UNACCUSATIVES BEYOND UNACCUSATIVES: SPLIT AUXILIARY SELECTION WITH AFFECTED SUBJECTS IN OLD MAJORCAN CATALAN[1]

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Abstract: I aim to shed light on the split auxiliary selection found in some dialects of Catalan —focusing on Old Majorcan varieties—, in constructions where, instead of *haver* ('have'), *esser* ('be') is used as the auxiliary verb for compound tenses —although just in persons 1 & 2—, not only with unaccusative verbs, but also with transitive and unergative verbs. I claim that, in fact, these are «unaccusative» constructions in a broad sense, with affected subjects derived from a lower position: in order for *esser* to appear*,* [Spec, InitiationP] must form a chain with (at least) [Spec, ProcessP] (where the argument is interpreted as an undergoer). Hence, this system for auxiliary selection is mixed: both person-driven and event-driven. The Majorcan data provide evidence in favour of RAMCHAND's (2008) decomposition of the *v*P.

1. Dialects under consideration
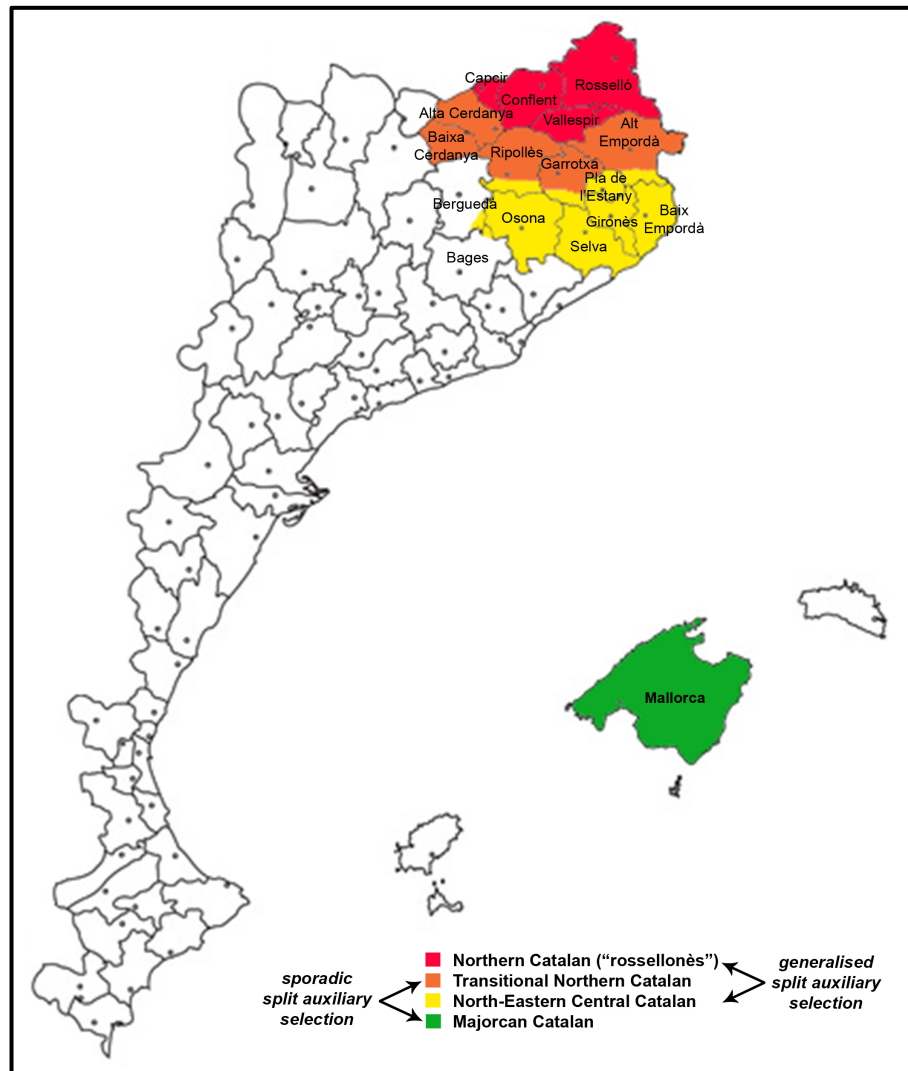
In Catalan, **split auxiliary selection** —that is to say: the use of the auxiliary verb *ser/ésser/esser* ('be') with persons 1 & 2 of compound tenses— has been attested:

a) <u>In a widespread or generalised manner</u> (with all kind of verbs):
- in current Northern Catalan or *rossellonès* (spoken in Rosselló, Vallespir, Conflent and Capcir) (Alcover 1903; VENY & MASSANELL 2015; MASSANELL 2017);
- in some North-Eastern varieties of Central Catalan (in the south of Alt Empordà, Garrotxa and Ripollès; and in Baix Empordà, Pla de l'Estany, Gironès, Selva, Plana de Vic and Lluçanès) (PUIG I SAIS 1906; BADIA 1981; RIGAU 1998).

b) <u>Sporadically</u> (optionally, not always, and just with some verbs):
- in Transitional Northern Catalan (in the north of Alt Empordà, Garrotxa and Ripollès; and in Alta and Baixa Cerdanya) (VENY & MASSANELL 2015).
- We are going to focus on **Majorcan Catalan:** particularly, on the variety spoken by elder people from some villages (Llucmajor, Montuïri, Santanyí, Felanitx...).

2. Data from Majorcan Catalan regarding auxiliary selection

In **current Majorcan Catalan** —in the most widespread variety, except for elder people from some villages—, the auxiliary verb is always *haver* ('have'), for all kinds of verbs/constructions, for all compound tenses (present perfect, past perfect…), for all moods (indicative or optative) and for all grammatical persons:

(1) *a. Unergative/transitive verbs:*

he cantat	'I have sung'
has cantat	'hou have sung
ha cantat	'He/she has sung'
hem cantat	'we have sung'
heu cantat	'you have sung'
han cantat	'they have sung'

*b. Unaccusative verbs (*e. g.: arribar *'arrive'):*

he arribat; he {arribat/arribada}
has arribat; has {arribat/arribada}
ha arribat (ell); ha {arribat/arribada} (ella)
hem {arribat/arribats}; hem {arribat/arribades}
heu {arribat/arribats}; heu {arribat/arribades}
han {arribat/arribats} (ells); han {arribat/arribades} (elles)

c. Reflexive constructions (e. g.: pentinar-se *'comb one's hair'):*

m'he pentinat; m'he {pentinat/pentinada}
t'has pentinat; t'has {pentinat/pentinada}
s'ha pentinat (ell); s'ha {pentinat/pentinada} (ella)
mos hem {pentinat/pentinats}; mos hem {pentinat/pentinades}
vos heu {pentinat/pentinats}; vos heu {pentinat/pentinades}
s'han {pentinat/pentinats} (ells); s'han {pentinat/pentinades} (elles)

d. Passive constructions (e. g.: esser segrestat *'be kidnapped'):*

he estat segrestat; he {estat/$^?$estada} {segrestada/*segrestat}
has estat segrestat; has {estat/$^?$estada} {segrestada/*segrestat}
ha estat segrestat; ha {estat/$^?$estada} {segrestada/*segrestat}
hem {estat/$^?$estats} {segrestats/*segrestat}; hem {estat/$^?$estades} {segrestades/*segrestat}
heu {estat/$^?$estats} {segrestats/*segrestat}; heu {estat/$^?$estades} {segrestades/*segrestat}
han {estat/$^?$estats} {segrestats/*segrestat}; han {estat/$^?$estades} {segrestades/*segrestat}

So current Majorcan Catalan behaves like standard Catalan, with one peculiarity: in several cases —e. g.: (1*b-d*)—, **past participle agreement (PPA)** with the internal argument is possible (ROSSELLÓ 2002; SALVÀ 2015, 2017).[2]

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[2] Majorcan Catalan is one of the Romance varieties most prone to PPA in compound tenses. According to ROSSELLÓ (2002: 1932-1933), PPA is possible especially with (feminine) 3rd person accusative clitics (mandatorily with *la*: CL.3FEM.SG), partitive *ne/en/n'* included, but also with 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics, and in cases of *wh*-movement —here, we can add contrastive focus too—, and when the internal argument is promoted to

However, in Majorca, the auxiliary verb *esser* ('be') can be used for compound tenses in the **archaic variety** spoken by elder people from some villages (Llucmajor, Montuïri, Santanyí, Felanitx...) in unaccusative, passive and reflexive constructions (2*b-d*), with some peculiarities:

- ***Esser* is more frequent with persons 1 & 2** (especially of the singular), and mainly in the **present perfect tense of indicative.**
- By contrast, **person 3 (and also 1 & 2 in other tenses/moods) tends to select *haver* with non-reflexive unaccusative verbs, but *esser* can still be chosen with reflexive and passive constructions** —probably, according to RAMOS (2005), because they possess an explicit morphological mark for the absence of external argument: either the clitic *se*, or the passive auxiliary verb *esser* + a passive past participle.

(2) *a. Unergative/transitive verbs:*   *b. Unaccusative verbs:*

   he empès 'I have pushed'   **som** arribat; **som** {arribada/*arribat}
   has empès 'you have pushed'   **ets** arribat; **ets** {arribada/*arribat}
   ha empès '{he/she} has pushed'   ha arribat; ha {arribat/arribada}
   hem empès 'we have pushed'   hem {arribat/arribats}; hem {arribat/arribades}
      ?**som** {arribats/*arribat}; ?**som** {arribades/*arribat}
   heu empès 'you have pushed'   heu {arribat/arribats}; heu {arribat/arribades}
      ?**sou** {arribats/*arribat}; ?**sou** {arribades/*arribat}
   han empès 'they have pushed'   han {arribat/arribats}; han {arribat/arribades}

   c. Reflexive constructions: *d. Passive constructions:*

   me **som** pentinat; me **som** pentinada   **som** estat segrestat; **som** estada segrestada
   t'**ets** pentinat; t'**ets** pentinada   **ets** estat segrestat; **ets** estada segrestada
   s'**és** pentinat; s'**és** pentinada   **és** estat segrestat; **és** estada segrestada
   mos **som** {pentinats/pentinades/*pentinat}   **som** estats segrestats; **som** estades segrestades
   vos **sou** {pentinats/pentinades/*pentinat}   **sou** estats segrestats; **sou** estades segrestades
   se **són** {pentinats/pentinades/*pentinat}   **són** estats segrestats; **són** estades segrestades

Notice that, in (2*b-d*), with the auxiliary verb *esser*, PPA with the internal argument (the grammatical subject) is always mandatory.

Furthermore, a fact that has been understudied until now is that old Majorcan speakers with the archaic system in (2) —and even younger people, in some stereotyped cases, like the ones in (3)— sporadically use (optionally alternating with *haver*) the auxiliary verb *esser* **in transitive sentences** (with an explicit direct object) **and in unergative sentences** (4*f*):

(3) *a.* La   **som**   vista.
      CL.ACC.3FEM.SG   *am*   *seen.FEM.SG*
      'I've seen her'

   b. **Som** agafada   una nirviada.
      am   *taken.FEM.SG*   *a*   *nervousness.AUGM.FEM.SG*
      'I've got so nervous'

   c. Bona   la   **som**   feta!
      good.FEM.SG   *CL.ACC.FEM.SG*   *am*   *made.FEM.SG*
      'I've made a {mess / terrible mistake}!'   [oral examples from Llucmajor]

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grammatical subject —passive, reflexive and unaccusative constructions (especially with motion verbs of inherent direction). Additionally, for the cases where PPA with the object *in situ* is licensed (or not) in Majorcan Catalan, see SALVÀ (2015, 2017). Furthermore, in some cases, PPA is even possible when de direct object remains *in situ*, in its canonical post-verbal position —like in (i)— (SALVÀ 2015, 2017), although this property is getting lost among the youngest speakers.

(i) S'   ha {rentades/rentat}   ses   mans.
      CL.REFL   *has washed.{FEM.PL/MAS.SG}*   *the.FEM.PL*   *hands.FEM.PL*
      '{He/she} has washed {his/her} hands'

(4) *a.* Tomeu, que   no m'   **ets**   sentit?
       Tomeu   EVID.that not CL.1SG   are.2SG   heart
       'Tomeu, haven't you heart me?'

    b. Des   que   **som** comprat un ase…
       since   that   am   bought   a   donkey
       'Since I've bought a donkey...' (or 'Since I possess a donkey that I've bought...')

    c. Li   **som** fet   mal de cap, a   sa padrina.
       CL.DAT.3SG am   done headache   MARK.DAT   the grandmother
       'I've given her a headache (to my grandmother)'

    d. Amor, com més   pena   m'   **ets**   causada,
       darling as   more   pain.FEM.SG CL.1SG   are.2SG   caused.FEM.SG
         més   voluntat   t'   he   tenguda.
         more will.FEM.SG   CL.2SG   have.I   had.FEM.SG
       'Darling, the more pain you've caused to me, the more I've wished you'

    e. Sa soca   li   **ets**   danyada,   a   s' arbre.
       the trunk.FEM.SG   CL.DAT.3SG   are.2SG   damaged.FEM.SG MARK.DAT   the tree
       'You've damaged its trunk (the tree's trunk)'

    f. Davall   aquella figuera hi   **som** festejat molts pics.
       under   that   fig-tree CL.LOC   am   courted many   times
       Under that fig-tree, I've courted many times'

                            [examples from *Cançoner popular de Mallorca*, by RAFEL GINARD]

Again, *esser* is used especially with 1SG & 2SG of indicative present perfect —although not exclusively, as shown by (5), in optative past.[3]

(5) Com   es   vent era   a   sa   flauta, **fosses**   remenats   es   dits.
     when   the   wind   was   in   the   flute   be.PAST.OPT.2G stirred.MAS.PL   the fingers.MAS.PL
     lit.: 'When the wind was through the flute, you should have stirred your fingers' (= 'It is when I was there for you that you should have given me a signal, not now')

          [example from the entry *esser* in *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, by ALCOVER & MOLL, *apud*
                                          MASSANELL (in press)]

As shown by (i) in fn. 2, (3), (4*d-e*) and (5), in Majorcan Catalan, PPA within transitive constructions is established with the direct object (not with the subject), even with the auxiliary verb *esser*.[4] This supports the idea that PPA and auxiliary selection are different phenomena, although related topics (LOPORCARO 1998).

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[3] The optative past in (5) has a *reproachative* or *counterfactual* use, similar to the so-called *retrospective imperative* (*e. g.: haver moguts es dits* 'you should have moved your fingers'), in order to express the reproof for not having carried out an action that should have been accomplished.

[4] By contrast, in the other Catalan dialects pointed out in § 1, the past participle remains invariable (with no agreement with the DO) in similar cases (ii*a-e*), except with an ACC.FEM clitic (ii*f*):

(ii) *a.* **So** fet   tal   cosa.   *d.* **So** posat les claus   damunt la   taula.
       am done   such   thing.FEM.SG   *am put   the   keys.FEM.SG on   the   table*
       'I've done {such/whatever} thing'   'I've put the keys on the table'

    b. **Sum** escrit   una lletra.   *e.* **Soc** sofert   molts desenganys.
       am   written   a   letter.FEM.SG   *am suffered   many disappointments.MAS.PL*
       'I've written a letter'   'I've been disappointed many times'

    c. No **sou** vist   la   processó.   *f.* Jo   ja   la   **som** digerida.
       not are   seen   the procession.FEM.SG   *am already CL.ACC.FEM.SG am   digested*
       'You've not seen the(religious) procession'   'I've already digested it'

3. Previous accounts

Prescriptively, this use of *esser* with non-unaccusative verbs has been considered «very curious» and «weird», and hence, «abusive», «incorrect», «anti-grammatical» and «absolutely inadmissible» by traditional grammars (ALCOVER 1903; OBRADOR 1906*a*, 1906*b*; FABRA 1922; MOLL 1952: § 481, 1975: § 159).

 Descriptively (and focusing on Northern and North-Eastern varieties of Catalan), only BADIA (1981: § 176; 1994: 561) notices that this use is limited to a reduced number of verbs (*e. g.*, *veure* 'see'). By contrast, other authors point out that these dialects display *person-driven auxiliary selection* «with all kind of verbs», so independently of the event/argument structure (ALCOVER 1903; PUIG I SAIS 1906; RIGAU 1998). Today, this is maybe the case for strictly Northern Catalan or *rossellonès*, which has generalised or extended the use of *ésser* with persons 1 & 2 to all kinds of verbs/constructions (VENY & MASSANELL 2015; MASSANELL 2017); and the same stands for some North-Eastern varieties of Central Catalan (RIGAU 1998 & p. c.). Nevertheless, this conclusion does not seem to be accurate for Old for Majorcan Catalan (nor for Transitional Northern Catalan), which display(s) sporadic and optional split auxiliary selection, often alternating with *haver*.

4. Our analysis: the *initiator-undergoer* chain

If we pay attention to the sentences in (3) and (4), **an *unintentional* or *non-volitional* reading is often available.** If this is so, these Majorcan Catalan varieties would be placed quite low in SORACE's (2000, 2004) *auxiliary selection hierarchy* (ASH):[5]

(6) TELIC CHANGE OF LOCATION >   *core unaccusatives:* **select 'BE' (least variation)**
   TELIC CHANGE OF STATE > ----------------------- cut-off point (French)
   ATELIC CHANGE OS STATE > ----------------------- cut-off point (German/Dutch/Danish)
   CONTINUATION OF PRE-EXISTING STATE >
   EXISTENCE OF STATE > ----------------------- cut-off point (Italian)
   UNCONTROLLED PROCESS > ----------------------- cut-off point (Old Majorcan Catalan)???
   MOTIONAL CONTROLLED PROCESS >
   NON-MOTIONAL CONTROLLED PROCESS *core unergatives:* **select 'HAVE' (least variation)**

Furthermore, if we look more carefully at the Old Majorcan sentences in (3), (4) and (5), a common pattern can be established: **their grammatical subject is *affected* (it is an *experiencer*, a *possessor* or an *interested* argument).** A technical way of analysing this is appealing to **RAMCHAND's (2008) event structure,** with a head **Process** (between Initiation and Result) that introduces the neo-Davidsonian event argument and whose specifier is interpreted as an ***undergoer*** (as it undergoes or suffers the process of the event):

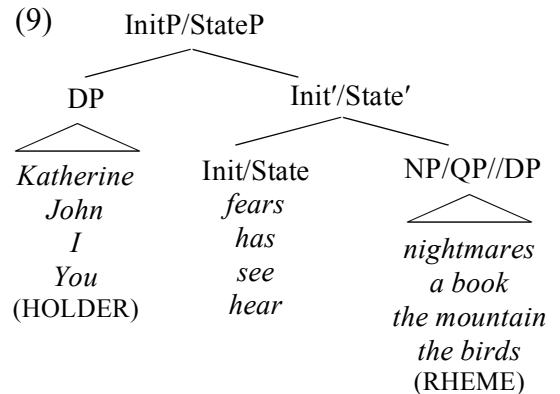(7) *RAMCHAND's (2008) full event structure:*

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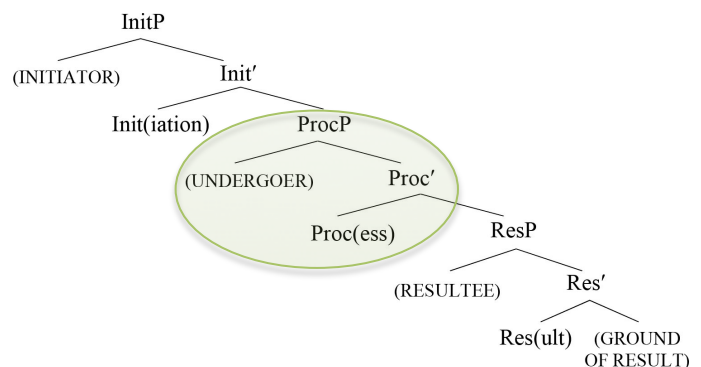
[5] «Verbs at the BE end of the ASH are core unaccusatives and denote telic change; verbs at the HAVE end are core unergatives and denote <u>agentive activity in which the subject is unaffected</u>. Intermediate verbs between the two extremes incorporate telicity and agentivity to lesser degrees, and tend to have a less specified (basically stative) event structure» (KELLER & SORACE 2003: 60).

 MATEU (2002, 2009) translates SORACE's lexical semantic classes into 5 formal combinations: [[+T] [+r]] (telic change of location/state), [[+T][–r]] (atelic change of location/state), [[–T][–r]] (continuation of a pre-existing state / existence of state), [–R] (non-volitional internal cause) and [+R] (volitional internal cause).
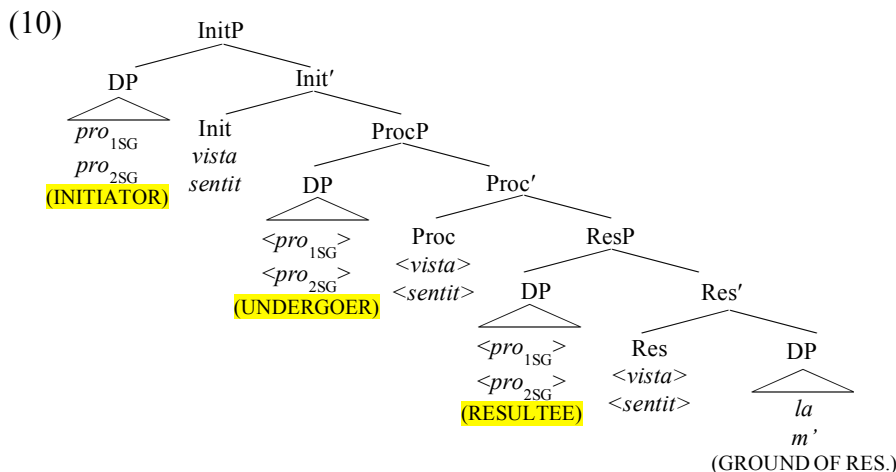
Take, for instance, (3*a*) and (4*a*), repeated here as (8*a-b*). *Veure* 'see' and *sentir* 'hear' are stative verbs and, according to RAMCHAND (2008), they have the simple configuration of an InitiationP (= StateP), and that is all (9). The specifier is interpreted as the *holder* of that state and the complement is interpreted as the *rheme*:

(8) *a.* La **som** vista.
    CL.ACC.3FEM.SG am seen.FEM.SG
    'I've seen her'

  b. Tomeu, que no m' **ets** sentit?
    Tomeu EVID.that not CL.1SG are.2SG heart
    'Tomeu, haven't you heart me?'

(9)

```
              InitP/StateP
             /            \
           DP            Init'/State'
          /\            /           \
    Katherine      Init/State      NP/QP//DP
      John           fears           /\
       I             has         nightmares
      You            see          a book
    (HOLDER)         hear       the mountain
                                  the birds
                                  (RHEME)
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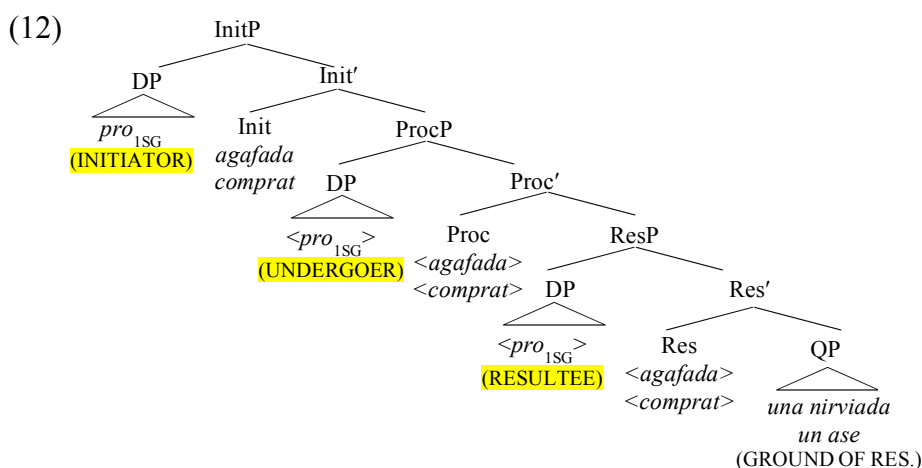
However, as claimed by JAQUE (2014), some stative verbs —the ones he calls «high» (or «level-1») pure (or Kimian) stative verbs—, in some contexts (as present perfect), can behave as achievements and, therefore, unfold a whole event structure (that is: also ProcP and ResP). In this case, the subject argument is, at the same time, an initiator, an undergoer and a resultee (10).

(10)

```
         InitP
        /     \
      DP      Init'
      /\      /    \
  pro_1SG   Init   ProcP
  pro_2SG   vista  /    \
(INITIATOR) sentit DP   Proc'
                  /\    /    \
            <pro_1SG> Proc   ResP
            <pro_2SG> <vista> /   \
           (UNDERGOER)<sentit>DP  Res'
                            /\   /    \
                      <pro_1SG> Res   DP
                      <pro_2SG> <vista> /\
                     (RESULTEE)<sentit> la
                                        m'
                              (GROUND OF RES.)
```

A similar analysis can be proposed for the sentences (3*b*) and (4*b*), repeated here as (11):

(11) *a.* **Som** agafada una nirviada.
    am taken.FEM.SG a nervousness.AUGM.FEM.SG
    'I've got so nervous'

  b. Des que **som** comprat un ase…
    since that am bought a donkey
    'Since I've bought a donkey...' (or 'Since I possess a donkey that I've bought...')

(12)

```
         InitP
        /     \
      DP      Init'
      /\      /    \
  pro_1SG    Init   ProcP
(INITIATOR) agafada /    \
            comprat DP   Proc'
                   /\    /    \
            <pro_1SG>  Proc   ResP
           (UNDERGOER)<agafada> /  \
                      <comprat>DP  Res'
                              /\   /   \
                        <pro_1SG> Res   QP
                       (RESULTEE)<agafada>/\
                                 <comprat>una nirviada
                                          un ase
                                   (GROUND OF RES.)
```

As for (4*c-d*), repeated here as (13*a-b*), it is not so obvious that the subject be affected, but indeed it is, as it maintains an ***inalienable possessive relationship*** with the argument expressed by dative clitic (*li* = 'to my grandmother'; *m'* = 'to me (your lover)'). A more clear case would be the one in (5), repeated here as (13*c*), where the subject is the possessor of a part of his own body (*es dits*).

(13) *a.* Li   **som** fet   mal de cap, a   sa padrina.
           CL.DAT.3SG am   done   headache   *MARK.DAT the grandmother*
           'I've given her a headache (to my grandmother)'

    b. Amor, com més   pena   m'   **ets**   causada…
           darling as   more   pain.FEM.SG CL.1SG   are.2SG caused.FEM.SG
           'Darling, the more pain you've caused to me…'

    c. **Fosses**   remenats   es   dits.
           be.PAST.OPT.2SG   stirred.MAS.PL   the fingers.MAS.PL
           'You should have stirred your fingers'

(14)

(15)
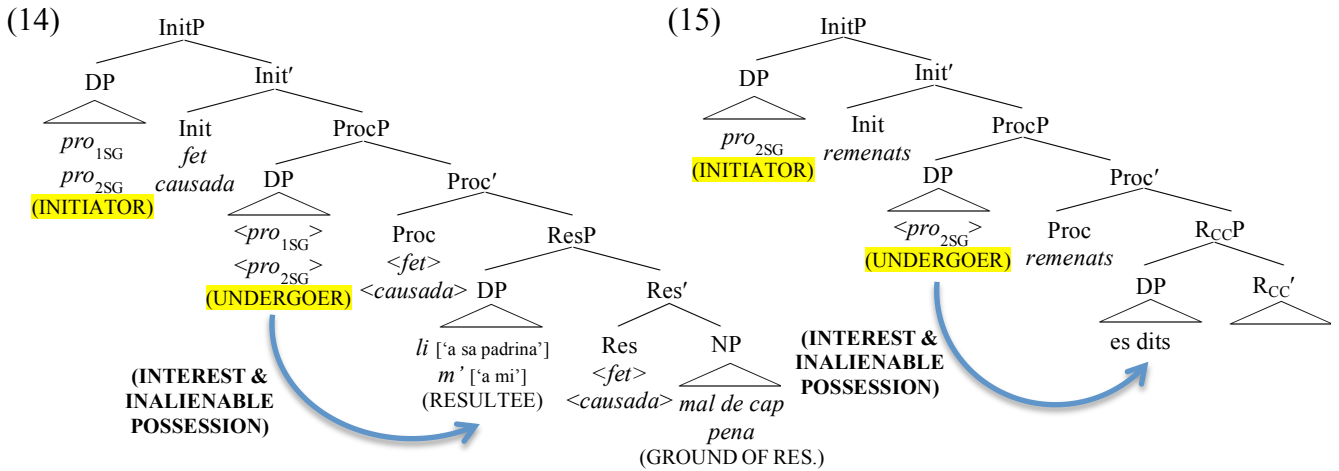
The most problematic case would be (4*e*), repeated here as (16):

(16) Sa soca   li   **ets**   danyada,   a   s' arbre.
      the trunk.FEM.SG CL.DAT.3SG are.2SG damaged.FEM.SG MARK.DAT the tree
      'You've damaged its trunk (the tree's trunk)'

Following CUERVO (2008), here we already have an *affected* or *middle Appl* over ResP, and the specifier of this MidApplP (*li* = 'to the tree') already maintains an inalienable possessive relashionship with the resultee ([Spec, ResP]: *sa soca* 'the trunk'). However, this is not an obstacle for the subject (in [Spec, InitP] and in [Spec, ProcP]) be also considered affected (an undergoer), if it can be conceived as being interested in the event (for example, if he is the owner of the tree); in this case, there would be an *alienable* possessive relationship between [Spec, ProcP] and [Spec, MidApplP] (17).

(17)
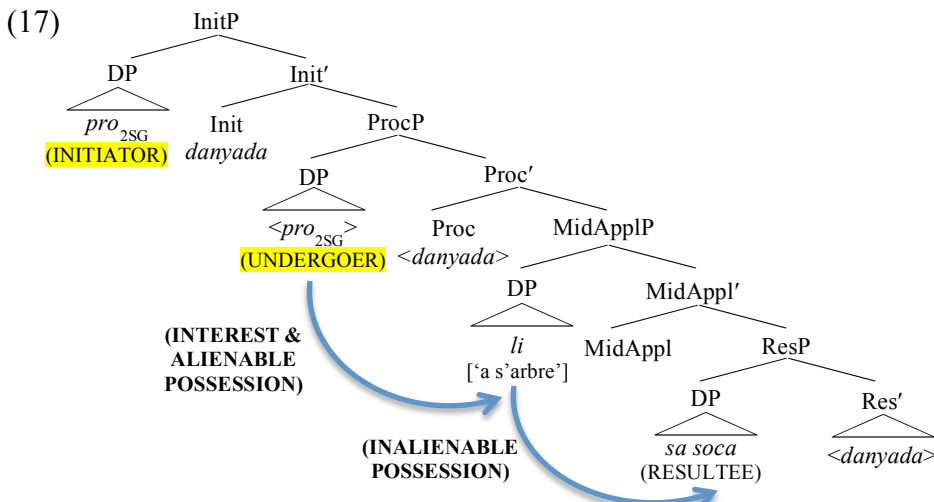
Therefore, **instead of using *high (ethic dative) applicatives*** (between ProcP and InitP), **Old Majorcan Catalan allows to *Merge* any *affected* or *interested* argument directly in [Spec, ProcP],** especially if it maintains a **possessive relationship** with another argument.

➤ To sum up, we are dealing with **«unaccusative» constructions in a broad sense,**[6] with **affected subjects derived from a lower position.** In the Old Majorcan system of auxiliary selection, **in order for *esser* to appear, [Spec, InitP]** —if present— **must form a chain with (at least) [Spec, ProcP]** (where the argument is interpreted as an ***undergoer***).

As stayed by BENTLEY (2016), in the transition from late Latin to early Romance, the establishment of the HABERE/ESSE alternation in the perfect marks a split (semantically motivated, by an *active/inactive* distinction) between two kinds of *intransitive* constructions: one with an S_A («actor subject») and one with an S_U («undergoer subject»). The former construction aligns with transitive constructions (with an A subject). Since A/S_A is the default choice for subject in terms of nominative/accusative alignment, **the perfect auxiliary ESSE indicates the marked choice for subject in Romance.** Starting from this, we claim that, **in Old Majorcan Catalan, a new split emerges within *transitive* constructions, whose subject can be either a simple *initiator* or an *initiator-undergoer*.**

5. Fulfilled predictions

Actually, any of the verbs that RAMCHAND (2008) considers to have an undergoer co-referent with the initiator (that is to say, an argument with these two event roles at the same time) could be used with the auxiliary verb *esser*:

- This is what happens with creation/consumption verbs, and with any other verb with a *path* (or *incremental theme*) direct object:[7]

   (18) *a.* Som cantada   una cançó.
        am sung.FEM.SG a   song
        'I've sung a song'

      b. Som llegit es diari.
        am read   the newspaper
        'I've read the newspaper'

      c. Som passat   es camí.
        am gone.through the path
        'I've gone through the path'

   (19)
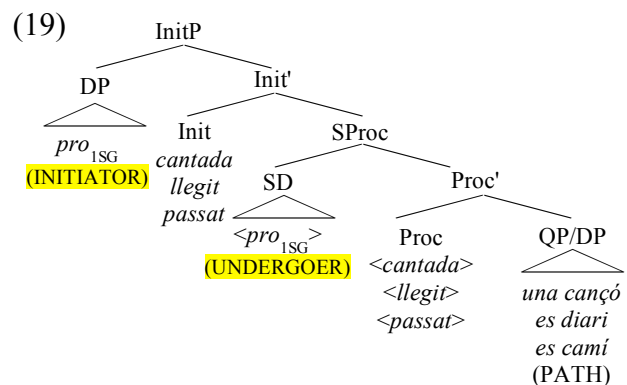
- And the same would stand with verbs like *trobar* 'find' and *perdre* 'lose', whose initiator is co-referent with the undergoer and also with the resultee:

   (20) *a.* Som trobada   sa clau.
        am found.FEM.SG the key
        'I've found the key'

      b. Som perdut es motle.
        am lost   the mould
   'I've lost the mould'

   (21)

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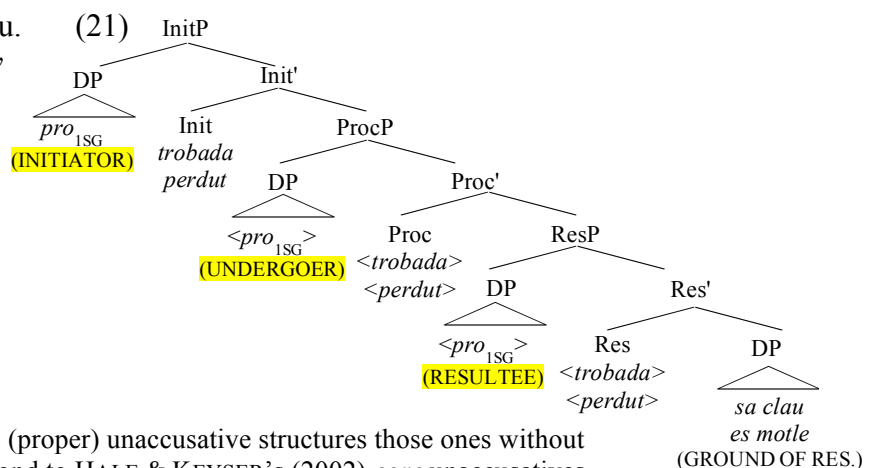
[6] *Stricto sensu*, RAMCHAND (2008) considers as (proper) unaccusative structures those ones without an Init head (*e. g., The ice melt*), which correspond to HALE & KEYSER's (2002) *core* unaccusatives.

[7] Even in English is possible to say: *I **am** done my homework.*

By contrast, in verbs like *menar/conduir* 'drive' and *empènyer* 'push', the initiator is not co-referent with the undergoer (which is the DO). Thus, we can predict that they will not allow, in principle, the auxiliary verb *esser*, unless the initiator could be also considered as an affected or interested argument (for example, if it maintains a possessive relationship with the DO):

(22) *a.* {He/*Som}   empès   sa   roca.
        *{have.I/*am} pushed the rock*
        'I've pushed the rock'

    b. **Som** {menat/conduït} es   cotxe   an   es   garatge.
        am   driven   the car   in   the garage
        'I've driven the car (= my car) into the garage'

(23) *a.*
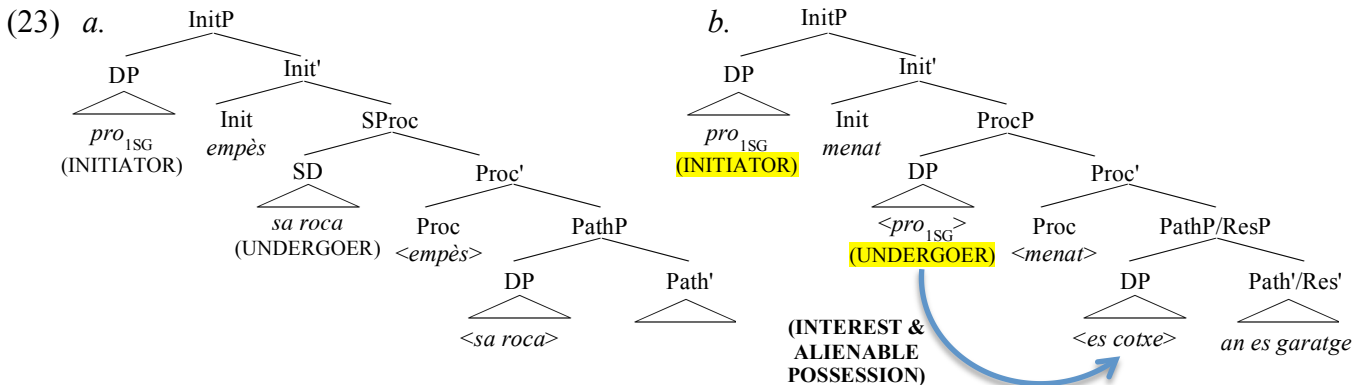
Neither would we expect to find *esser* with verbs like *donar* 'give' or *tirar* 'throw', nor with causative verbs like *rompre* 'break', *omplir* 'fill'…, which have an initiator and, as a different argument, an undergoer-resultee; unless the initiator could be also conceived as affected or interested (24*b*):

(24) *a.* {He/*Som}   tirada   una   pedra.
        *{have.I/*am} thrown.FEM.SG a   stone.FEM.SG*
        'I've thrown a stone'

    b. **Som** tirada   sa   tovallola.
        am   thrown.FEM.SG the towel.FEM.SG
        Lit.: 'I've thrown the towel' = 'I've given up'

(25) *a.*
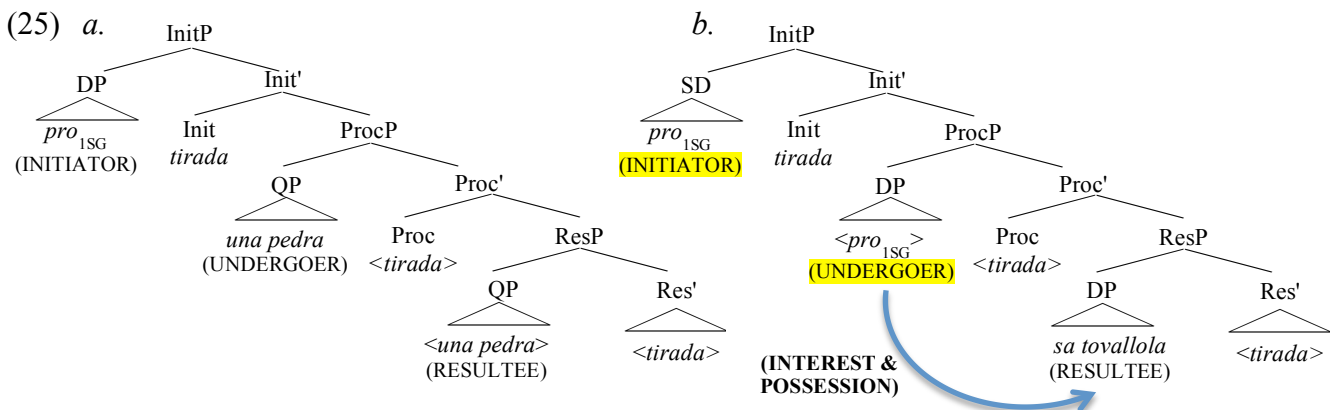
6. Final remarks

➤ We can conclude that the Old Majorcan system for auxiliary selection is **mixed:** (i) ***person-driven*** and (ii) ***event-driven.***

(i) As for the first factor, according to LOPORCARO (2007), where precisely (in which persons) the morphemes 'have' and 'be' occur is a matter of morphology, not syntax. Since exists a wide range of possibilities in the Romance dialects (HHH, EEE, HHE, EEH, HEE, EHH, HEH, EHE), it would be inconceivable to encode this empirical availability directly into structural categories in a one-to-

one correspondence. On the contrary, MANZINI & SAVOIA (2007, 2011) claim that a syntactic account of this considerable variation is exactly what is needed.

According to MANZINI & SAVOIA, the [1 & 2 vs. 3] split distinguishes between *discourse-anchored referents* (persons 1 & 2) and *event-anchored referents* (person 3). This split has been defined, in more traditional frameworks, by the feature [±participant in the discourse] or [±local] (BENVENISTE 1966, HARLEY & RITTER 2002, LEGENDRE 2010). By contrast, the [1 vs. 2 & 3] split takes into account the *pragmatic salience of speaker reference*. The [1 & 3 vs. 2] split would be a combination of both principles.

The [1 & 2 vs. 3] split has been independently justified in typological linguistic studies. According to SILVERSTEIN (1976) and DIXON (1994), 1, 2 & 3 person pronouns are arranged on a hierarchical scale: 1 & 2 are considered to prototypically confer agentive properties, whereas 3 pronouns are thought to embed inherent information for patient. In a group of ergative languages (like Dyirbal), 1 & 2 pronouns are marked if they function as objects, while 3 person pronouns are marked if functioning as subjects:

(26)

	1 & 2	3
agent	-ø	-ŋgu
patient	-na	-ø

(ii) According to MANZINI & SAVOIA (2011), there are systems where the person split interacts with two additional factors (related to event/argument structure), which determine the auxiliary selection: *transitivity/unaccusativity* and *active/middle-passive voice*.[8]

Thus, in Old Majorcan Catalan, besides the [1 & 2 vs. 3] split, as an additional factor, **event structure (middle-passive voice and unaccusativity) must be taken into account:**

a)   **Persons 1 & 2** are **completely sensitive to event structure:** *esser* with the middle-passive clitic *se*, with passives, and with «unaccusative» constructions, in a broad sense (with affected subjects), as pointed out in §§ 4 & 5.

b)   **Person 3** is only sensitive to event structure in one sub-factor: **voice** —*esser* with *se*-constructions and passives, as shown in (2c-d) —, but it is not sensitive to unaccusativity.

♦ I would like to outline the hypothesis that the *generalised person-driven system* found in Northern Catalan (even though 1, 2 & 3 are still sensitive to the middle-passive voice) and in North-Eastern Central Catalan may be the historical next step (or simplification) of a *mixed system* (also *event-driven*) like the one outlined here.[9]

♦ I have been assuming that in all these sentences we have a *perfect participle* construction and that we are dealing with the *auxiliary selection* phenomenon. However, Old Majorcan Catalan displays a **sporadic** auxiliary selection, with HAVE/BE **optionally alternating:** when *esser* is possible, *haver* too. So it could be the case that, in fact, we are not dealing with auxiliary selection *stricto sensu*, but with two different structures —as in LARSSON's (2015) account for Scandinavian languages—:

a)   **Construction with a (tensed) *perfect participle*** —with a clear preference for *haver* as the auxiliary verb, especially in later Majorcan Catalan stages and with «non-core unaccusatives».

b)   **Construction with a (tenseless) *resultative participle*** —with *esser* as a copula, available even with «non-core unaccusatives» or with «unaccusatives in a broad sense» (with affected subjects).

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[8] For instance, in the dialects of Aliano and Colledimacine, 3SG shows an auxiliary selection according to event structure, while 1SG & 2SG are associated to a single auxiliary verb: either 'have' (in Aliano) or *esser* (in Colledimacine).

[9] D'ALESSANDRO & ROBERTS (2010) provide a minimalist explanation (based on *Agree* in person features) for a *pure person-driven system* like the one found in Eastern Abruzzese. Nevertheless, according to BONET & MASCARÓ (2016), synchronically, pure systems do not have split auxiliary selection, but just one single auxiliary verb for compound tenses, with allomorphic variation in the root.

We could predict:

(27) *a.* Avui {he/*som}   dinat   dues   vegades. *[experiential reading]*
     *today   {have.I/*am}   had-lunch   two   times*
     'Today I've had lunch twice'

   b. Som llegit es   diari   des de les nou   des dematí.
        am   read the newspaper   since the nine   in the morning
        'The event of reading the newspaper took place before nine in the morning' (not 'since')

   c. {He/*som}   sopat   ràpidament.   *[no manner adverbs with states]*
        *{have.I/*am}   had-dinner   quickly*
        'I've had dinner quickly'

LARSSON (2015: 159) gives the following structures for perfect and resultative constructions (BE and HAVE would be an alternative spell-out of the same copula, depending on the participle structure/clause being tensed or tenseless):

(28) *HAVE + perfect participle:*
     … HAVE [$_{TP}$ T$_{past}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp [$_{VoiceP}$ [Voice [$_{PartP}$ *-en* [$_{VP}$ …

(29) *a. BE + resultant state participle:*
     … BE [$_{AspP}$ Asp [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{PartP}$ *-en* [$_{VP}$ …

   b. BE + target state participle:
     … BE [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{PartP}$ *-en* [$_{VP}$ …

The particularity of Old Majorcan Catalan, with respect to the Scandinavian languages analysed by LARSSON, would be that the only VP-internal-structure requirement for the resultative construction is that the subject be affected (an undergoer, in [Spec, ProcP]).

Nevertheless, Majorcan Catalan data do not support the following claim: «*Notably, auxiliary selection, but not the possibility of BE in resultatives, can depend on tense, mood, person and number, and it does not always correlate with the structure of the VP*» (Larsson 2015: 180).

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