*hi ha* ‘there {is/are}’), and other peripheral constructions with verbs that originally (or lexically) express a change of location, such as *anar* (‘go’), *arribar* (‘arrive’), *eixir* (‘exit’), *passar* (‘happen’) and *venir* (‘come’) (Massanell 2020: 48). As for BE, it was selected within constructions expressing resulting states that affect patient or undergoer subjects (namely, with change-of-location resultatives and change-of-state resultatives), as well as with stative constructions of permanence and with the verb *ser* ‘be’. Likewise, reflexive and reciprocal constructions, pronominal intransitive verbs and pronominal and periphrastic passives favoured the selection of BE, except for indirect reflexive (and reciprocal) constructions.⁴ Massanell’s study also includes the

whenever it spontaneously comes to their pen. The writers from the regions where the simplification of the two auxiliaries into one (HAVE) has taken place, can perfectly do without the auxiliary BE in the compound tenses, thus avoiding a divorce between written and spoken language” (*Actes del I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana*, 1908: 137-138) [our translation].

⁴ Examples of indirect reflexive transitive constructions in Old Catalan, with auxiliary HAVE, are provided

behaviour of causative and modal periphrases and constructions with verbs close to modals, such as *voler* ‘want’ and *saber* ‘know’, with respect to auxiliary selection.

As claimed by Mateu (2015), Mateu & Massanell (2015), Massanell & Mateu (2018), and Massanell (2020; in press), auxiliary selection in Old Catalan was driven not by the argument structure of the verb itself, but by the whole construction—a fact already noticed by Par (1923: 320-324) in his study of the medieval writer Bernat Metge. For instance, one could find both HAVE and BE with inherent motion verbs, depending on the kind of the construction: with a definite preverbal subject or with a null subject, BE was preferred (1), while with an indefinite postverbal subject, in a presentational-like construction (or expressing the appearance of state), the auxiliary verb HAVE was progressively introduced and preferred (2). Thus, from a constructivist (or non-lexicalist) perspective, these examples illustrate how the same verb can be inserted in two different syntactic-semantic constructions (Goldberg 1995, Borer 2004, Ramchand 2008).

- (1) a. *Al Vè jorn foren arribats dins lo port*
 at the fifth day were.3PL arrived.M.PL in the port
de Tràpena.
 of Trapani
 ‘On the fifth day they had arrived at the port of Trapani.’
 (1275-1299, Desclot, *Crònica*, p. III.99, l. 10)
- b. *La marquesa de Agilar és ja venguda.*
 the marchioness of Aguilar is already come.F.SG
 ‘The marchioness of Aguilar has already come.’
 (1525-1542, *Epistolaris*, c. 65, l. 52)
- (2) a. *Los à vengut gran dan a lur molí.*
 CL.DAT.3PL has come.M.SG great damage to their mill
 ‘Great damage has come to their mill.’
 (1263-65, *Alcoi*, f. 10r, l. 10)
- b. *Me ha vingut ara a la memòria una*
 CL.1SG has come.M.SG now to the memory an
altra cosa sobre assò.
 other thing about this
 ‘Something else about this has come to mind.’
 (1557, Despuig, *Col-loquis*, p. 176, l. 5)

Indeed, this idea was already present in Forteza’s (1915: 77) posthumous grammar. For instance, after claiming that motion verbs, as a general rule, are auxiliated with BE, he adds:

in (i)a and (i)b:

- (i) a. *aprés que s’ hagué exugades les làgremes*
 after that CL.REFL had.3SG wiped_away.F.PL the tears
 ‘after she [the queen] wiped away her tears.’
 (1475-1499, Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 1172, l. 1)
- b. *quant se hagen beguda aquella mel*
 when CL.REFL have.PRS.SBJV.3PL drunk.F.SG that honey
 ‘when they have drunk that milk’
 (1500-1524, *Coch*, p. 85, l. 15)

We say ‘as a general rule’ because sometimes and with a very rare exception it is found the auxiliary HAVE with the participle of the verb *venir*, almost always with the meaning of ‘happen’, rather than as a motion verb. [our translation]

To close this section, let us briefly point out that only the constructions in (2) correspond to what Fabra (1956: §§ 45-46) labelled “type IV clauses”, exemplified in (3a), which roughly correspond to what later on would be labelled as “unaccusative constructions” featuring an indefinite NP postverbal subject (the internal argument) which can be replaced by a partitive clitic (although leaving the quantifier *in situ*, if present), as shown in (3)b.⁵

- (3) a. *Ha arribat un parent meu.*
 Has arrived.M.SG a relative mine
 ‘A relative of mine has arrived.’
 b. *N’ ha arribat un.*
 CL.PART has arrived.M.SG one
 ‘One of them has arrived.’

We will return to the distinction between these two kinds of unaccusative structures—the construction in (1) and the other one in (2)-(3)—in § 3.

2. Dialectal variation in auxiliary selection in present-day Catalan

The mentioned vestiges of split auxiliary selection in present-day Catalan involve four different geographical realities, as Massanell (2017, 2021) explains: Algherese Catalan (see § 2.1), Northern Catalan and some subvarieties of Central Catalan (see § 2.2), Ribagorçan Catalan (see § 2.3), and Balearic Catalan (see § 2.4).

The GIEC (2016: §§ 9.5.1e, 21.4f) only establishes that, with unaccusative and reflexive verbs, “the use of the auxiliary *ser* for perfect tenses survives today in a more or less residual way in some dialects, especially in Algherese (with certain restrictions) and in Rossellonese (in this dialect, alternating with the forms of the auxiliary *haver*)” [our translation]. The following examples are provided—with no further clarifications regarding the mentioned uses, restrictions or alternations:

- (4) a. *Ja és nat el seu fill.*
 already is born.M.SG the {his/her/their} son
 ‘{His/Her/Their} son is already born.’
 b. *No sé on és anada, la mare.*
 Not know.1SG where is gone he mother
 ‘I don’t know where she went, mother.’
 c. *Hi són entrats tots.*
 CL.LOC are.3PL entered.M.PL all
 ‘They have all entered there.’
 d. *És eixit de casa.*
 is gone_out.M.SG of home
 ‘He has left home.’

⁵ The unaccusative constructions in (2) and (3) are considered “quasi-transitive” by Rosselló (2002: 1884 *et seq.*).

- e. *Tots els participants s'eren enrabiats.*
 all the participants CL.REFL were become_angry.M.PL
amb ella
 with her
 'All the participants had become angry with her.'

Before delving into the dialectal variation concerning this area of Catalan syntax, it is worth recalling that, despite a fairly extensive bibliographic repertoire on Catalan dialectology, Catalan is no exception to the tendency of traditional linguistics to exclude syntactic phenomena when evaluating dialect variation. In fact, as Bucheli and Glaser (2002: 46) point out, “syntactic areas are normally much larger than phonological ones, and, perhaps as a result, regional syntactic variants are often not recognised as such even by conscious speakers”. Rigau’s (1998: 79) conclusion on this issue is categorical: “The truth is that they know very little about the syntactic variation of Catalan”. A clear picture of this can be obtained if we look at the type of data collected in existing sources for the study of Catalan dialect variation, such as the above-mentioned *Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català* (cf. also Badia i Margarit 1993), the materials collected by Alcover (Portal Alcover, Institut d’Estudis Catalans), or the studies by Veny (1978, 1986). These sources typically bring together different names for a given object (i.e., lexical variation), different realisations of a verbal form (morphological variation), and different pronunciations of a given word (phonetic variation). The same occurs with the existing Corpus Oral Dialectal (COD) of Catalan developed at the University of Barcelona: it is made up of a collection of questionnaires and semi-directed interviews with speakers from all Catalan-speaking territories and has turned out to be an outstanding and invaluable tool for the study of the lexical, morphological and phonetic levels of the language; however, it does not provide an adequate data set for the study of the syntactic level, since it was not created for this purpose.

Massanell (2017, 2021), however, undertakes the challenging task of collecting data about syntactic variation using one of these sources, the *Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català* (from now on, *ALDC*), “a geolinguistic work based on a survey of 2452 items carried out on local informants at 190 survey points throughout the Catalan-speaking territories”. In particular, the author is interested in finding “evidence of the survival of the auxiliary *ésser* ‘be’ in some current Catalan varieties in the face of general replacement by the auxiliary *haver* ‘have’ in perfect constructions”. Although approximately only 1 % of the survey items of the *ALDC* are specifically devoted to syntax, Massanell (2017, 2021) successfully finds relics of the use of the auxiliary *ésser* ‘be’ across Catalan dialects.

One of the syntactic items in the survey does indeed correspond to the use of the BE auxiliary in compound tenses, in particular, with change-of-location (or inherent motion) unaccusative verbs (5). The syntactic chapter of the *ALDC* also contains another item, related to the use of time expressions, which indirectly yields information on the same phenomenon (6). Massanell also relies on two other items containing change-of-location verbs primarily intended to explore lexical variation (7)-(8). There are also two items allowing to study auxiliary selection in a specific type of pronominal construction, the transitive indirect reflexive (9)-(10). Another relevant item for auxiliary selection contains an anti-causative reflexive construction (11). Finally, there are two items with transitive constructions in the perfect tense and in the 1st person plural (12)-(13), included in order to gather data about past participle agreement (from now on, PPA) with relative pronouns and accusative clitics, that can also shed light on person-driven split auxiliary selection.

- (5) *Ja hem arribat.*
 already have-1PL arrived.M.SG
 ‘We have already arrived.’
- (6) *Fa dos mesos que no ha vingut.*
 does two months that not has come.M.SG
 ‘{He/She} has not come for two months.’
- (7) *Ha caigut un llamp.*
 Has fallen.M.SG a lightning
 ‘A lightning bolt has struck.’
- (8) *M’ ha sortit sang del nas.*
 CL.DAT.1SG has come_out.M.SG blood from_the nose
 ‘I have bled from my nose.’
- (9) *S’ ha trencat la cama.*
 CL.REFL has broken.M.SG the leg
 ‘{He/She} has broken {his/her} leg.’
- (10) *S’ ha estripat els pantalons.*
 CL.REFL has torn.M.SG the trousers
 ‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.’
- (11) *S’ ha trencat un got.*
 CL.REFL has broken.M.SG a glass
 ‘A glass has broken.’
- (12) *La noia que hem {vist/vista} és bonica.*
 the girl that have.1PL seen.M.SG/seen.F.SG is pretty
 ‘The girl we have seen is pretty.’
- (13) *Aquesta noia, ja l’ hem {vista/vist}.*
 this girl already CL.ACC.F.3SG have.1PL
 seen.M.SG/seen.F.SG
 ‘This girl, we have already seen her.’

(items 2403, 2393, 736, 40, 94, 215, 393, 2404, and 2405 of the *ALDC*,
apud Massanell 2021)

Let us take the paradigmatic survey item in (5) to briefly illustrate how the data contained in the *ALDC* allow us to obtain information on the dialectal vestiges of BE auxiliary in Catalan. Massanell (2021) points out that BE is used in the responses of Algerese (14), in most survey points of Northern Catalan (traditionally labelled *Rossellonese*) (15)⁶, and in 3 of the 13 survey points of the Balearic Islands—(16)c—,

⁶ Only in the three northernmost localities (Salses and Estagell, in the region of Roussillon, and Mosset, in the region of Conflent) do the answers exhibit the old PPA with the subject—(15)b. As specified by Gómez (2011: 282), in Northern Catalan, “according to Grandó (1917), it would be possible that in the past the agreement was optional [...]. Our [(Gómez’s)] data differs from Grandó’s. We have not even

two in Majorca (Llucmajor and Santanyí) and one in Minorca (Ciutadella). Massanell (2021: 48) clarifies that the Balearic occurrences with the auxiliary BE (and PPA) were provided as “a secondary alternative answer” to the survey item, and one of the informants even qualifies it as a rustic form. In most Balearic localities, the common response was (16)a, using HAVE without PPA. However, in Santanyí and Felanitx, the main responses included the auxiliary HAVE and PPA with the subject, as shown in (16)b, indicating a possible intermediate stage. This pattern was also observed in Son Cervera, although PPA appeared as a secondary answer.

- (14) *Ja* *sem* *arribats*.
 already are.1PL arrived.M.PL
 ‘We have already arrived.’
- (15) a. *Ja* *sem* *arribat*.
 already are.1PL arrived.M.SG
 b. *Ja* *sem* *arribats*.
 already are-1PL arrived.M.PL
 ‘We have already arrived.’
- (16) a. *Ja* *hem* *arribat*.
 already have.1PL arrived.M.SG
 b. *Ja* *hem* *arribats*.
 already have.1PL arrived.M.PL
 c. *Ja* *som* *arribats*.
 already are.1PL arrived.M.PL
 ‘We have already arrived.’

All these data are used, in Massanell (2020), to systematise the persistence of the auxiliary verb BE in the four already mentioned Catalan varieties, each of which corresponds to a different situation. To start with, the Algherese dialect (see § 2.1) still preserves a system that can be considered, according to Massanell (2020), close to the classical one, where BE is used with certain unaccusative and reflexive constructions, even though there are some patterns of innovation in which the auxiliary can shift under certain conditions. In Northern Catalan (as well as in some subvarieties of Central Catalan), there has been a reinterpretation of the dual auxiliary system (see § 2.2), in which the distribution is governed mainly by the verbal person. In Ribagorçan Catalan (§ 2.3), Massanell (2020), following Suïls (2008), considers that there is only an apparent preservation of the dual system, in which BE seems to be the auxiliary for the pluperfect forms of all verbs due to the formal convergence of the imperfect indicative of *haver* (which previously took the form *heva* ‘had’ in this dialect) with that of *ésser* (which takes the form *era* ‘was’). Finally, in Balearic Catalan—primarily in Majorca and Minorca—there are still “hybrid” constructions where the use of HAVE does not preclude PPA with the subject. This remnant reflects cases where BE was particularly resistant to replacement by HAVE. Additionally, Balearic Catalan has shown past attempts at innovation that, while not widely adopted, have persisted in some stereotyped idioms (see § 2.4).

found traces of it in Saisset’s work” [our translation]. However, as we will see in § 2.2, regarding reflexive verbs, PPA has indeed been attested in Northern Catalan, even with the auxiliary HAVE.

2.1. Algherese Catalan

Algherese Catalan, spoken in the town of Alghero on the Italian island of Sardinia, preserves the auxiliary distinction with a distribution close to the classical one, with some patterns of innovation (see also IEC 2003: 41–43). According to Massanell (2021: 47), in the case of Algherese, “the maintenance of the two auxiliaries has probably been favoured by contact with Sardinian and Italian, two languages which hold firmly to the distribution of auxiliary uses between *éssere/essere* ‘be’ and *áere/avere* ‘have’”.

Indeed, a look at the corpora reflecting Algherese Catalan, such as the CTILC (Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana) and the subcorpora contained in the Corpus Oral de l’Alguerès⁷, shows that this dialect preserves, with some innovations, the global distribution of auxiliary verbs that could be found in Old Catalan, as explained in Massanell (2020, 2021). The selection depends mainly, but not only, on the type of construction. To start with, the verb HAVE is usually found with transitive constructions, as in (17), with unergative constructions, as in (18), and in modal periphrastic constructions with unergative/transitive main verbs, as in (19).

- (17) a. *Cosa m’ haveu portat?*
 what CL.DAT.1SG have.2PL brought.M.SG
 ‘What have you brought me?’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)
- b. *He estudiat un poc de música.*
 have.1SG studied.M.SG a little of music
 ‘I have studied some music.’
 (Corpus Francesc Ballone)
- (18) a. *Ha flastomat.*
 has blasphemed.M.SG
 ‘{He/She} blasphemed.’
 (Corpus Francesc Ballone)
- b. *Ha sempre treballat.*
 has always worked.M.SG
 ‘{He/She} has always worked.’
 (Corpus Jaume Corbera)
- (19) *L’ animal ha tirat més que ha pogut.*
 the animal has pulled.M.SG more than has been_able.M.SG
 ‘The animal pulled more than it could.’
 (Corpus AMPER_CAT)

In existential or presentational constructions with a locative (or impersonalising) clitic *hi*—which is explicit in Algherese—, the perfect auxiliary HAVE is typically used; for instance, with the existential verb *haver-hi* (‘there {is/are}’) or with its variant *ser-hi*, also used in Algherese, as in (20), or with the appearance verb *nàixer* (‘be born’), as in (21).

⁷ The Corpus Oral de l’Alguerès, which can be found in <<https://prosodia.upf.edu/coalgueres/>>, consists of six subcorpora: Corpus AMPER-CAT, Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer; Corpus de l’*Atles Interactiu de l’Entonació del Català*, Corpus Francesc Ballone, Corpus Bosch & Sanna, and Corpus Jaume Corbera.

- (20) *Hi ha estat una emoció gran.*
 CL.LOC has been.M.SG an emotion big
 ‘There was a big emotion.’
 (Corpus Francesc Ballone)

- (21) *I voltes assai hi ha nat amors així.*
 and times many CL.LOC has born.M.SG romances alike
 ‘And many times romances like that have been born.’
 (Corpus Jaume Corbera)

Moreover, unaccusative verbs that lexically encode a change of location (inherent motion verbs) usually take the auxiliary HAVE too, provided that they appear in presentational constructions with the impersonalising locative clitic *hi*, as in (22), even with a reflexive verb, as in (23):

- (22) a. *Ara no n’ hi ha vengut, ma...*
 nownot CL.PART CL.LOC has come.M.SG but
 ‘Now none of them has come, but...’
 b. *Personatges n’ hi ha passat de*
 characters CL.PART CL.LOC has passed.M.SG of
cada manera.
 every sort
 ‘There have been all sorts of characters.’
 (Corpus Francesc Ballone)

- (23) *Un serpent se hi ha alçat, a*
 a serpent CL.REFL CL.LOC has risen.M.SG at
dins aquell càlic bell.
 inside that chalice beautiful.
 ‘A serpent has risen, inside that beautiful chalice.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)

Indeed, Rigau (2013: 130) indicates, following Pais (1970), that, in this kind of presentational constructions, with bare nominals or indefinite NPs, inherent motion verbs would always take the auxiliary HAVE:

According to Pais (1970: 140), in Algherese Catalan, local movement verbs with a definite noun phrase—used intransitively, as we would say—appear with the auxiliary verb *ser* (e.g. *Hi és vengut lo pare* ‘The father has come’), while an indefinite or bare noun phrase involves the presence of the auxiliary verb *haver* (e.g. *Hi ha vengut hòmens* meaning ‘Men have come’, *N’hi ha tornat deu* meaning ‘Ten of them have returned’). [our translation]

However, in IEC (2003: 43), with examples that only include occurrences with indefinite NPs or bare nominals, it is said that the auxiliary BE could also be used (in alternation with HAVE):

Moreover, all verbs that use the auxiliary *ésser* (‘be’) can, in certain impersonal forms introduced by the pronoun *hi*, be replaced by *haver* (‘have’): *Hi ha estat* (or *hi són estats*) *casos*, meaning ‘There have been some cases’; *Hi havia acudit* (or *hi eren acudides*) *mil persones*, meaning ‘One thousand people had come’; *No hi ha vengut* (or *no hi és vengut*) *ningú*, meaning ‘No one has come’. [our translation]

Notice that, in the presentational construction auxiliated with HAVE (for instance, *Hi ha estat casos*), the auxiliary verb does not agree in number with the subject (internal argument), but remains in the unmarked 3SG form,⁸ unlike the construction auxiliated with BE (for instance, *Hi són estats casos*), where the auxiliary agrees in number with the subject and the participle also agrees with it both in gender and number.

In (24), there is an occurrence of a presentational construction with *nàixer* ('be born') selecting BE, with an indefinite NP and, quite surprisingly, with no clitic *hi*. This could seem unexpected since, according to Rigau (1997: 418), in Algherese Catalan, the auxiliary verb *ser* is unacceptable in constructions like **En aquesta casa, són venguts hòmens* ('In this house, men have come')—cf. *En aquesta casa, hi ha vengut hòmens* or, according to IEC (2003: 43), also *En aquesta casa, hi són venguts hòmens*). However, notice that in (24) the locative argument *en la nostra ciutat* is postverbal and rhematic (not left-dislocated nor silent):

- (24) *És nada una escola privada en la nostra ciutat.*
 is born.F.SG a school private in the our town
 'A private school is born in our city.'
 (Corpus Francesc Ballone)

With definite DPs, the auxiliary verb within presentational constructions is BE, as in the "pseudo-impersonal" occurrence (with a dative clitic) in (25)—see also (29)b:

- (25) *M' és eixida la sang.*
 CL.DAT.1SG is come_out.F.SG the blood
 'The blood has come out of me (out of my nose).'
 (ALDC, item 40)

On the other hand, and similarly to Old Catalan, in Algherese Catalan the auxiliary verb BE for compound tenses is used in constructions with the copula *ésser* ('be'), as in (26), with change-of-location resultatives (27), and with change-of-state resultatives (including appearance and disappearance verbs) (28). The auxiliary BE is even found in constructions indicating stative permanence, either with pronominal verbs such as *estar-se* ('stay'), as in (29)a, or with non-pronominal verbs such as *arrestar* ('remain'), as in (29)b—notice that the latter seems an existential construction ("pseudo-impersonal", with the dative clitic *mos*) but, crucially, it features a definite subject.

- (26) *De quan lo món és món és estat sempre així.*
 of when the world is world is been.M.SG always alike
 'Since the world is the world, it has always been this way.'
 (Catardi 1971, *apud* CTILC)

⁸ The lack of agreement between the subject of these presentational verbs and the auxiliary verb could be related with the lack of agreement of unaccusative verbs and their subject (which is an internal argument) in Northwestern Catalan. As explained in the GIEC (2016: § 21.4e), "in most dialects and informal registers, unaccusative verbs always agree with their internal argument", but "in northwestern dialects [...], when the NP is indefinite, there is no agreement, similar to French and Occitan" [our translation]. Therefore, in such varieties, whereas in a sentence with a definite NP like *Falten els meus llibres* ('My books are missing') the verb appears in the 3PL form, in a sentence with an indefinite NP such as *Falta alguns llibres* ('Some books are missing'), the verb is usually expressed in the unmarked 3SG form, like in the presentational construction with *haver-hi* ('there {is/are}'). For more information about that, see Solà (1973, 1987, 1994) and Rigau (1991, 1993a, 1993b).

- (27) a. *És eixit lo magiordomo.*
 is gone_out.M.SG the butler
 ‘The butler has gone out.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)
- b. *És vengut aqueix home.*
 is come.M.SG this man
 ‘This man has come.’
 (Corpus Bosch & Sanna)
- (28) a. *Lo matí era tornat verd!*
 the morning was become.M.SG green
 ‘In the morning it had become green!’
 (Corpus Bosch & Sanna)
- b. *Ella és diventata rica.*
 she is become.F.SG rich
 ‘She has become rich.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)
- c. *És mort per nosaltros.*
 is died.M.SG for us
 ‘He has died for us.’
 (Manunta & Sanna 1964, *apud* CTILC)
- (29) a. *Ella s’ és estada muda.*
 she CL.REFL is been.F.SG silent
 ‘She has remained silent.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)
- b. *Sol això mos és arreat.*
 only this CL.DAT.1PL is remained.M.SG
 ‘Only this has remained to us.’
 (Corpus Bosch & Sanna)

IEC (2003: 43) also notes that some change-of-location resultatives can select HAVE in Algherese, and the selection is attributed to lexical aspect and the verbal person—it is considered that this can only happen if the verb is in the 3rd person (singular or plural), and the verb has an achievement reading (and not an activity one):

In spoken language, some verbs like *corrir* (‘run’), *fugir* (‘flee’), *saltar* (‘jump’), and *sortir* (‘go out’), when indicating a sudden and rapid action, use the auxiliary *haver* (‘have’) instead of *ésser* (‘be’) in the 3rd and 6th persons: *ha corrit* (‘has run’), *havién fugit* (‘had fled’), *han saltat* (‘have jumped’), *ha sortit* (‘has been expelled forcefully’, not ‘has gone out’). [our translation]

As mentioned before, the idea that the same verb can select different auxiliaries depending on the construction and the event structure is something to be expected, in a constructivist framework (Goldberg 1995, Borer 2004, Ramchand 2008). What is highly surprising about the previous description—which might need to be corroborated with specific fieldwork or, if necessary, revised—is the claim that the construction that expresses an achievement can take the auxiliary HAVE instead of BE—which is the expected auxiliary according to Sorace’s (2000, 2004) *auxiliary selection hierarchy* (ASH; see § 3 below)—, while constructions expressing manner of motion (activities)—which are expected to go with the auxiliary HAVE, according to the ASH—can take the auxiliary BE. Cross-linguistically, it works the other way around. For

instance, in Italian (30), the verbs *correre* ‘run’, *saltare* ‘jump’ and *volare* ‘fly’ are auxiliated with BE when they express a resultative event rather than an activity (Acedo-Matellán 2016: 183):

- (30) a. *Gianni è corso in spiaggia {in/*per} un secondo*
 Gianni is run.M.SG in beach in/for one second
 ‘John ran to the beach in a second/*for one second.’
 b. *Gianni {è/*ha} saltato dalla finestra.*
 Gianni is/*has jumped.M.SG from_the window
 ‘Gianni has jumped from the window.’
 c. *Gianni {è/*ha} volato a Roma.*
 Gianni is/*has flown to Rome
 ‘Gianni has flown to Rome.’

Furthermore, in Algherese Catalan, pronominal passives (31) and other reflexive constructions—such as the anti-causative constructions in (32)—, even if they contain a verbal periphrasis (33), are also auxiliated with BE, except if they are indirect reflexive transitive constructions, in which case the auxiliary seems to be HAVE, as in Old Catalan—like in the examples in (34) (cf. the Old Catalan examples in fn. 4)—, although Loporcaro (1998: 119-120) claims that indirect transitive reflexive (or reciprocal) constructions in Algherese could also be auxiliated with BE—see (35):

- (31) *La xia no s’ és més vista.*
 the aunt not CL.REFL is more seen.F.SG
 ‘The aunt was never seen again.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)

- (32) a. *S’ és tallada la tassa.*
 CL.REFL is cracked.F.SG the cup
 ‘The cup has cracked.’
 (ALDC, item 393)
 b. *La neu s’ és ja descollada.*
 the snow CL.REFL is already melted.F.SG
 ‘The snow has already melted.’
 (ALDC, item 2400)

- (33) a. *No s’ és pogut confessar.*
 not CL.REFL is been_able_to.M.SG confess.INF
 ‘He could not confess.’
 (Manunta & Sanna 1964, *apud* CTILC)
 b. *No s’ és fet conèixer.*
 not CL.REFL is made.M.SG know.INF
 ‘He did not make himself known.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)
 c. *S’ és posada a manejar.*
 CL.REFL is put.F.SG to drive.INF
 ‘She started driving.’
 (Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)

- (34) a. *Era una neboda que [aqueixa dona]*
 was a niece that this woman
s' havia aixecat.
 CL.REFL had.3SG raised.M.SG
 'She was a niece that [this woman] had raised.'
 (Corpus de l'Arxiu de Tradicions de l'Alguer)
- b. *S' ha truncat l'anca.*
 CL.REFL has broken.M.SG the leg
 '{He/She} has broken {his/her} leg.'
 (ALDC, item 94)
- c. *S' ha esguerrat los calçons.*
 CL.REFL has torn.M.SG the trousers
 '{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.'
 (ALDC, item 215)
- (35) a. *Aquelles miñones {se són dades /*
 those girls CL.RCP are.3PL given.F.PL
s' han donat} la mà.
 CL.RCP have.3PL given.M.SG the hand
 'Those girls have held hands.'
- b. *Mos {havem rentat / som*
 CL.REFL.1PL have.1PL washed.M.SG are.1PL
rentats} les mans.
 washed.M.PL the hands
 'We have washed our hands.'
- c. *Los minyons {se són menjats / s'*
 the boys CL.REFL are.3PL eaten.M.PL CL.REFL
han menjat} els espaguets.
 have.3PL eaten.M.SG the spaghetti
 'The boys have eaten all the spaghetti.'
 (Loporcaro 1998: 120)

Finally, as stated in IEC (2003), some innovations have happened in Algherese Catalan with respect to Old Catalan in auxiliary selection, oriented towards using a particular auxiliary in certain verb tenses (as it occurs, only apparently, in Ribagorçan Catalan, see § 2.3). In particular, the auxiliary distinction disappears in the perfect conditional, where the forms of the conditional HAVE (*hauria, hauries, hauria, hauriem, hauríeu, haurien* 'would have') have been replaced by the forms of BE (*fora/sigueriva/sigueria, fores/sigueria/sigueries*, etc. 'would be'). This can be corroborated in the corpora—see (36)a—and has even extended to the formation of the pluperfect subjunctive—(36)b. In the latter case, the forms *hagués, haguessis, hagués, haguéssim, haguéssiu, haguessin* (corresponding to the verb HAVE, as in *si jo hagués vist* 'if I had seen') seem replaced by the forms *fos, fossis, fossi, fóssim, fóssiu, fossin* (corresponding to the verb BE, as in *si jo fos vist* 'if I were seen'), resulting in transitive constructions with the auxiliary BE.

- (36) a. *on havia acollit que la nit*
 where had.3SG announced.M.SG that the night
foren bombardat l'Alguer.
 be.COND.3PL bombed.M.SG the Alghero

‘where he had announced that they would have bombed Alghero at night.’
(Corpus Bosch & Sanna)

b. *com que fossi vist una visió que no*
as that be.IPFV.SBJV.3SG seen.M.SG a visio tha not
era terrena.
was earthly

‘as though he had seen a vision that was not earthly.’
(Corpus de l’Arxiu de Tradicions de l’Alguer)

This behaviour can be related to the observations by Mateu (2016) regarding modality and auxiliary selection in some Romance languages, especially Romanian and Old Neapolitan. According to Mateu (2016: 305), authors such as Avram & Hill (2007) show that “HAVE is the regular auxiliary for perfects in Romanian, except in irrealis clauses, where BE is used instead”. This is the case also for the Marchigiano dialect of San Benedetto del Tronto (Cocchi 1995). However, in Neapolitan the opposite happens, and HAVE is the preferred form in irrealis clauses (Mateu 2016: 305). Even in Old Catalan, irrealis modality seemed to slightly favour HAVE (Massanell & Mateu 2018: 106-108). However, Algherese shows a similar behaviour to Romanian, with BE being the preferred form in some irrealis clauses: according to Ledgeway (2022), the use of auxiliary BE here would be a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis mood, similar to the *surcomposé* tense used in many Sardinian dialects.

2.2. Northern Catalan and some subvarieties of Central Catalan

In Northern Catalan, spoken in the French-administered area of Roussillon, the classic auxiliary system was reinterpreted and other rules now explain the use of HAVE and BE in this dialect, featuring a person-driven (and tense-driven) auxiliary distinction, where, in the present perfect indicative, BE occurs with 1st and 2nd persons⁹ with all types of verbs (37)-(40), whereas 3rd person forms (and 1st and 2nd persons in other perfect tenses or moods) combine with HAVE (41)-(42),¹⁰ except in the case of reflexive constructions, where both auxiliaries are possible (see Gómez 2011: 278-285, Veny 1998: 51). Massanell (2021: 47) points out that “contact with Occitan and French, two languages which maintain the alternation between the auxiliaries *èsser/être* ‘be’ and *aver/avoir* ‘have’ in perfect tenses, may have prevented the disappearance of the

⁹ With respect to 1st/2nd person plural, according to Gómez (2011: 280), in most areas of Northern Catalan (Roussillon and Conflent) they behave as 1st/2nd singular thus selecting BE, whereas in the smaller regions of Capcir and Vallespir they align with 3rd person and select HAVE.

However, from the answers to the items 2403, 2404, and 2405 of the *ALDC*, we could claim that in all these subvarieties 1st/2nd person plural behave as 1st/2nd singular (with BE-selection), except in Prats de Molló (in Vallespir) and Sant Cebrià de Rosselló (in Roussillon), two southeastern localities of Northern Catalan which seem to exhibit free alternation between BE/HAVE in the 1st/2nd person plural.

As for Formiguera (in the region of Capcir), the answer (*h*)*èm* is ambiguous: it could be interpreted either as HAVE or BE, since, in this subvariety, *sem* (‘we are’) appears as *èm* (homophonous with *hem* ‘we have’), which is derived by analogy with *eu* < *etz* < Lat. ESTIS.

¹⁰ Nevertheless, in Formiguera (Capcir), the answer to item 2393 of the *ALDC* (with an inherent motion unaccusative verb) was with the auxiliary BE in the 3rd person singular: *és pas vingut* (‘he has not come’). In the rest of Northern Catalan, the answer was with HAVE: *ha pas vingut* (or, less common, *no ha vingut*). Crucially, in Formiguera, the answer to item 736 was *Ha caigut un llamp* (‘A bolt of lightning has struck’), featuring HAVE in a presentational construction with an indefinite postverbal subject. For person 1PL, the answer to item 2403 in Formiguera was *Ja (h)èm arribat* (‘We have already arrived’) (see fn. 9), with no PPA with the subject. Finally, in the answers from this locality, BE does not appear in reflexive constructions of any kind: *S’ha trincat un got* (‘A glass has broken’), *S’ha trincat la cama* (‘{He/She} has broken {his/her} leg’), *S’ha esqueixat els pantalons* (‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers’).

auxiliary *ésser*”. However, for Gómez (2011: 280-281), this is a “specific feature” of Northern Catalan (attested at least since 1842), given that in this dialect auxiliary selection is, today, person-driven (not event-driven).

- (37) Unaccusative construction, 1st person singular:

Som vingut.
am come.M.SG
'I have come.'

(Veny 1998: 51)

- (38) Unergative construction, 1st person singular:

Som sagnat del nas.
am bled.M.SG from_the nose
'I have bled from my nose.'

(ALDC, item 40)

- (39) Transitive construction, 1st and 2nd person (singular and plural):

a. *Som vist el peirer.*
am seen.M.SG the mason
'I have seen the mason.'

(Veny 1998: 51)

b. *La sem vista aqueix matí.*
CL.ACC.F.3SG are.1PL seen.F.SG this morning
'We have seen her this morning.'

c. *A casa en sem tingudes sempre, de gallines.*
at home CL.PART are.1PL had.F.PL always of chickens
'We have always had chickens at home.'

(Gómez 2011: 283)

d. *M' ets salvat la vida.*
CL.DAT.1SG are.2SG saved.M.SG the life
'You saved my life.'

e. *Ets inventat quelcom.*
are.2SG invented.M.SG something
'You've invented something.'

(Albert Saisset, *apud* Fabra 1905b)

f. *Vosaltres seu vist [una cosa].*
you.PL are.2PL seen.M.SG a thing
'You have seen [something].'

(75-year-old man from Ceret,

heard in March 2022, Anna Pineda's personal archive)

g. *Me seu dit que volíeu beure aigua.*
CL.DAT.1SG are.2PL said.M.SG that wanted.2PL drink.INF water
'You told me that you wanted to drink water.'

(80-year-old man from Sureda,

heard in March 2022, Anna Pineda's personal archive)

- (40) Modal construction with a transitive verb, 1st person singular:

Som pas pogut ho fer.
am at_all been_able_to.M.SG CL.N do.INF

‘I have not been able to do it.

(Veny 1998: 51)

(41) Unaccusative constructions, 3rd person (singular and plural):

a. *La Maria ha tornat.*
 the Maria has come_back.M.SG
 ‘Maria has come back.’

(Gómez 2011: 282)

b. *Han fugit.*
 have.3PL fled.M.SG
 ‘They have fled.’

(Gómez 2011: 279)

c. *M’ ha {sallit/sortit} sang.*
 CL.DAT.1SG has come_out.M.SG blood
 ‘Blood has come out of me (out of my nose).’

(ALDC, item 40)

(42) Unergative construction, 3rd person singular:

El nas m’ ha sagnat.
 the nose CL.DAT.1SG has bled.M.SG
 ‘My nose has bled.’

(ALDC, item 40)

However, in the pluperfect and in the future perfect, 1st and 2nd persons select HAVE:

(43) a. *L’ haviem vista.*
 CL.ACC.F.3SG had.1PL seen.F.SG
 ‘We had seen her.’

(ALDC, item 2405)

b. *Hauré trobat lo que me cal.*
 will.have.1SG found.M.SG ART.N that CL.DAT.1SG be_necessary.3SG
 ‘I will have found what I need.’

(Albert Saisset, *apud* Fabra 1905b)

With reflexive constructions, both auxiliaries (BE and HAVE) are possible in Northern Catalan, even in the 3rd person (44)—moreover, notice that, in (44)d-e, PPA with the subject is (or can be) preserved, despite the auxiliary HAVE.

(44) a. *Se n’ és alegrat.*
 CL.REFL. CL.PART is become_glad.M.SG

b. *Se n’ ha alegrat.*
 CL.REFL CL.PART has become_glad.M.SG
 ‘He was glad of it.’

(Gómez 2011: 281)

c. *S’ és trencat un veire.*
 CL.REFL is broken.M.SG a glass
 ‘A glass has broken.’

(ALDC, item 393)

d. *S’ havien pas tirats endarrere.*
 CL.REFL had.3PL not thrown.M.PL back

‘They had not backed away’.

(Pere Burlaner, *apud* Gómez 2011: 282)

- e. *La neu ja s’ ha fosa.*
 the snow already CL.REFL has melted.F.SG
 ‘The snow has already melted.’

(ALDC, item 2400)

In Northern Catalan, the HAVE/BE alternation is even possible in indirect reflexives—like in (45)—, where BE can also be found—contrary to the Old Catalan behaviour, that only allowed the auxiliary HAVE (cf. fn. 4).

- (45) a. *S’ és tallat un dit.*
 CL.REFL is cut.M.SG a finger
 ‘He has cut his finger.’

(Veny 1998: 51)

- b. *S’ és trencat la cama.*
 CL.REFL is broken.M.SG the leg
 ‘He has broken his leg.’

(ALDC, item 94)

- c. *S’ ha esquinxat els pantalons.*
 CL.REFL has torn.M.SG the trousers
 ‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.’

(ALDC, item 215)

Furthermore, in some rural subvarieties of Central Catalan—in the center and north-eastern part of Catalonia—, BE can occur with all verbs in the 1st and 2nd persons singular (not plural)¹¹ in the present perfect tense, thus being another instance of person-driven as well as tense-driven auxiliary selection.

For example, Rigau (1998: 78) claims that this pattern is found in the regions of La Garrotxa and Pla de l’Estany.

- (46) a. *Ho sóc vist jo.*
 CL.N am seen.M.SG I
 ‘I have *seen* it (myself).’
 b. *Ets set tu?*
 are.2SG been.M.SG you.SG
 ‘Was it you?’
 c. *Sóc arribat tard.*
 am arrived.M.SG late
 ‘I have arrived late.’

(Rigau 1998: 78)

As mentioned in § 1, in the context of the I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana, held in Barcelona in 1906, Bernat Obrador gave a talk with the goal of shedding some light on the (genuine) uses of HAVE and BE auxiliaries in Catalan. Among the rules he established, it was mentioned that transitive and unergative verbs (in current terminology) always took HAVE.¹² After the conference, however, a doctor from the area

¹¹ For Gómez (2011: 280), this would prove that the extension of BE to 1st and 2nd persons plural in Northern Catalan is a bit more recent.

¹² According to Obrador (*Actes del I CILC*: 132-133), “in the Romance languages that kept the participle

of Empordà, Armengol Puig i Sais, made an amendment (not accepted by Obrador) to this claim, explaining that the speakers from his area systematically used the BE auxiliary with all transitive verbs, provided that the auxiliary was in the 1st or 2nd person singular and in the present tense (47). Interestingly, the amendment made clear that BE was never used with transitive verbs with other grammatical persons (48)a-b or verb tenses (48)c-d. Regarding unaccusative intransitive verbs (*venir* ‘come’, *arribar* ‘arrive’, etc.), the author does not provide examples, but notices that for most speakers the use of BE is also generally restricted to forms in the 1st/2nd person singular and in the indicative tense, although one can find (especially among older speakers) uses of BE with other persons and tenses.

- (47) a. *Jo som portat el llibre.*
 I am brought.M.SG the book
 ‘I have brought the book.’
 b. *Tu no ets sabut la lliçó.*
 you.SG not are.2SG known.M.SG the lesson
 ‘You haven’t learned the lesson.’

variable, it always agrees with the subject when it is accompanied by the verb BE, apart from certain very rare cases that, without hesitation at all, we can qualify as inaccuracies, and the mere fact of seeing them already hurts the eyes” [our translation and emphasis]. Despite the harshness of this observation, it is true—as Dols (2023) points out—that Obrador realises that it is impossible to satisfy all the varieties of a language in the writing of a prescriptive grammar. For Obrador, “this kind of observations falls within the field of special studies of dialects”.

Previously, another grammarian, Alcover (1903), after establishing “the rules that exist on auxiliaries in Catalan since the constitution of the language”, had clarified that “there are some exceptions, very rare indeed, and it is understandable for the lack of grammatical discipline that had to reign during the first centuries [...]. In Catalonia, [the auxiliary BE] has also been largely lost, with several very curious things being noticed: 1st: The use of the auxiliary BE is often preserved, especially by peasants and among some writers, in the 1st person singular of the present perfect (*SO vingut* ‘I’ve come’, *SO arribat* ‘I’ve arrived’, *me’n SO anat* ‘I’ve left’). 2nd: And not only do they use it, in many regions, in the aforementioned 1st pers. sing. of the indicated tense, with the verbs of rules I and II [(namely, reflexive and unaccusative, in current terminology)], but with any class of verbs; and so they say: *jo SO vist axò* ‘I’ve seen this’; *SO llegit tal diari* ‘I’ve read such a newspaper’; *SO fet tal cosa* ‘I’m done such a thing’, etc. So, for this person of that tense, they almost never use the auxiliary HAVE. They also sometimes use the auxiliary BE in the 2nd pers. sing of the same tense: [...] *tot lo mal qu’ETS fet fins ara* ‘all the evil you have done so far’; *Magdalena, qu’ETS dit ara? Magdalena, ja ETS pecat, ETS pecat altra vegada* ‘Magdalena, what have you said now? Magdalena, you’ve already sinned, you’ve sinned again’. [...] In French Catalonia, the use of the auxiliary BE is quite preserved, but in an anti-grammatical way, and it is understandable [for historical reasons] [...]. Thus, the present perfect indicative of all verbs can be said to be formed just with the auxiliary BE; and so they say: *SUN (som) vingut* ‘I’ve come’; *SUN parlat* ‘I’ve spoken’; *SUN vist mun germà* ‘I’ve seen my brother’; *SUN llegit lu teu llibre* ‘I’ve read your book’; *SUN escrit una lletra* ‘I’ve written a letter’” [our translation and emphasis].

Fabra (1922) claims that “The fact that in one region people say *sóc vist una guineu* (‘I’ve seen a fox’), *sóc menjat pa* (‘I’ve eaten bread’), etc., does not justify writers adopting a construction [(e.g. *Sóc sofert molts desenganys* ‘I’ve suffered many disappointments’)] that would produce, in an infinite number of verbs, the confusion of the active voice with the passive [(e.g. *El senyal ha estat vist per tothom* ‘The signal has been seen by everyone’)] and, finally, its disappearance” [our translation].

Similarly, Moll (1952: 290) says that, “dialectally, there is an abusive use of BE as the auxiliary of non-pronominal transitive verbs: *Só posat les claus damunt la taula* ‘I’ve put the keys on the table’; *No sou vist la processó* ‘You haven’t seen the procession’ [our translation].

Also Badia (1951: 369) noticed that, “as remnant of the ancient construction, extensive dialectal areas still today construct the compound tenses of motion verbs with the verb BE (com. *he vingut* or dial. *só vingut* ‘I’ve come’), and even those of various transitive verbs (com. *he vist* or dial. *só vist* ‘I’ve seen’). The last example was collected “in the regions of Girona, Olot, and other Pyrenean areas” [our translation]. Badia (1994: 561) clarifies that the latter is just found with the 1st person singular: *sóc vist un home* ‘I’ve seen a man’.

- c. *Jo som pensat tal cosa.*
I am thought.M.SG such thing
'I have thought such thing.'
- d. *Tu ets menjat la sopa.*
you.SG are.2SG eaten.M.SG the soup
'I have arrived late.'
- e. *Jo ja la som digerida (la sopa).*
I already CL.ACC.F.3SG am digested.F.SG
'I have already digested it (the soup).'
- (*Actes del I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana*, 1908: 136)

- (48) a. *Ell ha/*és menjat un plat de carn.*
he has/*is eaten.M.sg a plate of meat
'He has eaten a plate of meat.'
- b. *Nosaltres no hem/*som sabut la lliçó.*
we not have.1PL/are.1PL known the lesson
'We haven't learned the lesson.'
- c. *Jo havia/*era menjat escudella.*
I had.1SG/*was.1SG eaten.M.SG soup
'I had eaten soup.'
- d. *Tu havies/*eres portat diners.*
you.SG had.2SG/*were.2SG brought.M.SG money
'You had brought money.'
- (*Actes del I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana*, 1908: 136)

Reference to the use of BE as an auxiliary verb is also found in descriptive works of several subvarieties of Central Catalan. This is the case of the region of Lluçanès, where BE is documented as an auxiliary both with transitive and intransitive verbs. According to Dorca (2006: 66), some older speakers of the area use BE in the 1st person singular as an auxiliary both with intransitive and transitive verbs, as shown in (49).¹³ It seems that Dorca implicitly restricts the scope of this phenomenon to the 1st person singular when he says that, according to his data, the auxiliary alternates between the (synonymous) forms *só/sóc/som* 'am.'

- (49) a. *Sóc vingut més d'hora.*
am come.M.SG more early
'I have come earlier.'
- b. *No en som tingut mai, d' arpiots.*
no CL.PART am had.M.SG never, of arpiots
'I have never had any arpiot [=working tool].'
- c. *Jo hi som anat i no fan pas res.*
I CL.LOC am gone.M.SG and not do.3PL at_all nothing
'I went there and they don't do anything at all.'

¹³ It should be kept in mind that the phenomenon is frequently connotated as denoting a rural manner of speaking, and generally on the verge of disappearing. This is illustrated, for example, by an 80-year-old woman from the region of Lluçanès who, back in the early 2000s, during an interview, explained that a friend of hers spoke "in a very rustic way" and had "very peasant customs", since, in addition to featuring some phonetic changes (such as pronouncing the first vowel in *setmana* 'week' as [u]) and specific lexical choices (*escatxaruta* instead of *escudella* 'traditional soup'), she also used to say *só anat* 'I have (lit. am) gone', *só fet* 'I have (lit. am) done' or *li só dit* 'I have (lit. am) told {him/her}'.

- (speakers from Oristà (a-b) and Sobremunt (c), *apud* Dorca 2006: 66)
- d. *Jo só arribat aquí.*
 I am arrived.M.SG here
 ‘I arrived here.’

(85-year-old woman from Prats de Lluçanès, heard in 2008,
apud Pineda 2008)

- e. (*El metge em va dir: “Que ha fumat, vostè?” I li vaig dir:)*
“Compti si soc fumat!”
 reckon.IMP.POLITENESS.2SG if am smoked.M.SG
 ‘The doctor told me: “Have you smoked?”. And I told him: “Just imagine if I have smoked!”’

(90-year-old woman from Prats de Lluçanès,
 heard in October 2016, Anna Pineda’s personal archive)

The same pattern is found among some speakers from the area of Collsacabra, where according to Dorca (2008: 51) the use of BE mostly occurs with 1st and 2nd persons, both with transitive (50)a-c and intransitive (50)d-e verbs.

- (50) a. *Sóc posat l’ escala per baixar.*
 am put.M.SG the ladder for descend.INF
 ‘I put the ladder to go down.’
- b. *Jo no la sóc vista mai.*
 I not CL.ACC.F.3SG am seen.F.SG never
 ‘I have never seen her.’
- c. *D’ on te l’ ets atrapat,*
 from where CL.DAT.2SG CL.ACC.M.3SG are.2SG got.M.SG
aquell llibre?
 that book
 ‘That book, where have you got it?’
- d. *És arribat en Joan Vila.*
 is arrived.M.SG the Joan Vila
 ‘Joan Vila has arrived.’
- e. *Li som restat a deure*
 CL.DAT.3SG am remained.M.SG to owe.INF
 ‘I owe {him/her}’

(speakers from Collsacabra, *apud* Dorca 2008: 51)

It is also found in the area of Moianès (Riera 1993: 79, 81-82), where the auxiliary BE is used in the 1st person forms. The author provides a very long list of examples, with intransitive verbs—including unaccusative (51) and unergative (52) verbs—, transitive verbs (53)-(54)—the latter set of examples illustrates PPA with dislocated objects in the case of both feminine (singular and plural) and masculine plural objects—, as well as other interesting cases such as pronominal verbs (55), the copulative verbs *ser* and *estar* (56), or verbs used in special constructions or periphrases such as *mirar de* + INF ‘try to’, *acabar de* + INF ‘finish’, *haver de* + INF ‘have to’, or *estimar més* + INF ‘prefer’ (57).

- (51) a. *Hi só anat.*
 CL.LOC am gone.M.SG
 ‘I have gone there.’

- b. *Só pujat.*
 am gone_up.M.SG
 ‘I have seen.’
- (52) a. *Si mai sóc jugat a cartes...*
 if ever am played.M.SG at cards
 ‘If I have ever played cards...’
 b. *Hi sóc parlat.*
 CL.OBL am talked.M.SG
 ‘I have talked to {him/her/them}.’
- (53) a. *Só begut un bon bol de llet.*
 am drunk.M.SG a good bowl of milk
 ‘I have drunk a good bowl of milk.’
 b. *L’ hi¹⁴ sóc demanat.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG CL.DAT.3SG am asked.M.SG
 ‘I have asked this to him.’
 c. *Ho sóc sentit.*
 CL.N am heard.M.SG
 ‘I have heard it.’
 d. *Só fet una becaina.*
 am done.M.SG a nap
 ‘I have taken a nap.’
 e. *Quan sóc dat una pedregada a*
 when am given.M.SG a blow.from.a.stone to
una bèstia era perquè s’ ho mereixia
 a beast was because CL.REFL.3SG CL.N deserved.3S
 ‘When I have stoned a beast it was because he deserved it.’
 f. *Al nebot li ho sóc explicat*
 to_the nephew CL.DAT.3SG CL.N am explained.M.SG
alguna vegada.
 some time
 ‘I have explained it to my nephew a few times.’
 g. *De visió, no en sóc gonyat re.*
 of vision not CL.PART am gained.M.SG nothing
 ‘In terms of vision, I have not gained anything.’
- (54) a. *Montfred ja te la sóc dida, oi?*
 Montfred already CL.DAT.2SG CL.ACC.F.3SG am told.F.SG right
 ‘As for Montfred [name of a country house], I have already told it to you, haven’t I?’
 b. *No els só coneguts.*
 no CL.ACC.M.3PL am recognise.M.PL
 ‘I have not recognised them.’
 c. *En só tinguts.*
 CL.PART am had.M.PL
 ‘I have had some.’

¹⁴ In some clitic combinations, the dative clitic *li* becomes *hi* (which orthographically coincides with the representation of locative clitic).

- d. *Les hi sóc regalades a l'*
 CL.ACC.F.3PL CL.DAT.3SG am offered.F.PL to the
Eudalt.
 Eudald
 'I have offered them to Eudald.'
- e. *De llebre, no en só vista mai*
 of hare not CL.PART am seen.F.SG never
cap de malalta.
 none of ill
 'I haven't seen any ill hare.'
- f. *Cinc carros que só tingut.*
 five cars that am had.M.SG
 'Five cars that I have owned.'
- g. *Una altra gorra que la só portada*
 an other cap that CL.ACC.F.3SG am worn.F.SG
una o dugues vegades.
 one or two times
 'Another cap that I have worn once or twice.'
- h. (*Jo en vaig regalar una, d'ampolla, que prou*)
me 'n sóc penedit.
 CL.REFL.1SG CL.PART am regretted.M.SG
 'I gave one bottle as a gift, which I have regretted enough!'
- (55) *Avui encara em só pres una pastilla.*
 today still CL.REFL.1SG am taken.M.SG a pill
 'I have still taken a pill today.'
- (56) a. *Hi sóc estat.*
 CL.LOC am been.M.SG
 'I have been there.'
- b. *Hi sóc sigut.*
 CL.LOC am been.M.SG
 'I have been there.'
- c. *No en sóc estat mai, de cançoner.*
 not CL.PART am been.M.SG never of song_lover
 'I have never been a song-lover.'
- d. *Soc estat un manefla.*
 am been.M.SG a jerk
 'I have been a jerk.'
- (57) a. *Ara mateix ho sóc acabat de dir.*
 right now CL.N am finished.M.SG of say.INF
 'I have just finished saying it.'
- b. *Só mirat d'entregar-ho als amos.*
 am looked.M.SG of deliver.INF=CL.N to_the owners
 'I have tried to hand it over to the owners.'
- c. *No só hagut d'abaixar mai la cara.*
 not am had.M.SG of lower-INF never the face
 'I never had to lower my face.'

- d. *Sóc estimat més ajudar.*
 am loved.M.SG more help-INF
 ‘I have preferred to help.’

(all examples (51)-(57) from a single speaker from Moià,
apud Riera 1993: 81-82)

Likewise, the use of the auxiliary BE is found in the area of the Vall del Ges, Orís and Bisaura, where according to Dorca (2007: 83) this is a recessive feature but still quite present among many speakers of the region, especially in the rural sector, with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The examples provided concern only 1st person forms.

- (58) a. *Som posat.*
 am put.M.SG
 ‘I have put.’
 b. *Sóc vist.*
 am seen.M.SG
 ‘I have seen.’

(speakers from Orís (a) and Sant Pere de Torelló (b),
apud Dorca 2007: 83)

The auxiliary BE is also found, at least with certain unaccusatives, in the area of Baix Montseny, as indirectly reported by Puig i Calvet (1990: 37-38). This author provides a list of verbal forms from the area which are morphologically distinct from Standard Catalan, such as the velarised form [dónk] for *dono* ‘I give’, and includes the following example where the phonetic transcription reveals the use of the auxiliary BE with a 1st person form:

- (59) *He anat.* [sókənat]
 have.1SG gone.M.SG am gone.M.SG
 ‘I have gone.’

(Puig i Calvet 1990: 37)

The use of BE for compound tenses is also found in the coastal village of Cadaqués, a village also known for preserving the use of the *es* definite article, derived from Latin IPSE, as is general in Balearic Catalan. According to Sala (1983: 39), the formation of compound tenses with *ser* is found only among 70/80-year-old speakers with “motion or intransitive verbs”, whereas young people never use such auxiliary. The author adds that with this restricted use of the BE auxiliary the variety of Cadaqués differs from the neighbouring varieties of the northern area where *ser* is used even with transitive verbs, with examples such as *Ja em soc menjat la truita* ‘I have (lit. ‘am’) already eaten the omelette’—as a matter of fact, Cadaqués is part of the area of L’Empordà, which as we saw above shows a generalised use of BE with transitive verbs.

- (60) a. *Ja som vingut.*
 already am come.M.SG
 ‘I have already come.’
 b. *Hi sóc anat.*
 CL.LOC am gone.M.SG
 ‘I have gone there.’

(Sala 1983: 39)

2.3. Ribagorçan Catalan

In the Pyrenean variety of the Alta Ribagorça (belonging to Northwestern Catalan), for all verbs, *ésser* (BE) could seem to be the auxiliary verb of the pluperfect indicative tense, apparently as an instance of tense-driven split auxiliary selection. This was already noticed, at the Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana (1906), by Mossèn Antoni Navarro, who claimed that “in the pluperfect, they delete the form *havia* of HABEO and adopt the form *era*”, for example (both with a transitive and with an unaccusative verb):

- (61) a. *Què t' ere dit ton pare?*
 what CL.DAT.2SG was.3SG said.M.SG your father
 ‘What had your father said to you?’
- b. *D' ahont eren vinguts els soldats qu' anit eren a la pllaça?*
 of where were.3PL come.M.PL the soldiers that
 last_night were at the square
 ‘Where had the soldiers who were in the square last night come from?’

For the present perfect, this author pointed out that the speakers from the area “say *so* ‘I am’ and *hay* ‘I have’ interchangeably, such as *so vingut* (‘I have come’) or *hay tornat* (‘I have returned’), and *ham* ‘we have’ in the plural, e.g. *ham segat* (‘we have mowed’) [our translation]. The first two examples (in the 1st person singular) contain an inherent motion unaccusative verb, while the third example (in the 1st person plural) contains an unergative verb, so we cannot confirm if auxiliary selection is person-driven or event-driven here.

The same contrast is corroborated by the *Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català*. In the Ribagorçan locality of Sopeira, an informant provided these answers to the same item, one with HAVE (in the present perfect) and one with BE (in the pluperfect):

- (62) a. *L' ham vist.*
 CL.ACC.F.3SG have.1PL seen.M.SG
 ‘We have seen her.’
- b. *Ja l' éram vist.*
 already CL.ACC.F.3SG were.1PL seen.M.SG
 ‘We had already seen her.’

(ALDC, item 2405)

Curiously, in another village of the area (Taüll), the answer to another item gave an indirect reflexive transitive construction with the auxiliary BE in the present perfect (contrary to Old Catalan, but as in Algherese and Northern Catalan; cf. with (34)-(35) and with (45)):

- (63) *S' és esbocinat els pantalons.*
 CL.REFL is torn.M.SG the trousers
 ‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.’

(ALDC, item 215)

By contrast, in other localities of Alta Ribagorça, such as Sopeira and Les Paüls, the

answer was with HAVE:

- (64) *S' ha esgarrat els pantalons.*
 CL.REFL has torn.M.SG the trousers
 ‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.’

According to Rigau (1998: 78), in Ribagorçan Catalan, the pluperfect is built with BE and not with HAVE, with all kinds of constructions—transitive (65)a-b, intransitive (65)c-d, and reflexive or reciprocal (65)e-f:

- (65) a. *Ell l' era mirat.*
 He CL.ACC.M.3SG was.3SG looked. M.SG
 ‘He had looked at {him/her/it}.’
- b. *Naltres ja ho érom vist.*
 we already CL.N were.1PL seen.M.SG
 ‘We had already seen it.’
- c. *Era vingut de pressa per no fer tard.*
 was.1/3SG come.M.SG quickly to not do.INF late
 ‘{I/He/She} had come in a hurry so as not to be late.’
- d. *Elles eren anat a comprar.*
 They.F.PL were.3PL gone.M.SG to buy.INF
 ‘They had gone shopping.’
- e. *Tu ja te n' eres adonat.*
 you.SG already CL.REFL.2SG CL.PART were.2SG
 realised.M.SG
 ‘You had already noticed.’
- f. *Valtres vos érou escunçat amb Enric.*
 you.PL CL.RCP.2PL were.2PL coincided.M.SG with Enric
 ‘You had coincided with Enric.’

Notice that the examples in (65)d and (65)f do not display PPA with the subject of an unaccusative or reflexive construction—unlike the older example in (61)b.

Suñils (2008) also provides the contrasting examples in (66) (with pluperfect and BE) and (67) (with present perfect and HAVE):

- (66) a. *Era arribat a tinre hasta vint obrers.*
 was.1SG arrived.M.SG to have.INF until twenty workers
 ‘I had come to have up to twenty workers.’
- b. *Ja eren fet lo servei.*
 already were.3PL done.M.SG the service
 ‘They had already done their [military] service.’
- (67) a. *Haig arribat a tinre hasta vint obrers.*
 have.1SG arrived.M.SG to have.INF until twenty workers
 ‘I have come to have up to twenty workers.’
- b. *Ja han fet lo servei.*
 already have.3PL done.M.SG the service
 ‘They have already done their [military] service.’

However, considering the lack of PPA in examples like (65)d and (65)f, and the (just apparent) presence of the imperfect indicative of BE also in the single tenses of existential constructions with *haver-hi* ('there was / there were')—(68)a—and in deontic periphrases with *haver de* ('have to, must')—(68)b and (70)a-b—, Suïls (2008)'s interpretation is that, in Ribagorçan Catalan, all these forms belong to the paradigm of HAVE (not BE), although, historically, they are the result of the formal confluence of the imperfect indicative of HAVE (in this dialect, *heva*) with that of BE (*era*).

- (68) a. *Hi era molts cotxes.*
 CL.LOC was.3SG many cars
 'There were many cars.'
- b. *Era de parlar molta estona.*
 was.3SG to talk.INF much time
 '{He/She} had to talk for a long time.'

- (69) a. *Hi ha molts cotxes.*
 CL.LOC has many cars
 'There are many cars.'
- b. *Ha de parlar molta estona.*
 has to talk.INF much time
 '{He/She} has to talk for a long time.'

(Suïls 2008: 222)

- (70) a. *Tu eres de vindre més aviat per preparar-ho tot.*
 you.SG were.2SG to come.INF more early to
 prepare.INF=CL.N all
 'You had to come earlier to prepare everything.'
- b. *Elles s'eren d'escunçar-se a la porta.*
 they.F.PL CL.RCP were.3PL to meet.INF=CL.RCP
 at the door
 'They had to meet at the door.'

(Rigau 1998: 78)

Cross-linguistically, this type of "BE" auxiliation in the pluperfect indicative is not exclusive to Ribagorçan Catalan. Iannace (1983: 72-80, 88-89) and Ledgeway (2012: 342-343; 2019: 350) mention that, in the Campanian dialect of San Leucio del Sannio, the pluperfect indicative is systematically auxiliated with BE—and the same occurs in the Abruzzese dialect of Campli (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 685-686).

Nonetheless, according to Alturo (1995), Loporcaro (2016: 813), and Ledgeway (2019: 366-367), the subvariety of Pont de Suert—which also belongs to Alta Ribagorça—would work in a slightly different way. In this locality, HAVE would have been generalised to all perfect tenses and moods, except in the pluperfect indicative, where one would find split intransitivity: unaccusatives and reflexives preserve BE (71)—although without PPA—, but unergatives (and transitives) are auxiliated with HAVE—as in (72), where one finds *havia* (curiously, not *heva*) instead of *era*:

- (71) a. *I després de grans també hi érom anat.*
 and afterwards of adults also CL.LOC were.1PL gone.M.SG
 ‘And then, as adults, we had also gone there.’
 b. *Paquita ja s’era casat.*
 Paquita already CL.REFL was married.M.SG
 ‘Paquita was already married.’
- (72) *Alonso m’ ho havia dit moltes vegades.*
 Alonso CL.DAT.1SG CL.N had said.M.SG many times
 ‘He had told me that many times.’

Further investigation is needed in order to confirm this data.

2.4. Balearic Catalan

In Balearic Catalan (in particular, in Majorca and Minorca), there are also some remnants of the auxiliary distinction, showing those contexts (roughly, unaccusative and reflexive constructions) where BE has been most resistant. Even if HAVE has indeed replaced BE, PPA is preserved. Besides this, between the 19th century and the mid-20th century, Majorcan (and Minorcan) Catalan displayed some innovative attempts on auxiliary selection in some transitive and unergative constructions (which we could qualify as “exceptional BE-selection”), although these attempts ultimately failed and are not preserved anymore (except for some idioms or stereotyped cases).

2.4.1. The loss of the auxiliary BE within unaccusative and reflexive constructions

According to Rosselló (2002: 1892, 1933), in Majorcan Catalan, “very residually”, it is “still possible to hear”, together with the PPA, forms like (73), that is, the conjugation (in compound tenses) of unaccusative verbs with the auxiliary BE.

- (73) *Ja és tornada.*
 already is returned.F.SG
 ‘She is back.’

However, the truth is that, nowadays, except for some stereotyped constructions or in intentionally marked utterances (with an archaic aftertaste), in current Majorcan Catalan the auxiliary HAVE is the only one used.

Dols (2023) searches the Balearic literary texts contained in the Corpus Textual Informatizat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC) for combinations of BE with the different forms of the participle of *venir* (‘come’), a prototypical inherent motion unaccusative verb. The results show a chronological decrease of such combination (there are 46 tokens in the earliest texts, from 1832 to 1913, followed by a gradual decrease, culminating with only 1 token in the period 1974-1988 and 0 from 1989 until 2018).

Similar results are obtained by Salvà (2021: 43-59), who bases his analysis on four different corpora ranging from the late 19th century until the end of the 20th century, and including traditional fairy tales, folk songs and rhyming verses, and interviews with older speakers.¹⁵ Chronologically, it can be observed a decreasing tendency of BE-auxiliation in compound tenses, which goes from around 25 % in the earliest texts to around 0-3 % in the most recent ones, with only a few examples such as the ones in (74)-(75). There is, thus, a correlative progressive generalisation of HAVE-auxiliation.

¹⁵ See Salvà (2021: 25-42) for more details on the different corpora included in the mentioned study.

- (74) a. *Però jo no hi som anada mai, amb beaces.*
 but I not CL.LOC am gone.F.SG never with saddlebags
 ‘But I’ve never travelled like that, with saddlebags.’
- b. *Ell ha vingut un parell de vespres i jo també som vingut a romandre.*
 he has come.M.SG a couple of evenings and I
 also am come.M.SG to stay.
 ‘He has come for a couple of evenings and I have also come to stay.’
- c. *I jo el som¹⁶ fet net també,*
 and I CL.ACC.M.3SG am made.M.SG clean too
jo hi som entrat a fer-lo net...
 I CL.LOC am entered.M.SG to make.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG clean
 ‘And I cleaned it too, I went in to clean...’
- d. *tots es qui són nats en aquesta centura...*
 all the who are.3PL born.M.PL in this century
 ‘All those born in this century...’
- e. *Jo som estat vint-i-cinc anys empleat...*
 I am been.M.SG twenty-and-five years employee
 ‘I’ve been an employee for twenty-five years...’
- f. *Però a ca s’ arxiduc hi som estada...*
 but at house the archduke CL.LOC am stayed.F.SG
 ‘But I’ve stayed at the archduke’s house...’

(Corpus Joan Miralles)

- (75) a. *és caigut de sa bicicleta.*
 is fallen.M.SG of the bicycle
 ‘he has fallen off the bicycle.’
- b. *I, com es “novio” va esser fuit...*
 and when the boyfriend AUX.PAST.3SG be.INF escaped.M.SG
 ‘And, when my boyfriend had run away...’

(Corpus Jaume Corbera)

Notice from these examples that the unaccusative verbs auxiliated by BE are, usually, inherent motion verbs (such as *anar* ‘go’, *venir* ‘come’, *entrar* ‘enter’, *fugir* ‘escape’, *caure* ‘fall’), appearance verbs (such as *néixer* ‘be born’), and the participle of the copula *esser*, which is homonymous with the participle of *estar*.¹⁷ Moreover, all of them are constructions with a topical definite (or null) subject, so they correspond to the (Old Catalan) unaccusative constructions in (1), but not to the presentational ones in (2)-(3).

Even if some of these examples—namely, (74)b,c,e, featuring 1SG combined with a masculine (or default) participle—could be claimed to exhibit person-driven (not event-driven) auxiliary selection, this cannot be said for the other examples: with 3SG or 3PL forms or with 1SG feminine forms and, crucially, PPA.

As for (non-indirect) reflexive constructions with BE, no examples are found in the interviews corpora, except for two sentences (76) where the interviewees reproduced traditional rhyming verses or folk songs. Interestingly, in the fairy tales corpus more than 90 % of non-indirect reflexive constructions display BE, and in the popular songs

¹⁶ For the use of BE as an auxiliary of transitive constructions, see § 2.4.3 below.

¹⁷ The copula in (74)e displays a predicative use, while the one in (74)f corresponds to a locative use.

corpus we find almost 50 % of these constructions with BE and another 20 % with HAVE and PPA.

- (76) a. *Mai n' he vist enterrar cap |*
 never CL.PART have.1SG seen.M.SG bury.INF none
qui se sia bellugat.
 who CL.REFL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG moved.M.SG
 ‘I’ve never seen one buried that has moved.’

(Corpus Joan Miralles)

- b. *S' és aturat de venir...*
 CL.REFL is stopped.M.SG of come.INF
 ‘He stopped coming...’

(Corpus Jaume Corbera)

The results gathered in Majorca for the *ALDC* show the use of HAVE combined with PPA with such constructions:

- (77) *Sa neu ja s' ha fusa.*
 the snow already CL.REFL has melted.F.SG
 ‘The snow has already melted.’

(*ALDC*, item 2400)

No answers were collected in Minorca for this item, but another item referring to ‘a broken glass’ displayed BE in two villages (Maó and Ciutadella), and HAVE in another one (El Migjorn Gran):

- (78) *S' {és/ha} remput.*
 CL.REFL {is/has} broken.M.SG
 ‘It has broken.’

(*ALDC*, item 393)

2.4.2. The preservation of past participle agreement with the auxiliary HAVE within unaccusative and reflexive constructions

As said by Rosselló (2002: 1892, 1933), despite the replacement of the auxiliary BE by HAVE in current Majorcan Catalan, unaccusative constructions—especially “with inherent motion verbs”, as in (79)a-b, but also with verbs of (dis)appearance, as in (79)c—and (non-indirect) reflexive constructions, as in (80), can still present, together with the auxiliary HAVE, past participle agreement (PPA) with the subject, whereas it is impossible with unergative verbs (81). This is a kind of “hybrid” construction (as qualified by Massanell 2020, 2021), which would be an intermediate stage before the final loss of PPA. According to Rosselló (2002: 1933), it is “clearly recessive” or “in decline”, but it is still alive (as far as we know, at least for people over 35, approximately).¹⁸

- (79) a. *Na Maria no ha tornada.*
 the Maria not has returned.F.SG
 ‘Maria has not returned.’

¹⁸ In contrast, the most resilient context for PPA is with feminine 3rd person accusative clitics; e.g. *L'he pintada* ‘I have painted it’ or *Les he pintades* ‘I have painted them’.

- b. *Com és que no has vinguda?*
 how is that not have.2SG come.F.SG
 ‘How come you haven’t come?’
- c. *Ses nines ja han comparegudes.*
 the girls already have.3PL appeared.F.PL
 ‘The girls have already appeared.’
- (80) a. *Ja m’ he pentinada.*
 already CL.REFL.1SG have.1SG combed.F.SG
 ‘I’ve already done my hair.’
- b. *No s’ ha volguda dutxar.*¹⁹
 not CL.REFL has wanted.F.SG shower.INF
 ‘She didn’t want to shower.’
- (81) **Ses nines han rigudes i jo he plorada.*
 the girls have.3PL laughed.F.PL and I have.1SG
 cried.F.SG
 ‘The girls have laughed and I have cried.’
- (Rosselló 2002: 1892, 1933)

Rosselló (2002: 1934) claims that, unlike unaccusative verbs that express an achievement, existential (stative) unaccusative verbs (such as *faltar* ‘be missing’ or *sobrar* ‘be left over, exceed’) “are (completely) reluctant to PPA” [the parentheses are hers], as in (82)a, “except in the case where the partitive clitic *en* (with the corresponding dislocated internal argument) also occurs”, as in (82)b.

- (82) a. *??Ha faltada una cadira.*
 has been_missing.F.SG a chair
 ‘A chair was missing.’
- b. *N’ han faltades dues (, de cadires).*
 CL.PART have.3PL been_missing.F.PL two of chairs
 ‘Two were missing (, as of chairs).’

However, Salvà (2021: 233, fn. 34) points out that the felicity of PPA with existential unaccusative verbs improves noticeably if the subject is topicalised—either left-dislocated, as in (83)a and (84), or right-dislocated, as in (83)b—, which ties in with the fact that, in Majorcan Catalan, PPA is mainly determined by the information structure of the clause.

- (83) a. *Aquestes han sobrades.*
 these have.3PL exceeded.F.PL
- b. *Han sobrades, aquestes.*
 have.3PL exceeded.F.PL these
 ‘These ones are left over.’

¹⁹ The combination of HAVE and PPA is also possible with verbal periphrases, as evinced by this example.

- (84) *Es plats que quedaven mos han bastats.*
 the dishes that remain.IPFV.3PL CL.DAT.1PL have.3PL
 been_enough.M.PL
 ‘The remaining dishes were enough for us.’
 (Sebastià Salvà’s personal archive)

By contrast, those unaccusative verbs that express an achievement allow PPA even when used within a presentational construction (that is to say, with the subject or internal argument *in situ*). Even so, the felicity of this construction is perhaps a bit degraded—in comparison when the subject is topicalised—, as evidenced by the fact that item 40 of the *ALDC*, in Majorca and Minorca only presents PPA in the village of Lluçmajor (a village that even today is prone to PPA with the object *in situ* in transitive constructions, as claimed by Salvà 2021).

- (85) *M’ ha sortida sang.*
 CL.DAT.1SG has come_out.F.SG blood
 ‘I have bled (from my nose).’
 (*ALDC*, item 40)

On the other hand, regarding atelic change-of-state verbs (such as *créixer* ‘grow’), even if there is an explicit measure phrase that bounds the event, PPA is not so frequent in Majorcan Catalan (although it would not be ungrammatical in this telic construction):

- (86) *Sa covota [...] li havia crescut tant...*
 the tail.DESP.F.SG CL.DAT.3SG had.3SG grown.M.SG so_much
 ‘That ugly tail had grown so much...’
 (*Rondaies mallorquines* by Antoni M. Alcover)

Finally, we would like to point out that the GIEC (2016 [2nd edition: 2022]: § 9.5.1e) mentions the possibility of PPA in Balearic Catalan “with reflexives” and “in pronominal passives”, as in (87), among other cases. However, it does not mention at all the possibility of agreeing the participle of some non-reflexive unaccusative constructions with the subject, which hopefully will be amended in the future.

- (87) a. *Encara no m’ he matriculada.*
 yet not CL.REFL.1SG have.1SG enrolled.F.SG
 ‘I have not enrolled yet.’
 b. *Aquestes dades s’ han analitzades.*
 these data.F.PL CL.REFL have.3PL analysed.F.PL
 ‘These data have been analysed.’

2.4.3. Some innovative (but failed) attempts: exceptional BE-auxiliary selection within transitive and unergative constructions in Balearic Catalan

Between the 19th century and the mid-20th century, Balearic Catalan displayed some innovative attempts on auxiliary selection, extending the use of the auxiliary BE to some transitive and unergative constructions, although these attempts did not crystallise (except for some stereotyped cases). It is noteworthy that this occurs, precisely, at the moment when the general decline of BE-selection begins to be accentuated, thus evidencing the tension and instability that would lead to a linguistic change culminating

with the generalisation of HAVE.

a) Indirect reflexive (or reciprocal) transitive constructions

In the Majorcan Catalan tradition, as in Old Catalan (cf. fn. 4), indirect reflexive constructions were auxiliated with HAVE, as in (88). However, in the mentioned corpus study by Salvà (2021: 311-318), some occurrences with BE were found, as in (89). In the relevant survey answers of the *ALDC* (items 94 and 215), HAVE is, again, the only option across Majorca, thus proving that this innovation was finally abandoned.

- (88) a. *S'* *ha* *rentades* *ses* *mans...*
 CL.REFL has washed.F.PL the hands
 ‘[She] washed her hands...’
 b. *M'* *he* *begut* *es* *vi...*
 CL.REFL.1SG have.1SG drunk.M.SG the wine
 ‘I drank all the wine...’
 (Alcover, *Rondaies mallorquines*)

- (89) a. *Me* *som* *passat* *això* *pes* *cap.*
 CL.REFL.1SG am crossed.M.SG this.N through_the head
 ‘I’ve become determined/obsessed with this idea.’
 (Alcover, *Rondaies mallorquines*)
 b. *Me* *som* *fet* *mal* *a* *un* *peu.*
 CL.REFL.1SG am done.M.SG pain in a foot
 ‘I hurt my foot.’
 c. *Com* *jo* *i* *tu* *mos* *serem* *dats* |
 when I and you CL.RCP.1PL will.be.1PL given.M.PL
aqueixs *cinc* *dits* *de* *sa* *mà...*
 these five fingers of the hand
 ‘When you and I have held hands.’ Lit.: ‘When I and you have given each other | these five fingers of the hand.’
 (Ginard, *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*)

As for Minorcan Catalan, this kind of innovation has also been attested and, in fact, it seems to have been a bit more successful, considering the survey answers of the *ALDC* in Maó and Ciutadella for the mentioned items (although answers with HAVE were given in El Migjorn Gran and even in Ciutadella):

- (90) a. *S'* *és* *remput* *sa* *cama.*
 CL.REFL is broken.M.SG the leg
 ‘{He/She} has broken {his/her} leg.’
 (ALDC, item 94)
 b. *S'* *és* *remput* *es* *calçons.*
 CL.REFL is broken.M.SG the trousers
 ‘{He/She} has torn {his/her} trousers.’
 (ALDC, item 215)

b) Emphatic counterfactual or irrealis constructions

According to Salvà (2021: 319-323), as for the corpus of popular songs, constructions in the pluperfect subjunctive—sometimes with the meaning of a perfect conditional—are usually auxiliated with HAVE (86 %), but there are some emphatic

occurrences with BE, in several grammatical persons, representing 14 % of the total, as in (91). This phenomenon is like the one mentioned for Algherese Catalan at the end of § 2.1—see (36)—, although the influence of Sardinian cannot be alleged here (*pace* Ledgeway 2022).

- (91) a. *Més valdria que mumare |*
 more worth.COND.3SG that my_mother
em fos enterrat petit...
 CL.ACC.1SG be.IPFV.SBJV.3SG buried.M.SG small
 ‘It would have been better if my mother | had buried me young.’
- b. *Si voltros fósseu segat |*
 if you.PL be.IPFV.SBJV.2PL reaped.M.SG
com estava de saó...
 when was of humidity
 ‘If you had reaped | when the ground was wet...’
 (Ginard, *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*)

In some cases, the contrafactual or irrealis construction occurs within an indirect reflexive transitive construction, so in these cases there are two factors that lead to the appearance of the auxiliary BE:

- (92) a. *Com te vaig comprar es mirall, |*
 when CL.DAT.2SG AUX.PST.1SG buy.INF the mirror
jo em fos comprat un barret...
 I CL.REFL.1SG be.IPFV.SBJV.1SG bought.M.SG a hat
 ‘When I bought you the mirror, | I would have bought myself a hat...’
- b. *No haguesses volgut segar, |*
 not have.IPFV.SBJV.2SG wanted.M.SG reap.INF
no te la fosses oberta.
 not CL.REFL.2SG CL.ACC.F.3SG be.IPFV.SBJV.2SG opened.F.SG
 ‘If you hadn’t wanted to reap, | you wouldn’t have hurt your hand.’
 (Ginard, *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*)

c) Constructions in the pluperfect indicative

In his corpus study, Salvà (2021: 324) also finds some marginal or sporadic occurrences of transitive constructions with the auxiliary BE in the pluperfect indicative, all in the 3rd person singular, as shown in (93):

- (93) a. *aquells dotze homes que era trobats...*
 those twelve men that was met.M.PL
 ‘those twelve men that she had met...’
 (Alcover, *Rondaies mallorquines*)
- b. *Ton pare l’era empleat.*
 your father CL.ACC.M.3SG was employed.M.SG
 ‘Your father had employed him.’
 (Corpus Joan Miralles)

Unlike what has been proposed for Ribagorçan Catalan (Suïls 2008; see § 2.3), in Majorcan Catalan no historical form such as **heva* (‘have.IPFV.IND’) has ever been documented, so this hypothetical form could not have formally converged with *era* (‘be.IPFV.IND’).

d) Person-driven split auxiliary selection within the present perfect indicative

Finally, it is worth noting some transitive and unergative constructions in Majorcan Catalan—documented from the 19th century until the mid-20th century—that use BE as the perfect auxiliary but do not align with any of the previously analysed factors. These constructions share a common feature: they always appear in the present perfect indicative tense and BE is used only with certain grammatical persons, specifically the 1st person singular and, less frequently, the 2nd person singular—that is, with discourse participants. This seems an innovative attempt on the auxiliary selection system, moving from an event-driven (or argument-structure-driven) model to a tense-and-person-driven model, similar to the one found in Northern Catalan and in some subvarieties of Central Catalan (see § 2.2).

In the corpora analysed by Salvà (2021: 325-335) there are, in total, 60 occurrences of this type, especially in the popular songs corpus and in the earliest interviews corpus. Among them, 85 % (51/60) correspond to the 1st person singular, as in (94), and 15 % (9/60) to the 2nd person singular, as in (95). Crucially, no such occurrences are found in the most recent interviews corpus included in the study.

- (94) a. *Jo som vist es cavaller.*
 I am seen.M.SG the knight
 ‘I’ve seen the knight.’
- b. *Des que som comprat un ase...*
 since that am bought.M.SG a donkey
 ‘Since I’ve bought a donkey...’
- c. *Davall aquella figuera [...] | més pics hi som festejat...*
 under that fig_tree more times CL.LOC am courted.M.SG
 ‘Under that fig tree, I’ve courted more times...’
 (Ginard, *Cançoners populars de Mallorca*)
- d. *Jo ho som sentit a dir,*
 I CL.N am heard.M.SG to say
però jo no ho som vist...
 but I not CL.N am seen.M.SG
 ‘I’ve heard people say it, but I’ve not seen it.’
- e. *Ara som fet això.*
 now am done.M.SG this.N
 ‘Now I have done this.’
- f. *Som perduda una espadrilla.*
 am lost.F.SG a espadrille
 ‘I’ve lost an espadrille.’
- g. *Jo hi som jugat.*
 I CL.OBL am played.M.SG
 ‘I’ve played it.’

(Corpus Joan Miralles)

- (95) a. *Per sa bona amor que m’ ets*
 for the good love.F.SG that CL.DAT.1SG are.2SG
demostrada, jes aquestes set nous.
 shown.F.SG have.IMP.2SG these seven walnuts
 ‘For the good love you have shown me, here you are these seven walnuts.’
 (Alcover, *Rondaies mallorquines*)

- b. *Tomeu, que no m' ets sentit [...]?*
 Tomeu EVID_that not CL.ACC.1SG are.2SG heart.M.SG
 'Tomeu, didn't you hear me when I whistled at you?'
 (Ginard, *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*)

The form *ets* observed in (95) was sometimes used not only as the auxiliary verb for the present perfect, but also as the auxiliary verb for the present simple of the deontic periphrasis *haver de* ('have to, must'), as in (96). This would prove that the form *ets* is actually part of the HAVE paradigm and, therefore, this would not be a proper case of auxiliary selection. Indeed, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* lists the form *hets* as a dialectal variant of *has* 'have.2SG' for (Old) Balearic Catalan.

- (96) a. *T' ets d' enfilat*
 CL.REFL.2SG are.2SG of climb.INF
damunt aquella caixa des mort.
 on that trunk of_the dead_man.
 'You have to climb on top of that dead man's trunk.'
 (Alcover, *Rondaies mallorquines*)
- b. —*Enguany m' ets d' omplir es graner [...].*
 this_year CL.DAT.1SG are.2SG of fill.INF the barn
 'You must fill my barn this year...'
 —*El t' ompliré,*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG CL.DAT.2SG fill.FUT.1SG
però l' ets de fer petit.
 but CL.ACC.M.3SG are.2SG of make.INF small
 'I'll fit it for you, but you have to make it small.'
 (Ginard, *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*)

Besides the constraints related to tense and person, Salvà (2020) argues that the Majorcan constructions in (94) have another common element: typically, their grammatical subject is an affected argument (an experiencer, a possessor, or an argument interested in the event, similar to a benefactive or malefactive), so it would feature, at the same time, two thematic or eventive roles: *initiator* and *undergoer*, in Ramchand's (2008) terms. Interestingly, in Salvà (2021: 325-335)'s corpus study, the transitive verb with more occurrences of the auxiliary BE is the perception verb *veure* ('see').

Finally, let us note that, although this type of person-driven auxiliary selection is not productive anymore in current Majorcan Catalan, in the village of Lluçmajor one can still hear some idioms or stereotypical sentences like the following ones:

- (97) a. *Som agafada una nirviada.*
 am taken.F.SG a nervous-ness
 'I got so nervous.'
- b. *Bona la som feta!*
 good CL.ACC.F.3SG am done.F.SG
 'What a mess I've made!'
 (Sebastià Salvà's personal archive)

3. Theoretical considerations

Although proposing a formal analysis that accounts for all the patterns found in Catalan is beyond the scope of this article, we will devote this section to some theoretical contributions that we believe are essential to help untangle the different patterns of auxiliary selection found in Catalan dialects and, by extension, in Romance. We will particularly refer to different proposals that deal with the notion of “unaccusative verb” and critically analyse how they can account for the variation across Catalan dialects when it comes to BE selection. We will then turn to theoretical considerations linked to auxiliary selection in reflexive constructions. Finally, we will refer to what we think lies behind the alleged instances of person-driven auxiliary selection in Romance in general and in Catalan varieties in particular.

3.1. Unaccusative constructions and auxiliary selection

Sorace (2000: 863; 2004) and Keller & Sorace (2003: 60-61), from a lexical-semantic or projectionist perspective, propose the *Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy* (ASH) shown in (98). This hierarchy classifies intransitive verbs on a scale, ranging from core or prototypical unaccusative verbs—namely, telic change-of-location and change-of-state verbs with undergoer subjects, which consistently select BE in Italian—to core or prototypical unergative verbs—namely, agentive atelic intransitive verbs with unaffected subjects, which consistently select HAVE in Italian and most languages. Between these poles, a gradient of “intermediate” verbs exists. These other verbs incorporate telicity and agentivity to a lesser degree, tend to have less specified event structure (basically, stative), and show variable auxiliary selection across languages.

- (98) *The Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (original version)*
- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| a. Change of location | selects BE (least variation) |
| b. Change of state | |
| c. Continuation of a pre-existing state | |
| d. Existence of state | |
| e. Uncontrolled process | |
| f. Motional controlled process | |
| g. Non-motional controlled process | selects HAVE (least variation) |

Sorace’s hierarchy or scale consists of seven degrees or steps, but Mateu (2002, 2005, 2009) wonders why there could not be even more, or less, degrees. For this reason, Mateu converts Sorace’s lexical-semantics hierarchy into five strictly formal combinations, as can be seen from his revised version of the ASH in (99).

- (99) *The Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (revised by Mateu 2002, 2005, 2009)*
- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| a. Telic change of location/state
[v [V _[+T]] [Z [X _[+r]] Y]]] | selects BE (least variation) |
| ----- stable cut-off point (French) | |
| b. Atelic change of location/state and appearance of state
[v [V _[+T]] [Z [X _[-r]] Y]]] | |
| ----- unstable cut-off point (German/Dutch/Danish) | |
| c. Continuation/existence of state
[v [V _[-T]] [Z [X _[-r]] Y]]] | |
| ----- unstable cut-off point (Italian) | |
| d. Uncontrolled process
[Z [v [V _[-R]] Y]]] | |
| e. Controlled process
[Z [v [V _[+R]] Y]]] | selects HAVE (least variation) |

[adapted]

Moreover, each language or variety could set a different cut-off point within this scale. For instance, Italian would admit the auxiliary *essere* ('be') up to and including existential stative verbs, while French would only admit the auxiliary *être* ('be') with verbs that express a telic change of location or a telic change of state; German, Dutch, and Danish would in turn be halfway between French and Italian.

Below we offer some preliminary clarifications:

a) [[+T][+r]]: Telic change of location/state; that is to say, resultative transitional dynamic constructions with inherent motion verbs such as *arribar* 'arrive', *anar* 'go', *venir* 'come', and *sortir* 'go out', or with change-of-state verbs such as *néixer* 'be born' and *morir* 'die'. V subcategorises here for a predicative or bi-relational non-eventive head $X_{[+r]}$ (which can be correlated to Hale & Keyser's (1993) "terminal coincidence relation"), which relates two non-relational elements: Z (the figure) and Y (the state or the ground). Considering that states are, actually, abstract locations, Mateu claims that there is no need to distinguish them formally—cf. Sorace's (98)a,b—, so they can be included within the same category.

b) [[+T][−r]]: Atelic or indefinite change of location/state, in non-resultative transitional dynamic constructions expressing degree achievements, with verbs such as *caure* 'fall', *pujar* 'go up', or *créixer* 'grow'.²⁰ V also subcategorises for a predicative or bi-relational non-eventive head ($X_{[-r]}$) here, but now this head can be correlated to Hale's (1986) and Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) "central coincidence relation". Mateu (2005: 233; 2009: 192) also includes in this atelic unaccusative configuration constructions expressing the appearance of a state or the occurrence of an event, with verbs such as *aparèixer* 'appear' or *esdevenir* 'happen'.

c) [[−T][−r]]: Continuation of a pre-existing state or existence of a state, with stative verbs such as *romandre* 'remain' and *existir* 'exist'. They would not involve any transition nor final endpoint or resulting state.

d) [−R]: Uncontrolled or non-volitional internal cause, in atelic non-transitional dynamic constructions with unergative verbs such as *dringar* 'ring' and *brillar* 'shine'. V selects a non-relational element Y as its complement, which is later incorporated into V; the external argument Z is introduced in the specifier of v.

e) [+R]: Controlled or volitional internal cause, either motional or non-motional, in atelic non-transitional dynamic constructions with unergative verbs such as *ballar* 'dance', *treballar* 'work', or *parlar* 'talk'.

Having said this, we would like to make some comments on Mateu's (2002, 2005, 2009) insightful version of the ASH. Firstly, note that Mateu follows Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) in assuming that the unaccusative syntactic configuration is more complex than the classical structure assumed by Burzio (1986), for whom unaccusative verbs directly select a nominal internal argument: [VP V NP/DP]. Instead, for Mateu, the unaccusative constructions in (99)a,b,c imply an internal predication relating a subject (the internal argument) and a state/location predicate. By contrast, the unergative constructions in (99)d,e do directly select a "nominal" internal argument or a root (interpreted as an incremental theme or path) and they have an external argument, introduced in the specifier of v—or Voice, following Kratzer (1996)—and interpreted as an originator (Borer 2005) or an initiator (Ramchand 2008).

Secondly, in Mateu's system, it seems that the verbal head V can possess different flavours, depending on the features it has: [+T], [−T], [+R], or [−R]. However, the

²⁰ However, these verbs (especially the locative ones) can also be used within telic constructions, as canonical achievements, that is to say, as if they were inherent motion verbs—e.g., the Majorcan examples in (75).

transitional character of the constructions in (99)a,b could be directly read from the structure itself (V plus a predicative phrase or small clause), so it is not really necessary to use the features $[\pm T]$ on V, as can be seen in (100)a,b. Moreover, if we understand V as a dynamic eventive head, the stative and non-transitional construction in (99)c could be simplified as in (100)c, with no V in its event structure.

- (100) a. $[v [V [Z [X_{[+r]} Y]]]]$
 b. $[v [V [Z [X_{[-r]} Y]]]]$
 c. $[v [Z [X_{[-r]} Y]]]$
 d. $[Z [v [V_{[+R]} Y]]]$
 e. $[Z [v [V_{[-R]} Y]]]$

Thirdly, according to Mateu (2005: 231, fn. 16; 2009: 190, fn. 12), “the $[[-T][+r]]$ combination can be argued to be excluded in virtue of the fact that all telic unaccusative verbs involving $[+r]$ are always associated to a positive *Transition* (i.e., $[+T]$)”. However, we would like to point out the possibility of distinguishing between two classes of stative unaccusative verbs (as in Sorace’s original ASH): verbs expressing permanence (or continuation) of a pre-existing state—which, according to Gallego & Uriagereka (2016), would indeed possess a “terminal coincidence relator” in its stative event structure, as in the revised version in (101)c’, although they would still lack a dynamic V—and, on the other hand, pure existential unaccusative verbs—(101)c, with a “central coincidence relator” and, again, no dynamic V.

Moreover, Salvà (2021: 58, fn. 23), in reference to a corpus study based on the Majorcan fairy tales by Antoni M. Alcover, suggests that unaccusative verbs expressing permanence (or continuation) of a pre-existing state (such as *estar* ‘be, stay’ and *quedar* or *romandre* ‘remain, stay’) should be placed before verbs expressing an indefinite or atelic change of state (such as *créixer* ‘grow’, *engreixar* ‘get fat’, *minvar* ‘decrease’, *mudar* ‘change’). What they have in common with verbs expressing a telic change of location/state is that all of them possess a “terminal coincidence relator” in its event structure. Therefore, the previous hierarchy in (100) might be revised as follows:

- (101) a. $[v [V [Z [X_{[+r]} Y]]]]$
 c'. $[v [Z [X_{[+r]} Y]]]$
 b. $[v [V [Z [X_{[-r]} Y]]]]$
 c. $[v [Z [X_{[-r]} Y]]]$
 d. $[Z [v [V_{[+R]} Y]]]$
 e. $[Z [v [V_{[-R]} Y]]]$

The French contrast in (102) regarding auxiliary selection also justifies the distinction between two classes of stative unaccusative verbs and their specific order within the ASH. The cut-off point for French would be, then, between c’ (the second grade or step in our own hierarchy) and b (the third grade in the hierarchy).

- (102) a. *Marie est restée à la maison.*
 Marie is stayed.F.SG at the house
 ‘Marie stayed at home.’
 b. *Les dinosaures ont réellement existé.*
 the dinosaurs have really existed.M.SG
 ‘Dinosaurs really existed.’

(French)

Fourthly, regarding indefinite or atelic change-of-state verbs, they behave differently in French (with auxiliary HAVE) than in German and Italian (with auxiliary BE):

- (103) a. *L' enfant a grandi rapidement.*
 the child has grown.M.SG quickly
 (French)
- b. *Das Kind ist schnell gewachsen.*
 the child is quickly grown.
 (German)
- c. *Il bambino è cresciuto velocemente.*
 the child is grown.M.SG quickly.
 'The child has grown up quickly.'
 (Italian)

However, Mateu (2005: 233; 2009: 192) includes constructions expressing the appearance of a state or the occurrence of an event (with verbs such as *aparèixer* 'appear' or *esdevenir* 'happen') within the atelic change-of-location/state configuration—(99)b or our (101)b. For Mateu, all these verbs, together with those expressing an indefinite or degree achievement, "involve a transition or change, but there is not resulting state involved". This claim is based on Aranovich's (2003: 12) observation that, in Spanish (and the same would stand for Catalan), sentences like (104) are ungrammatical:

- (104) **Las palomas están aparecidas.*
 the doves are.3PL appeared.F.PL
 (Spanish)

We cannot agree on the statement that verbs of (dis)appearance and verbs expressing the occurrence of an event are atelic. On the one hand, the resultative copular sentence in (105)a (with a verb expressing disappearance) is perfectly grammatical, and even the sentence in (105)b (with a verb expressing appearance) can be felicitous when used in a legal-administrative technical language, at least in Spanish.

- (105) a. *Aquelles dues excursionistes encara estan desaparegudes.*
 those.F.PL two.F hikers.F.PL still are.3PL disappeared.F.PL
 'Those two (female) hikers are still missing.'
 (Catalan)
- b. *por ese solo hecho, se entiende que está comparecido.*
 by that alone fact CL.REFL understand.3SG
 that is.3SG appeared.M.SG
 'By that fact alone, it is understood that he has appeared.'
 (Spanish)²¹

On the other hand, as claimed by Rosselló (2002: 1888, 1892), these verbs denote achievements, so they can be found in participle clauses such as:

²¹ Source: "Unidad de Acción de los Secretarios Judiciales. Foros de debate", available at <<https://www.unidad-de-accion.com/foro/viewtopic.php?t=6001>> [17/09/2024].

- (106) a. *Desapareguts milers de refugiats...*
 disappeared.M.PL thousands of refugees
 ‘After thousands of refugees disappeared...’
 b. *Passats els dies...*
 passed.M.PL the days
 ‘After the days passed by...’

(Catalan)

Moreover, in current Majorcan Catalan, even if these verbs are auxiliated with HAVE, they are very prone to allow PPA—see (79)c above, repeated here as (107)a—, unlike unaccusative verbs expressing indefinite or atelic change of state, where PPA is possible but not so frequent—see (86) above, repeated here as (107)b, with no PPA.

- (107) a. *Ses nines ja han comparegudes.*
 the girls already have.3PL appeared.F.PL
 ‘The girls have already appeared.’

(Rosselló 2002: 1892)

- b. *Sa covota [...] li havia crescut tant...*
 the tail.DESP.F.SG CL.DAT.3SG had.3SG grown.M.SG so_much
 ‘That ugly tail had grown so much...’

(*Rondaies mallorquines* by Antoni M. Alcover)

Therefore, following Rosselló (2002: 1888), we will assume that these verbs can be grouped together with verbs expressing a telic change-of-state, such as *néixer* ‘be born’ or *morir* ‘die’, which, in fact, also express the (dis)appearance of a state. So, the syntactic configuration that suits all of them is the one in (101)a—not the one in (101)c.

This is also consistent with the fact that, in French, verbs expressing the appearance of a state or the occurrence of an event are auxiliated with BE—not HAVE, unlike indefinite or atelic change-of-state verbs; cf. (103)a—, except those verbs expressing the disappearance of a state, provided they are prefixed with the negative prefix *dis-* (that cancels the target state),²² in which case they are auxiliated with HAVE, as in (108)d:

- (108) a. *La gemme perdue est apparue.*
 the gem lost.F.SG is appeared.F.SG
 ‘The lost gem has appeared.’
 b. *Ce malheur est survenu ce matin.*
 this misfortune is happened.M.SG this morning
 ‘This misfortune happened this morning.’
 c. *Le poète est mort ce soir.*
 the poet is died.M.SG this night
 ‘The poet died tonight.’
 d. *Mes nouvelles chaussures ont disparu.*
 my new shoes have.3PL disappeared.M.SG
 ‘My new shoes have disappeared.’

(French)

²² Gibert-Sotelo (2017: 92; 2018: 167) considers Sp. *desaparecer* or Cat. *desaparèixer* ‘disappear’ as a reversative change-of-state unaccusative verb, where the internal argument departs from its prior state of appearance. So, the prefix *des-* lexicalises a Source Path (syntactically merged over a Goal Phrase or Mateu’s X_[+r] Phrase) that causes the result to be the opposite of what we get with *aparecer/aparèixer*.

Fifthly, in our opinion, Mateu's V features regarding agentivity ($[\pm R]$) could be better associated to v or Voice (which introduces the external argument), instead of V. And, going one step further, it might even be the case that it is not really necessary to distinguish between controlled (or volitional) processes and uncontrolled (or non-volitional) processes, so we could reduce these two unergative configurations from Mateu (2002, 2005, 2009)—cf. (99)d,e—to the only one in (109)d.

- (109) a. [v [V [Z [$X_{[+r]}$ Y]]]]
 c'. [v [Z [$X_{[+r]}$ Y]]]
 b. [v [V [Z [$X_{[-r]}$ Y]]]]
 c. [v [Z [$X_{[-r]}$ Y]]]
 d. [Z [v [V Y]]]

Even for inherent motion unaccusative verbs, it is possible to have controlled or volitional readings—e.g., (110)a—, but Mateu does not propose a $V_{[+T][+R]}$ (with two features) for such cases (that is to say, [v [$V_{[+T][+R]}$ [Z [$X_{[+r]}$ Y]]]]). Furthermore, prototypical non-agentive verbs such as *tremolar* 'shiver' can sometimes be used in agentive contexts, as in (111)b. So, whether the subject is agentive or not would be a matter of encyclopaedic knowledge and, from a minimalist perspective, we think there is no need to encode it syntactically, as we reproduce in (109)d. Our final ASH structures would be, then, the five in (109).

- (110) a. *No vindré.* (agentive)
 not come.FUT.1SG
 'I will not come.'
 b. *Les pluges ja han arribat.* (non-agentive)
 the showers already have.3PL arrived.M.SG
 'The showers have already arrived.'
- (111) a. *Tremola de fred.* (non-agentive)
 shiver.3SG of cold
 '{He/She} shivers with cold.'
 b. *No tremolis tant!* (agentive)
 not shiver.PRS.SBJV.2SG so_much
 'Don't shiver so much!'

Sixthly and lastly, as we have seen for Old Catalan—in the contrastive examples in (1)-(2) (§ 1)—and for Algherese (§ 2.1),²³ the same verb—for instance, an inherent motion unaccusative verb such as *venir* 'come'—can be used within two kinds of constructions (in the perfect or compound tenses), one with the auxiliary BE and the other one (a presentational construction) with the auxiliary HAVE. Therefore, Mateu (2015), Mateu & Massanell (2015), and Massanell & Mateu (2018) conclude that auxiliary selection in Old Catalan—and the same stands for Algherese Catalan—was driven not by the argument structure of the verb itself, but by the whole syntactic-

²³ See also fn. 10, where we comment that, in Formiguera (Capcir, Northern Catalan), the answer to item 2393 of the *ALDC* was with the auxiliary BE in the 3rd person singular: *és pas vingut* ('he has not come'); and, crucially, the answer to item 736 was *Ha caigut un llamp* ('A bolt of lightning has struck'), featuring HAVE in a presentational construction with an indefinite postverbal subject.

semantic construction, so a non-lexicalist or a non-projectionist perspective (Goldberg 1995, Borer 2004, Ramchand 2008) should be taken into account. This would explain why inherent motion verbs (that is to say, core unaccusative verbs, according to Sorace’s ASH) were, historically, among the first unaccusative verbs that admitted the innovative auxiliary HAVE in Old Catalan—as claimed by Forteza (1915), Par (1923), Batlle (2002), Ramos (2005), and Massanell (2020; in press)—, without contradicting the ASH.

For us, the constructions in (1) and (2) have, respectively, the (simplified)²⁴ analysis in (112)i and (112)ii. (112)i is like the configuration in (109)a,b, but with the internal argument (the figure in the predicative phrase) moving up to the specifier position of *v*P (through Internal Merge). By contrast, the presentational construction in (2)—or Fabra’s “type IV clause” in (3)—leaves the internal argument *in situ* and fills the “external argument” position (the specifier of *v*P) through External Merge, with a locative expletive directly merged in this position. As we already pointed out in fn. 2, the constructions in (2) and (3) are considered “quasi-transitive” by Rosselló (2002: 1884 *et seq.*). Indeed, they have in common with transitive constructions that the specifier position of *v* (or Voice) is filled by External Merge; but, while canonical transitive constructions fill this position with a DP, the “quasi-transitive” or presentational construction fills it with a locative expletive. This has important consequences for case assignment and agreement, but developing this would exceed the goals of this paper—see Rigau (2005), Longenbaugh (2019), and Salvà (2021: 259–267) for an overview, and the references mentioned there.

In turn, each of these two constructions has two possible versions: a dynamic one—(112)i,ii—and a stative one—(112)i’,ii’. Remember that the abstract locative pronoun HI can be explicitly pronounced in Algerese (*hi*, as shown in § 2.1), but in general Catalan the locative expletive is only explicit (not silent) in the lexicalised locative existential construction with the verb *haver-hi* (‘there {is/are}’); e.g., *Hi ha pa* ‘There is bread’.

- (112) i. [Z [*v* [V [<Z> [X_[±r] Y]]]]]
 i'. [Z [*v* [<Z> [X_[±r] Y]]]]
 ii. [{HI/*hi*} [*v* [V [Z [X_[±r] Y]]]]] (presentational, dynamic construction)
 ii'. [{HI/*hi*} [*v* [Z [X_[±r] Y]]]] (locative existential, stative construction)

Let us present an example for each type of these constructions:

- (113) i. *La marquesa de Agilar és ja venguda.* [= (1)b]
 the marchioness of Aguilar is already come.F.SG
 ‘The marchioness of Aguilar has already come.’
 i'. *Aquestes han sobrades.* [= (83)a]
 these have.3PL exceeded.F.PL
 ‘These ones are left over.’
 ii. *Los à vengut gran dan a lur molí.* [= (2)a]
 CL.DAT.3PL has come.M.SG great damage to their mill
 ‘Great damage has come to their mill.’

²⁴ We say “simplified” because more functional categories are needed to complete the whole clause; e.g., Asp, *v*_{aux} (in a perfect tense), Mood, T, C...

- ii'. *Ha faltat una cadira.* [cf. (82)a]
 has lacked.F.SG a chair
 'A chair was lacking.'

According to Mateu (2015: 142-143), “if we assume that the auxiliary selection test in Old Catalan is relevant to diagnose whether or not there is an external argument in the specifier of the functional category that introduces it, we can conclude that the data in [(2)] does not have a properly unaccusative structure”. Following Hale & Keyser’s (2002) and Kallulli’s (2008) analyses of locative existential constructions, Mateu (2015) considers that presentational constructions and locative existential constructions “are not properly unaccusative (where, technically, ‘unaccusative’ is equivalent to structures without direct insertion of a DP in the *v*-specifier)”.

Nevertheless, the opposite view can also be found in the literature. For Gràcia (1989: § 4.2) and Rigau (1997, 2005, 2013), inherent motion verbs like *anar* ‘go’, *venir* ‘come’, *arribar* ‘arrive’, *entrar* ‘go in’, and *sortir* ‘go out’ can behave as agentive verbs more easily than change-of-state verbs like *néixer* ‘be born’. Thus, they can appear in imperative sentences (114)a and in subordinate clauses selected by verbs like *manar* ‘order’ or *obligar* ‘force’ (114)b; in addition, they can license the presence of manner adverbs expressing will (114)c and the presence of final complements (114)d.

- (114) a. *Arribeu-hi puntualment.*
 arrive.IMP.2PL=CL.LOC on_time
 ‘Get there on time.’
 b. *Em van obligar a sortir.*
 CL.ACC.1SG AUX.PST.3PL force.INF to go_out.INF
 ‘They forced me to leave.’
 c. *Van venir expressament.*
 AUX.PST.3PL come.INF on_purpose
 ‘They came on purpose.’
 d. *Tornaré per ajudar-te.*
 return.FUT.1SG for/to help.INF=CL.ACC.2SG
 ‘I will return to help you.’

So, these two authors conclude that inherent motion verbs (which are intransitive, in a broad sense) can have both an unergative behaviour (in the agentive construction) and an unaccusative behaviour (in the impersonal or presentational construction).²⁵ For them, the true unaccusative construction is the second one. This view is reflected in the Catalan prescriptive grammar (GIEC 2016: § 21.4), when it says that “also inherent motion or change-of-location verbs behave in certain contexts as unaccusative [...]. As

²⁵ Similarly, Rosselló (2000; 2002: 1888) claims that, in Majorcan Catalan, the verb *quedar*—which is non-pronominal in this dialect; cf. *quedar-se* from general Catalan—or *romandre* ‘remain, stay’, when used as an agentive verb, have an unergative nature. For us, this is not the case: both examples in (ii) are unaccusative, and, crucially, PPA is possible and even frequent in (ii)a, but it would not be so felicitous in (ii)b:

- (ii) a. *Madò Catalina anit ha {quedada/romasa} a Son Rubí.*
 HON.F Catalina tonight has stayed.F.SG at Son Rubí
 ‘Madò Catalina stayed in Son Rubí last night.’
 b. *No ha quedat sobressada.*
 not has remained.M.SG sobressada
 ‘There is no *sobressada* left.’

[unergative or pure] intransitive verbs, they are action verbs selecting an agent as an external argument [...]. These verbs, however, lose their agentive value when they behave as unaccusative” [our translation].²⁶

We do not share the view that equates agentive constructions with unergative constructions, as we have already explained when commenting the examples in (110) and (111). We believe that the unaccusative nature of Old Catalan and Algherese intransitive sentences auxiliated with BE—or the Majorcan intransitive sentences featuring PPA despite being auxiliated with HAVE (see § 2.4.2)—cannot be denied. Similarly, the unaccusative character of Italian or French sentences like the ones in (115) cannot be called into question.

- (115) a. *Maria è arrivata.* (Italian)
 b. *Maria est arrivée.* (French)
 Maria is arrived.F.SG
 ‘Maria has arrived.’

Since Perlmutter (1978, 1989) and Burzio (1986), it is generally accepted that these are unaccusative verbs, whose most prominent argument is originally generated as an internal argument, within the complement position of the verb. For us, this is not necessarily incompatible with an agentive reading. In Ramchand’s (2008) system, inherent motion verbs are considered to have a DP argument with three event (or thematic) roles at the same time: resultee, undergoer, and initiator of the event, so this internal argument is base-generated in the specifier position of ResultP and, then, it moves, through Internal Merge, up to the specifier positions of ProcessP and InitiationP.

At this point, we would like to propose a compromise solution to this debate: both constructions—the one in (1) or (112)*i,i'*, and the one in (2)-(3) or (112)*ii,ii'*—are unaccusative constructions, insofar as their most prominent argument is base-generated in the object position. Now, while presentational or locative existential constructions are “quasi-transitive”—in Rosselló’s (2002) terminology—, we could say that the construction in (1) or (112)*i,i'* is “quasi-unergative”. All of them are unaccusative constructions, although they feature different properties—e.g., *ne*-cliticisation is only possible in “quasi-transitive” constructions.

3.2. Reflexive constructions and auxiliary selection

Let us now leave unaccusative constructions aside and refer to auxiliary selection in reflexive (or reciprocal) constructions. Loporcaro (2001, 2007, 2014, 2015, 2016) proposes an implicative scalar table with several kinds of constructions—from unaccusative to (non reflexive) transitive/unergative constructions, with several classes of reflexive (or reciprocal) constructions in the middle—, where auxiliaries BE and HAVE can be selected in several ways in the different Romances languages or varieties. Each language or variety places its cut-off point at a different column of the scale,

²⁶ Actually, we would like to draw attention to the contradiction in which the GIEC incurs when, on the one hand, it considers inherent motion verbs to display an unergative behaviour in the agentive construction (GIEC 2016: § 21.4.2), but, on the other hand (GIEC 2016: § 9.5.1e and 21.4f), it says that, “in the old language, perfect tenses were not always built with the auxiliary *haver* ‘have’, but could take the auxiliary *ser* ‘be’, which was usual with unaccusative and reflexive verbs, and in this case, the participle established agreement in gender and number with the subject: *és anada* ‘(ella) ha anat’ (‘she has gone.F.SG’), *s’eren enrabiats* ‘(ells) s’havien enrabiats’ (‘they had gotten_angry.M.PL’). [...] This use survives today in a more or less residual way in some dialects, especially in Algherese (with certain restrictions) and in Rossellonese (in this dialect, alternating with the forms of the auxiliary *haver*)” [our translation]—cf. examples in (4)b,c,d.

always respecting this implicative hierarchy. Furthermore, in some varieties, there would be mixed auxiliary patterns, with free alternation of HAVE/BE or with tense-driven and/or person-driven alternation. There would even be, in some cases, systems with three auxiliary patterns: one for the left side of the scale, one for some of the reflexive constructions in the middle, and another pattern for the right side of the scale. Focusing now on the binary and pure auxiliary selection systems, Loporcaro proposes the table in **Error! Reference source not found.**:

(116)

	INACTIVE					ACTIVE
	unaccu- sative	reflexive				transitive/ unergative
		retro- herent	direct transitive	indirect unergative	indirect transitive	
a. Italian	BE					HAVE
b. Logudorese Sardinian	BE					HAVE
c. Old Romanesco	BE					HAVE
d. Old Florentine	BE					HAVE
e. Leccese Salentino	BE					HAVE
f. Spanish						HAVE

As we have seen in § 1 (see the examples in fn. 4), Old Catalan would be like Old Romanesco or, perhaps, like Logudorese Sardinian—further research on indirect unergative reflexive constructions is needed for clarification. However, some innovative patterns (with free alternation of HAVE/BE in some of the right-side reflexive constructions) were introduced in Algherese Catalan—according to Loporcaro (1998: 119-120); see (35) in § 2.1—, in Northern Catalan—see (44) and (45) in § 2.2—, and in Balearic Catalan—see § 2.4.3a.

Any theoretical analysis coming from the Generativist framework should be able to translate into formal categories the simple but powerful implicative scale in **Error! Reference source not found.**, inherited from the Relational Grammar tradition. In our opinion, although they are quite elegant, models like the ones proposed by Kayne (1993) or, more recently, Amato (2021, 2022, 2023) cannot still explain all the Romance variation regarding auxiliary selection in the several types of reflexive constructions. Therefore, it is necessary to deepen the study on the event/argument structure of each and every one of these constructions.

3.3. Person-driven auxiliary selection

Finally, a brief reference must be made to person-based split auxiliary selection. As we have seen in § 2.2 (for Northern Catalan and some subvarieties of Central Catalan) and in § 2.4.3d (for Majorcan Catalan), in the 19th century, some innovations affected the classical system of auxiliary selection, moving from a model based on event/argument structure to a model based on tense (present perfect) and person (mainly, with persons 1SG and 2SG, and a bit later in time, in Northern Catalan, even with persons 1PL and 2PL).

According to Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011), person-driven split auxiliary selection needs a syntactic account. The “1 & 2 vs. 3” split distinguishes between “discourse-anchored referents” (persons 1 and 2) and “event-anchored referents” (person 3). This split has been defined, in more traditional frameworks, by the feature [\pm participant] in the discourse or [\pm local] (Benveniste 1966, Harley & Ritter 2002), and it has been independently justified in typological linguistic studies. According to

Silverstein (1976) and Dixon (1994), pronouns with persons 1, 2 and 3 are arranged on a hierarchical scale: pronouns with persons 1 and 2 are considered to prototypically confer agentive properties, whereas 3-person pronouns are thought to embed inherent information for patient; and, in a group of ergative languages (like Dyirbal), pronouns with persons 1 and 2 are marked if they function as objects, while 3-person pronouns are marked if functioning as subjects. Moreover, within the Romance languages, 1 & 2 person pronominal clitics behave differently than 3-person clitics in terms of their morphological features (gender and case distinctions) and also in the fact that PPA with 1 & 2 person clitics tends to optionality, more so than with 3-person clitics, where PPA is more resilient (see Salvà 2021).

Syntactic analyses trying to explain person-driven split auxiliary selection can also be found in Kayne (1993), D’Alessandro & Roberts (2010) (for Eastern Abruzzese), D’Alessandro (2012, 2017, 2020), D’Alessandro & Scheer (2015), Legendre (2010), Coon & Preminger (2012), and Amato (2021, 2022, 2023). By contrast, Loporcaro’s (2001, 2007, 2014, 2016) claim is that where precisely (in which persons) the morphemes HAVE or BE occur is a matter of morphology, not syntax. Since an immensely wide range of possibilities exists in the Romance dialects (combining the six grammatical persons, binary and ternary systems, pure and mixed systems, etc.), it would be inconceivable to encode this empirical availability directly into structural categories in a one-to-one correspondence. Moreover, this kind of person-driven auxiliary selection usually takes place only in some specific tenses.

Furthermore, according to Bonet & Mascaró (2016) and Bonet *et al.* (2019: 760-761), in most cases, the auxiliary can be said to be properly BE only when PPA is maintained (like in *som/sem arribats* ‘we have arrived’), while lack of PPA (like in Northern Catalan *sem arribat*) suggests a single auxiliary HAVE, used with all verbs, with allomorphs historically coming from *ser* (in persons 1 and 2) and *haver* (person 3) in present tense: *som* ‘have.1SG’, *ets* ‘have.2SG’, *ha* ‘has’, *sem* ‘have.1PL’, *seu* ‘have.2PL’, *han* ‘have.3PL’. Therefore, “instead of assuming that synchronically [these varieties] use two different auxiliaries for the perfect, with selection by person, one could plausibly assume that, as in English and other Romance languages [like Spanish], there is a single perfect auxiliary, different from the one used in passives and in copular constructions”.

In fact, this idea was originally proposed by Fabra (1905a, 1905b), commenting on a paper by Jean-Joseph Saroïhandy—for whom the people in the Pyrenees and Roussillon “use the auxiliary BE instead of HAVE” by saying *so menjat* ‘I’ve eaten’, *so dormit* ‘I’ve slept’; *sun parlat* ‘I’ve spoken’, *sun escrit* ‘I’ve written’, *qu’ets dit?* ‘what have you.SG said?’, *que’ets fet?* ‘what have you.SG done?’. According to Fabra, “this is false, since they do not say *era menjat*, *sou menjat*, *si fos menjat*, but *havia menjat* ‘{I/he/she} had eaten’, *heu menjat* ‘you.PL have eaten’, *si hagués menjat* ‘if {I/he/she} had eaten’”. For Fabra, “what happens is that the form *he* ‘have.1SG’ has been replaced by *som* ‘am’ (perhaps, in some places, *so* ‘am’)” inside the paradigm of HAVE. Thus, we would find, on the one hand, the “verb *ser*: *som*, *ets*, *és*, etc.”, and, on the other hand, the “verb *haver*: *som*, *hàts*, *hà*, *hem*, etc.”, so that the forms *som* and *ets* have “become common to both auxiliaries”. Note that for the 2nd person singular, Fabra (1905a) suggests a confluence: between *ets* and *hàts*.²⁷ Related to this, Rigau (1998: 78) observes that the form (*h*)*ets* also alternates with *hàts*.

²⁷ Fabra originally uses here the symbol <ə> to represent a non-stressed schwa (IPA: [ə]).

4. Concluding remarks

In this article we have provided a thorough overview of auxiliary selection across Catalan dialects. Crucially, although in Standard Catalan and in most varieties only *haver* ‘have’ is used in compound tenses, a closer look reveals that several varieties and subvarieties of the language display some kind of auxiliary distinction between *haver* ‘have’ and *ser* ‘be’ (or at least they preserve the past participle agreement with the internal argument subject), which depends on several factors, such as argument and event structure, grammatical person, verbal tense, and verbal mood.

We have first focused on how the auxiliary distinction worked in Old Catalan (§ 1), distinguishing two kinds of unaccusative constructions: those with a definite or null preverbal subject, which selected BE, and presentational constructions with an indefinite postverbal subject, which tended to select HAVE. Then, the phenomenon has been analysed in the context of present-day dialectal variation in Catalan (§ 2), distinguishing four main geographical scenarios: (i) Algherese Catalan, spoken on the Italian island of Sardinia; (ii) Northern Catalan, spoken in the French area of Roussillon, and some subvarieties of Central Catalan, spoken in the center and north-eastern part of Catalonia; (iii) Ribagorçan Catalan, spoken close to the Pyrenees, in the north-west of Catalonia; and, finally, Balearic Catalan, particularly in the subvarieties spoken in the islands of Majorca and Minorca. Extensive exemplification, extracted from different sources, such as corpora, dialectal atlases, descriptive monographs as well as the authors’ personal archives, has been provided for all varieties. For comparative purposes, reference to other Romance languages and varieties has also been made when relevant.

Starting with Algherese Catalan, it has been shown that this variety largely maintains the classical distribution seen in Old Catalan, with HAVE and BE still differentiated based on the type of construction, though some innovations have emerged. On the one hand, HAVE is typically used with transitive, unergative, and presentational unaccusative constructions. On the other hand, BE is used within those unaccusative constructions with a definite or null preverbal subject, especially for the compound tenses of the copula *ser* ‘be’, with verbs expressing change of location or change of state, and with verbs expressing stative permanence. Pronominal passives and other reflexive constructions are also auxiliated with BE, except indirect reflexive transitive constructions, in which case the auxiliary tends to be HAVE, as in Old Catalan—although Loporcaro (1998) claims that they also allow the auxiliary BE. A major innovation in Algherese is the use of BE within emphatic irrealis clauses (in the conditional and in the pluperfect subjunctive), as also happens in Romanian, Old Neapolitan, and in the Marchigiano dialect of San Benedetto del Tronto.

In Northern Catalan, as well as in some Central Catalan subvarieties, the auxiliary system has evolved from its classical form to a person- and tense-driven distinction. In the present perfect indicative, the auxiliary BE is used with the 1st and 2nd persons across verb types, while the 3rd person forms and other tenses use HAVE, except in reflexive constructions, where both auxiliaries are possible, even in indirect reflexives—contrary to the Old Catalan behaviour, that only allowed the auxiliary HAVE with indirect reflexives.

In turn, Ribagorçan Catalan also seems to exhibit a distinct auxiliary pattern, with BE being used in the pluperfect indicative with all verb types, which resembles a tense-driven split. However, we conclude, with Suïls (2008), that this kind of auxiliary selection is only apparent: it arose as the historical result of homophony and allomorphy of some forms of the BE and HAVE paradigms. Considering that “BE” also appears in constructions where this verb cannot be expected, such as the past simple indicative of existential constructions with *haver-hi* (‘there {is/are}’) or deontic periphrases with

haver de ('have to'), it can be argued that the auxiliary for compound tenses in Ribagorçan Catalan is always HAVE.

Turning to Balearic Catalan, in the islands of Majorca and Minorca some remnants of the auxiliary BE with unaccusative and reflexive constructions persisted until the mid-20th century (approximately), in some cases with thwarted innovations. Although HAVE has largely replaced BE, in Majorcan Catalan past participle agreement (PPA) remains active in some contexts, even with HAVE, showcasing a "hybrid" construction. The factors that favor PPA are related to (i) event/argument structure (specially with change-of-location and change-of-state telic unaccusative verbs, with verbs expressing the continuation of a pre-existing state, and, to a lesser extent, also with indefinite or degree achievements in the telic reading) and (ii) information structure (when the subject is preverbal or topicalised, PPA can happen even with existential stative unaccusative verbs).

Finally, some relevant theoretical considerations have been raised within the generative framework of the Minimalist Program, in order to provide an analysis of the phenomenon under study (§ 3). In particular, we have focused on the continuum between unaccusativity and unergativity, paying special attention to the distinction of different degrees of these categories, while revisiting Sorace's (2000, 2004) *Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy* and Mateu's (2002, 2005, 2009, 2015) syntactic configurations for the different types of event structures. We have concluded that it is important to distinguish two kinds of unaccusative constructions ("quasi-transitive" and "quasi-unergative"), in the light of Old Catalan and Algherese Catalan auxiliary distinctions, but also considering the use of PPA in current Majorcan Catalan. Likewise, we have provided a brief discussion of the analysis of auxiliary selection in reflexive constructions, showing that a more in-depth study of the event structures underlying each of the different types of reflexive constructions (anti-causative and pronominal passive, direct transitive reflexive, indirect unergative reflexive, and indirect transitive reflexive) is needed, considering the contributions from Relational Grammar. Furthermore, several theoretical remarks on person-driven auxiliary selection have been made, particularly from the perspectives of pragmatics and language typology. Although several syntactic accounts for person-driven splits can be found in the literature, we rather lean towards proposals that consider that the reduction of the micro-variation that can be found in the different Romance varieties is rather a matter of morphology: in many cases, there would be a single auxiliary verb from the HAVE paradigm, as Fabra (1905a, 1905b) already suggested.

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